

ROUPEN AVSHARIAN



On the

RECORD

Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese Parliaments

Volume I
1922-1972

HUPress
Haigazian University

Roupen Avsharian

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**On the Record: Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese
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Volume I (1922-1972)**

By

Roupen Avsharian

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Forward

The subject of this book and the main reason for its comprehensive preparation is the history of the formal involvement of those deputies in the Lebanese Parliament who have represented the Armenian citizens and communities in this land. From the earliest pages of the two-volume work and till the end, what is unpacked is the changing geopolitical context inside and outside the country. One finds here a discussion of what has shaped the specifics of each tenure of the Parliament, the direct influence of major global powers and events on local politics, and how the Armenian community representatives have situated themselves in the midst of a multi-sectarian legislative body.

While mostly focusing on the Armenian aspect of parliamentary life in Lebanon, the book has succeeded in presenting a broad outline of politics and law in the country. The work in our hands is a history of activity and inactivity of the successive parliaments, a story of struggle to strike balances that would preserve a sense of unity and legality on the one hand, and a sense of group protection on the other. In it, what has

happened within the parliament and without is systematically recorded, with a special lens. It is clear that the Lebanese Parliament has evolved in many ways since 1922, and with it the role and the successful integration of its Armenian deputies.

ON THE RECORD, in its two volumes by prominent lawyer and researcher Roupen Avsharian, does not dwell on mere generalities, but goes into the accessible details of each session and parliamentary committee, and often records the documents that are referred to in the body of the text, or in the richly presented appendices.

Symbolically striking is the delicate correspondence one can find in the qualitative role of the Armenian deputies of the Lebanese Parliament on the one hand, and the architectural character of the Parliament building itself. Mardiros Altounian (1889-1958), who had built both the Parliament building (1931) as well as the *Abed Clock Tower* outside the Parliament building (1934), had utilized various techniques and identities of design. He had integrated Lebanese and Oriental traditional motifs with French styles, all with the limestone façade, turning the house of the Lebanese Parliament into a major landmark. Altounian's work incorporated many styles to create a uniquely Lebanese design that fit the local character. The same amalgamation of cultures and identities one could find in the rich diversity that the Armenian deputies have brought to the Lebanese Parliament, to varying degrees, but always out of faithful dedication to the welfare and harmonious development of Lebanon.

The Armenian deputies would represent the Lebanese citizens in general, in days of peace, and in days of war. Moreover, they were always mindful of the tragic past of their Armenian roots and the need to formally and informally recognize the Genocide and its consequences. They were certainly mindful of the cultural assets of thousands of years of Armenian accomplishment, of the need to improve the quality of life of the people they represent in Lebanon, and of the need to contribute to the peaceful harmony of the Lebanese citizens. In the past twenty-five years, the opportunity to create bridges of cooperation and development with the Republic of Armenia was added to their agenda. In this rich consolidation of various shades of identity, the Armenian deputies in the Lebanese Parliament have found their unique contribution, believing that Lebanon is not a melting pot of history and tradition, but rather a flowing river of mutual recognition, respect, and development.

It is a well-known that Lebanon occupies a special place in the heart of the Armenian Diaspora. This may have many good reasons, such as the cultural, educational, economic, ethnic, demographic, and religious opportunities the Armenians have been able to build upon. But a key reason for the unbroken endearment of Lebanon in the wider Armenian world is the respect and legitimate place the Lebanese Parliament has held for its Armenian deputies, and these deputies have reciprocated with dedicated service, as equal partners in the building of Lebanon from the pre-Independence era to this day.

I salute Mr. Avsharian for the passion and perseverance he has shown in the preparation of such an enormous piece of Lebanese political literature, and am certain that future researchers will use this work as a reference for further analysis.

Rev. Paul A. Haidostian, Ph.D.
President
Haigazian University

Acknowledgements

On the Record is the culmination of research and analysis of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies official minutes from the early days of the French Mandate in 1922 until 2017. My personal interest as an observer of national security matters in the Middle East, in general, and Lebanon in particular, and my training as a lawyer and jurist led me to embark on the study of recent Lebanese legislative life. Although the primary focus of this book is to highlight the contribution of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to the Lebanese legislature, it also provides a historical overview of Lebanese parliaments throughout the period within the context of their contemporaneous domestic, regional and international political and security conditions.

I am grateful to the Very Reverend Dr Paul Haidostian, President of Haigazian University and Dr Antranig Dakessian, Director of the Armenian Diaspora Research Center at Haigazian University, for their encouragement and valuable comments and criticisms throughout the years. I am also thankful to Haigazian University for offering me the opportunity to publish this research. I am also thankful to Cherry

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Abbreviations

AGBU	Armenian General Benevolent Union
AIOC	Anglo-Iranian Oil Company
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
Hunchak	<i>[Armenian]</i> Social Democratic Hunchak Party
LNM	Lebanese National Movement
MEDO	Middle East Defense Organization
NSC	United States National Security Council
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PSF	Patriotic Socialist Front
PSP	Progressive Socialist Party
PTT	Post, Telephone and Telegram
Ramgavar	Armenian Liberal Democratic Party
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SSNP	Syrian Social Nationalist Party
TAPLINE	Tran-Arabian Oil Pipeline
Tashnak	Armenian Revolutionary Federation <i>[Tashnak Party]</i>
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAR	United Arab Republic

UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
UNOGIL	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOP	United Nations Committee on Palestine
US	United States of America

Introduction

Lebanon has a unique and complex political structure which is based on the concept of consociational democracy.¹ There are more

¹ According to Arend Lijphart, "consociational democracies" share four general characteristics: First, political elites representing all significant segments of the plural society must participate in some form of decision-making coalition. Second, each segmental group must be allowed to run its own internal affairs. Third, proportionality must be the standard principle of political representation, civil service appointments, and the allocation of public funds. Fourth, a mutual veto must exist, allowing elites of each group to challenge decisions detrimental to their particular groups. See Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). See also Milton J. Eastman, *Ethnic Politics*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). For Consociational Democracy as applied in Lebanon in particular, please see R. Hrair Dekmedjian, "Political Elites in a Sectarian Democracy: Lebanon," *Pattens of Political Leadership: Egypt, Israel, Lebanon*, (New York, State University of N.Y. Press, 1975), pp.11-101. See also, Joseph G. Jabbara and Nancy W. Jabbara, "Consociational Democracy in Lebanon: A Flawed System of Governance," *Journal of Developing Societies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2001), pp.71-89. For a different

than 17 religious and ethnic communities in Lebanon which are organized in such a fashion that promotes sectarian identification.² Lebanon is one of the few countries whose population is so pluralistic that it makes every ethno-religious group a minority in itself. The Lebanese Government has officially recognized seventeen of these sects – to which the Coptic community should be added – and has broadly divided them into Christian and Muslim denominations.³

Despite being a segmented country, the founding fathers – and later the leading political figures of the modern Lebanese Republic – have recognized the inherent danger of the deep societal divisions in Lebanon and throughout the decades have tailored certain governance structures to contain such segmentation. Events starting from the days of the divisions of autonomous *Mutasarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon in 1861, the Declaration of Grand Liban and the adoption of the 1926 Constitution, through the National Census of 1932, the National Pact of 1943, the 1958 civil disturbances and the Civil War (1975-90) and the Ta'ef Agreement have all been considered as the cornerstones of Lebanon's consociational structure.⁴

The legislative branch of the Lebanese Government truly reflects the state of consociational democracy in Lebanese politics.⁵ The

analysis and opinion about the failure of consociational democracy in Lebanon, please see Imad Salamey, "Failing Consociationalism in Lebanon and Integrative Options," *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 14, Issue No. 2, (Autumn/Winter 2009), pp.83-105.

² Decree No. 60/L.R. of 13 March 1936 signed by President Emile Edde, sets forth the Lebanese sects as follows: "Christians are composed of the Maronites, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Armenian Gregorians, Armenian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholics, Nostorions, Chaldeans, Latin, and Protestants. The Muslim sects are made up of Sunnis, Shiites, Druzes, Alawites and Ismaelites. The Jewish sects are composed of Aleppo, Damascus, and Beirut synagogues. The unrecognized sects are Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Bahais." See Latif Abdul-Husn, *The Lebanese Conflict: Looking Inward*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998); and Brenda Seaver, "The Regional Sources of Power-Sharing Failure: The Case of Lebanon," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 2 (Summer 2000), pp.254-255.

³ Elizabeth Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 2002), p.10.

⁴ Jabbara et al., "Consociational Democracy in Lebanon," pp.76-77.

⁵ Dekmedjian, *Pattens of Political Leadership*, pp. 34-41. See also, Nubar Hovsepien, "State-Society Relationships and the Reproduction of the Lebanese Confessional System," Nubar Hovsepien, Ed., *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, (Gloucestershire:

members of different Lebanese Parliaments have always been elected based upon a pre-existing, pre-determined and pre-agreed quotas or ratios between Muslims and Christians. The Lebanese National Reconciliation Accord (*Wathiqat El-Wifaq El-Watani El-Lubnani*), better known as the Ta'ef Agreement (*Ittifaqiyet At-Taef*), signed on 24 October 1989 and later endorsed by the Parliament, imbedded such understanding within the constitution.⁶ From the early days of the *Mutasarrifiyya*, Mount Lebanon was governed by an appointed *Mutasarref* assisted by an elected council based upon certain quotas between the Christians and Druze. Under the French Mandate, the membership in the Representative Councils of Grand Liban was based upon a quota of Christians to Muslims as a result of the 1st Lebanese Census conducted in March 1921.⁷ The new Lebanese Constitution which was adopted in 1926, stipulated the creation of a 16-member Lebanese Senate with a pre-determined division of seats between the Christians and Muslims.⁸

The 2nd Lebanese Census which was held in 1932, turned out to be the turning point in modern Lebanese history, as its outcome became the basis on which future allocations of parliamentary seats were determined. At the suggestion of the then British delegate to Lebanon, Major-General Edward L. Spears, the number of the parliamentary seats were assigned according to the data gathered from the 1932 Census, which turned out to be a multiple of eleven in a 6 to 5 ratio of Christians to Muslims respectively.⁹ Thereafter, the National Pact of 1943 led by the Maronite Beshara El Khoury and the Sunni Riad El Solh, became the unwritten agreement between the Christians and Muslims that the President of the Republic was to be a Maronite, the Prime Minister a

Arris Books Publishing, 2007), pp.28-49. See also, Salamey, "Failing Consociationalism in Lebanon and Integrative Options," pp.83-105.

⁶ 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).

⁷ Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932. Who are the Lebanese?", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (November 1999), p.225.

⁸ Article 96 (repealed) of the Lebanese Constitution of 1926 stipulated that the Senate seats be distributed amongst the religious denominations as follows: 5 Maronites, 3 Sunnis, 3 Shias, 2 Orthodox, 1 Catholic, 1 Druze, and 1 Minorities.

⁹ Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, p.70.

Sunni and the Speaker of the Parliament a Shia. This arrangement was written into the Ta'ef Agreement, however the 6:5 ratio was abolished, and parity between the Christians and Muslims was established.

The legislative branch in Lebanon has a century-old history. The roots of the legislative life in modern Lebanon, however, go back to the days of the Ottoman Empire, when the communitarian governance of Mount Lebanon was under the *Qaymaqamiyieh* (1842-1860)¹⁰ and later under the *Mutasarrifiyya* (1861-1915).¹¹ Both administrations were based upon community representations. The Ottomans had also created the “millet system”, which governed legal relations between the majority (Sunni Muslims) and minority groups throughout their empire, providing religious minorities relatively autonomous legal and cultural status through which those minorities, including the Christians in Lebanon, were able to administer arrangements within the denomination related to the religious practices, marriage and family law, inheritance and education.¹²

As Lebanon and the rest of the Middle Eastern provinces came out of the World War I, the Sykes-Picot Agreement gave the French Authorities the right to govern the greater Lebanon-Syria province following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.¹³ The Sykes-Picot

¹⁰ The Sublime Porte established a regime of territorial division in 1842 and entrusted two (2) *Qaymaqamiyiehs* (prefects) under the Ottoman governor in Beirut, dividing Mount Lebanon into a Christian Prefect to the North and a Druze Prefect in the South of the Beirut-Damascus Highway. See Picard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, p.21.

¹¹ As tensions escalated and turned into violent clashes between the Christians and the Druze in Mount Lebanon in 1860 because of the creation of the two *Qaymaqamiyiehs*, the Sultan reorganized the administration of Mount Lebanon and adopted a different approach of governance in 1861. The Sublime Porte appointed a Christian *Mutasarref* assisted by an elected council representing the local population in Mount Lebanon. See Tom Nejem, *Lebanon: The Politics of a Penetrated Society*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.6-7.

¹² For more detailed account on the political, administrative, judicial and religious developments in the semi-autonomous Mount Lebanon during the era of the *Mutasarrifiyya*, please see Engin Deniz Akarli, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹³ The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret agreement between the governments of United Kingdom and France led by Sir Mark Sykes and the French diplomat Francois George-Picot with the assent of the Russian government to divide the spheres of influence in the Middle East should the Ottoman Empire was defeated at the end of World War I. The agreement was concluded in 1916. See Elie Kedourie, “Sir Mark Sykes and Palestine 1915-16,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6,

Agreement also known as the Asia Minor Agreement defined a blue-zone territory that encompassed an area that became what was known as the Grand Liban (Greater Lebanon), as it added certain territories to the pre-war autonomous *sanjaq* (administrative district) of Mount Lebanon, while major towns such as Damascus, Homs and Hama were excluded from that zone.¹⁴ The final determination of the mandate, however, was first authorized during the San Remo Conference of 1920 and then it was ratified by the newly formed League of Nations in 1922, thus mandating the five provinces (*muhafazat*) that make-up the contemporary Lebanese territory to France. In addition to Mount Lebanon, the five provinces included four predominantly Muslim populated areas of Tripoli and the Akkar District in the north, the Beka'a Valley in the east, the District of Jabel Aamel, the coastal cities of Sidon and Tyre (Soor) in the south and the City of Beirut.¹⁵

The Sykes-Picot Agreement contributed to the informal separation of Lebanon from Syria.¹⁶ Due to exerted efforts of the Lebanese delegation led by the Maronite Patriarch Elias El Huwayek and other lobbying efforts at the Paris Peace Conference in October 1919, General Henri Gouraud of France issued an order dissolving the Administrative Council of the *Mutasarrifiyya* on 12 July 1920, and paralyzed the legislative life under the Ottoman rule in Mount Lebanon.¹⁷ Following the signing of the Treaty of Sevres on 10 August 1920, General Gouraud issued Administrative Decision No. 318 on 31 August 1920 and added the following towns and their respective hinterlands to Mount Lebanon: Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, Rashaya, Hasbaya and Ba'albeck.¹⁸ The following day, on 1 September 1920 General Gouraud issued

No. 3, (October 1970), pp.340-345. Also, John Fisher, "Syria and Mesopotamia in British Middle Eastern Policy in 1919," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (April 1998), pp.129-170.

¹⁴ Caroline Attié, *Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s*, (London: I. B. Taurus Publishers, 2004), p.14.

¹⁵ Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, (New York: Rutledge Publishing, 2014), pp.22-23.

¹⁶ For a detailed account of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, please see Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab Israeli Conflict*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), pp.75-86. Also, Luigi Scazzieri, "Britain, France, and Mesopotamian Oil, 1916-1920," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (March 2015), pp.25-45.

¹⁷ Ahmad Zein, ed., *Annizam Al Dakhili Li Majlis Al Nouwab, [Arabic: The By-Laws of the Chamber of Deputies]*, (Beirut: Lebanese Parliament's General Directorate for Research & Studies Publishing, 1995), p.18.

¹⁸ Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.14.

Administrative Decision No. 336 and officially established the Republic of *Grand Liban* (Greater Lebanon). The new arrangement altered the sectarian composition in Lebanon.¹⁹

General Gouraud's Decision No. 336 and later No. 369 established a new Administrative Committee consisting of 17 members appointed by the French High Commissioner. The first meeting of the newly formed committee elected its own By-Laws Committee composed of three prominent Lebanese politicians, namely, Omar Bek El Da'ouq, Ibrahim Abu Khater and Petro Efendi Trad. This was the genesis of the future By-Laws Committees of all Lebanese Parliaments.²⁰

Immediately after the official announcement of Greater Lebanon and based upon the outcome of the 1st Census of March 1921, Robert de Caix, the French Deputy High Commissioner, issued Decision No. 1304 on 8 March 1922 establishing the Representative Council of Greater Lebanon. On the same day, he also issued Decision No. 1307 proclaiming that all subjects registered in the 1921 Census be considered as Lebanese citizens and called for new legislative elections.²¹

Administrative Decision No. 1304 made Arabic and French the official languages of the Representative Council (Article 4). It also established the basis on which future Representative Councils of Greater Lebanon and subsequent Lebanese Parliaments convene in ordinary and extraordinary sessions each year (Article 9). It further stipulated that the eldest deputy presided over each session to oversee the election of the speaker (Article 13).²² Additionally, Article 23 established the four standing committees of the Representative Council: Finance Committee; Administrative and Justice Committee; Public Schools, Public Health and Emergency Committee; and the Public Works Committee. These committees constituted the core standing committees for future Lebanese parliaments.²³

¹⁹ Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, p.24.

²⁰ Zein, *Annizam Al Dakhili Li Majlis Al Nouwab*, p.19.

²¹ Executive Decision No. 1308 dated 8 March 1922 signed by Robert de Caix, the French Deputy High Commissioner. Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932," p.225.

²² These provisions of Arrete No. 1304 of 8 March 1922 were incorporated into the Lebanese Constitution in 1926.

²³ For the Arabic text of Decision No. 1304, please see Zein, *Annizam Al Dakhili Li Majlis Al Nouwab*, pp.22-31.

The Representative Council remained in force until 23 May 1926, when a new Lebanese Constitution was adopted by the legislature. The new Lebanese Constitution transformed Greater Lebanon into a state modelled after the French Third Republic. The original Constitution established a bicameral parliament composed of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, which was subsequently dropped. The amended constitution of 1927 stipulated that a unicameral assembly (the Parliament) be elected directly by the people, and have the power to legislate and elect the President of the Republic. The Constitution further provided the President with legislative and executive powers and be assisted by a Council of Ministers (the Cabinet) that ran the day-to-day activities of the Republic.

The Lebanese Constitution underwent several changes. Many amendments have been introduced and approved over the last 200 years. After the adoption of the Constitution in May 1926, the legislature considered an amendment to abolish the Lebanese Senate on 17 October 1927²⁴ and introduced further amendments were made on 8 May 1929.²⁵ As Lebanon gained its independence on 26 November 1941 several changes were introduced to the Constitution to abolish all references to the French Mandate,²⁶ and further amendments were introduced and

²⁴ The Joint Session of the Parliament (Senate and Chamber of Deputies) approved the amendments to the Constitution on 14 October 1927. President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury signed the amendments into law on 17 October 1927. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1927)*: 5th Meeting of the Joint Session of the 1st Parliament held on 14 October 1927. See also, *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1927)*, Issue No. 2116, 19 October 1927, pp.2-5.

²⁵ Decree No. 4900 dated 20 April 1929 signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad presented certain amendments to the Constitution which were adopted by the Parliament. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 27 April 1929. President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad signed the amendments into law on 8 May 1929. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2234, 8 May 1929, p.7.

²⁶ Following the evacuation of Free France and the British troops from Lebanon in June 1941, and the under political pressure from within and outside the country, Lebanon declared its independence on 26 November 1941, which was recognized under the authority of the new Free French Government led by General Charles De Gaulle. The United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and the Arab States officially recognized the independence, and some established diplomatic ties with Lebanon. However, 22 November 1943 has been adopted as the Independence Day of Lebanon as a result of the release of the detained

adopted on 18 March 1943.²⁷ The changes that were proposed on 9 November 1943, however, led the French authorities and the French gendarmeries to prevent the members of the Lebanese Parliament to attend their next meeting by blocking the doors of the parliament building on 11 November 1943.²⁸ Other amendments to the Constitution were made on 21 January 1947 and 22 May 1948. Subsequent amendments were also made on 24 April 1976, amending Article 73 of the Constitution to accommodate the early election of President Elias Sarkis. A further amendment to add a Preamble to the Constitution on 21 September 1990. However, the major change was made on 7 June 1991 to incorporate the provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement. During the Second Lebanese Republic, Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution was amended twice to extend the term of office of both Presidents Elias El Hrawi and Emile Lahoud – on 19 October 1995 and 3 September 2004 respectively.

The activities of the Lebanese Parliament are governed by the Constitution and its own by-laws which were amended from time to time. Article 32 of the Constitution stipulates that the parliament convenes every year in two ordinary sessions: the 1st ordinary session commences on the 1st Tuesday immediately following the 15 of March and terminates at the end of May each year, while the 2nd ordinary session starts on the 1st Tuesday following the 15 of October and terminates by the end of the year, each year. At other times, the President may issue a decree and call

Lebanese officials from the french custody on 22 November 1943. Najem, *Lebanon: The Politics of Penetrated Society*, p.11.

²⁷ Decision No. 129/FC dated 18 March 1943 signed by General George Catroux reinstated the provisions of the Lebanese Constitution which were suspended on 21 September 1939 pursuant to Decision No. 246/L/R. issued by Gabriel Puaux, the then French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4073, 24 March 1943, pp.10967-10969.

²⁸ Decree No. 92 dated 5 November 1943 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh called the Parliament to consider certain amendments to the constitution abolishing all references made to the French Mandate. The 5th Parliament in its 8 November 1943 meeting adopted the amendments. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 November 1943. President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh signed the amendments into law on 9 November 1943. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4106, 10 November 1943, p. 11501. Later on another amendment was introduced to change the flag of the Republic of Lebanon. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943.

for an extraordinary session of the parliament and sets the agenda for deliberations.

The origins of the by-laws of the Lebanese Parliament go back to the days of the *Mutasarrifiyya* in the 1860s, when Mount Lebanon enjoyed a semi-autonomous condition under the Ottoman Empire at a time when the *Mutasarref* (the Governor) of Mount Lebanon issued “instructions” on how to regulate the behavior of the residents within the bounds of Mount Lebanon. These guidelines were codified into law under the leadership of the last *Mutasarref* of Mount Lebanon, Ohannes Basha Kouyoumdjian, an Armenian, who reigned over the *Mutasarrifiyya* from 1913 to 1915.²⁹ Ohannes Basha created an Administrative Council, and accordingly gave legal immunity to the council members. A feature that all deputies in subsequent Lebanese Parliaments enjoyed.³⁰

The Lebanese Parliament has adopted different versions of by-laws. The first official by-laws were adopted during the term of the 2nd Lebanese Parliament on 24 April 1930. The second version of the by-laws was approved and adopted on 16 September 1953 during the 8th Parliament. A third draft was considered and approved later in 1982 during the 15th Parliament and further changes were introduced on 6 June 1991 as a result of the Ta’ef Accord. Subsequently major changes were introduced in 1994, 2000 and 2005.

A number of Lebanese-Armenian deputies have served as members of the parliament’s By-Laws committees. Khosrov Tutundjian

²⁹ Ohannes Basha Kouyoumdjian (Kuyumcuyan), a Catholic Armenian, was born on 8 December 1858. His father Bedros Kouyoumdjian was a career bureaucrat who served as director of Forests and Mines and then as a member of the State Council in Istanbul. Ohannes Pasha was married to the niece of the manager of the Maronite Church’s legation in Istanbul. He was a career diplomat and served as counselor in the Ottoman Embassy in Rome for some time. Ohannes Basha was promoted to the rank of *vezir* and appointed as *Mutasarref* of Mount Lebanon for a term of five years in 1912. He resigned in June 1915 because he did not want to work with Jemal Basha, the military governor of the region during the First World War. Upon his return to Istanbul, he was appointed to the Senate and later emigrated to Italy and died there. See, Akarli, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon*, pp.71-81 and p.199. For a detailed account on Ohannes Basha Kouyoumdjian’s memoirs, please see *Mouzakarāt Ohannes Basha Kouyoumdjian Mutasarref Jabal Lubnan 1913-1915* [Arabic: *Ohannes Basha Kouyoumdjian’s Memoires: Governor of Mount Lebanon 1913-1915*], Trans. Joseph Kaloustian, (Beirut: Al-Biruni Publishing House, 2015).

³⁰ Zein, *Annizam Al Dakhili Li Majlis Al Nouwab*, p.17.

(4th Parliament), Hratchia Shamlian (5th Parliament), Movses Der-Kaloustian and Dickran Tosbat (alternatively during the 7th Parliament), Vartkes Shamlian (10th Parliament), Andre Tabourian (11th Parliament) and Khatchig Babikian (during the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th parliaments). No Lebanese-Armenian was involved in any of the By-Laws committees from 1973 to 1994. Thereafter, Hagop Choukhadarian was elected to serve from 1994 until 1996 (18th Parliament).

The intensity and the number of the meetings of the Lebanese legislature usually depict the political mood in the country at relevant times. The Lebanese Parliament had its golden era during the early years of the 1st Republic, just after gaining independence from France, and the number of meetings reached a peak during the 8th Parliament, when it held a record 242 meetings. This was just after “the white revolution” when President Beshara El Khoury resigned and Camille Chamoun was elected as the President.

The peak did not last long as Lebanon was placed between two rival regional camps of the pro-Western Baghdad Pact and the Pan-Arab movement that led the country to the first civil war in Lebanon in 1958. Thereafter, the legislative life in Lebanon registered a downfall in the number of meetings. The parliamentary life was relatively busy during the 1960s, however, the decline in the number of meetings was inevitable as Lebanon entered into a long civil war in the 1970s and the 1980s.³¹

The ratification of the Ta’ef Agreement by the Lebanese Parliament in 1990 gave a little boost to the legislative life for a while. However, the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri in 2005 changed the political alliances in Lebanon and two rival camps came into existence that led the country into a stalemate and eventual total closure of the parliament for 18 months between 2006 and 2008.

* * *

Armenians have settled in Lebanon since time immemorial, however, the first massive influx of Armenians into Lebanon came during

³¹ See chart in Appendix 1 for relative activities of the ensuing parliaments (1926 to 2017).

the latter part of the 19th Century and the early 20th century and settled in different parts of Lebanon.³² With the huge influx in the early 1920s, Armenians created their own quarters in areas such as Karantina, Ashrafieh, Tyre (Soor), Camp Sanjak, and later Bourj Hammoud and Anjar.

There were no Armenian representatives in the Lebanese 1st and 2nd Representative Councils,³³ nor there were any in the one-time-only Lebanese Senate,³⁴ and none in the 1st Lebanese Parliament. However, the Lebanese legislators considered many Armenian-related issues during the early 1920s. During open sessions of the 1st Lebanese Representative Council in 1922, Lebanese deputies expressed grave concerns about the poor and unhealthy conditions of the Armenians in the areas in which the community was concentrated.³⁵ A year later, Lebanese deputies discussed the refugee status of Armenians in Lebanon.³⁶ By 1926, the number of Armenians in these localities increased substantially. As such, the Lebanese Government acknowledged the establishment of a new religious denomination alongside Maronites, Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Sunni and Shias Muslims and the Druze in Lebanon, and that was the Armenian Orthodox denomination.³⁷

Granting lands to accommodate Armenian refugees in several areas such as Tyre (Soor) was an issue raised and debated during legislative sessions of the 1st and 2nd Parliaments.³⁸ As the number of Armenians increased in Lebanon by late 1920s, several Lebanese

³² Scott Abramson, "Lebanese Armenians: A Distinctive Community in the Armenian Diaspora and in Lebanese Society," *The Levantine Review*, Vol.2, No.2 (Winter 2013), pp.188-216.

³³ The 1st Lebanese Representative Council was from 1922-24 and the 2nd Representative Council was from 1925-26.

³⁴ The one-time Lebanese Senate (1926-27) comprised of 16 Senators including individuals such as Ayoub Tabet, Ahmad El Hussein, Mohammad El Jisr, Emile Edde, Habib Basha El Sa'ad, Sami Arslan, Nakhle Toueini, and Beshara El Khoury.

³⁵ Discussions about Armenian immigrants who have settled in Karantina District of Beirut were held during the 57th meeting of the Lebanese 1st Representative Council on 16 December 1922.

³⁶ *Official Minutes (1923)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council.

³⁷ *Official Minutes (1926)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 6 May 1926.

³⁸ See *Official Minutes (1927)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 17 November 1927.

legislators, including Yousef Bek El Zein, argued in an open session of parliament that, “Armenians and Shias should be entitled to get ministerial posts in order to promote equality in Lebanon”.³⁹

The official results of the 1932 Census published on 5 October 1932, was the basis upon which the number of parliamentary seats to the Lebanese-Armenian Orthodox and Catholic communities were allocated.⁴⁰ For the first time in history in 1934, the French High Commissioner of Greater Lebanon decreed that the Armenian Orthodox community in Lebanon had the right to have a member in the Lebanese Parliament.⁴¹ The Ta’ef Agreement, however, allocated certain percentage to the Lebanese-Armenian Community – within Christian denominations and guaranteed a minimum of six deputies out of a total of 128 deputies in parliament, and further secured at least one ministerial post in subsequent Lebanese governments.⁴²

* * *

The contents of both volumes of *On the Record*, are based upon official documentation published in the *Official Gazette of Grand Liban* (1922-26) and the *Official Gazette of the Republic of Lebanon* (1922-2017) and the *Official Minutes of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies* (1922-2017) published by the Lebanese Parliament. Both volumes are compilations of detailed information extracted from the general proceedings of more than 2,400 ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the parliament and provide the reader with more than 215 tables with

³⁹ Yousef Bek El Zein: *Official Minutes (1928)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 18 January 1928.

⁴⁰ *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 2718, 5 October 1942, p.5. Please see a reproduction copy of the 1932 Census results at Appendix 3 to this Volume.

⁴¹ Decree No. 1 dated 3 January 1934 and signed by the French High Commissioner, M. Aubouar, and Director General of the Interior, Subhi Abou El Naser, allocated 1 seat in Beirut District for the Gregorian Armenians. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2913, 5 January 1934, pp.19-20. See also Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), p.43.

⁴² Former Speaker Hussein El-Husseini has asserted that “[n]o Cabinet could be formed in Lebanon with less than 14 ministers, in order for the Armenian community to be represented.” Personal interview with Hussein El Hussein by this Author on 13 September 2005. See Roupen Avsharian, “The Ta’ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians,” Aida Boudjikanan, Ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), p.404.

comprehensive data and references covering the different aspects of the involvement of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in Lebanese legislative life from 1922 to 2017.

Unfortunately, there are no published records of the proceedings of the different standing committees to shed better light on the performance of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies during the deliberations of relevant legislative matters on committee levels. The deliberations are considered secretive and private. As veteran legislator Khatchig Babikian once explained to his fellow-colleague Edmond Rezk, who had demanded to see the minutes of a proceeding of a committee during an open session of the Parliament in 1983, that according to the By-Laws, “... *the proceedings of the committees [were] considered secret and private, and belonged solely to the relevant members of those committees.*”⁴³

It is further unfortunate that, for political reasons, the official records of the Lebanese Parliament do not include the official minutes of the deliberations of the 17th Parliament at the Ta’ef meeting in 1989.

Volume I of *On the Record* contains five Sections: The first section covers a span of 17 years, focusing on the performance of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies during the open sessions of the parliament under the French Mandate (1922-39). The second section is an account on their involvement and participation from days the Lebanese independence until the end of the term of the 12th Parliament in 1972 (the 1st Republic). Section three of Volume I has some photos depicting some of the events in relevant times. A fourth section incorporates most of the speeches made by the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies during relevant periods. The speeches are left in their original Arabic language in order to give the reader the opportunity to assess the performance of the Deputies

⁴³ Khatchig Babikian: *Official Minutes (1983)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 13 June 1983. Article 34 of the current By-Laws of the Lebanese Parliament states: “The records of the deliberations and the voting during the working sessions of the committees are secretive unless the [relevant] committee decides otherwise.” This very Article has undergone several amendments. The secrecy of the deliberations on the committee level was first indoctrinated into Article 27 of the 1930 version of the by-laws, and later replaced with Article 29 in 1953. Subsequent amendments were introduced in 1985 and 1991 and Article 42 replaced its predecessors. The current version of Article 34 of the By-Laws was adopted in 1994.

subjectively, and, if needed, translate them into any other language. The fifth section provides an index of names mentioned in Volume I.

Volume II of *On the Record*, covers the contemporary period of the Lebanese Parliament that stretches over 45 years (1972-2017). It includes the activities of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in open sessions of the parliament during the last 20 years of the 1st Republic and covers the 2nd Republic after assimilating the provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement into the Lebanese Constitution. Volume II incorporates the speeches made by the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies throughout the term. It also includes several photos memorializing some political events. Volume II ends with a bibliography and an index of names.

The French Mandate

(1922-43)

The 1st & 2nd Representative Councils

(1922-26)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement, officially known as the Asia Minor Agreement, was the basis upon which the British and French divided the Middle East into their respective areas of control along the coastal areas east of the Mediterranean and spheres of influence in the hinterlands of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Lebanon – with Jerusalem held as an international zone.¹ The Allied Powers came out of World War I as victorious following the Armistice in 1918, and their respective representatives met in Paris-France in 1919 and made major decisions on the terms and conditions which were imposed on the defeated Central

¹ See Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab Israeli Conflict*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), pp.75-86. Also, Luigi Scazzieri, "Britain, France, and Mesopotamian Oil, 1916-1920," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (March 2015), pp.25-45.

Powers, eventually shaping the future of the world order in general, and the Middle East in particular.²

One of the most important decisions made during the deliberations at the post-war Paris Conference was the declaration of the Covenants of the League of Nations on 28 April 1919.³ The right of self-determination of nations along with the protection of minority rights invoked by US President Woodrow Wilson was the cornerstone of those covenants. Britain justified its mandate over Palestine in order to create a “national homeland” for the Jews in accordance with the Balfour Declaration,⁴ whereas France substantiated its claim over Syria and Lebanon by alleging to safeguard the minority rights of Christians, Alawites, Druze and the Shias.⁵

The legal framework that provided the French Government with an international mandate over Lebanon was Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which in pertinent parts stipulated:

“To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples

² The Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Lloyd George; the Prime Minister of France, Georges Clemenceau; the Prime Minister of Italy, Vittotio Emanuele Orlando; and the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson, were among the participants at the Paris Conference, which was the cornerstone of establishing the League of Nations in 1919 and paved the way for the Allied Powers to enter into five peace treaties with the defeated armies including the Treaty of Versailles with Germany on 28 June 1919; the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria on 10 September 1919; the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria on 27 November 1919; the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary on 4 June 1920; and the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey on 10 August 1920 – which was later replaced with the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923. For detailed account on Paris Conference and behind the scenes negotiations among the Allied Powers, see James Barr, *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2011).

³ League of Nations: *The Covenant of the League of Nations* of 28 April 1919. Available online at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3dd8b9854.html>. [Last accessed 29 July 2015].

⁴ For British interests in Palestine in general, see Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration*.

⁵ Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007), p.76.

form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

“The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

“Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.”⁶

In line with President Wilson’s suggestion a commission was set up to ascertain the wishes of the people of Greater Syria and report to the Paris Peace Conference. President Wilson appointed two commissioners, Henry C. King and Charles R. Crane, who travelled to Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Anatolia in June 1919 to meet the local representatives and review the political inclinations of the residents.⁷ After visiting 36 cities and 1520 villages, the King-Crane Commission reported to the Paris conference that more than 80% of the respondents favored a united Syria – thus recommending an undivided Syria (including Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon and parts of Iraq) governed by Prince Faisal under one mandatory rule.⁸ The French and the British governments ignored the King-Crane report and France sent General Henri Gouraud to Beirut

⁶ Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, 28 April 1919, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3dd8b9854.html>. [Last accessed on 29 July 2015].

⁷ For an analysis of the King-Crane Commission Report, please see James Gelvin, “The Ironic Legacy of King-Crane Commission,” David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas, Eds., *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics and Ideologies*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2012), pp.15-32. See also John McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, (London: Saqi Books, 2014), pp.62-67.

⁸ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, p.78.

in November 1919 to face Prince Faisal and impose French authority on Lebanon and Syria.⁹

Based upon the outcome of the King-Crane Report, and in a total contradiction to the declaration of the 1919 Covenant of League of Nations and in a challenge to the authority and mandate of the Allied Powers, the Arab Congress convened in Damascus and declared the independence of Greater Syria on 27 March 1920 and proclaimed Faisal as King of Syria.¹⁰ On 28 April 1920, David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Alexandre Millerand, Prime Minister of France; Francesco Nitti, Prime Minister of Italy, and K. Matsui, Japan's Ambassador to Italy, met in San Remo and passed a resolution and officially mandated Syria and Lebanon to France.¹¹

Accordingly, General Gouraud issued an ultimatum to King Faisal on 22 July 1920 giving him two days to accept the French Mandate. Under pressure from his nationalist supporters, King Faisal did not accept the French demands, and as a result, French troops that were already stationed at Rayaq in the Beka'a Valley, marched on, and crashing the Syrian Arab army at Maysalun on 24 July 1920. General Gouraud entered Damascus two days later to impose the French Mandate over Syria and Lebanon.¹² King Faisal fled Syria and later became King of Iraq under the British occupation and his brother, Abdullah, became Emir of Transjordan. The French divided greater Syria into four semi-autonomous states: Greater Lebanon, Aleppo, Damascus and the Alawite State. Jabal El Druze was added to the list in 1921.¹³

The initial legal framework to impose the mandate over Lebanon was applied with the signing of the Treaty of Sevres between the High Contracting Parties and Turkey on 10 August 1920.¹⁴ Article 95 of the Treaty of Sevres, in pertinent parts, stated:

⁹ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.77-96.

¹⁰ Sami Moubayed, *Syria and the USA: Washington's Relations with Damascus from Wilson to Eisenhower*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publications, 2013), pp.13-21.

¹¹ McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.65.

¹² Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.102-103. See also Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.20-21.

¹³ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, pp.79-80.

¹⁴ The High Contracting Parties to the Treaty of Sevres included the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan all identified as Principal Allied Powers along with Armenia, Belgium, Greece, the Hejaz, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czecho-Slovakia. Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *Treaties*:

“The High Contracting Parties agree that Syria and Mesopotamia shall, in accordance with the fourth paragraph of Article 22, Part I (Covenant of the League of Nations), be provisionally recognized as independent States subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.”¹⁵

Just 20 days after signing the Treaty of Sevres, and based upon the aforementioned stipulation of Article 95, General Henri Gouraud issued *Arrete* (Administrative Decision) No. 336 on 1 September 1920 and declared the establishment of *Grand Liban* (Greater Lebanon).¹⁶ In his declaration, General Gouraud stated:

“Before all these witnesses . . . I solemnly proclaim the State of Greater Lebanon, and on behalf of the French Republic, I salute its grandeur . . . from Nahr-el-Kebir to the gates of Palestine and the summits of the Anti-Lebanon.”

“It is with Mount Lebanon, where the warm heart of this country beats; it is with the fertile Beka’a Valley, and the unforgettable Zahle where the healing of the union happens; it is with Beirut, the principal port of the new State, the seat of its government that enjoys a wide municipal independence . . . [i]t is with Tripoli, that possesses a wide administrative and budgetary independence, stretching all the way through its Muslim suburbs. It is with Sidon and Tyre with their famous past, which will, through this union, find a new youth.

“Here is the country that you have just acclaimed . . .

Treaty of Sevres <http://treaties.fco.gov.uk/docs/pdf/1920/TS0011.pdf> [last visited 29 July 2015]. The Treaty of Sevres was later repudiated by the Turkish Government and was replaced with Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923).

¹⁵ The British Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *Treaties: Treaty of Sevres* <http://treaties.fco.gov.uk/docs/pdf/1920/TS0011.pdf> [last visited 29 July 2015].

¹⁶ The reprinted Arabic text of *Arrete* No. 336 [French: *Administrative Decision No. 336*] dated 1 September 1920 signed by General Henri Gouraud may be found at Fares Sa’adeh, *Mawsou’a El Hayat El Niyabiyeh fi Loubnan*, Vol. 2 [Arabic: *Encyclopedia of the Parliamentary Life in Lebanon*, Vol. 2], (Beirut: Matabe’ El Kareem El Haditheh, 1995), pp.20-27. It is also found at Beshara El Khoury, *Haqa’eq Lubnaniyeh Vol. 1* [Arabic: *Lebanese Facts*, Vol. 1], (Beirut: Manshourat Awaraq Lubnaniyeh, 1995), pp.312-320.

“[A]nd you will never forget that France’s generous blood was shed for it. That is why you have chosen its flag of liberty to be your symbol as well, by adding your own national cedar to it.

“And by saluting the two brotherly flags, I yell: Long live Greater Lebanon! Long live France!”¹⁷ [*Translation from French*].

General Gouraud’s imposition of the French Mandate and the declaration of Greater Lebanon by annexing mostly Muslim populated areas to Mount Lebanon, was received with ease mostly by Christians who invoked the principle of self-determination of nations, whereas the Muslim contingent expressed severe opposition to such mandate and the partition of Greater Syria.

Greater Lebanon did not have a constitution. It was governed through the issuance of *Arretes* (Administrative Decisions) that the French High Commissioner of Syria and Lebanon – and/or the appointed Governor of Greater Lebanon – issued from time to time. There were no ministries to carry on the executive mission of the “state”. The French authorities appointed Administrative Councils in localities such as the provinces of Northern Lebanon, Southern Lebanon, the Beka’a and Mount Lebanon. The day-to-day affairs of the state were run through the administration of seven director-generals appointed by the French High Commissioner.¹⁸

General Gouraud’s Decision No. 336 created a new Administrative Committee consisting of 15 members appointed by the French High Commissioner. The Administrative Committee, which had consultative power, was originally composed of 10 Christians and five Muslims. The imbalance in the representation led to a massive boycott by Muslims in Greater Lebanon and disturbances erupted in most parts of Lebanon.¹⁹ In Beirut, Asa’ad Khursheed Basha, the Director-General of the Interior, was assassinated leading to the arrest of a few Beirut notables, including Saleem Ali Salam and Hussein El Oweini.²⁰ The High Commissioner was obliged to increase the number of members of the

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, p.88.

¹⁹ Ibid, at 80.

²⁰ Fawwaz Traboulsi, “Saudi Expansion: The Lebanese Connection 1924-1952,” Madawi Al-Rasheed, ed., *Kingdom Without Borders: Saudi Arabia’s Political, Religious and Media Frontier*, (London: Hurst Publishers, 2008), p.66.

committee to 17,²¹ and then issued Decision No. 370 on 2 October 1920 and appointed its members.²²

During its tenure, the committee considered many issues and made several recommendations, including laws concerning the legal status of individuals (*ahwal shakhsiyyeh*), customs taxes, budget, amnesties and bilateral concerns between Greater Lebanon and Syria.

No. MPs	17	Names of the Members of the Administrative Committee (1920-22)
Beirut	4	Hassan Bek Beyham (Sunni); Omar El Da'ouq (Sunni); Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox) and Antoine Bek Arab (Maronite).
Beka'a Valley	2	Ibrahim Bek Abu Khater (Roman Catholic, Zahle) and Ibrahim Bek Haydar (Shia, Ba'albek).
North Lebanon	3	Boutros Bek Karam (Maronite, Zgharta); Ibrahim Bek Sarraf (Roman Orthodox, Akkar) and Nicola Bek Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, El Koura).
South Lebanon	3	Nasri Bek Azouri (Maronite); Youssef Bek El Jawhari (Sunni, Saida) and Hussein Bek El Zein (Shia, Nabatiyeh).
Mount Lebanon	4	Dawood Bek Ammoun (Maronite, Deir El Qamar); Na'oum Bek Labaki (Maronite, Deir El Qamar); Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite, Jounieh) and Rasheed Bek Jumblatt (Druze, Chouf).
Tripoli	1	Othman Bek Alamedeen (Sunni)

Table RC.1 – Appointed Members of the Administrative Committee (1920-22)

The 1st Census of the population in Greater Lebanon took place in March 1921.²³ Immediately after the results were published, Robert de Caix, the French Deputy High Commissioner, issued Arrete No. 1304 on 8 March 1922 and dissolved the Administrative Committee and launched

²¹ General Gouraud issued Administrative Decision No. 369 on 22 September 1920 and increased the number of the members of the Administrative Committee from 15 to 17. 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), p.73.

²² Decision No. 370 dated 2 October 1920 signed by General Gouraud appointing the members of the Administrative Committee. Sa'adeh, *Mawsou'a El Hayat El Niyabiyeh* Vol. 2 p.36. See also, Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan*, pp.74-75.

²³ The first census in Lebanon was conducted in 1921 in accordance with the Administrative Decision No. 763 dated 9 March 1921 issued by the Acting French High Commissioner Robert de Caix. See Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan*, pp.63-70. The results of the 1921 Census were published in January 1922. Ibid., p. 480.

the Representative Council of Greater Lebanon.²⁴ He then issued Decision No. 1307 creating Lebanon's first legislative election laws ever.²⁵

Article 1 of Decision No. 1307 set the number of the deputies to 30, and Articles 10 and 11 stipulated that the elections of deputies to the Representative Council were to be carried out in two stages: the registered voters (called voters of the first degree) were called upon to elect Electors (called electors of the second degree) in the first round and later, those elected would form the Electoral College and would vote and elect the Deputies to the Representative Council.²⁶ Acting French High Commissioner de Caix issued Administrative Decision No. 1389 on 25 April 1922, and set 7 May 1922 as the date for the election of the 1st Degree (members of the Electoral College) and the election of the Deputies in the 2nd Degree on 22 May 1922.²⁷

The official results of the legislative elections of the 1st Representative Council of Greater Lebanon was officially announced by Major Trapeau, the French Governor of Greater Lebanon, in an Administrative Decision on 24 May 1922 and declared 30 prominent Lebanese individuals as being elected to the 1st Representative Council of Greater Lebanon (with no Lebanese-Armenian Deputies being elected).

In anticipation of a busy legislative life in Greater Lebanon, Major Trapeau appointed Charles Debbas as the official representative of the

²⁴ Administrative Decision No. 1304 dated 8 March 1922 signed by Acting French High Commissioner Robert de Caix established the Representative Council of Greater Lebanon. The Decision had 50 articles and was tantamount to by-laws. The Arabic text of Administrative Decision 1304 is reprinted at Sa'adeh, *Mawsou'a El Hayat El Niyabiyeh*, Vol. 2, pp.106-118. See also, Ahmad Zein, ed., *Annizam Al Dakhili Li Majlis Al Nouwab*, [Arabic: *The By-Laws of the Chamber of Deputies*], (Beirut: Lebanese Parliament's General Directorate for Research & Studies Publishing, 1995), pp.22-31.

²⁵ Administrative Decision No. 1307 dated 10 March 1922 signed by Acting French High Commissioner Robert de Caix setting the first election laws in Greater Lebanon. The Arabic text of Decision No. 1307 may be found at Sa'adeh, *Mawsou'a El Hayat El Niyabiyeh*, Vol. 2, pp.118-147. Also can be found at Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan*, pp.466-479.

²⁶ According to Article 11 of Decision No. 1307, one "Elector" was allocated per 250 registered voters (of the first degree) and were elected in the general election. The elected Electors (Electoral College) would then meet in the municipality hall and elect the Deputies.

²⁷ *Official Gazette* (1922), Issue No. 1553, 2 May 1922, p.2.

executive branch to the forthcoming 1st Representative Council²⁸ and called for an extraordinary session of the 1st Representative Council to commence on 25 May 1922.²⁹

Total MPs	30	Names of the Deputies of the 1 st Representative Council of Greater Lebanon (1922-25) ³⁰
Beirut District	5	Haleem Qaddoura (Sunni); Emile Edde (Maronite); Muhammad El Mufti (Sunni); Ayoub Tabet (Minorities) and Nakhle Tueini (Roman Orthodox).
Beka'a Valley	6	Abdullah Abu Khater (Roman Catholic); Shebel Demmous (Roman Orthodox); Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); Hussein Qaz'oun (Sunni) and Moussa Nemour (Maronite).
North Lebanon	4	Abboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Yacoub Nahhas (Roman Orthodox); Wadi'i Tarabai (Maronite) and Mas'oud Younis (Maronite)
South Lebanon	6	Nasri El Azouri (Maronite); Emir Khaled Chehab (Sunni); Fadel El Fadel (Shia); Rezallah Noorallah (Roman Catholic); Najeeb Osseiran (Shia); Youssef El Zein (Shia).
Mt. Lebanon	8	Nakhle Ashqar (Maronite); Emir Fouad Arslan (Druze); Na'oum Bakhos (Maronite); Rasheed Bek Jumblatt (Druze); Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite); Na'oum Labaki (Maronite); Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox) and Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite)
Tripoli	1	Nooredeen Alamedeen (Sunni).

Table RC.2 - Elected Deputies to the 1st Representative Council (1922-25)

The first meeting of the 1st Representative Council of Greater Lebanon was held on 25 May 1922. General Henri Gouraud, the French High Commissioner, personally attended and officially opened the

²⁸ Charles Debbas became the Director-General of Justice in Greater Lebanon in May 1922. See Administrative Order dated 23 May 1922 signed by Major Trapeau, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1560, 26 May 1922, p.3.

²⁹ Administrative Decision No. 1356 dated 23 May 1922 signed by Trabaud, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1560, 26 May 1922, p.2. See also the *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1922)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 25 May 1922.

³⁰ The official list of the elected deputies for the 1st Representative Council was announced on 24 May 1922 through Administrative Decision No. 1357 signed by Major Trapeau, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1560, 26 May 1922, p.2. See also the *Official Minutes (1922)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 25 May 1922.

extraordinary session by giving a speech in front of the newly elected deputies.³¹

After General Gouraud's speech, the 1st Representative Council proceeded to elect the members of the Speaker's Bureau – consisting of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and two Secretaries. Habib Basha El Sa'ad, a Maronite from Mount Lebanon, was elected as the 1st Speaker of the Representative Council.

	25 May 1925 ³²	16 Oct 1923 ³³	21 Oct 1924 ³⁴
Speaker	Habib Basha El Sa'ad	Na'oum Labaki	Emile Edde
Dep. Speaker	Haleem Qaddoura	Muhammad El Mufti	Subhi Bek Haydar
The Secretariat	Ibrahim Haydar Yacoub Nahhas	Shebel Demmous Ahmad El Husseini	Shebel Demmous Muhammad El Mufti

Table RC.3 - Elected Officials at the Speaker's Bureau of the 1st Lebanese Representative Council (1922-25)

As there were no official by-laws for the Representative Council to govern the conduct of the Deputies, the provisions of Administrative

³¹ *Official Minutes (1922)*, 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 25 May 1922.

³² Nakhle Bek Tueini (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) the eldest elected deputy presided over the 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council and called for the election of the Speaker. Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) was elected as the Speaker with 27 votes against Ibrahim Bek Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) with 1 vote and Na'oum Bakhos (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) with 1 vote out of 29 votes present. *Official Minutes (1922)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 25 May 1922.

³³ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) was the eldest deputy present who presided over the meeting calling for the election of the Speaker. Na'oum Labaki (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) was elected as the Speaker of the 1st Representative Council with 17 votes against Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) out of 29 votes present. *Official Minutes (1923)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 16 October 1923.

³⁴ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun, the eldest deputy present, presided over the 1st Meeting and called for the election of the Speaker. Emile Edde (Maronite, Beirut) was elected as the Speaker with 20 votes against Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon) with 2 votes and 5 blank votes out of total 27 present. *Official Minutes (1924)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 21 October 1924.

Decision No. 1304 of 8 March 1921, regulated the election and performance of the four standing committees.³⁵

In its 29 June 1922 meeting, the 1st Representative Council adopted a resolution requesting the French authorities to notify the League of Nations and governments of foreign states of the official declaration of independence of Greater Lebanon. Specifically, the 1st Representative Council adopted the following language:

“This Chamber requests that the French Government officially report the independence of Greater Lebanon, as was endorsed by the High Commissioner General Gouraud on 1 September 1920, to the League of Nations and the governments of foreign countries.”³⁶ [*Translated from Arabic*].

As the Lebanese tried to expedite the declaration of independence of Lebanon in 1922, the French authorities immediately sought an official mandate over Syria and Lebanon from the League of Nations, which was granted on 24 July 1922, and provided a solid legal framework through which the French Government was able to exercise its domination over Greater Lebanon.³⁷ The preamble of the mandate instrument specifically stated:

“Whereas the principal Allied Powers have agreed that the territory of Syria and the Lebanon, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, shall, within such boundaries as may be fixed by the said Powers, be entrusted to a mandatory charged with the duty of rendering administrative advice and assistance to the population, in accordance with the provisions of Article 22 (paragraph 4) of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

³⁵ Administrative Decision No. 1304 dated 8 March 1921 and signed by Robert de Caix, Deputy High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon. See Zein, *Al Nizam Al Dekhili li Majlis Al Nouwab*, pp.22-31.

³⁶ *Official Minutes (1922)*, 17th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 29 June 1922. See also, *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1572, 7 July 1922, p.3.

³⁷ “French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon,” *League of Nations Official Journal*, Aug. 1922, p.103. See also, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Supplement: Official Document (July 1923), pp.177-182.

“Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have decided that the mandate for the territory referred to above should be conferred on the Government of the French Republic, which has accepted it.”³⁸

The League of Nations in granting the mandate over Greater Lebanon to France defined the terms and conditions of such a mandate, which in pertinent parts stipulated:

“The Mandatory shall frame, within a period of three years from the coming into force of this mandate, an organic law for Syria and the Lebanon. This organic law shall be framed in agreement with the native authorities and shall take into account the rights, interests, and wishes of all the population inhabiting the said territory.

“The Mandatory may maintain its troops in the said territory for its defence. It shall further be empowered, until the entry into force of the organic law and the reestablishment of public security, to organize such local militia as may be necessary for the defence of the territory, and to employ this militia for defence and also for the maintenance of order.

“The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the exclusive control of the foreign relations of Syria and the Lebanon and with the right to issue exequaturs to the consuls appointed by foreign powers. Nationals of Syria and the Lebanon living outside the limits of the territory shall be under the diplomatic and consular protection of the Mandatory.

“The Mandatory shall establish in Syria and the Lebanon a judicial system which shall assure to natives as well as to foreigners a complete guarantee of their rights.”³⁹

³⁸ “French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon,” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Document (Jul. 1923), p.177.

³⁹ “French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon,” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Document (July 1923), pp.177-180. The Official Mandate Instrument (“*Sak El Intidab*”) was officially published by General Maxime Weygand, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon more than a year later, on 5 October 1923. *Official Gazette (1923)*, Issue No. 1706, 19 October 1923, pp.2-5.

On 25 July 1922, Major Trapeau issued Decision No. 1460 and summoned the members of the Representative Council to commence an extraordinary session on 31 July that year, in order to inform the Lebanese representatives about the Mandate and propose administrative and judicial reforms in Greater Lebanon in accordance with the provisions of that Mandate.⁴⁰

Accordingly, the Governor of Greater Lebanon enacted several *arretes* (decisions), reorganizing the administrative districts of Lebanon. One such reorganizations was the splitting of the “Village of Bourj Hammoud and Sin El Fil” into two separate “villages” and calling for new municipal elections for the Bourj Hammoud Municipal Council.⁴¹ Subsequently, in a separate Administrative Decision, a date for the first election of members to the Municipal Council of Bourj Hammoud was set for 8 October 1922,⁴² and Beshara El Khoury was appointed as the first Mayor of the Bourj Hammoud Municipality on 31 October 1922.⁴³

There were no Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 1st Representative Council as the Lebanese-Armenian community had not been officially recognized as a separate religious sect alongside the traditional religious factions by the state by May 1922. However, Armenian related issues surfaced in the legislative deliberations of the Chamber. For example, in its report to the 1st Representative Council on 22 June 1922, the Special Committee on Elections of May 1922 conveyed its grave concerns about the irregularities during the election in the Beka’a District – most notably the lack of participation of the registered Armenians of Zahle, who were not ushered to the polls in violation of Article 4 of Decision No. 1307 of 10 March 1922.⁴⁴ In another example,

⁴⁰ *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1578, 28 July 1922, p.2. See also *Official Minutes (1922)*: 18th Meeting of the Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 31 July 1922.

⁴¹ Administrative Decision No. 1499 dated 29 August 1922 signed by Major Trapeau, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1589, 5 September 1922, p.2.

⁴² Administrative Decision No. 1537 dated 21 September 1922 signed by Trapeau, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1597, 3 October 1922, p.2.

⁴³ Administrative Decision No. 1590 dated 31 October 1922 signed by Governor Trapeau appointed Beshara El Khoury, an elected member to the Bourj Hammoud Municipal Council, as its Mayor. *Official Gazette (1922)*, Issue No. 1607, 7 November 1922, p.3.

⁴⁴ *Official Minutes (1922)*: 3rd Meeting of the Extraordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 22 June 1922.

during the deliberations on public health issues in Greater Lebanon in December 1922, the Lebanese Deputies expressed grave concerns about the poor and unhealthy conditions of the residents in the areas with the most concentrated population of Armenians.⁴⁵ A year later the Lebanese Deputies discussed the refugee status of the Armenians in Lebanon,⁴⁶ and in a subsequent session they questioned the government as to the practical steps it was taking to remedy the situation of the Armenian refugees.⁴⁷

In 1923, Major-General Maxime Weygand was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in the Levant and the High Commissioner of the Republic of France over Syria and Lebanon. On 23 May 1923, soon after his arrival in Beirut, General Weygand issued Decision No. 1961 appointing Brevé d'Aubouard as the Governor of Greater Lebanon.⁴⁸ Immediately thereafter, Aubouard called for an extraordinary session of the Chamber to commence on 25 June 1923 to introduce himself to the Deputies and set the agenda for deliberations.⁴⁹

As part of reorganizing the executive branch of the government of Greater Lebanon, General Weygand promoted Brevé d'Aubouard to the position of Acting High Commissioner of the French Republic in Lebanon effective from 27 June 1924,⁵⁰ and appointed General Fendenburg, a French Army reservist, as the Governor of Greater Lebanon,⁵¹ who in turn issued Decision No. 2668 on 6 September 1924 and established the

⁴⁵ Discussions about Armenian emigrants who settled in Karantina District were held during the 57th Meeting of the Lebanese 1st Representative Council on 16 December 1922.

⁴⁶ *Official Minutes (1923)* 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 7 November 1923.

⁴⁷ *Official Minutes (1923)*: 30th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Representative Council held on 29 November 1923.

⁴⁸ Administrative Decision No. 1961 dated 23 May 1923, signed by General Maxime Weygand, the High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1923)*, Issue No. 1665, 29 May 1923, p.2.

⁴⁹ Administrative Decision No. 1943 dated 18 June 1923 signed by M. Aubouard, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1923)*, Issue No. 1673, 26 June 1923, p.2.

⁵⁰ Administrative Decision No. 2697 dated 27 June 1924 signed by General Maxime Weygand. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1780, 8 July 1924, p.2.

⁵¹ Administrative Decision No. 2698 dated 27 June 1924 signed by General Maxime Weygand. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1780, 8 July 1924, p.2.

Lebanese Majlis El Shura (State Consultative Council),⁵² and appointed Habib Basha El Sa'ad as its President.⁵³ General Fendenburg then called for a by-election in Mount Lebanon to replace Habib Basha El Sa'ad.⁵⁴

In the meantime, as France and the Allied Powers executed the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey on 24 July 1923, the issue of nationality of the residents of Greater Lebanon, in general, and of the refugees including the Armenians, in particular, re-surfaced within the political echelons in Greater Lebanon. According to the Ottoman citizenship laws of 1869, whoever resided in the Ottoman territories was considered as an Ottoman subject. There were no distinctions between Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians or anyone else.⁵⁵ Articles 30 to 32 of the Treaty of Lausanne attempted to resolve the citizenship issue. In pertinent parts, they stipulated that:

“Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory which in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty is detached from Turkey will become *ipso facto*. in the conditions laid down by the local law, nationals of the state to which such territory is transferred.

“Persons over eighteen years of age, habitually resident in territory detached from Turkey in accordance with the present Treaty and differing in race from the majority of the population of such territory shall, within two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, be entitled to opt for the nationality of one of the states in which the majority of the population is of the

⁵² Administrative Decision No. 2668 dated 6 September 1924 signed by General Fendenburg, Governor of Greater Lebanon, and approved by General Weygan, High Commissioner of the French Republic on Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1801, 19 September 1924, p.3.

⁵³ Administrative Decision No. 2670 dated 13 September 1924 signed by General Fendenburg, Governor of Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1804, 30 September 1924, p.4.

⁵⁴ Administrative Decision No. 2684 dated 19 September 1924 signed by Governor Fendenburg. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1803, 26 September 1924, p.2.

⁵⁵ Rania Maktabi, “The Lebanese Census of 1932. Who are the Lebanese?” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (November 1999), p.225.

same race as the person exercising the right to opt, subject to the consent of that state.”⁵⁶

To implement the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty in Greater Lebanon, General Weygand issued Decision No. 2825 and declared that whoever was a Turkish subject residing in Greater Lebanon on or before, 30 August 1924 would lose Turkish residency and by operation of law became Lebanese citizen.⁵⁷ Following Weygan’s Decision, General Fendenburg issued Decision No. 2676 declaring that a reconsideration would be carried out on the Census of 1921 within three months.⁵⁸

As it relates specifically to the status of Armenians in Greater Lebanon, General Weygan, sitting in Aley, Lebanon, sent an official letter to General Fendenburg in Beirut on 19 September 1924 to elaborate on the terms of his Decision No. 2825 that covered the issue of Turkish residents who resided in Greater Lebanon on or before 30 August 1924. In his letter, General Weygan explained to General Fendenburg that there should not be any exceptions to those refugee Armenians who arrived in Lebanon from Turkey and have established residency on or before 30 August 1924. They should be allowed to become Lebanese citizens.⁵⁹

In December 1924, General Weygan was replaced by General Maurice Sarrail as the High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria, Greater Lebanon, Alawite State and Jabal Druze. Soon after General Sarrail arrived in Beirut, General Fendenburg issued Decision No. 2883

⁵⁶ United Kingdom’s Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Treaties: Treaty of Lausanne: <http://treaties.fco.gov.uk/docs/pdf/1923/TS0016-1.pdf>. [last visited on 29 July 2015].

⁵⁷ Administrative Decision No. 2825 dated 30 August 1924 signed by General Maxime Weygand. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1804, 30 September 1924, pp.2-3.

⁵⁸ Administrative Decision No. 2676 dated 10 September 1924 signed in Beirut by General Fendenburg, Governor of Greater Lebanon and approved by General Weygand, High Commissioner of the French Republic on Syria and Lebanon on 16 September 1924 in Aley. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1804, 30 September 1924, p.3.

⁵⁹ Official Letter dated 19 September 1924 from General Weygan to General Fendenburg. *Official Gazette (1924)*, Issue No. 1805, 3 October 1924, p.2.

on 30 December 1924 calling for an extraordinary session of the Representative Council to convene on 12 January 1925.⁶⁰

General Sarrail issued Decision No. 3023 on 5 January 1925 instructing the Speaker of the Representative Council to conduct an election for the Governor of Greater Lebanon before proceeding with any deliberations on any agenda item during the extraordinary session – that was anticipated to convene on 12 January 1925.⁶¹ In this Decision, General Sarrail further instructed the Representative Council to present three names of individuals (either French or Lebanese) as potential candidates for the position of the Governor of Greater Lebanon, and after receiving tentative approval by the High Commissioner, the Representative Council might proceed to elect one of them.⁶²

Contrary to the directives of the High Commissioner, the Representative Council did not convene on 12 January 1925 and did not provide with any names nor conducted the election for the Governor of Greater.

Henceforth, General Sarrail issued Decision No. 7/S the next day, and ordered the disbandment of the Representative Council effective 13 January 1925 and instructed the Governor of Greater Lebanon to proceed with new elections for the Representative Council.⁶³ General Sarrail then proceeded to terminate General Fendenburg's services, declaring him an Honorary Governor of Greater Lebanon, and appointed Leon de Cayla as the Provisional Governor of Greater Lebanon.⁶⁴

As soon as de Cayla took office as the Provisional Governor, issued Decision No. 3157 (5 June 1925) setting the distribution of the

⁶⁰ Administrative Decision No. 2883 dated 30 December 1924 signed by General Fendenburg, Governor of Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1832, 6 January 1925, p.2.

⁶¹ Administrative Decision No. 3023 dated 5 January 1925 and signed by General Maurice Serrail, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria, Greater Lebanon, Alawite State and Jabal Druze, *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1833, 9 January 1925, p.2.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Administrative Decision No. 7/S dated 13 January 1925 and signed by High Commissioner General Maurice Sarrail. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1835, 16 January 1925, p.2.

⁶⁴ Administrative Decision No. 8/S dated 13 January 1925 and signed by High Commissioner Sarrail. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1835, 16 January 1925, pp.2-3.

parliamentary seats among the religious denominations in accordance with the outcome of 1st Census of 1921 and Decisions No. 1304 and 1307 of March 1922.⁶⁵ He then proceeded to set 28 June 1925 as the date for the election of the Electoral College of the 1st Degree, and 12 July 1925 as the date of election of the 2ⁿ Degree Deputies.⁶⁶

Total Deputies	30	Names of the Deputies to the 2nd Representative Council of Greater Lebanon (1925-26)⁶⁷
Beirut District	5	Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox); George Tabet (Maronite); Omar Beyham (Sunni); Muhammad El Da'ouq (Sunni) and Michel Shiha (Minorities).
Beka'a Valley	6	Elias Tohme Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hussein Qaz'oun (Sunni); Shebel Demmous (Roman Orthodox); Subhi Haydar (Sunni); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia) and Moussa Nemour (Maronite).
North Lebanon	4	Abboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Mas'oud Younis (Maronite); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Wadi'i Tarabai (Maronite).
South Lebanon	6	Habib Naseef (Maronite); Emir Khaled Chehab (Sunni); Abdul Lateef El Asa'ad (Shia); Najeeb Osseiran (Shia); Youssef El Zein (Shia) and Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic).
Mount Lebanon	8	Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox); Emile Tabet (Maronite); Jameel Talhouq (Druze); George Zuwein (Maronite); Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite); Emir Fouad Arslan (Druze); Najeeb El Sa'ad (Maronite) and Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite).
Tripoli	1	Kheiredeen A'adra (Sunni).

Table RC.4 - Elected Deputies to the 2nd Representative Council (1925-26)

The official results of the election for the elected members of the 2nd Representative Council of Greater Lebanon was officially announced by de Cayla in an Administrative Decision on 13 July 1925, which announced 30 prominent Lebanese individuals were elected to the 2nd

⁶⁵ Administrative Decision No. 3157 dated 5 June 1925 and signed by Leon de Cayla, Provisional Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1874, 5 June 1925, p.4.

⁶⁶ Administrative Decision No. 3158 dated 5 June 1925 and signed by Leon de Cayla, Provisional Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1874, 5 June 1925, pp.4-5.

⁶⁷ The official list of the elected Deputies for the 2nd Representative Council was announced on 13 July 1925 through Administrative Decision No. 3205 signed by Leon de Cayla, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1886, 17 July 1925, p.2.

Representative Council of Greater Lebanon – there were no Lebanese-Armenian deputies among them.⁶⁸

The first meeting of the 2nd Representative Council was held on 16 July 1926 when the Deputies elected members of the Speaker Bureau consisting of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and two Secretaries. Moussa Efendi Nemour, a Maronite from Zahle, was elected as the Speaker.

Election of the members of the Finance, Administrative & Justice, Public Works & Agriculture and Public Health & Education committees took place during the meeting of the 2nd Representative Council on 20 July 1925.⁶⁹

The 2nd Representative Council held its meetings during times of turbulences as revolts against the French Mandate, especially by non-Christians, broke out in Syria and most of Lebanon. The Druze of Hawran (or *Jabal El Druze*) in Syria exploded in revolt against the French in July 1925, as General Sarraïl, the French High Commissioner, summoned the Druze leaders to Damascus to discuss their grievances against the Mandate, at which time, he apprehended and incarcerated them.⁷⁰ A week later, the Druze, under the leadership of Sultan El Atrash, revolted against the French in Hawran and eventually in Damascus and parts of Southern Lebanon.⁷¹ General Sarraïl could not tolerate the uprising and violently bombarded Damascus destroying 1,500 lives and leaving the city in ruins.⁷² The French Government recalled Sarraïl, and the French President Gaston Doumergue, issued a Presidential Decree and appointed Henri de Jouvenel as the new High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon on 10 November 1925.⁷³

⁶⁸ Please see Table RC-4.

⁶⁹ *Official Minutes (1925)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 20 July 1925.

⁷⁰ For a detailed account of the Druze Revolt in 1925, please see Hashim Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith [Arabic: Modern History of Syria]*, (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2012), pp.67-79. See also, McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, pp.82-83.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, pp.85-86.

⁷³ *Official Gazette (1925)*, Issue No. 1925, 1 December 1925, p.2.

	16 July 1925 ⁷⁴	20 October 1925 ⁷⁵
Speaker	Moussa Efendi Nemour	Moussa Efendi Nemour
Deputy Speaker	Omar Bek Da'ouq	Omar Bek Da'ouq
The Secretariat	Youssef Bek El Zein Shebel Demmous	Youssef Bek El Zein Shebel Demmous

**Table RC.5 - Elected Officials at the Speaker's Bureau of the
2nd Lebanese Representative Council (1925-26)**

There were no Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 2nd Representative Council. However, Armenian related issues were discussed during its sessions. As the number of Armenians increased in Lebanon, during the 6 May 1926 legislative meeting of the 2nd Representation Council, the government officially acknowledged that the Armenian Orthodox denomination stood alongside the Maronites, the Catholics, the Orthodox, the Sunnis, the Shias⁷⁶ and the Druze in Lebanon.⁷⁷ In another sessions of the 2nd Council, Deputies demanded that the government gave special attention to the Armenian population, particularly to the deteriorating state of Armenian-owned shops in Karantina District and expressed concerns about the odors coming out their shops.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Moussa Nemour (Maronite, Beka'a Valley) was elected Speaker of the 2nd Representative Council with 29 votes with 1 blank paper. *Official Minutes (1925)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 16 July 1925.

⁷⁵ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Moussa Nemour (Maronite, Beka'a Valley) was elected as the Speaker with 26 votes against Emile Tabet (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) with 1 vote and 2 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1925)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council.

⁷⁶ The Shia denomination in Lebanon (Ja'afari Sect) was officially recognized by the French Authorities in January 1926 through an Administrative Decision No. 3503 issued on 27 January 1926 and signed by Leon de Cayla, Governor of Lebanon and approved by Henri de Jouvenel, High Commission of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon on 30 January 1926 under docket No. 45/a. For a comprehensive coverage on the presence of Shia in Lebanon, please refer to Roger Shanahan, *The Shi'a of Lebanon: Clans, Parties and Clerics*, (London: I. B Tauris Publications, 2011).

⁷⁷ *Official Minutes (1926)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 6 May 1926.

⁷⁸ *Official Minutes (1926)*: 13th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 8 May 1926.

Under difficult and turbulent circumstances, the 2nd Representative Council held a total of 32 ordinary and 20 extraordinary meetings during its tenure from 16 July 1925 until it ended its sessions with a secret meeting to deliberate on the proposed draft constitution on 11 May 1926.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Official Minutes (1926)*: 15th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Representative Council held on 11 May 1926.

The 1st Lebanese Parliament

(1926-29)

The mandate over Greater Lebanon put France under tremendous constraint to promulgate a constitution for Lebanon and assist the Lebanese “native authorities” to enact local laws that reflected their aspirations. Article 1 of the Mandate stipulated that:

“The Mandatory shall frame, within a period of three years from the coming into force of this mandate, an organic law for Syria and the Lebanon. This organic law shall be framed in agreement with the native authorities and shall take into account the rights, interests, and wishes of all the population inhabiting the said territory.”¹

¹ “French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon,” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Document (July 1923), pp.177-180. The official Mandate Instrument (*Sak El Intidab*) was officially published by General Maxime Weygand, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon more than a year later on 5 October 1923. *Official Gazette of Greater Lebanon* (1923), Issue No. 1706, 19 October 1923, pp.2-5.

Total MPs	46	Names of the Deputies of the 1st Lebanese Parliament (1926-29)
Beirut District	12	Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox); George Tabet (Maronite); Omar Beyham (Sunni); Omar El Da'ouq (Sunni); Michel Shiha (Minorities); Albert Qashou' (Maronite); Sheikh Muhammad El Kasti (Sunni); Emile Edde (Maronite); Ayoub Tabet (Minorities); Saleem Najjar (Roman Catholic); Abdullah Beyham (Sunni) and Nakhle Tueini (Roman Orthodox).
Beka'a Valley	6	Elias Tohme Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hussein Qaz'oun (Sunni); Shebel Demmous (Roman Orthodox); Subhi Haydar (Sunni); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); and Moussa Nemour (Maronite)
North Lebanon	6	Abboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Mas'oud Younis (Maronite); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Wadi'i Tarabai (Maronite); Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox) and Youssef Estefan (Maronite).
South Lebanon	8	Habib Naseef (Maronite); Emir Khaled Chehab (Sunni); Abdul Lateef El Asa'ad (Shia); Najeeb Osseiran (Shia); Youssef El Zein (Shia); Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic); Hussein El Zein (Shia); Fadel El Fadel (Shia);
Mt. Lebanon	12	Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox); Emile Tabet (Maronite); Jameel Talhouq (Druze); George Zuwein (Maronite); Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite); Emir Fouad Arslan (Druze); Najeeb El Sa'ad (Maronite); Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite); Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); Beshara El Khoury (Maronite); Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite) and Emir Sami Arslan (Druze);
Tripoli	2	Kheiredeen Adra (Sunni) and Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni).

Table 1.1 - Names of the Deputies of the 1st Lebanese Parliament (1926-29)

The arrival of Henri de Jouvenel, the new High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon, in December 1925, paved the way for Leon de Cayla, Governor of Lebanon to issue Decision No. 3658 on 18 May 1926, and call for a special extraordinary session of the 2nd Representative Council to convene on 19 May 1926 to consider a draft constitution.²

In the presence of the special delegate representing the French High Commissioner, the Lebanese Deputies held eight consecutive meetings from 19 to 22 May and approved the draft Lebanese Constitution. After approval from the French High Commissioner of the

² Administrative Decision No. 3658 dated 18 May 1926 signed by Leo de Cayla, Governor of Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1926)*, Issue No. 1974, 21 May 1926, p.2. Henri de Jouvenel appointed a special commission consisting of Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Omar Bek El Da'ouq (Sunni, Beirut), Michel Shiha (Maronite, Beirut) and Shebel Demmous (Roman Orthodox, Zahle) to draft and present a constitution to the parliament, which was boycotted mostly by Sunnis and Shais. See Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, (London, Pluto Press, 2007), p.89.

final version, the first Lebanese Constitution was officially announced and put into effect on 23 May 1926.³

The newly adopted constitution replaced the term “*Greater Lebanon*” with the “*Lebanese Republic*” effective from 1 September 1926.⁴ Article 5 of the constitution stipulated that the flag of the Lebanese Republic consisted of blue, white and red equal vertical sections with a green cedar tree in the middle of the white portion. Article 11 recognized the Arabic language in addition to French as the official language of the republic.

The Constitution further established a bicameral parliament mirroring that of the French Third Republic. Article 16 of the Constitution provided that the legislative authority be rested upon two chambers: a Senate and a chamber of deputies. Article 22 stipulated that the Senate be composed of 16 members, seven of whom be appointed by the Prime Minister in consultation with ministers and the rest be elected for a term of six years. Article 96 of the Constitution further stated that the Senate seats be allocated among the various religious groups in Lebanon on the following basis: 5 Maronites, 3 Sunnis, 3 Shias, 2 Roman Orthodox, 1 Roman Catholic, 1 Druze and 1 Minorities. Concurrent with the senate, Article 24 stipulated that the members of the chamber of deputies be elected in accordance with the provisions of the Decree No. 1307 dated 8 March 1922. As to the executive branch, Article 49 of the Constitution stipulated that the president of the Republic be elected with a 2/3 majority of the combined votes of the joint session of the parliament (senate & chamber of deputies) for a term of three years.

As soon as the Constitution was adopted, the French High Commissioner Henri de Jouvenel issued Decision No. 305 and appointed all 16 members of the Senate on 24 May 1926.

The first meeting of the Senate convened on 25 May 1926, just after the adoption of the Lebanese Constitution. Nakhle Bek Tueini (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), being the eldest Senator, presided over the meeting and called for the election of the President of the Senate. Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as President and Habib

³ The text of the Lebanese Constitution adopted on 23 May 1926 was published almost a month later in the *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1926)*, Issue No. 1984 (Suppl.), 25 June 1926, pp.1-6.

⁴ Article 101 of the Lebanese Constitution. *Official Gazette (1926)*, Issue No. 1984 (Suppl.), 25 June 1926, p.6.

Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) as Vice-President of the Senate.⁵

Senators	16	Names of Appointed Members to the 1 st Lebanese Senate (1926-27) ⁶
Maronites	5	Albert Qashou' (Beirut); Emile Edde (Beirut); Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Mount Lebanon); Youssef Estefan (North Lebanon) and Youssef Nemour (Mount Lebanon) replaced by Beshara El Khoury (Mount Lebanon). ⁷
Sunnis	3	Muhammad El Jisr (Tripoli); Muhammad El Kasti (Beirut) and Abdullah Beyham (Beirut).
Shias	3	Ibrahim Haydar (Mount Lebanon) was replaced by Ahmad El Husseini (Beka'a Valley); Fadel El Fadel (South Lebanon) and Hussein El Zein (South Lebanon).
Roman Orth.	2	Nakhle Tueini (Beirut) and Gebran Nahhas (North Lebanon).
Roman Cath.	1	Saleem Najjar (Beirut).
Druze	1	Sami Arslan (Mount Lebanon).
Minorities	1	Ayoub Tabet (Beirut).

Table 1.2 - Names of Appointed Members to the 1st Lebanese Senate (1926-27)

Leon de Cayla, then Governor of Lebanon, called for an extraordinary joint session of parliament for the election of the President of the Republic. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies convened on 26 May 1926 with Sheik Muhammad El Jisr presiding, and elected Charles

⁵ Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) received 14 votes against Habib Basha El Sa'ad's (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) 1 vote with 1 blank paper and was elected as the President of the Lebanese Senate. For the election of the Vice-President of the Senate, Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) received 12 votes against Fadel Fadel's (Shia, South Lebanon) 4 votes. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1926): 1st Meeting of the Lebanese Senate held on 25 May 1926.*

⁶ Administrative Decision No. 305 dated 24 May 1926 signed by Henri de Jouvenel appointing the members of the Lebanese Senate. Fares Sa'adeh, *Mawsou'a El Hayat El Niyabiyeh fi Loubnan, Vol. 3 [Arabic: Encyclopedia of the Parliamentary Life in Lebanon, Vol. 3]*, (Beirut: Matabe' El Kareem El Haditheh, 1995), pp.113-114. See also, 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), p.96.

⁷ Senator Youssef Nemour passed away in 1926 and was replaced by Beshara El Khoury. Decree No. 1626, dated 14 October 1927, signed by Henri Ponsot, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2117, 26 October 1927, p.2.

Debbas (Greek Orthodox) as the 1st President of the Lebanese Republic for a term of three years.⁸

As soon as President Debbas took office issued Decree No. 4 and appointed August Basha Adeeb as the first Prime Minister.⁹ President Debbas, in conjunction with PM Adeeb, issued another Decree and appointed the first seven ministers of the Lebanese Republic. Then President Debbas and Prime Minister Adeeb jointly issued Decree No. 13 and called the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies to convene in a separate extraordinary session on 14 June 1926 to consider the ministerial statement of the newly formed Cabinet. Both the Senate and the Chamber cast confidence votes in Adeeb's Cabinet.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 31 May 1926¹⁰		
1.	August Basha Adeeb	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Najeeb Bek Qabbani	Minister of Justice
3.	Beshara El Khoury	Minister of Interior
4.	Youssef Efendi Aftimos	Minister of Public Works
5.	Najeeb Bek Amyuni	Minister of Public Schools
6.	Ali Nasrat Bek El Asa'ad	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Saleem Talhouq	Minister of Health & Public Emergency

Table 1.3 – Cabinet Members of August Basha Adeeb's Government (31 May 1926)

The first government of the Republic of Lebanon presented its ministerial statement to the 1st Parliament and received a vote of confident. A year later, the Cabinet of August Basha Adeeb resigned on 5 May 1927 and President Debbas appointed Beshara El Khoury (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) as the new Prime Minister and Minister of Publish Schools and entrusted him to appoint the rest of the members of the

⁸ Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr, President of Joint Session of the Lebanese Parliament, officially notified Charles Debbas of his election to the Presidency. *Official Gazette (1926)*, Issue No. 1979, 8 June 1926, p.2.

⁹ President Charles Debbas issued Decree No. 4 on 31 May 1926 and appointed August Basha Adeeb, who was the President of the Shura Council at the time, as the Prime Minister of the Lebanese Republic. *Official Gazette (1926)*, Issue No. 1979, 8 June 1926, pp.2-3.

¹⁰ Decree No. 6 dated 31 May 1926 signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister August Basha Adeeb. *Official Gazette (1926)*, Issue No. 1979, 8 June 1926, p.3.

Cabinet.¹¹ Prime Minister El Khoury formed a 7-member cabinet and presented his ministerial statement to the parliament and received a vote of confidence.¹²

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 5 May 1927 ¹³		
1.	Beshara El Khoury	Prime Minister; Minister of Public Schools
2.	Shukri Querdahi	Minister of Justice
3.	George Bek Tabet	Minister of Interior
4.	Emir Khaled Chehab	Minister of Finance
5.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Public Works
6.	Saleem Talhouq	Minister of Health & Public Emergency
7.	Elias Bek Fayyad	Minister of Agriculture

Table 1.4 – Cabinet Members of Beshara El Khoury’s Government (5 May 1927)

A few months later, El Khoury’s government summoned the members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies to a joint session to consider an amendment to the Constitution in accordance with Article 77 of the Constitution. The joint session was held from 12-14 October 1927 and a law was adopted to amend Article 16 of the Constitution combining the bicameral legislative bodies into one Chamber of Deputies. The joint session further amended Article 24 of the Constitution and called for the appointment of the half the deputies through presidential decrees. The law further provided that, on a temporary basis, the members of the current Senate and the Chamber of Deputies be combined to form the 1st Chamber of Deputies under the amended Constitution.¹⁴ President Debbas and Prime Minister El Khoury signed the amendments into law on 19 October 1927.¹⁵

¹¹ Decree No. 1560 dated 5 May 1927 and signed by President Charles Debbas appointed Beshara El Khoury as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2076, 9 May 1927, p.7.

¹² *Official Minutes (1927)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the Senate held on 14 May 1927.

¹³ Decree No. 1561 dated 5 May 1927 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury. *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2076, 9 May 1927, p.7.

¹⁴ Article 51 of the Law Amending the Constitution: *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2116, 19 October 1927, p.5.

¹⁵ Law Amending the Constitution: *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2116, 19 October 1927, pp.2-5.

As the amended Constitution took effect in October 1927, the El Khoury cabinet resigned on 5 January 1928 and President Debbas re-appointed Beshara El Khoury to form a new cabinet. A three-member cabinet was formed. President Debbas and Prime Minister El Khoury issued Decree No. 2616 and called for an extraordinary session of parliament on 18 January 1928 to consider, among a list of proposed laws, the ministerial statement of the Cabinet.¹⁶ The 1st Parliament cast a vote of confidence in Prime Minister El Khoury's cabinet on 18 January 1928.¹⁷

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 5 January 1928 ¹⁸		
1.	Beshara El Khoury	Prime Minister; Minister of Justice and Public Schools
2.	Ayoub Tabet	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Interior & Public Health
3.	Hussein El Ahdab	Minister of Finance and Public Works and Agriculture.

Table 1.5 – Cabinet Members of PM Beshara El Khoury's Government (5 January 1928)

The three-member Cabinet, however, did not last long. Prime Minister El Khoury resigned on 10 August 1928, and President Debbas appointed Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form a cabinet,¹⁹ and called the 1st Parliament to convene in an extraordinary session to consider the ministerial statement of the newly formed Cabinet.²⁰ The parliament cast

¹⁶ Decree No. 2616 dated 12 January 1928 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2134, 13 January 1928, pp.4-5.

¹⁷ *Official Minutes (1928)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 18 January 1928.

¹⁸ Decree No. 2601 dated 5 January 1928 and signed by President Charles Debbas appointing Beshara El Khoury as the Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Public Schools. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2133, 9 January 1928, p.5.

¹⁹ Decree No. 3663 dated 10 August 1928 and signed President Charles Debbas appointed Habib Basha El Sa'ad as the Prime Minister and Minister of Public Schools and Public Health. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2181, 17 August 1928, p.2.

²⁰ Decree No. 3694 dated 21 August 1928. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2183, 24 August 1928, p.2.

a vote of confidence in Habib Basha El Sa'ad's government on 28 August 1928.²¹

The Executive Branch of the Government Cabinet of 10 August 1928 ²²		
1.	Habib Basha El Sa'ad	Prime Minister; Minister of Public Schools & Public Health
2.	Najeeb Abu Sawwan ²³	Minister of Justice (Replaced by Shukri Bek Querdahi)
3.	Subhi Bek Haydar	Minister of Finance
4.	Hussein Bek El Ahdab	Minister of Public Works
5.	Moussa Bek Nemour ²⁴	Minister of Interior

Table 1.6 – Cabinet Members of PM Habib Basha El Sa'ad's Government (10 August 1928)

As President Debbas's term was to end on 26 May 1929, in accordance with Article 73 of the Constitution, Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr, Speaker of the 1st Parliament, called the deputies into a special meeting on 27 March 1929 to elect a new president of the Republic.²⁵ Charles Debbas was re-elected for another three-year term.²⁶

²¹ *Official Minutes (1928)*: 3rd Meeting of the Extraordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 29 August 1928.

²² Decree No. 3664 dated 10 August 1928 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2181, 17 August 1928, p.2.

²³ Najeeb Bek Abou Sawwan, Minister of Justice resigned within 3 days of appointment and President Debbas and Prime Minister Habib El Sa'ad replaced him with Shukri Bek Querdahi as the Minister of Justice. Decree No. 3666 dated 13 August 1928. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2181, 17 August 1928, p.2.

²⁴ Decree No. 3665 dated 13 August 1928 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad appointed Moussa Bek Nemour as Minister of Interior. *Official Gazette (1928)*, Issue No. 2181, 17 August 1928, p.2.

²⁵ Article 73 of the Lebanese Constitution in pertinent parts stated: "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..." "The Lebanese Constitution," *Official Website of the Presidency of Lebanon*. [Last accessed 17 August 2015]. <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>.

²⁶ Charles Efendi Debbas (Greek Orthodox, Beirut) received 42 votes out of 44 present and was elected as the President of the Republic against 2 votes received by Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli). *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 27 March 1929.

	19 Oct 26 ²⁷	18 Oct 27 ²⁸	16 Oct 28 ²⁹
Speaker	Moussa Bek Nemour	Muhammad El Jisr	Muhammad El Jisr
Deputy Speaker	Omar El Da'ouq	Habib Basha El Sa'ad	Youssef Bek El Zein
The Secretariat	Youssef Bek El Zein Shebel Dammous	Ibrahim Munzir Sabri Bek Hamadeh	Mas'oud Younis Jameel Talhooq

Table 1.7 - Elected Officials at the Speaker's Bureau of the 1st Lebanese Parliament (1926-29)

As the term of the 1st Parliament was about to end in July 1929. President Debbas issued Decree No. 4841 on 12 April 1929 and set the election of the electors of the 1st Degree on 2 June 1929, and then the election of the deputies of the 2nd Degree on 16 June 1929.³⁰

A few weeks later, and before President-elect Debbas took his presidential oath, the 1st Parliament considered and passed a law amending Article 49 of the constitution and changed the term of the President of the Republic from three to six years. The new law, however,

²⁷ Hussein Bek Qazioun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Moussa Bek Nemour (Maronite, Beka'a Valley) received 16 votes out of 28 present and was elected the Speaker of the Parliament, against 12 votes received by Khaled Chehab (Sunni, South Lebanon). Omar El Daouq (Sunni, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker. *Official Minutes (1926)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 19 October 1926.

²⁸ Hussein Bek Qazioun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Sheikh Muhammad El Jist (Sunni, Tripoli) received 22 votes out of 41 present and was elected the Speaker of the Parliament, against 18 votes received by Ayoub Tabet (Minorities, Beirut) with 1 blank paper. Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker. *Official Minutes (1927)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 18 October 1927.

²⁹ Saleem Efendi Najjar (Roman Catholic, Beirut), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) received 37 votes out of 39 present and was elected the Speaker of the Parliament. There were 2 blank papers. Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker. *Official Minutes (1928)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 16 October 1928.

³⁰ Decree No. 4841 dated 12 April 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas, Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad and Minister of Interior Moussa Bek Nemour. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2229, 15 April 1929, pp.2-3.

excluded the newly elected President's three-year term, set to end on 27 May 1932.³¹

With the election of the President, Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad's Cabinet resigned and President Debbas appointed Beshara El Khoury as the new Prime Minister on 10 May 1929.³²

The 1st Parliament considered the ministerial statement of the newly formed government and cast a vote of confidence on 14 May 1929.³³

Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 10 May 1929 ³⁴		
1.	Beshara El Khoury	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Health
2.	Najeeb Abu Sawwan	Minister of Justice and Public Schools
3.	Hussein Bek El Ahdab	Minister of Finance; Public Works and Agriculture

Table 1.8 – Cabinet Members of PM Beshara El Khoury's Government (10 May 1929)

Despite the absence of any Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 1st Parliament, Armenian related issues came up during its deliberations. The deputies questioned the government on the condition of the Armenians congregated in the refugee camps throughout Lebanon and

³¹ President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad issued Decree No. 4900 and presented the draft law amending the Constitution to the parliament on 23 April 1929. The 1st Parliament deliberated and adopted the law amending Article 49 of the Constitution on 27 April 1929 and the President signed it into law on 8 May 1929. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2234, 8 May 1929, p.7. See also, *Official Minutes (1929)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 27 April 1929.

³² Decree No. 4992 dated 10 May 1929 signed by President Charles Debbas accepting the resignation of P.M. Habib Basha El Sa'ad's Government and appointing Beshara El Khoury as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2235, 10 May 1929, p.2.

³³ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 14 May 1929.

³⁴ Decree No. 4993 dated 10 May 1929 signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Beshara el Khoury appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2235, 10 May 1929, p.2.

the Public Health Minister requested permission to enter the Armenian quarter in Karantina to ascertain the grave conditions therein.³⁵

The last day of the 1st Parliament was on 27 May 1929 when President-elect Debbas took the Oath of Office for the new term.³⁶

³⁵ *Official Minutes (1926)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 7 July 1926.

³⁶ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 8th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 1st Parliament held on 27 May 1929.

The 2nd Lebanese Parliament

(1929-32)

The newly appointed government headed by Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury oversaw the election of Deputies to the 2nd Lebanese Parliament, which was held in two stages: election of the electors of the 1st Degree on 2 June 1929, and then the election of the deputies of the 2nd Degree on 16 June 1929.¹

The election results were immediately announced by the government the next day, on 17 June 1929, through an Administrative Decision signed by Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury officially

¹ The previous government headed, by Habib Basha El Sa'ad, had called for elections based upon the amended constitution of 17 October 1927 and the provisions of the Administrative Decision No. 1307 of 8 March 1922. Decree No. 4841 was dated 12 April 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas, Prime Minister Habib Basha El Sa'ad and Minister of Interior Moussa Bek Nemour. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1929)*, Issue No. 2229, 15 April 1929, pp.2-3.

announcing the election of 30 individuals to the 2nd Lebanese Parliament.²

Article 24 of the amended Constitution of 17 October 1927 stipulated that the number of Deputies should be governed through the provisions of Administrative Decision No. 1307 of 8 March 1922 until a new election law was promulgated, and called for the appointment of other deputies through presidential decrees.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Distr.	Mtgs	Absence	Attendance
1	Abdullah Is'haq	Arm. Cath.	Beirut	98	7	93%

Table 2.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputy in the 2nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32)

President Debbas, in conjunction with Prime Minister El Khoury, issued Decree No. 5195 and appointed 15 individuals as Deputies to the 2nd Lebanese Parliament. There was no specific allocation of parliamentary seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community in the 1920s under Administrative Decision No. 1307, nor was there any reference to it in the newly adopted Constitution or in President Debbas's decree. However, Abdullah Is'haq, a Catholic-Armenian from the City of Beirut, was elected as the Deputy to the seat allocated to the Minorities in Beirut District.³ Abdullah Is'haq ran against the incumbent Ayoub Tabet, who was the Deputy representing the Minorities in the previous parliament. Immediately after the results of the elections were announced, Ayoub Tabet filed three different complaints and grievances against Is'haq with the Majlis El Shura (States' Consultative Council) alleging irregularities during the election and demanded the annulment of Is'haq's election.⁴

The newly elected parliament held its first meeting on 13 July 1929, based upon President Debbas' decree calling for an extraordinary session and setting the agenda that included deliberations the policies of

² Administrative Decision No. 1229 dated 17 June 1929 and signed by Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury. *Official Gazette* (1929), Issue No. 2245, 19 June 1929, pp.3-4.

³ Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.37-38. For a detailed account on the 1929 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.100-109.

⁴ *Official Minutes* (1929): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

Khoury's cabinet.⁵ In the meantime, the Majlis El Shura reviewed the grievances filed by Tabet against Is'haq, but rejected the allegations and confirmed Abdullah Is'haq's election to the 2nd Parliament.⁶

Elected MPs	30	Elected Deputies of the 2 nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32)
Beirut District	5	George Tabet (Maronite); Haleem Qaddoura (Sunni); Abdullah Is'haq (Minorities); Muhammad El Fakhoury (Sunni); Elias Fayyad (Roman Orthodox). ⁷
Beka'a Valley	6	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Elias Tohme Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hussein Qaz'oun (Sunni); Shebel Demmous (Roman Orthodox); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Moussa Nemour (Maronite).
North Lebanon	4	Abboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Qabalan Franjeh (Maronite); Mas'oud Younis (Maronite); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox).
South Lebanon	6	George Yacoub (Roman Catholic); Emir Khaled Chehab (Sunni); Sami Kena'an (Maronite); Abdul Lateef El Asa'ad (Shia); Najeeb Osseiran (Shia); Youssef El Zein (Shia)
Mount Lebanon	8	Iskandar El Bustani (Maronite); Anis Khoury (Maronite); Gabriel Nassar (Roman Orthodox); Rasheed Jumblatt (Druze); Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite); Michel Zakkour (Maronite); Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite) and Tawfeeq Arslan (Druze). ⁸
Tripoli	1	Rashad Adeeb (Sunni).

Table 2.2 –Elected Deputies of the 2nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32)

In its first meeting, the 2nd Parliament elected Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) as Speaker and Youssef Bek El Zein (Shia, South Lebanon) as Deputy Speaker, with Mas'oud Bek Younis (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Henry Pharaon (Roman Catholic, Beirut) as Secretaries.⁹

⁵ Decree No. 5254 dated 24 June 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury calling the Parliament to an extraordinary session. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2247, 26 June 1929, p.2. See also, *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

⁶ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

⁷ Elias Fayyad (Beirut, Roman Orthodox) passed away in 1930 and was replaced by Nicola Fayyad (Beirut, Roman Orthodox).

⁸ Tawfeeq Arslan (Mount Lebanon, Druze) passed away in 1931 and was replaced by Majeed Arslan (Mount Lebanon, Druze). Administrative Decision No. 1573 dated 10 November 1931 and signed by Minister of Interior Moussa Nemour, announced the election of Majeed Tawfeeq Arslan as the Deputy from Mount Lebanon. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1931)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 16 November 1931.

⁹ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest deputy present during the session presided over the election of the Speaker of the Parliament. Sheikh

The Deputies then proceeded to consider the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister El Khoury on the domestic policies of his government.¹⁰

Appt'd MPs	15	Appointed Deputies to the 2 nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32) ¹¹
Maronites	5	Beshara El Khoury (Mount Lebanon); Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Mount Lebanon); Emile Edde (Beirut); Youssef Estefan (North Lebanon); Youssef El Sowda (Mount Lebanon).
Sunnis	3	Muhammad El Jisr (Tripoli); Hussein Bek El Ahdab (Beirut); Abdullah Beyham (Beirut).
Shias	3	Ahmad El Hussein (Mount Lebanon); Ali Nasrat Bek El Asa'ad (South Lebanon); Fadel El Fadel (South Lebanon).
Roman Orth.	2	Petro Trad (Beirut); Abdullah Nawfal (North Lebanon).
Roman Cath.	1	Henry Pharaon (Beirut).
Druze	1	Saleem Talhouq (Mount Lebanon).

Table 2.3 – Appointed Deputies to the 2nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32)

After long deliberations and cross-examination of the Prime Minister on his domestic policies, the 2nd Parliament cast 29 votes of confidence, against five votes of no confidence, and two abstentions. Abdullah Is'haq cast a vote of confidence in Beshara El Khoury's government.¹²

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
1.	Beshara El Khoury	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Health
2.	Najeeb Abu Sawwan	Minister of Justice and Public Schools
3.	Hussein Bek El Ahdab	Minister of Finance; Public Works and Agriculture

Table 2.4 – Cabinet Members of Beshara El Khoury's Government (10 May 1929)

Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as the Speaker with 36 votes out of 40 present with 4 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

¹⁰ The 3-member cabinet led by Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury was appointed by President Charles Debbas during the term of the 1st Parliament through Decree No. 4992 dated 10 May 1929. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2235, 10 May 1929, p.2.

¹¹ Decree No. 5915 dated 17 June 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas, Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Beshara El Khoury; Minister of Finance and Public Works Hussein El Ahdab; and Minister of Justice and Public Schools Najeeb Abu Sawwan. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2245, 19 June 1929, p.3.

¹² *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

The term of the 2nd Parliament was marred by unstable political conditions and economic turmoil within the region that went from bad to worse as the world in general, and the Middle East in particular, became adversely affected by the Wall Street crash in October 1929 that let into the Great Depression. In addition to the decline of economic conditions in the country, the two schools of domestic thoughts clashed once again: those who still opposed the annexation of the hinterlands to Mount Lebanon (mostly Sunnis and Roman Orthodox) with those who promoted the French Mandate and the concept of a Greater Lebanon.

El Khoury's Cabinet could not last long and under tremendous political and economic pressure resigned in October 1929. President Debbas asked Emile Edde to form a new government.¹³ Prime Minister Edde appointed the following team to his new government:

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 12 October 1929 ¹⁴		
1.	Emile Edde	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Health
2.	Najeeb Abu Sawwan	Minister of Justice and Public Schools
3.	Hussein Bek El Ahdab	Minister of Public Works
4.	Moussa Nemour	Minister of Finance
5.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Agriculture

Table 2.5 – Cabinet Members of Emile Edde's Government (12 October 1929)

President Debbas and Prime Minister Edde issued Decree No. 5742 and appointed ministers to the new Cabinet, as well as appointing Gebrael Menassa, a lawyer, as the Under-Minister of Economic Affairs within the Ministry of Finance.¹⁵ However, the “under-minister” position was a new concept that raised many objections within political circles in Lebanon.

¹³ Decree No. 5741 dated 12 October 1929 signed by President Charles Debbas appointing Emile Edde as the Prime Minister and Minister of Interior and Health. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2270, 14 October 1929, p.2.

¹⁴ Decree No. 5742 dated 12 October 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Emile Edde appointed Ministers. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2270, 14 October 1929, p.2.

¹⁵ Article 2 of Decree No. 5742 dated 12 October 1929 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister Emile Edde appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1929)*, Issue No. 2270, 14 October 1929, p.2.

The 2nd Parliament convened in its ordinary session on 22 October 1929 and elected Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr as the Speaker and appointed the rest of the Speaker's Bureau.¹⁶ Parliament went further and elected the members of the Finance Committee, composed of 15 members that included Abdullah Is'haq.¹⁷ The next day, parliament elected a special committee to deliberate and present draft by-laws to parliament. Abdullah Is'haq was elected as a member of the newly formed By-Laws Committee.¹⁸

Prime Minister Edde presented the Cabinet's ministerial statement on the government's domestic fiscal, economic, administrative and social policies to the parliament on 22 November 1929. As the statement was too long and complex, the Speaker proposed that a special committee be formed to study the details of the statement and report back to the parliament in due course. Upon the suggestion of Abdullah Is'haq, the number of member of the committee members was raised to accommodate representatives from different regions of the country.¹⁹

After deliberating on the issues covered by Prime Minister Edde's ministerial statement, the special committee reported back to parliament on 16 December 1929 with a recommendation to cast a vote of confidence for the government's proposed policies. However, a few Deputies, including Abdullah Is'haq, strongly opposed these policies and argued the unconstitutionality of Decree No. 5742, which created the position of an "*Under-Minister of Economic Affairs*" and vehemently contested the notion of granting the government the right to issue legislative decrees which was requested by Prime Minister Edde in his

¹⁶ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun, the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker and Sheikh Muhamad E Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected with 39 votes against 1 vote for Ibrahim Bek Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) and 4 blank papers. Youssef Bek El Zein was elected as the Deputy Speaker with Mas'oud Younis and Henry Pharaon as the Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 October 1929.

¹⁷ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 October 1929.

¹⁸ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 23 October 1929.

¹⁹ The Special Committee was comprised of notable deputies that included Abdullah Is'haq, Beshara El Khoury, Rasheed Jumblatt, Khaled Chehab, Henry Pharaon, Sabri Hamadeh, Sami Kenaan, Nicola Ghossen, Haleem Qaddoura, Jebrail Nassar, Rokez Abu Nader, Rashad Adeeb, Mas'oud Younis, Shebel Demous, and Youssef El Zein. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 November 1929.

statement.²⁰ Before casting a no-confidence vote, Abdullah Is'haq delivered a long speech arguing that:

“During the session held last November 23, I reserved the right to debate the government on the unconstitutionality of Decree No. 5742 issued on October 12, which resulted in the creation of a position of ‘an under-secretariat’ at the Ministry of Finance.”

“Gentlemen, it seems that this Decree is unconstitutional. In order to support this conclusion, I refer to the constitution and the laws of Lebanon as well as to the French Constitution and its laws that were the source of our political system.”

“[T]he executive authority, whether in France or in Lebanon, is represented by the President of the Republic with his ministers. . . . The ministers are not representatives of the President of the Republic, and this remark finds its importance in the rest of this discussion. The major proof is that their job is essentially a parliamentary political job. If they were nothing but representatives . . . then their authority would have been disrupted should there be a presidential vacuum. We know that the Lebanese Constitution, in accordance with the French Constitution, stipulated under Clause 62 . . . the Cabinet temporarily becomes a source of the executive authority.”

“[T]he ministers take their authority from the constitution and the codes. The constitution and the codes are the source of the executive authority, and we must only resort to them in order to nominate this authority and mainly to know if the executive authority can create the position of undersecretary. In Lebanon, we see that an undersecretary does not only have a technical or administrative function, but has a political one, since the decree that issued the under-secretariat gives him the right to participate in the sessions deliberations of the Cabinet. Therefore, we see that giving this political status to the undersecretary constitutes a violation to the constitution, namely

²⁰ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 16 December 1929.

because the government is composed of the President of the Republic and ministers only.

“[I]n general, the under-secretariats are political functions. Therefore, it is not correct to create them by a simple decree. We must enact laws for such positions as their creation was not stipulated by the Constitution nor was allowed under the applicable laws.”²¹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Debbas		
Cabinet of 25 March 1930 ²²		
1.	August Basha Adeeb	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Agriculture
2.	Ahmad El Hussein ²³	Minister of Justice
3.	Moussa Nemour	Minister of Interior and Health
4.	Hussein Bek El Ahdab	Minister of Public Works
5.	Gabriel Tueini	Minister of Public Schools

Table 2.6 – Cabinet Members of August Basha Adeeb’s Government (25 March 1930)

Nevertheless, the deliberation continued during the next day and other prominent Deputies expressed similar concerns as those of Is’haq. The Cabinet received 30 votes of confidence against 6 with 5 abstentions.²⁴ Prime Minister Edde’s government did not last long. The Cabinet resigned on 20 March 1930. President Debbas immediately

²¹ For the full Arabic text of Deputy Abdullah Ishaq’s speech during the deliberations on PM Emile Edde’s ministerial statement, please see Appendix 4.1 to this Volume. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 16 December 1929.

²² Decree No. 6418 dated 25 March 1930 and signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister August Basha Adeeb appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1930)*, Issue No. 2322, 26 March 1930, p.2.

²³ Ahmad El Hussein resigned as Minister of Justice from the Cabinet and PM August Basha Adeeb’s appointed himself as the Minister of Justice and Subhi Bek Haidar as the Minister of Finance. Decree No. 8285 dated 22 July 1931 signed by President Charles Debbas and PM August Basha Adeeb. *Official Gazette (1931)*, Issue No. 2531, 27 July 1931, p.3.

²⁴ The following cast no-confidence votes in Prime Minister Emile Edde’s government: Abdullah Is’haq, Petro Trad, Habib Basha El Sa’ad, Shebel Demous, Michel Zakkour, and Youssef El Sowda. The Speaker Muhammad El Jisr and the Cabinet Members Emile Edde, Hussein Bek El Ahdab, Moussa Nemour and Ahmad El Hussein abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 17 December 1929.

appointed August Basha Adeeb as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form a new government.²⁵

	13 Jul 1929 ²⁶	22 Oct 1929 ²⁷	21 Oct 1930 ²⁸	20 Oct 1931 ²⁹
Speaker	Muh'd El Jisr	Muh'd El Jisr	Muh'd El Jisr	Muh'd El Jisr
Dep. Speaker	Youssef El Zein	Youssef El Zein	Youssef El Zein	Youssef El Zein
The Secretariat	Mas'oud Younis Henry Pharaon	Mas'oud Younis Henry Pharaon	Mas'oud Younis Henry Pharaon	Mas'oud Younis Henry Pharaon

Table 2.7 - Elected Officials at the Speaker's Bureau of the 2nd Lebanese Parliament (1929-32)

Prime Minister Adeeb presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed Cabinet and received a vote of confidence, including from Abdullah Is'haq, on 5 April 1930.³⁰

Abdullah Is'haq was very active legislator and participated in the deliberations and made several comments and suggestions to the

²⁵ Decree No. 6419 dated 25 March 1930 signed by President Charles Debbas and Prime Minister August Basha Adeeb. *Official Gazette (1930)*, Issue No. 2322, 26 March 1930, p.2.

²⁶ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the opening of the session and Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as the Speaker of the 2nd Parliament with 36 votes out of 40 present with 4 blank paper. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

²⁷ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of the Speaker. Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as the Speaker with 39 votes out of 44 present, against Ibrahim Bek Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) and 4 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 October 1929.

²⁸ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), eldest member present at the opening of the session, presided over the election of the Speaker. Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as the Speaker with 42 votes out of 43 present with 1 blank paper. *Official Minutes (1930)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 21 October 1930.

²⁹ Hussein Bek Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) was elected as the Speaker with 40 votes out of 42 present with 2 votes for Muhammad El Fakhoury (Sunni, Beirut). *Official Minutes (1931)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 20 October 1931.

³⁰ *Official Minutes (1930)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 5 April 1930.

proposed drafts of legislation. Is'haq questioned the government on several occasions by posing inquiries on the government's stance on bankruptcy laws, rules and regulations, including expert witness fees during litigation. In particular, Is'haq questioned the government on its position concerning the registration of female lawyers and their involvement with the Lebanese Bar Association.³¹

Is'haq was a very active member of the By-Laws and the Justice committees. As the Rapporteur of the Justice Committee he authored, signed and presented two different committee reports to the 2nd Parliament on bankruptcy laws and regulations and the administration of liquidators in bankruptcy cases.³²

One of the vital and important issues that the 2nd Parliament considered during its tenure was a piece of legislation presented by Deputy Abdullah Bek Beyham (Sunni, Beirut) about conducting an official census in the Republic of Lebanon. The Deputies of the 2nd Parliament considered the proposed draft and the majority, with the exception of Beshara El Khoury (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Sheikh Youssef El Khazen (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), approved and adopted a law to conduct an official census by the end of 1931.³³

Although the 2nd Parliament adopted a law to conduct a census in Lebanon, President Debbas and Prime Minister Adeeab's government did not act on it for a while, nor did they publish the law in the *Official Gazette* as stipulated by Articles 56 and 57 of the Lebanese Constitution.³⁴ The

³¹ *Official Minutes (1931)*: 23rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 28 December 1931.

³² *Official Minutes (1931)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 2 December 1931; and the *Official Minutes 1932*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 7 March 1932.

³³ *Official Minutes (1931)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 27 May 1931.

³⁴ Article 56 of the Lebanese Constitution in pertinent arts state: "The President of the Republic shall issue the laws which have been definitely adopted and demand their publication... 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." Article 57 in pertinent parts state: "If the time limit expires without the law being issued or returned, the law shall be considered automatically operative and must be promulgated." "The Lebanese Constitution," Official Website of the Presidency of the Republic of Lebanon.

Deputies carried out an inquiry into why the government did not act on the census law within the constitutional timetables.³⁵ President Debbas was obliged to adopt and publish the census law on 24 November 1931.³⁶

President Debbas in conjunction with the Adeeab's government issued Decree No. 8837 on 15 January 1932 and appointed special committees, dividing the country into districts to facilitate the implementation of the census. Article 13 of President Debbas's Decree No. 8837, specifically mentioned that *"refugees from Turkish territories such as Armenians ... or other persons who are of Turkish origin, shall be counted as Lebanese... [if] were found on Lebanese territories on 30 August 1924..."*³⁷

			1929-30 ³⁸	1930-31 ³⁹	1931-32 ⁴⁰	1932 ⁴¹
1	Budget Committee	7	None	None	None	None
2	Finance Committee	7	Is'haq	None	None	None
3	Admin & Justice Com	7	None	Is'haq	Is'haq	Is'haq
4	Public Works/Sch.	5	None	None	None	None
5	Public Health & Agr.	5	None	None	None	None
6	Industry & Tourism	3	None	None	None	None
7	By-Laws/Grievances	3	Is'haq	Is'haq	Is'haq	Is'haq

Table 2.9 – Committee Memberships of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy in the 2nd Parliament (1929-32)

<http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>. [Last accessed 17 August 2015].

³⁵ *Official Minutes (1931)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 18 November 1931.

³⁶ *Official Gazette (1931)*, Issue No. 2584, 27 November 1931, pp.2-3.

³⁷ Decree No. 8837 dated 15 January 1932 and signed by President Charles Debbas, Prime Minister August Basha Adeeb, Minister of Interior Moussa Nemour and Minister of Finance Subhi Haydar. *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue No. 2606, 18 January 1932, pp.2-4.

³⁸ *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 October 1929.

³⁹ *Official Minutes (1930)*: 12th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 25 April 1930.

⁴⁰ *Official Minutes (1931)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 17 March 1931.

⁴¹ *Official Minutes (1932)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 22 March 1932. The Parliament was later dissolved on 9 May 1932 pursuant to Administrative Decision No. 55/L.R. signed by Henri Ponsot, High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria and Lebanon.

	Prime Minister	Beshara El Khoury	Emile Edde	August Adeeb
		13 Jul 1929 ⁴²	19 Dec 1929 ⁴³	25 Mar 1930 ⁴⁴
1	Abdullah Is'haq	✓	X	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 2.8 - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments during the 2nd Parliament

Accordingly, the census was conducted but the the official results were not published until 5 October 1932.⁴⁵ The results of the census

⁴² Prime Minister Beshara El Khoury presented the Cabinet's ministerial statement on domestic policies to the 2nd Parliament and received 29 confidence votes against 5 no-confidence votes with 2 abstentions. The following 5 deputies cast No-Confidence Votes: Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Qabalan Franjeh (Maronite, North Lebanon), George Tabet (Maronite, Beirut), Moussa Nemour (Maronite, Beka'a Valley) whereas Michel Zakkour (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 13 July 1929.

⁴³ Prime Minister Emile Edde presented the newly formed Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 2nd Parliament on 22 November 1929 and received 30 confidence votes against 6 no-confidence votes with 5 abstentions. The following deputies cast no-confidence votes: Abdullah Is'haq (Minorities [*Armenian Catholic*], Beirut), Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Habib Basha El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Shebel Demous (Roman Orthodox, Beka'a Valley), Michel Zakkour (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Youssef El Sowda (Maronite, Mount Lebanon). The Speaker, Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli), and 4 appointed ministers: Emile Edde (Maronite, Beirut), Hussein El Ahdab (Sunni, Beirut), Moussa Nemour (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Ahmad El Hussein (Shia, Mount Lebanon) abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1929)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 17 December 1929.

⁴⁴ Prime Minister August Adeeb presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 2nd Parliament on 5 April 1930 and received 28 confidence votes against 4 no-confidence votes with 6 abstentions. The following deputies cast no-confidence votes to P.M. August Adeeb's Government: Shebel Demous (Roman Orthodox, Beka'a Valley), Sami Kena'an (Maronite, South Lebanon), Khaled Chehab (Sunni, South Lebanon), Ibrahim Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley). Speaker Sheikh Muhamad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) with Moussa Nemour (Maronite, Beka'a Valley), Ahmad El Hussein (Shia, Mount Lebanon), Hussein El Ahdab (Sunni, Beirut), Emile Edde (Maronite, Beirut) and Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1930)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 5 April 1930.

⁴⁵ "Summary of the Results of the Census of the Population of the Lebanese Republic." *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue No. 2718, 5 October 1932, p.5. See a re-print at Appendix 3 to this Volume.

became the basis for future personal registration of the Lebanese citizens (residents and emigrants alike) and formed the cornerstone of citizenship legislation in Lebanon.⁴⁶

The official numbers of the 1932 Census provide that the Armenian Orthodox population counted 26,102 whereas the Armenian Catholics counted 5,890 out of a total population of 793,396.⁴⁷

As President Debbas's three-year term was about to end on 27 May 1932, the campaign to elect the next president started to dominate the political scene in Greater Lebanon. The rivalry between the two Maronite chiefs, Beshara El Khoury and Emile Edde, started to escalate, whereas the Sunni constituents of Lebanon expressed their appetite to have a Sunni president. The Muslim Congress of Beirut, at its January 1932 meeting, adopted a resolution to promote the candidacy of Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli) for President of the Republic.⁴⁸ As the contention between the Maronite candidates intensified, Edde withdrew in favor of El Jisr.⁴⁹

Article 49 of the amended Constitution of 1929 had set the term of the new president for six years. The withdrawal of Emil Edde from the Presidential race and the promotion of El Jisr's name as a potential candidate alerted the French authorities that the political landscape may shift leading to the disintegration of Greater Lebanon and the potential re-unification of the hinterlands back to Syria. A move most Sunnis and non-Maronite Christians had been promoting for years.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For detailed account of the 1932 Census, see Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932. Who are the Lebanese?" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (November 1999), pp.219-241.

⁴⁷ The official numbers of the 1932 Census provide the following numbers: Sunnis 178,100; Shi'as 155,035; Druze 53,334; Maronites 227,800; Greek Catholics 46,709; Greek Orthodox 77,312; Protestants 6,869; Armenian Orthodox 26,102; Armenian Catholic 5,890; Syriac Orthodox 2,723; Syriac Catholic 2,803; Jews 3,588; Chaldean Orthodox 190; Chaldean Catholics 548; Miscellaneous 6,393. Total: 793,396. See *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue 2718, 5 October 1932, p.5.

⁴⁸ For detailed account on the proposal of Sheikh Muhammad El Jisr's candidacy for Presidency, see Elizabeth Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 2002), p.67. See also, Tom Nejem, *Lebanon: The Politics of a Penetrated Society*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), p.11, and Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, (London, Pluto Press, 2007), p.91.

⁴⁹ Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, p.67.

⁵⁰ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, pp.91-101.

A few weeks before President Debbas's term was about to end, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Greater Lebanon, Henri Ponsot, issued Administrative Decision 55/L.R. on 9 May 1932 and partly suspended the Lebanese Constitution, Ponsot specifically suspending the provisions that related to the executive and legislative powers of the government and declared that the prime minister to have executive authorities to conduct the day-to-day activities of the Republic.⁵¹ He later issued Decision No. 56/L.R. and appointed Charles Debbas as the Prime Minister and dissolved parliament.⁵² The last day the 2nd Parliament was on 22 March 1932.

⁵¹ Administrative Decision No. 55/L.R. dated 9 May 1932 and signed by Henri Ponsot, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue No. 2661, 25 May 1932, p.2.

⁵² Administrative Decision No. 56/L.R. dated 9 May 1932 and signed by Henri Ponsot, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue No. 2661, 25 May 1932, pp.2-3.

The 3rd Lebanese Parliament

(1934-37)

The last meeting of the 2nd Parliament was held on 22 March 1932, after which the activities of the Lebanese Parliament were suspended pursuant to Decision No. 56/L.R. dated 9 May 1932 signed by Henri Ponsot, the High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon.¹ The country was then governed by Prime Minister Charles Debbas assisted by Council of Director-Generals of Justice, Interior, Finance, Motor Vehicle Registration, Public Schools, Agriculture and Health & Public Emergency.²

The Wall Street crash in 1929 pulled many industrial nations into an economic depression, which directly affected the newly established

¹ Administrative Decision No. 56/L.R. dated 9 May 1932 signed by Henri Ponsot, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1932)*, Issue No. 2662, 25 May 1932, pp.2-3.

² Administrative Decision No. 55/L.R. dated 9 May 1932 signed by Henri Ponsot, French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1932)*, Issue No. 2661, 25 May 1932, p.2.A.

nations, including Lebanon and its neighboring Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. The port of Beirut started losing ground and a lot of the traffic moved to the port of Haifa, in Palestine, which was rapidly being developed by the British authorities.³ Domestically, the economic privileges given to French companies as a result of the Mandate were alienating the population as Syrio-Lebanese control over public interests started to take precedence. General strikes were organized, including that of the taxi drivers against the Tramways, and huge demonstrations against the high prices of French controlled electricity took place in major cities such as Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Damascus, unleashing mass boycott of the services of the French-run Tramways.⁴

25	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Attendance
1	Vahram Leilekian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	92	0	100%

Table 3.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputy in the 3rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)

The Wall Street crash in 1929 pulled many industrial nations into an economic depression, which directly affected the newly established nations, including Lebanon and its neighboring Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. The port of Beirut started losing ground and a lot of the traffic moved to the port of Haifa, in Palestine, which was rapidly being developed by the British authorities.⁵ Domestically, the economic privileges given to French companies as a result of the Mandate were alienating the population as Syrio-Lebanese control over public interests started to take precedence. General strikes were organized, including that of the taxi drivers against the Tramways, and huge demonstrations against the high prices of French controlled electricity took place in major cities such as Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Damascus, unleashing mass boycott of the services of the French-run Tramways.⁶

As an immediate reaction to the suspension of the Constitution in 1932, Beshara El Khoury formed the Constitutional Bloc, a new political party, which demanded the re-instatement of the Constitution and promoted the concept of having a new agreement with France. Khoury's

³ Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, (London, Pluto Press, 2007), pp.95-96.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, (London, Pluto Press, 2007), pp.95-96.

⁶ Ibid.

men grouped around the daily newspaper *Le Jour*, founded by Michel Chiha in 1934, whereas Emile Edde's supported in the Nationalist Bloc congregated around the daily *L'Orient*.⁷ The division between the two schools of thought in Lebanon deepened as Edde and his supporters promoted Lebanon as a Christian homeland with its Mediterranean identity and strong ties with the west, whereas, Khoury's Constitutional Bloc valued the collaboration with the Muslim population and maintenance of close and friendly relationships with neighboring Syria and the rest of the Arab world.⁸

The political situation in neighboring countries was not that different from that of Lebanon. The French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon had accepted a new constitution for Syria in 1930, but withheld any overriding authority on matters affecting the rights and duties of France as the mandate power.⁹ As a result, two different schools of thought dominated the political scene in Damascus: the political alignments of the People's Party led by Dr Abd Al-Rahman Shahbandar, a prominent Syrian nationalist, who promoted the idea of a federalist Syria under the patronage of Emir Abdullah of Jordan, versus the alliances led by the National Bloc's Shukri El Quwatli who had strong ties with Ibn Saud, the founder of Saudi Arabia, in Najd, Central Arabia, who had defeated the Hashemite's from Hejaz and the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina in 1924-25.¹⁰

To counterbalance the existing mainstream political philosophies, a third school of thought emerged in Lebanon and Syria in 1932 that had a tremendous impact on the turn of events in the future: The Syrian Social Nationalist Social Party (SSNP) (*Arabic: El Hezb El Qawmi El Ijtima'i El Soury*) led by Antoun Sa'adeh, the Lebanese writer and politician, who advocated a united Greater Syria integrated with Lebanon, Transjordan, Palestine, Northern Iraq and Cyprus.

⁷ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, pp.93-94.

⁸ Elizabeth Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 2002), pp.68-69.

⁹ John McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, (London: Saqi books, 2014), pp.92-93.

¹⁰ For the internal political dynamics and mainstream schools of political thought during the French Mandate in Syria, see Su'ad Jarous, *Min El Intidab ila El Inqilab: Souria Zaman Najeeb El Reyyes (1898-1952) [From Mandate to Coup d'Etat: Syria in the times of Najeeb El Rayyes 1898-1952]*. (Beirut, Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2015).

Amidst the intense antagonistic political situation, and deteriorating economic conditions in Greater Lebanon and Syria caused public anger to escalate and led to major strikes and disturbances in both countries. French High Commissioner Henri Ponsot resigned and Comte Damien de Martel was officially appointed in his place in October 1933.

With the intent to stabilize the political and security conditions in Lebanon, the newly appointed de Martel issued his first Administrative Decision reinstating some provisions of the Lebanese Constitution on a temporary basis on 2 January 1934.¹¹ De Martel basically re-organized the executive and legislative branches of the Lebanese Republic by conferring the title of “President” upon the Prime Minister and granting him the authority to head the executive branch of the Lebanese Government in conjunction with a state secretary that reported to the President only, and assisted by a Council of Director-Generals.¹² Administrative Decision No. 1 further stipulated that the legislative branch of the government would be represented in a Chamber of Deputies, the members of which would be elected directly by the people on the basis of 1 deputy per 50,000 residents in addition to 7 deputies that the President would appoint with the consent of the Council of Director-Generals.¹³ The Decision further stipulated that the President, with the approval of the Council of Director-Generals, would have the right to dissolve the parliament and call for new elections within three months.¹⁴ In another Administrative Decision No. 2, de Martel set the number of elected deputies to 18.¹⁵

In conjunction with Decisions 1 and 2, Prime Minister Debbas immediately resigned and de Martel appointed Habib Basha El Sa’ad as the President of the Republic for a term of 1 year.¹⁶ De Martel then issued Decision No. 4 and appointed Breva Aubouard as Acting Prime Minister

¹¹Administrative Decision No. 1 dated 2 January 1934 signed by Damien de Martel, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, 12 January 1934, pp.2-5.

¹² Articles 3 and 6 of the Administrative Decision No. 1 dated 2 January 1934.

¹³ Articles 2 and 4 of the Administrative Decision No. 1 dated 2 January 1934.

¹⁴ Article 44 of the Administrative Decision No. 1 dated 2 January 1934.

¹⁵Administrative Decision No. 2 dated 2 January 1934 signed by Damien de Martel, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, 12 January 1934, pp.5-14.

¹⁶Administrative Decision No. 3 dated 2 January 1934 signed by Damien de Martel, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, 12 January 1934, p.15.

until President Habib Basha El Sa'ad took office.¹⁷ As soon as the legal authority was bestowed upon Aubouard, Decree No. 1 was issued allocating the number of Deputies to the relevant religious groups in Lebanon based upon the official results of the 1932 Census and, for the first time in history, the Armenian Orthodox community in Lebanon was officially given the right to have a representative in the Lebanese Parliament.¹⁸ Aubouard then issued another decree setting 21 January 1934 as the date for the election for a new legislative body.¹⁹

Elected MPs	18	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 3 rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)
Beirut District	3	Ayoub Tabet (Minorities); Kheiredeen El Ahdab (Sunni) and Vahram Leilekian (Armenian Orthodox).
Beka'a Valley	3	Elias Tohme Skaff (Roman Catholic); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia) and Muhammad Ameen Qaz'oun (Sunni).
North Lebanon	5	Ameen El Muqqadam (Sunni); Hameed Franjeh (Maronite); Muhammad Abboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Shebel Issa El Khoury (Maronite). ²⁰
So. Lebanon	2	Fadl El Fadl (Shia) ²¹ and Najeeb Osseiran (Shia).
Mount Lebanon	5	Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox); Hekmet Jumblatt (Druze); Fareed El Khazen (Maronite); Camille Chamoun (Maronite) and Michel Zakkour (Maronite).

Table 3.2 - Names of the Elected Deputies of the 3rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)

¹⁷ Administrative Decision No. 4 dated 2 January 1934 signed by Damien de Martel, High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Greater Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, 12 January 1934, p.5.

¹⁸ Decree No. 1 dated 3 January 1934 signed by Breva Aubouard, Acting Prime Minister and Subhi Abu El Nisr, Director-General of Interior granting the Lebanese-Armenian community the right to a seat in the parliament. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2913, 5 January 1934, p.20.

¹⁹ Decree No. 2 dated 3 January 1934 signed by Breva Aubouard, Acting Prime Minister and Subhi Abu El Nisr, Director-General of Interior. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2913, 5 January 1934, pp.19-20.

²⁰ Shebel Issa El Khoury passed away in 1934 and was replaced by Najeeb Hanna El Daher (Maronite, North Lebanon). By-election was called pursuant to Decree No. 149 dated 3 March 1934 and signed by President Habib Basha El Sa'ad and State Secretary Abdullah Beyham and Director General of Interior Subhi Abu El Nasr. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2938, 5 March 1934, p.2.

²¹ Fadl El Fadl passed away in 1935 and was replaced by Beheej El Fadl (Shia, South Lebanon). By-election was called pursuant to Decree No. 1431 dated 8 February 1935 and signed by President Habib Basha El Sa'ad, State Secretary Abdullah Beyham and Director General of Interior Subhi Abu Nadr. *Official Gazette (1935)*, Issue No. 3085, 15 February 1935, p.7.

The Lebanese-Armenian community was actively engaged in the pre-election campaign for the election of the 3rd Parliament.²² The Tashnaks, an Armenian political party in Lebanon, endorsed the candidacy of Dr Antranik Tchavoushian, whereas a member of the non-profit AGBU²³ Vahram Leilekian, was supported by the s the Hunchak and Ramgavar Parties,²⁴ won the election and became the first Lebanese-Armenian deputy in the Lebanese Parliament.²⁵

Appointed MPs	7	Names of Deputies Appointed to the 3 rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)
Maronites	2	Beshara El Khoury (Mount Lebanon) and Emile Edde (Beirut).
Sunnis	1	Emir Khaled Chehab (South Lebanon).
Shias	1	Ibrahim Haydar (Beka'a Valley).
Roman Orthodox	1	Charles Debbas (Beirut). ²⁶
Roman Catholics	1	Gabriel Khabbaz (Beirut).
Druze	1	Emir Majeed Arslan (Mount Lebanon).

Table 3.3 - Names of the Deputies Appointed of the 3rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)

Immediately after the election results were out, Brevé Aubouard issued Decree No. 49 on 29 January 1934 and called for an extraordinary session of the newly elected parliament to commence the next day.²⁷ He

²² For a narrative of the pre-election campaign within the Lebanese-Armenian community in 1934, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.41-50. For an analysis of the 1934 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.110-121.

²³ Armenian General Benevolent Union (the "AGBU") is a non-profit charitable organization established in 1906 in Egypt and has been operating ever since in Lebanon and elsewhere.

²⁴ The three active Armenian political parties in Lebanon were: The Social Democratic Hunchak Party (Hunchak), the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Tashnak), and the Armenian Liberal Party (Ramgavar). See Latif Abdul-Husn, *The Lebanese Conflict: Looking Inward*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

²⁵ George H. Aynilian, "Armenian Deputies in Lebanon (1929-2009): A Historical Perspective," *Keghart Online*, <http://www.keghart.com/Aynilian-Deputies>. [Last accessed 9 August 2016].

²⁶ Charles Debbas resigned and was replaced by Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut).

²⁷ Decree No. 49 dated 29 January 1934 signed by Acting Prime Minister Brevé Aubouard. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2924, 31 January 1934, p.2.

then issued another Decree and appointed seven deputies to the 3rd Parliament as shown in Table 3.3.²⁸

The legislative life in Lebanon re-commenced with the 3rd Parliament's first meeting on 30 January 1934. Deputy Fadl Bek Fadl (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Charles Debbas (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) as Speaker of the 3rd Parliament.²⁹ The Deputies then proceeded to elect the Deputy Speaker and the Secretaries to the Chamber.

The 3rd Parliament was very active in legislating new laws during its tenure from 1934 to 1937. It held a total of 92 legislative meetings comprising of 77 ordinary and 15 extraordinary meetings. Deputy Vahram Leilekian, as the first Lebanese-Armenian parliamentarian, set a precedent for future Armenian and non-Armenian legislators by never being absent at any of the meetings, thus registering a perfect 100% attendance record.

The 25-member parliament was an assembly of the most eminent Lebanese leaders at the time, who have left a tremendous impact on Lebanon's modern history. Vahram Leilekian was a member of this elite group that included Sabri Hamadeh, Ayoub Tabet, Charles Debbas, Kheiredeen El Ahdab, Emile Edde, Beshara El Khoury, Hekmet Jumblatt, Fareed El Khazen, Camille Chamoun, Majeed Arslan, Khaled Chehab and Hameed Franjieh, to name a few.

As a legislator, Leilekian was very vocal on domestic issues and voiced his concerns on different issues in parliament. During the very first ordinary meeting of the 3rd Parliament, as the members were discussing the collapse of the East Planet Building (*Kawkab Al Sharq*) at Martyrs' Square, Beirut, in March 1934, that claimed the lives of several people, Leilekian submitted a long written speech in parliament that was read by the clerk, expressing deep sorrow over the loss of lives and

²⁸ Decree No. 53 dated 29 January 1934 signed by Brevia Aubouard, Acting Prime Minister and Abdullah Beyham, State Secretary. *Official Gazette* (1934), Issue No. 2924, 31 January 1934, pp.2-3.

²⁹ *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies* (1934): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 30 January 1934.

accusing the authorities of gross negligence in carrying out their oversight tasks and of not granting appropriate building permits.³⁰

Leilekian demanded that new legislation be passed for all buildings, but mainly public buildings, so that the construction may be supervised and technically controlled. Some 80 years ago, Leilekian proposed:

“First – No construction license should be granted unless a detailed technical map of the building is submitted to the relevant authorities and signed by the supervising engineer.

“Second – The engineer, or the architect, should supervise and be in charge for the strength of the building under construction.

“Third – The responsibilities assumed by the architect, engineer, owner, tenant or the public authorities must be specified in the project.

“Fourth – Workers and bystanders who fall as victims to construction defects should be compensated and those individuals who are in charge must be held criminally accountable.”³¹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

In another debate, Leilekian demanded that the government protects the rights of Lebanese laborers who carry out public works over non-Lebanese workers. Leilekian specifically called upon the government to implement Article 59 of the Public Works Regulations that limited the employment of foreign laborers to a maximum of 10% in any public construction project.³²

³⁰ *Official Minutes (1934)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 March 1934.

³¹ For the full Arabic text of Vahram Leilekian’s speech on 20 March 1934, see Appendix 5.1. *Official Minutes (1934)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 March 1934.

³² *Official Minutes (1934)*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 23 April 1934. For full account of the speech in Arabic given by Deputy Vahram Leilekian, see Appendix 5.2.

	30 Jan 34 ³³	20 Nov 34 ³⁴	22 Oct 35 ³⁵	20 Nov 36 ³⁶
Speaker	Charles Debbas	Petro Trad	Khaled Chehab	Khaled Chehab
Dep. Speaker	Najeeb Osseiran	Najeeb Osseiran	Najeeb Osseiran	Najeeb Osseiran
Secretariat	Majeed Arslan Michel Zakkour	Majeed Arslan Camille Chamoun	Hekmet Jumblatt Hameed Franjeh	Hekmet Jumblatt Hameed Franjeh

Table 3.4 - Elected Officials at the Speaker's Bureau of the 3rd Lebanese Parliament (1934-37)

Leilekian was also very vocal on the issue of safety and maintenance of public roads in Lebanon. He challenged the government for leaving the conditions of the public thoroughfares in such an unsatisfactory state that trucks carrying more than ten tons of goods could not use the 80-kilometers long Beirut to Tripoli motorway because of the poor and unsafe conditions and instead were obliged to take the 260 kilometers Moallaqa – Ba'albeck – Damascus road to get to Tripoli. Leilekian urged the government to take adequate measures to remedy the situation and presented a proposal to parliament highlighting technical methods available that could be employed so that the public motorways could tolerate the traffic from heavy vehicles without having to repair them on an annual basis. He further demanded that the Public

³³ Fadl Bek Fadl (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of Charles Debbas (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) who received 19 votes against Ayoub Tabet's (Minorities, Beirut) 1 vote with one blank paper. *Official Minutes (1934)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 30 January 1934.

³⁴ Nejeeb Bek Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox) who replaced Charles Debbas, with 20 votes against 1 vote for Sheikh Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon) and 2 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1934)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 November 1934.

³⁵ Najeeb Bek Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest deputy present presided over the election of Emir Khaled Chehab (Sunni, South Lebanon) with 11 votes against 6 votes for KheiredeenEl Ahdab (Sunni, Beirut) with 1 blank paper. *Official Minutes (1935)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 22 October 1935.

³⁶ Najeeb Bek Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest deputy present presided over the election of the new Speaker. Nejeeb Bek Osseiran received 18 votes against 1 vote for Ibrahim Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) and 1 blank paper. *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 November 1936.

Works Committee considered the matter before the 3rd Parliament adopted a new budget for the following year.³⁷

According to the By-Laws, the 3rd Parliament had only five active standing committees that deliberated and made the necessary recommendations to parliament. During the tenure of the 3rd Parliament, Leilekian was elected four separate times to the Public Works and Public Schools Committee.

Leilekian was also instrumental in demanding that the Interior Ministry adopted certain guidelines in order to reward and promote members of the police force for “outstanding” services and to implement a policy to compensate the families and heirs of those officers who lost their lives in the line of duty.³⁸

		1934-35 ³⁹	1935-35 ⁴⁰	1936-37 ⁴¹	1937-38 ⁴²
1	Budge & Finance	None	None	None	None
2	Admin. & Justice	None	None	None	None
3	Public Works/Schools	Leilekian	Leilekian	Leilekian	Leilekian
4	Public Health & Agr.	None	None	None	None
5	Proposals & Griev.	None	None	None	None

Table 3.5 – Committee Memberships of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 3rd Parliament (1934-37)

During his term in the 3rd Parliament, Leilekian highlighted the lack of government funding for athletic clubs in Lebanon and presented a piece legislation for the allocation of public grants to fund sports

³⁷ *Official Minutes (1934)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 4 December 1934. For the full Arabic text of Leilekian’s speech, see Appendix 5.3.

³⁸ *Official Minutes (1934)*: 6th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 10 December 1934. For the full Arabic text of Leilekian’s speech, please see Appendix 5.4.

³⁹ *Official Minutes (1934)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 March 1934.

⁴⁰ *Official Minutes (1935)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 19 March 1935.

⁴¹ *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 17 April 1936.

⁴² *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 2 February 1937.

activities – under the slogan “a healthy mind in a healthy body”.⁴³ Other Deputies joined Leilekian in adopting a collective legislative proposal in that regard - including Hameed Franjeh, Sabri Hamadeh, Camille Chamoun, Elias Skaff, Majeed Arslan, Hekmat Jumblatt, Naseeb Osseiran, Fareed El Khazen, to name a few.⁴⁴

The 3rd Parliament was very active in legislating new laws, however, the tense political situation, continued to dominate the everyday life of the Lebanese people, particularly as President El Sa’ad’s one-year term was about to end in January 1935. However, Damien de Martel issued Decision No. 300/L.R. on 31 December 1934 and re-appointed El Sa’ad as the President for another one-year term commencing 30 January 1935.

During the deliberation on the state budget in January 1935, Leilekian’s contribution to the adoption of the budget was instrumental, as he debated the untimely effect of the lack of construction taxes and made certain recommendation to reinstate such taxes by arguing that:

“Firstly – Since 1930, the rents are 10-20% decreasing every year. Therefore, if adequate measures are not taken to put an end to this continuous decrease, people would face a terrible disaster because the amount of money spent on construction will no longer benefit the constructors and will cause continuous loss, especially 60% of the nation’s buildings are mortgaged with high interest rates and the interest payments are not cover by the rental income. If this situation persists, bankruptcy would be the result. The government must take adequate and effective measures in order to prevent such disaster.

“Secondly – As the government adopted new tax exemptions to the construction industry, the country was populated with many citizens and refugees from all over the world and the existing buildings were not enough to accommodate them. However, a surplus of buildings exceeds the demand by residents and most of

⁴³ *Official Minutes (1934)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 18 December 1934. For the full Arabic text of Leilekian’s proposal, see Appendix 5.5.

⁴⁴ *Official Minutes (1935)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 26 November 1935. For the full Arabic text of Leilekian’s proposal, see Appendix 5.7.

them [*buildings*] are empty. Therefore, the reason for the tax exemption no longer exists and actually becomes detrimental which is why the government should have annulled this law long time ago.

“Thirdly – Our country is poor by nature, and since the first days of the Mandate to date, we have allocated the biggest part of our budget for construction, which today is valued at 50% of the state budget. In fact, we did not dedicate any funds to enhance small industries or agriculture. Until now if we needed a nail or a sewing needle we have to import it from abroad, and in case we do not import flour we shall be exposed to hunger. For the aforementioned reasons, I submit my goodwill proposal.⁴⁵ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Leilekian also touched upon the issue of the fuel taxes claiming that “[T]he fuel income [had] registered only 360,000 Syrian pounds in the government’s budget,” and this amount has been “one of the government’s greatest revenues coming from more than 6,000 vehicles,” however Leilekian accused the government of being “careless regarding this issue that [*brought*] large amounts of money”. He proposed:

“I propose to form a committee that consists of chemical specialists in order to draft a law based upon the following conditions:

“First: Supervising and testing the fuel when it arrives at the customs.

“Second: Testing fuel offered for sale to prevent the marketing of defective fuel.

“Third: Control fuel transportation and properly equip depositories/tanks.”⁴⁶ [*Translation from Arabic*].

The political debate between the National Bloc and the Constitutional Bloc continued in 1935 and escalated into massive strikes against the Mandate. The strikes in Lebanese and Syrian cities alike

⁴⁵ For the full Arabic text of Leilekian’s proposal, please see Appendix 5.6. *Official Minutes (1935)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 28 January 1935.

⁴⁶ For full text of the Leilekian’s proposal on fuel taxes, please see Appendix 5.8. *Official Minutes (1935)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 18 December 1935.

turned into political protests throughout the latter part of 1935 and reached a climax when some protesters were killed outside of the Ummayad Mosque in Damascus in January 1936.⁴⁷

The year 1936, however, was a turning point in the history of both Lebanon and Syria. In both countries, renewed nationalist demands escalated as they saw progress in other regional countries, such as the nationalist movement in Egypt that was able to secure the signing of an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on 26 August 1936, which declared Egypt's independence but ceded the foreign and defense policies to Great Britain.⁴⁸ In Palestine, large-scale demonstrations took place against the British Mandate and Jewish immigration. In Syria, the Ummayad Mosque incident was followed by violent demonstrations that led Damien de Martel to promise to re-establish parliamentary life and forced him to conclude a treaty with Syria recognizing its independence.⁴⁹

In Lebanon, the political mood was no different. As the second term of his presidency was about to end, President Habib Basha El Sa'ad issued Decree No. 2640 on 4 January 1936 and called for an extraordinary session of the 3rd Parliament to elect a new president.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the 3rd Parliament convened on 20 January 1936 and elected Emile Edde as the President of the Republic with 15 votes against Beshara El Khoury's 10 votes.⁵¹

During President Edde's first year, Lebanon was still governed pursuant to provisions of Administrative Decisions 1 and 2 of January 1934 issued by de Martel, namely, the President as the head of the Executive Branch, conducted his task in conjunction with a State Secretary and assisted by the Council of Director-Generals.⁵² As soon as President Edde took office, he issued two separate Decrees appointing Ayoub Tabet as State Secretary replacing Abdullah Beyham and

⁴⁷ McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.97.

⁴⁸ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, p.98.

⁴⁹ McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.97.

⁵⁰ Decree No. 2640 dated 4 January 1936 signed by President Habib Basha El Sa'ad and State Secretary Abdullah Beyham. *Official Gazette (1936)*, Issue No. 3225, 8 January 1936, p.2.

⁵¹ *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 January 1936.

⁵² Administrative Decision 1 dated 2 January 1934 signed by Damien de Martel, French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, January 12 1934, pp.2-5.

appointing Emir Khalil Abillama to replace Ayoub Tabet as a Deputy in the 3rd Parliament.⁵³

Armenian related issues surfaced in the deliberations of the 3rd Parliament in 1935. Leilekian demanded that there be a Lebanese-Armenian representation on Beirut's Municipality Council. Accordingly, the Deputies demanded the appointment of two extra members on the Beirut Municipality Council: one Shia and one Armenian. Leilekian proposed a draft law to postpone the Beirut Municipality elections to accommodate the right of the Armenian community with a representative seat, which was deliberated upon and later adopted by the Administration and Justice Committee in 1936. The Rapporteur of the committee at the time, Camille Chamoun, signed the following report and presented it to parliament, recommending the adoption of Leilekian's proposal:

**Report of the Rapporteur of the Administration and
Justice Committee**

Relevant to Beirut, Tripoli and Askala's municipal elections postponement.

The Administration and Justice Committee held its meeting and reviewed the submitted draft law by virtue of Decree No. 316 related to Beirut, Tripoli and the Port of Tripoli's municipal elections postponement as well as the amendment proposal submitted by the Deputy of Beirut Vahram Leilekian, in which he suggested to grant the Lebanese-Armenians the right of representation within the Beirut Municipal Council.

The committee approved the draft law based on the explanatory statement and accepted the proposed amendment and found that the number of the Lebanese-Armenians in Beirut allows them to have the right of representation. Therefore, the committee decided to add an Armenian Gregorian member to the present Municipal Council's members.

⁵³ Decree No. 1/E dated 30 January 1936 signed by President Emile Edde accepting resignation of Abdullah Beyham and appointing Ayoub Tabet as State Secretary. Also see Decree No. 3/E dated 31 January 1936 signed by President Emile Edde and State Secretary Ayoub Tabet appointing Emir Khalil Abillama as a Deputy. *Official Gazette* (1936), Issue No. 3236, 3 February 1936, pp.5-6.

The draft law shall consist of the following, subject to further amendments:

Draft law

Article one – Beirut municipal elections shall be postponed until Sunday May 3 1938, while the present municipal mandate ends on May 19, 1936.

Article two – The Municipal Committee shall consist of 17 members among which 12 would be Lebanese and four foreigners by virtue of the Decision No. 3627 dated April 21 1926, in addition to an Armenian Gregorian member. Further, the Beirut Municipal Committee shall have all competencies granted to the Beirut Municipal Council by virtue of the decision no. 2671.

Article three – Tripoli and Askala's municipal elections shall be postponed to Sunday May 3 1938, while the present municipal mandates in Tripoli and Askala end on May 19 1936. Further, two committees in Tripoli and Askala shall be designated consisting of members the number of which is equal to the present committee's number.

The committee calls upon parliament to grant immediately the right to seek an election draft law, in cooperation with the government, related to Beirut, Tripoli and Askala's municipalities instead of the present law so that the new law is improved in line with the public's best interest. The committee also calls on parliament's approval in to join the present report to the proposed draft law while approving this report.

Beirut, on May 13, 1936

Rapporteur: Camille Chamoun, Deputy of Mount Lebanon."⁵⁴ [*Translation from Arabic*].

⁵⁴ For the full text of the report and Leilekian's speech, please see Appendix 5.9. *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 13 May 1936.

The measure to postpone municipal elections in Beirut and Tripoli was adopted by the 3rd Parliament, and President Edde signed it into law on 14 May 1936.⁵⁵

By mid-1936, the political mood in the Middle East started to swing toward achieving bilateral treaties between the newly established states and their respective mandate holders. Egypt was successful in signing a treaty with Great Britain on 26 August 1936 securing its independence but ceding its foreign policy to the Mandate and allowing the presence of British troops on the Suez Canal for a further 25 years. Syrian nationalists were in constant negotiations with France as early as March 1936, when a special delegation from the Syrian National Bloc left for Paris to negotiate the Syrian aspirations for independence.⁵⁶ After various interruptions, the French-Syrian negotiations resumed in June 1936 and the Syrians were able to sign a treaty with France on 9 September 1936 making the Alawite and Druze Zones semi-autonomous and ceded Alexandretta to Turkey. They also dropped the annexationist demands over the hinterlands attached to Greater Lebanon.⁵⁷

Lebanon was no different, and similar aspirations towards independence dominated the dialogue among its political echelons. Under tremendous pressure, President Edde summoned the members of the 3rd Parliament to an extraordinary session on 15 October 1936 to elect a special committee that would accompany the President to negotiate with the French authorities in Paris.⁵⁸

Accordingly, Leilekian was elected to the 7-member special committee comprising of prominent Lebanese Deputies who were entrusted with the task of negotiating with the French and defending the inspiration of the Lebanese people. The seven-member Special Committee consisted of Beshara El Khoury, Najeeb Bek Osseiran, Petro

⁵⁵ "Law Postponing the Municipal Elections of Beirut, Tripoli and Asqala," *Official Gazette (1936)*, Issue No. 3281, 18 May 1936, p.3.

⁵⁶ McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.97.

⁵⁷ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, pp.98-100. See also, McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.97.

⁵⁸ Decree No. 1031/E dated 12 October 1936 signed by President Emile Edde and State Secretary Ayoub Tabet. *Official Gazette (1936)*, Issue No. 3346, 16 October 1936, pp.2-3.

Trad, Gabriel Khabbaz, Muhammad Abdul Razzak, Hekmet Jumblatt and Vahram Leilekian.⁵⁹

The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between France and Lebanon was signed on 13 November 1936 by President Edde and State Secretary Ayoub Tabet on one side and Damien de Martel, the French High Commissioner, on the other. President Edde issued Decree No. 1132/E and called for an extraordinary session of the 3rd Parliament to convene immediately and consider and ratify the Franco-Lebanese Treaty of Independence.⁶⁰ The 3rd Parliament considered and ratified the Treaty in its 17 November 1936 meeting⁶¹ and President Edde signed it into law on 20 November 1936.⁶²

Concurrent with the negotiations and ratification of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty, Lebanon witnessed the formation of several political parties by the end of 1936 and early 1937, including the *El Kataeb El Loubnaniyeh* (the Lebanese Phalange Party) led by Pierre Gemayel (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); the *Najjada* Party (The Rescuers) led by Adnan El Hakeem (Sunni, Beirut); and the *El Tala'i* (the Vanguard) led by Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, South Lebanon).

As a reward to the ratification of the the Franco-Lebanese Treaty in November 1936, the French High Commissioner issued Decision 1/L.R. and reinstated the Lebanese Constitution of 1926 as amended in 1927 and 1929 on 4 January 1937.⁶³ President Edde appointed Kheiredeen El Ahdab as the new Prime Minister on 5 January 1937 and entrusted him to appoint a cabinet⁶⁴ and later called for an extraordinary

⁵⁹ *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 15 October 1936.

⁶⁰ Decree No. 1136/E dated 13 November 1936 signed by President Emile Edde and State Secretary Ayoub Tabet. *Official Minutes (1936)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 14 November 1936.

⁶¹ *Official Minutes (1936)*: 2nd Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 17 November 1936.

⁶² "Law Ratifying the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance Between France and Lebanon," dated 20 November 1936 and signed by President Emile Edde and State Secretary Ayoub Tabet. *Official Gazette (1936)*, Issue No. 3365, 30 November 1936, p.2.

⁶³ Administrative Decision No. 1/L.R. dated 4 January 1937 signed by Damien de Martel, the French High Commissioner. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No 3381, 6 January 1937, p.2.

⁶⁴ Decree No. 1/EC dated 5 January 1937 signed by President Emile Edde. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3381, 6 January 1937, p.2.

session of the 3rd Parliament to convene to consider newly formed government's ministerial statement.⁶⁵

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 5 January 1937 ⁶⁶		
1.	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Justice
2.	Emir Khalil Abillama	Minister of Finance and PTT
3.	Ibrahim Haydar	Minister of Public Works and Agriculture
4.	Habib Abi Shahla	Minister of Education, Public Health and Tourism

Table 3.6 – Cabinet Members of Kheiredeen El Ahdab's Government (5 January 1937)

The formation of the Cabinet and the proposed policies mentioned in the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab put the Lebanese opposition into direct confrontation with the government during the extraordinary session of the 3rd Parliament. The tensions between the Constitutional Bloc and the National Bloc further escalated and reached its climax when Beshara El Khoury argued in the strongest terms the unconstitutionality of the decrees that appointed the Prime Minister and ministers alike, as President Edde never took the oath of office after election and, according to El Khoury, Edde's status remained as President-Elect, especially after the reinstatement of the constitution on 4 January 1937.⁶⁷

The tensions escalated even more when Leilekian accused the government of improper and illegal deeds of extortion exerted over the Deputies in order to extract "votes of confidence". Taking the stand during the deliberations, Leilekian claimed:

"At eleven o'clock yesterday morning, Mr Sami Kena'an, the Chief of Staff of the Prime Minister, summoned my cousin, Mr George Haddad, an employee of the Beirut Municipality, to his office at the Small Serai [*Prime Minister's Office*] through the intermediary of the

⁶⁵ Decree No. 98/EC dated 30 January 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3392, 1 February 1937, p.197.

⁶⁶ Decree No. 2/EC dated 5 January 1937 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3381, 6 January 1937, p.3.

⁶⁷ *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 2 February 1937.

Governor of Beirut and threatened to terminate his [Haddad's] employment at the municipality on Wednesday morning if I do not join the pro-government MPs and cast my vote of confidence, and gave him a deadline until this afternoon, Tuesday. The officer has further informed that the government will lie and cover up should I inquire about this incident during the open session at the parliament or in the press.

"My response is a total condemnation to such reprehensible act... to put pressure on the deputies.

"I had determined to cast a vote of no-confidence in the government before this terrible incident, but now my inclination goes stronger towards withholding any vote of confidence in such a government that poses a danger to the public at large."⁶⁸ [Translation from Arabic].

Minister of Education and Public Works, Habib Abi Shahla, who was present during the deliberations, denied Leilekian's allegations on behalf of the government. However, Deputy Hameed Franjeh challenged the government's reply by inquiring about the basis upon which Minister Abi Shahla made the denial without conducting proper investigation of the incident. Emir Majeed Arslan defended Leilekian and demanded that the government investigated the incident and reported back to parliament. A total of 12 deputies, including Leilekian, cast votes of no confidence in El Ahdab's government – which received 13 votes of confidence from the 25 Deputies present.⁶⁹

Tensions between the Nationalist Bloc and the Constitutionalist Bloc remained high leading to the resignation of the government a month after its formation. President Edde, however, re-appointed Kheiredeen El Ahdab a Prime Minister and entrusted him to form another government.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 4th Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 2 February 1937.

⁶⁹ The government of Kheiredeen El Ahdab received a total of 13 confidence votes comprising of 10 votes from the deputies and 3 votes cast by Minister-Deputies. The parliamentary records do not show by name who cast confidence or the no-confidence votes. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 4th Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 2 February 1937.

⁷⁰ Decree No. 268/EC dated 14 March 1937 signed by President Emile Edde. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3411, 17 March 1937, pp.502-503.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 14 March 1937 ⁷¹		
1.	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Prime Minister; Minister of Justice, Finance and PTT
2.	Michel Zakkour	Minister of Interior
3.	Habib Abi Shahla	Minister of Education, Health and National Economy
4.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Public Works and Agriculture

**Table 3.7 – Cabinet Members of Kheiredeen El Ahdab's Government
(14 March 1937)**

The four-member Cabinet led by Prime Minister El Ahdab received a vote of confidence from parliament on 17 March 1937.⁷² In very turbulent and unstable political times domestically and within the region, Prime Minister El Ahdab's second government ended up with a similar faith to that of his first one. It did not survive more than four months. As the Minister of Interior Michel Zakkour passed away, Prime Minister El Ahdab reshuffled his Cabinet and appointed new ministers on 10 July 1937. The new Cabinet was composed of the following members:

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 10 July 1937 ⁷³		
1.	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Prime Minister; Minister of Justice and National Economy
2.	Emir Khalil Abillama	Minister of Education, Health and Acting Foreign & Defense
3.	George Tabet	Minister of Finance and PTT
4.	Habib Abi Shahla	Minister of Interior
5.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Public Works and Agriculture

**Table 3.8 – Cabinet Members of Kheiredeen El Ahdab's Government
(10 July 1937)**

El Ahdab's move to reshuffle the ministerial posts and appoint new ministers was not received favorably by the 3rd Parliament. In accordance with Article 33 of the Lebanese Constitution, an absolute majority of the Deputies demanded that the President called an

⁷¹ Decree No. 269/EC dated 14 March 1937 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3411, 17 March 1937, p.503.

⁷² *Official Minutes (1937)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 17 March 1937.

⁷³ Decree No. 807/EC dated 10 July 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3462, 14 July 1937, p.1234.

extraordinary session of parliament to cancel the vote of confidence in the government.⁷⁴ Accordingly, President Edde issued Decree No. 808/EC on 10 July 1937 and called for an extraordinary session of the 3rd Parliament to commence on 26 July 1937.⁷⁵ Leilekian and his colleagues constituted an absolute majority of the 3rd Parliament, however, they could not wait until the prescribed date of the extraordinary session and held a meeting a week earlier on 18 July 1937 and withdrew their votes of confidence in the government. This was a bold act that the President and his government considered as not valid and unconstitutional.

		P.M KheiredeenEl Ahdab	PM KheiredeenEl Ahdab
		2 Feb 1937 ⁷⁶	17 Mar 1937 ⁷⁷
1.	Vahram Leilekian	X	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 3.9 - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 3rd Parliament

President Edde therefore issued Decree No. 891/EC on 24 July 1937 and dissolved the 3rd Parliament and called for new legislative

⁷⁴ Article 33 of the Lebanese Constitution of 1926 as amended in 1927 in pertinent parts states: "... [T]he President of the Republic shall be required to convene the Chamber in an extraordinary session if an absolute majority of the total membership so requests." The Lebanese Constitution as amended on 17 October 1927. *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2116, 19 October 1927, pp.2-5.

⁷⁵ Decree No. 808/EC dated 10 July 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3462, 14 July 1937, pp.1234-1235.

⁷⁶ Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab presented the Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 3rd Parliament and received 13 confidence votes that included 10 from the deputies and 3 from the Ministers themselves against 12 no-confidence votes. Beshara El Khoury and his Constitutional Bloc cast no-confidence vote. Vahram Leilekian also cast a no-confidence vote. The Record does not show the names of the deputies that cast the No-Confidence Votes. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 2 February 1937.

⁷⁷ Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab presented the newly formed Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 3rd Parliament on 17 March 1937 and received unanimous confidence vote. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 17 March 1937.

elections for 24 October 1937.⁷⁸ The last official meeting of the 3rd Lebanese Parliament was on 5 June 1937.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Decree No. 891/EC dated 24 July 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab dissolving the 3rd Parliament. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3467, 24 July 1937, p.1290.

⁷⁹ *Official Minutes (1937)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 5 June 1937.

The 4th Lebanese Parliament

(1937-39)

In the midst of antagonistic feelings between the Nationalists led by Emile Edde and the Constitutionals led by Beshara El Khoury, the legislative activity in the Lebanese Parliament was put on hold for a few months in the summer of 1937, as President Edde had issued Decree No. 891/EC on 24 July 1937 dissolving the 3rd Parliament and calling for new elections on 24 and 25 October 1937.¹ In the meantime, the country was run by the President and a five-member cabinet led by Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab, which did not receive the legislative body's vote of confidence.

A few weeks before the elections took place, Comte Damien de Martel issued Decision No. 133/L.R. on 6 October 1937, and re-instated Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution re-fixing the term of the Lebanese

¹ Decree No. 891/EC dated 24 July 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab dissolving the 3rd Parliament. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1937)*, Issue No. 3467, 24 July 1937, p.1290.

Presidency to a six-year term.² De Martel issued another decision the next day to amend a previously issued Administrative Decision, No. 2 (2 January 1934), raising the number of the elected members to the Lebanese Parliament to 42 and reiterated Article 24 of the Constitution that set the number of the appointed deputies to be half the number of elected ones.³

	Name of Deputy (63)	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Attendance
1	Vahram Leilekian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	71	4	94%
2	Khosrov Tutundjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	71	0	100%

Table 4.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 4th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39)

Accordingly, President Edde issued Decree No. 1254 on 9 October 1937 and set the distribution of the elected seats of the new Parliament among the religious denominations.⁴

The Lebanese-Armenian community was very active in promoting different candidates in 1937 and the Tashnak representative Khosrov Tutundjian was elected.⁵ The same day, and in accordance with

² Administrative Decision No. 133/L.R. dated 6 October 1937 signed by Damien de Martel, French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3514, 12 November 1937, p.1722. Article 24 of the 1926 Constitution as amended in 1927 provided: "... [T]he number of appointed deputies through Presidential Decrees equals half the number of elected ones." *The Lebanese Constitution* as amended on 17 October 1927. *Official Gazette (1927)*, Issue No. 2116, 19 October 1927, pp.2-5.

³ Administrative Decision No. 135/L.R. dated 7 October 1937 signed by Damien de Martel, French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3515, 15 November 1937, p.1730. See also *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 29 October 1937.

⁴ Decree No. 1254/EC dated 9 October 1937 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab setting the elected seats as follows: From Beirut 2 Sunnis, 1 Maronite, 1 Roman Orthodox, 1 Armenian Orthodox and 1 Minorities. From North Lebanon: 4 Sunnis, 4 Maronites, 1 Roman Orthodox. From Mount Lebanon: 6 Maronites, 1 Sunni, 1 Shia, 2 Druze, 1 Roman Catholic, 1 Roman Orthodox. From South Lebanon: 1 Sunni, 5 Shias, 1 Maronite, 1 Roman Catholic. From Beka'a Valley: 1 Sunni, 2 Shias, 1 Druze, 1 Maronite, 1 Roman Catholic, and 1 Roman Orthodox. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3501, 13 October 1937, pp.1606-1607.

⁵ For the pre-election campaign by the Lebanese-Armenian community in 1937, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.50-61.

Article 24 of the Lebanese Constitution, President Edde issued Decree No. 1368/EC and appointed Leilekian for the Armenian Orthodox seat for the Beirut District for a term commencing on 26 October 1937 and ending on 26 October 1941.⁶

Elected MPs	42	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 4 th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39) ⁷
Beirut District	6	George Tabet (Maronite); Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox); Khosrov Tutundjian (Armenian Orthodox); Saleem El Lebabeedi (Sunni); Shafeeq Naseef (Minorities) and Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni).
Beka'a Valley	7	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Elias Tohme Skaff (Roman Catholic); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Muhammad Ameen Qaz'oun (Sunni); Moussa Nemour (Maronite); Najeeb Necd (Roman Orthodox) and Naseeb El Dawood (Druze).
North Lebanon	9	Hameed Franjeh (Maronite); Khaled Abdul Qader (Sunni); Rashed El Muqaddam (Sunni); Shafeeq Karami (Sunni); Muhammad Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Najeeb El Daher (Maronite); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Yowakeem El Bitar (Maronite) and Youssef Estefan (Maronite).
South Lebanon	8	Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia); Khaled Chehab (Sunni); Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Kazem El Khalil (Shia); Maroun Kena'an (Maronite); Najeeb Osseiran (Shia); Youssef El Zein (Shia) and Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic).
Mount Lebanon	12	Ibrahim Munzir (Roman Orthodox); Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); Ahmad El Khateeb (Sunni); Iskandar El Bustani (Maronite); Hekmet Jumblatt (Druze); Khalil Abu Jaoude (Maronite); Rokez Abu Nader (Maronite); Zakhia Tobia (Maronite); Saleem Taqla (Roman Orthodox); Fareed El Khazen (Maronite); Camille Chamoun (Maronite) and Majeed Arslan (Druze).

Table 4.2 - Names of the Elected Deputies of the 4th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39)

⁶ Decree No. 1368/EC dated 26 October 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab appointing deputies to the 4th Parliament. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3507, 27 October 1937, pp.1658-1659.

⁷ The official list of the elected Deputies to the 4th Parliament was published pursuant to Decision No. 2755 dated 26 October 1937 and signed by Minister of Interior Habib Abi Shahla. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 29 October 1937.

Appointed MPs	21	Names of Appointed Deputies to the 4 th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39)
Maronites	7	Sheikh Beshara El Khoury (Mount Lebanon); Emir Khalil Abillama (Mount Lebanon); Jawad Boulos (North Lebanon); Elias Aad (Mount Lebanon); Tawfeeq Awwad (North Lebanon); Charles Ammoun (Mount Lebanon) and Ibrahim Azar (South Lebanon).
Sunnis	4	Kheiredeen El Ahdab (Beirut); Kamal Jabr (Beirut); Mouhiedeen El Nessouli (Beirut) and Nassouh Agha El Fadel (North Lebanon).
Shias	3	Beheej El Fadl (South Lebanon); Ali Abdullah (South Lebanon) and Emir Rasheed Harfoush (Beka'a Valley).
Roman Orth.	3	Petro Trad (Beirut); Gebran Tueini (Beirut) and Khalil Kseib (Beirut).
Roman Catholics	1	Gabriel Khabbaz (Beirut).
Druze	1	Rasheed Jumblatt (Mount Lebanon).
Minorities	1	Ayoub Tabet (Beirut).
Arm. Orth.	1	Vahram Leilekian (Beirut).

Table 4.3 - Names of Appointed Deputies to the 4th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39)

The 4th Parliament held its first meeting on 29 October 1937 pursuant to Decree No. 1370/EC issued by President Edde and elected Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) as its Speaker and Najeeb Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon) as the Deputy Speaker.⁸ There were no Armenian officials at the Speaker's Bureau.

During its term, the 4th Parliament held a total of 71 meetings comprising 50 ordinary and 21 extraordinary meetings. Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Leilekian and Tutundjian had high attendance and were very instrumental in passing different pieces of legislation.

As soon as the 4th Parliament convened with its 1st Meeting, Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab's cabinet resigned on 30 October 1937 in order to pave the way for the formation of a new government. President

⁸ Decree No. 1370/EC dated 26 October 1937 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3507, 27 October 1937, p.1659. See also, *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 29 October 1937.

Edde immediately re-appointed Kheiredeen El Ahdab to form a new government.⁹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 30 October 1937 ¹⁰		
1.	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Prime Minister; Minister of Justice and Acting Foreign Affairs
2.	Habib Abi Shahla	Minister of Interior
3.	Moussa Nemour	Minister of Finance and Acting Defense
4.	George Tabet	Minister of National Economy and Education
5.	Ibrahim Haydar	Minister of Health & Emergencies and PTT
6.	Saleem Taqla	Minister of Public Works
7.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Agriculture

**Table 4.4 – Cabinet Members of Kheiredeen El Ahdab’s Government
(30 October 1937)**

The new Cabinet presented its general statement of policy (ministerial statement) to the 4th Parliament on 9 November 1937 and received its vote of confidence, including from Leilekian and Tutundjian.¹¹

The participation of both Leilekian and Tutundjian in parliamentary committees was notable, as each was a member of more than two committees. In 1937 and 1938 they were both elected to two different, and separate, committees. However, in 1939, Leilekian was elected to four different committees despite the provisions of the Parliament’s By-Laws that stipulated that no member should be a member of more than two standing committees.¹²

⁹ Decree No. 1415/EC dated 30 October 1937 signed by President Emile Edde. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3510, 3 November 1937, p.1937.

¹⁰ Decree No. 1416/EC dated 30 October 1937 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1937)*, Issue No. 3510, 3 November 1937, p.1682.

¹¹ P.M. Kheiredeen El Ahdab’s Government received 56 confidence votes including those of Leilekian and Tutundjian, against no-confidence votes of Gebran Tueini, Ayoub Tabet and Gabriel Khabbaz. Speaker Petro Trad did not participate in the voting. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 9 November 1937.

¹² Article 20 of the By-Laws of the Lebanese Parliament.

	29 October 37 ¹³	18 October 38 ¹⁴
Speaker	Petro Trad	Petro Trad
Deputy Speaker	Najeeb Osseiran	Najeeb Osseiran
The Secretariat	Mohammad Abdul Razzak Tawfeeq Awwad	Jawad Boulos Khaled Abdul Qader

**Table 4.5 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the
th Lebanese Parliament**

Both Leilekan and Tutundjian, at certain times, took the podium and gave speeches on relevant and contemporaneous issues during the parliamentary sessions. On one occasion in 1937, Leilekian questioned the government as to the reasons why it had not complied with the budget allocation to Armenian schools to provide extra Arabic language teachers. In particular, Leilekian argued:

“During the session held on 7 December 1936, the parliament had decided to allocate two thousand Lebanese Syrian pounds to increase the number of Arabic teachers in some schools, including Armenian schools in Beirut, pursuant to a proposal submitted by some deputies.

“The allocated funds were paid in 1937 without implementing parliament’s decision in terms of the Armenian schools, despite that the government had already approved such a decision.

“Hence, I would like to ask the government the reasons why the parliament’s decision was not implemented, especially as the government is well aware of the importance of teaching Arabic at the Armenian schools in Lebanon. I would particularly stress the necessity of

¹³ Najeeb Bek Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker of the 4th Parliament. Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Speaker with 36 Votes against Sabri Hamadeh’s (Shia, Beka’a Valley) 24 votes with one blank paper. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 29 October 1937.

¹⁴ Najeeb Bek Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker of the 4th Parliament. Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Speaker with 35 Votes against Rasheed Beydoun’s (Shia, South Lebanon) 25 votes with 3 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 18 October 1938.

allocating public school teachers at Armenian schools, especially the number of Armenians in Bourj Hammoud and Beirut exceeds 30,000 people, whereas the government has not yet considered establishing at least one public school there.¹⁵ [*Translation from Arabic*].

		1937-38 ¹⁶	1938-39 ¹⁷	1939-40 ¹⁸
1	Budget & Finance Committee	None	None	Leilekian
2	Administration & Justice Com.	None	None	Tutundjian
3	Public Works & Health/Emerg	Leilekian	Leilekian	Leilekian
4	Tourism & Industry Committee	Leilekian	Leilekian	Leilekian
5	Commerce & Agriculture Com.	None	None	Leilekian
6	National Education Committee	Tutundjian	Tutundjian	Tutundjian
7	Proposals & Grievances Com.	Tutundjian	Tutundjian	Tutundjian

Table 4.6 – Committee Membership of the Armenian Deputies in the 4th Lebanese Parliament (1937-39)

Deteriorating economic conditions, marred by the escalation of animosity between rival political camps, continued to dominate the political spectrum in Lebanon during the latter part of 1937. The government of Kheiredeen El Ahdab, which took office on 30 October 1937, had received a vote of confidence from the 4th Parliament, started to tremble within two months, as some ministers resigned and were replaced. Saleem Taqla, Minister of Public Works, resigned on 10 January 1938 and was replaced by Kamel Gharghour three days later.¹⁹ Emir Majeed Arslan, Minister of Agriculture, resigned and was replaced by

¹⁵ For the full Arabic text of Leilekian's speech on 17 December 1937, see Appendix 5.10. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 17 December 1937.

¹⁶ *Official Minutes (1937)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 17 December 1937.

¹⁷ *Official Minutes (1938)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 1 April 1938.

¹⁸ *Official Minutes (1939)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 22 March 1939.

¹⁹ Decree No. 1727/EC dated 10 January 1938 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab accepting the resignation of Saleem Taqla, Minister of Public Works. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3539, 13 January 1938, p.1938. Also see Decree No. 1737/EC dated 13 January 1938 signed by President Edde and PM El Ahdab appointing Kamel Gharghour as Minister of Public Works. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3541, 20 January 1938, p.1989.

Hekmet Jumblatt on 14 January 1934.²⁰ The same day, Habib Abi Shahla, Minister of Interior, resigned and George Tabet replaced him. Khalil Kasseeb was appointed to replace George Tabet as Minister of Education.²¹ The new Cabinet mix was totally different from that of the original Cabinet that received the vote of confidence. The reshuffled Cabinet did not submit itself to the Parliament for a confidence vote.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 14 January 1938		
1.	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Prime Minister; Min. of Justice & Acting Foreign Affairs
2.	George Tabet	Minister of Interior
3.	Moussa Nemour	Minister of Finance and Acting Defense
4.	Khalil Kseib	Minister of National Economy and Education
5.	Ibrahim Haydar	Minister of Health & Emergencies and PTT
6.	Kamel Gharghour	Minister of Public Works
7.	Hekmet Jumblatt	Minister of Agriculture

**Table 4.7 – Cabinet Members of Kheir Edeed El Ahdab's Government
(14 January 1938)**

As the re-shuffled Cabinet commenced its work, the government called the 4th Parliament to an extraordinary session commencing on 1 February 1938 to deliberate and approve the Budget for 1938.²²

During the deliberations on the Budget, Leilekian posed a question about the deteriorating conditions of the Beirut River Bridge.²³ Tutundjian, on the other hand, did not lose any opportunity and delivered a long speech promoting his political conviction as the representative of the Tashnak Party and a member of the Second

²⁰ Decree No. 1738/EC dated 14 January 1938 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab accepting the resignation of Majeed Arslan and appointing Hekmet Jumblatt as Minister of Agriculture. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3541, 20 January 1938, pp.1989-1990.

²¹ Decree No. 1739/EC dated 14 January 1938 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab accepting the resignation of Habib Abi Shahla and appointing George Tabet as Minister of Interior and Khalil Kseib as Minister of Education. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3541, 20 January 1938, p.1990.

²² Decree No. 1832/EC dated 31 January 1938 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3545, 3 February 1938, p.2036.

²³ *Official Minutes (1938)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 February 1938.

International Socialist group. In particular, Tutundjian argued at an open session of the 4th Parliament that:

“As a representative of the Tashnak Party and a member of the Second International Socialist group, it is my duty not to let this opportunity pass without honestly expressing my thoughts concerning the Budget that you shall vote on in few moments. I am also honored to participate on behalf of liberal Lebanese Armenians in official affairs in Lebanon and fight for its rights.

“Since I am a member of the National Union Bloc, I shall vote for this Budget and approve it after I underline the reasons and motives that drove me to adopt such an attitude. I apologize to my colleagues for speaking in French, hoping that one day I will be able to speak to you in the national language.

“...[T]he aforementioned budget protects ownership rights as well as commercial and financial transactions and foreign capital, but does not provide for the security of the Lebanese soil. I wonder, on this occasion, what would happen to us if the French army was not here to defend our country’s borders and us.

“...[s]ome of you might ask me after such truthful criticism, which I consider as being shallow, why I am ready to vote for the Budget. Allow me to briefly state the reasons as follows: If we abstain from voting, then the Government would change. Will the next government be able to set the current budget in accordance with the basis we want? And would colleagues approve?”²⁴ *[Translation from Arabic]*.

The re-shuffled Cabinet of Prime Minister El Ahdab of 14 January 1938 did not last long. Two months later Prime Minister El Ahdab resigned and President Edde appointed Emir Khaled Chehab to form a new government on 19 March 1938.²⁵

²⁴ For the full text (Arabic Translation) of Khosrov Tutundjian’s speech, see Appendix 6.1. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 9th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 25 February 1938.

²⁵ Decree No. 2114/EC dated 21 March 1938 signed by President Emile Edde accepting the resignation of Kheiredeen El Ahdab’s government and appointing

Prime Minister Chehab presented the newly formed Cabinet's general statement of policy to the 4th Parliament on 25 March 1938 and received 41 votes of confidence including that of Leilekian. 14 other deputies cast votes of no-confidence, including Tutundjian.²⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 21 March 1938 ²⁷		
1.	Khaled Chehab	Prime Minister; and Minister of Justice
2.	Youssef Estefan	Minister of Interior; and Acting Defense
3.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Finance
4.	Saleem Taqla	Minister of Public Works; and Acting Foreign Affairs
5.	Khalil Kseib	Minister of Education; and National Economy
6.	Hekmet Jumblatt	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Health; and PTT

Table 4.8 – Cabinet Members of Khaled Chehab's Government (21 March 1938)

The division between the two rival political camps widened during Prime Minister Chehab's tenure and led to the resignation of Saleem Taqla, Minister of Public Works and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, on 1 September 1938. President Edde and Prime Minister Chehab appointed Camille Chamoun to carry the Public Works portfolio, and assigned the Foreign Affairs function to Khalil Kseib.²⁸ Nevertheless, the Cabinet could not last and resigned on 1 November 1938. President Edde appointed Abdullah El Yafi as the new Premier and entrusted him to form a new government.²⁹

Khaled Chehab as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3559, 24 March 1938, pp.2232-2233.

²⁶ In addition to Khosrov Tutundjian, the following Deputies cast no-confidence votes to Khaled Chehab's government: Ibrahim Haydar, Saleem El Bayabeedi, Kazem El Khalil, Ahmad Younis El Khateeb, George Tabet, Kheiredeen El Ahdab, Khalil Abillama, Tawfeeq Awwad, Kamal Jabr, Rokez Abu Nader, Abdullah El Yafi, Gabriel Khabbaz and Khaled Abdul Qader. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 25 March 1938.

²⁷ Decree No. 2115/EC dated 21 March 1938 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Khaled Chehab appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3559, 24 March 1938, pp.2232-2233.

²⁸ Decree No. 2990/EC dated 29 August 1938 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Khaled Chehab. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3605, 1 September 1938, p.3935.

²⁹ Decree No. 3365/EC dated 1 November 1938 signed by President Emile Edde. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3623, 3 November 1938, pp.3212-3213.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 1 November 1938 ³⁰		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; and Minister of Justice
2.	Khalil Kseib	Minister of Interior; and Acting Defense
3.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Finance; Economy; and Acting Foreign Affairs
4.	Rokez Abu Nader	Minister of Education, Health and PTT
5.	Sabri Hamadeh	Minister of Public Works and Agriculture

**Table 4.9 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government
(1 November 1938)**

Prime Minister Abdullah El Yaffi formed a five-member Cabinet comprising of young individuals and presented his general statement of policy to the 4th Parliament on 10 November 1938.

During the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister El Yafi on 10 November 1938, Tutundjian took the podium and delivered a long speech highlighting the reasons for the resignation of the previous Cabinet and then examined and proposed solutions to the crisis at hand, and emphasized the duty of the Cabinet and the government and then proceeded to advise how the organizations and political parties should operate in Lebanon. In particular, Tutundjian argued:

“I am a member of the parliamentary National Union Bloc, therefore, my position is dependent on my affiliation which is represented in the Government by 3 of 5 ministers among whom is the Prime Minister ... I prefer to wait and see the results of his [*Abdallah El Yafi’s*] work before making any judgments. In all cases, I would like to congratulate the young individuals for rising to position of authority.”

“...[O]ne of the main facts that I would like to discuss publicly is the frequency of change of governments when we all prefer to avoid such a recurrence. The first prerequisite for a proper government, before anything else, is its stability ... We tend to ask ourselves about the reasons why Emir Chehab’s Government, which had earned the consensus of this Chamber, resigned despite

³⁰ Decree No. 3366/EC dated 1 November 1938 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1938)*, Issue No. 3623, 3 November 1938, p.3213.

the lack of hostility from this Chamber... Logically speaking, Chehab's Government had no reasonable excuse to leave this way, as his government was based on the collaboration of both parliamentary groups.

"...[T]here are no main reasons that slowed down finding a solution to the latest crisis and it was not even about ministerial portfolios. I am aware of the reshuffling of the portfolios according to the numeric importance of communities and ministers belonging to a certain religious denomination, but I can never understand nor excuse, no matter what it costs, some groups that aim to prolong the crisis by declaring that the Shia minister should be taken from their group. I really believe in the Shiite community and their representatives in the Cabinet. What I am saying about them could be applied on others and my aim is to avoid the recurrence of such an incident in order to reach a simple and elementary conclusion.

"The only way to be able to be of service in public affairs is to pull Lebanese citizens together around one political and social program, above personal interests or clans ... the parliamentary groups, – whether it be the National Union Bloc, the group to which I belong, or the Constitutional Bloc – have allies outside of parliament. This is the pain that Lebanon is meant to suffer from, whether ruled by a constitutional regime or by an authoritarian one ... Organizing Lebanese democracy around political parties is an urgent step for the public's salvation ... even in countries with totalitarian regimes, where political liberties are suppressed, such as Germany, Italy and Soviet Russia, parties constitute the effective support of any government."³¹ [*Translation from French*].

Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi's Cabinet received 55 votes of confidence, including that of Tutundjian, against two votes of no

³¹ For the full French text of Khosrov Tutundjian's speech, see Appendix 6.2. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 10 November 1938.

confidence that included Tawfeeq Awwad and Gabriel Khabbaz. Deputies Leilekian and Ayoub Tabet abstained from voting.³²

A month later, during an open session of the parliament, Tutundjian asked the government about the allocation of funds to Lebanese Armenian schools. Tutundjian asked:

“I would like to ask the government about the allowances granted every year for teaching the Arabic language at the Armenian schools. Last year, the sum of 1000 Lebanese pounds was allocated for this purpose and I am not sure whether the aforementioned amount was used for this purpose or not. In all cases, I wish to call upon the government to pay close attention to the small number of teachers in general and the Armenians in particular who so far did not receive any assistance from the government even though the number of students exceeds 6000 or 7000 students, and four teachers are not enough. Furthermore, I have another remark to underline in terms of teaching of night courses in the Arabic language since many Armenians who work all day wish to attend night classes to learn the Arabic language. On this occasion, I would like to extend my thanks to the Qaimaqam of Jdeideh who established a new branch for night courses.”³³
[Translation from Arabic].

Amidst the economic crisis and political disturbances in Lebanon, Prime Minister El Yafi's government in its turn could not last for more than two months. Under tremendous political pressure, Yafi resigned on 20 January 1939 and President Edde re-appointed him to form an extended Cabinet.³⁴

³² *Official Minutes (1938)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 10 November 1938.

³³ For the full Arabic text of Khosrov Tutundjian's speech, see Appendix 6.3. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 9th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 21 December 1938.

³⁴ Decree No. 3765/EC dated 22 January 1939 signed by President Emile Edde. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3647, 26 January 1939, p.3535.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Edde		
Cabinet of 22 January 1939 ³⁵		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; and Minister of Justice
2.	Habib Abi Shahla	Minister of Interior; and Acting Defense & Foreign Affairs
3.	Moussa Nemour	Minister of Finance
4.	Gabriel Khabbaz	Minister of Public Works and National Economy
5.	Rokez Abu Nader	Minister of Education; and Health
6.	Ibrahim Haydar	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Hekmet Jumblatt	Minister of PTT

**Table 4.10 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government
(22 January 1939)**

The newly formed government called the 4th Parliament to an extraordinary session on 24 January 1939 to present its ministerial statement.³⁶ Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies took this opportunity to take the podium and make remarks about the ongoing situation in Lebanon. Leilekian, in a comment addressed to the government, argued that the current Cabinet was the fourth Lebanese Government that consisted of seven ministers that was supposed to include all the Lebanese religious denominations and yet, the Lebanese-Armenian Orthodox group was not represented. Leilekian, particularly emphasized:

“This is the fourth ministry formed by seven ministers to represent all Lebanese confessions. Therefore, does the government believe that all confessions are represented in the present Cabinet? In case the answer was yes, then I oppose this principle, because there is a confession which is the Armenian confession that has not been represented ever since the constitution was drafted . . . I hope the government does not strike out the rights of the Lebanese Armenians by considering the

³⁵ Decree No. 3766/EC dated 22 January 1939 and signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3647, 26 January 1939, pp.3535-3536.

³⁶ Decree No. 3767/EC dated 23 January 1939 signed by President Emile Edde and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3647, 26 January 1939, p.3536.

distribution of the ministerial posts as a rule of law to be constantly applied.”³⁷ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Leilekian’s colleague, Camille Chamoun, concurred with Leilekian’s assertions and added that the members of the Armenian community had reached more than 55,000 in Lebanon, and as it was represented by two Deputies in parliament, it must also be represented in the Lebanese Government.³⁸

Tutundjian, on the other hand, made a long speech before casting a vote of confidence in Abdullah El Yafi’s second government. Tutundjian asserted that:

“On 10 November 1938, further to the Cabinet’s ministerial statement, the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies voted *quasi* unanimity on consensus for Abdallah Yafi’s Cabinet. Among 63 deputies, only two apposed: Messrs. Gabriel Khabbaz and Tawfic Awwad, and two others abstained from voting: Dr Ayoub Tabet and Mr Vahram Leilekian. The success of our eminent friend Abdullah Bey was exceptional. None of his predecessors had succeeded in securing such a majority. However, two months after this consensus vote, the unity Cabinet of Abdullah Yafi is currently at its lowest level . . . I have no doubt that this Chamber shall grant it its consensus, with the exception of the Constitutional Bloc . . . Abdullah Yafi’s second Cabinet does not deserve to go through the failure of his first Government . . .

“Abdullah Bey Yafi’s second Cabinet . . . constitutes by its composition a new phase of political evolution of the present legislature. It represents a majority party government, that excludes the Constitutional Bloc, which was obliged to enter into parliamentary opposition.

“Abdullah Bey Yafi’s second government is no longer a union cabinet. It is the parliamentary regime that will be implemented thanks to the mandatory power that granted the country public establishments that aim at enhancing its political maturity in accordance with the

³⁷ For the full text of the argument made by Vahram Leilekian on 24 January 1939, see Appendix 5.11. *Official Minutes (1939)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Mandate's Charter. On this occasion, let us pay tribute to the eminent representative, Mr Gabriel Puaux, the new High Commissioner of the Republic of France, who helped our beloved Republic of Lebanon to carry out its public functions freely in the best interests of the public at large."³⁹ [*Translation from French*].

Prime Minister El Yai's Government received 33 votes of confidence, including those of Leilekian and Tutundjian against 21 no-confidence votes.⁴⁰

The tenure of the 4th Parliament was marred with economic and social collapse. The increase in the cost of living and rising of fuel prices led to massive strikes of the taxi drivers in Lebanon that paralyzed the country. Parliament convened and a thorough discussion was held among the Deputies about the consequences on the lives of the Lebanese people. In an open session of parliament, Tutundjian voiced his concerns about the repercussion of the strikes on the lives of the Lebanese people. He stated:

"The strike carried out by drivers for the past ten days had repercussions on Lebanese public life and has a negative impact on our current situation. We all recognize the political and social aspects of this strike, in addition to the main reason for the increase in petrol prices. People are facing massive amounts of paralyzed traffic on the local roads, creating stagnation of trade and a negative feeling of impotence of the public authorities.

³⁹ For the full text of Khosrov Tutundjia's speech in French delivered during the deliberations on Abdullah El Yafi's Ministerial Statement on 24 January 1939, please see Appendix 6.4. *Official Minutes (1939)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

⁴⁰ The following deputies cast No-Confidence Votes to P.M. Abdullah El Yafi's Government on 24 January 1939: Beshara El Khoury, Muhammad Abdul Razzak, Mouhiedeen El Nessouli, Fareed El Khazen, Majeed Arslan, Zakhia Tobia, Gebran Tueini, Rasheed Jumblatt, Khaled Chehab, Saleem Taqla, Saleem El Lebabeedi, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Sabri Hamadeh, Ibrahim Azar, Hameed Franjeh, Charles Ammoun, Ibrahim El Munzer, Elias A'ad, Rasheed El Harfoush, Youssef Salem and Rasheed Beydoun. The absentees to the meeting were: Kheiredeen El Ahdab, Beheej El Fadl, Ahmad El Asa'ad, Muhammad Ameer Qaz'oun, Jawad Boulos, and Kamel Jaber. Speaker Petro Trad did not participate in the voting. *Official Minutes (1939)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

“...[W]hat matters is to find the most adequate solution to the conflict in order to end the strike, which is why the government has submitted a draft law that would impose tariffs on transportation so that automotive users can handle the increased price of benzene. This project is in favor of the drivers and can only be applied with the drivers' concurrence without which it cannot be implemented . . . [T]he Lebanese State must know how to impose an equitable solution to litigant parties. It should control petroleum companies whether directly or through the High Commissioner.”⁴¹ [*Translation from French*].

The unstable political scene in Lebanon was a true reflection of the military and political situation of the world as the rivalry of the two rival camps in the world intensified and escalated to a second world war in September 1939. The last meeting of the 4th Parliament was on 5 June 1939.⁴² Legislative life in Lebanon was suspended at the outbreak of World War II as Gabriel Puaux, the then French High Commissioner, issued several administrative decisions related to the administration of the public sector in Lebanon, including freezing and confiscating the assets of enemy protégés in Lebanon.⁴³

Puaux also issued another Decision declaring the State of Siege in the Orient region that was under the French Mandate and delegated the French Army to administer the security of the public sector including maintaining peace and order.⁴⁴ The French Commissioner further issued Decision No. 246/L.R. and suspended the Lebanese Constitution until

⁴¹ For the full text of Khosrov Tutundjia's speech in French, see Appendix 6.6. *Official Minutes (1939)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 11 May 1939.

⁴² *Official Minutes (1939)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session held on 5 June 1939.

⁴³ Administrative decision No. 221/L.R. dated 8 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the High Commissioner of the Republic of France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3725, 26 October 1939, pp.5150-5152.

⁴⁴ Administrative Decision No. 223/L.R. dated 9 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3724, 23 October 1939, pp.5124-5125.

	Prime Ministers	Kheiredeen El Ahdab	Khaled Chehab	Abdullah El Yafi	Abdullah El Yafi
		9 Nov 37 ⁴⁵	25 Mar 38 ⁴⁶	10 Nov 38 ⁴⁷	24 Jan 39 ⁴⁸
1.	V. Leilekian	✓	✓	A	✓
2.	Kh. Tutundjian	✓	X	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record					

Table 4.11 - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 4th Parliament

further notice, dissolved the parliament and granted limited the authority of the President on 21 September 1939.⁴⁹ The country was

⁴⁵ Prime Minister Kheiredeen El Ahdab presented the Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 4th Parliament and received 56 Confidence Votes that included those of Vahram Leilekian and Khosrov Tutundjian against 3 No-Confidence Votes that included Gebran Tueini, Ayoub Tabet and Gabriel Khabbaz. Speaker Petro Trad did not participate in the voting. *Official Minutes (1937)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 9 November 1937.

⁴⁶ Prime Minister Khaled Chehab presented the newly formed Cabinet's Ministerial statement to the 4th Parliament on 25 March 1938 and received 41 confidence votes including that of Vahram Leilekian against 14 no-confidence votes that included: Khosrov Tutundjian, Ibrahim Haydar, Seleem El Lebabeedi, Kazem El Khalil, Ahmad El Khateeb, George Tabet, Kheiredeen El Ahdab, Khalil Abillama, Tawfeeq Awwad, Kamal Jabr, Rokez Abu Nader, Abdallah El Yafi, Gabriel Khabbaz, and Khaled Abdul Qader. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 25 March 1938.

⁴⁷ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the newly formed Cabinet's ministerial statement and received 55 confidence votes, including that of Khosrov Tutundjian, against 2 non-confidence votes that included Tawfeeq Awwad and Gabriel Khabbaz with 2 Abstentions: Vahram Leilekian and Ayoub Tabet. *Official Minutes (1938)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 10 November 1938.

⁴⁸ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented his second Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 4th Parliament and received 33 confidence votes including those of Vahram Leilekian's and Khosrov Tutundjian's against 21 no-confidence votes that included: Beshara El Khoury, Muhammad Abdul Razzak, Mouhiedeen El Nessouli, Fareed El Khazen, Majeed Arslan, Zakhia Tobia, Gebran Tueini, Rasheed Jumblatt, Khaled Chehab, Saleem Taqla, Saleem El Lebabeedi, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Sabri Hamadeh, Ibrahim Azar, Hameed Franjeh, Charles Ammoun, Ibrahim Munzir, Elias A'ad, Rasheed Harfoush, Youssef Salem, and Rasheed Beydoun. Deputies Ayoub Tabet and Elias Skaff abstained. *Official Minutes (1939)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

⁴⁹ Administrative Decision No. 246/L.R. dated 21 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3727, 2 November 1939, pp.5214-5215.

runthrough a State Secretary and Director-Generals,⁵⁰ with the State Secretary being appointed by the High Commissioner.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Administrative Decision No. 247/L.R. dated 21 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3727, 2 November 1939, pp.5215-5216.

⁵¹ Administrative Decision No. 248/L.R. dated 21 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon, appointing Abdullah Beyham as the State Secretary to carry on the executive authority in conjunction with the President. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3727, 2 November 1939, pp.5216-5217.

The 1st Lebanese Republic

The 5th Lebanese Parliament

(1943-47)

When World War II started in September 1939, having suspended the Constitution through Decision No. 246/L.R., High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux dissolved the Lebanese Parliament and gave very limited authority to the President.¹ The country was run by the state secretary and a few director-generals.²

World War II had a devastating effect on France, as it collapsed in 1940 when the German forces occupied northern France. Marshall Philippe Petain headed the French Government headquartered in Vichy, France, entered into an armistice with Germany in June 1940. A few months later, the Vichy Government dismissed Gabriel Puaux and

¹ Administrative Decision No. 246/L.R. dated 21 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1939)*, Issue No. 3727, 2 November 1939, pp.5214-5215.

² Administrative Decision No. 247/L.R. dated 21 September 1939 signed by Gabriel Puaux, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1939)*, Issue No. 3727, 2 November 1939, pp.5215-5216.

appointed the Chief of Police of Paris as a replacement, but he was killed on 28 November 1940 when his plane was shot down by the Italian Air Force on his way to Beirut.³ The Lebanon portfolio was then entrusted to General Henri Dentz of the Vichy Government on 19 December that year. As soon as the French in the Levant sided with Vichy, the British felt that their role and presence in the region was jeopardized.⁴ A secret 1940 British memorandum warned that the British position and vital interests in the Middle East would be threatened unless Syria and Lebanon were brought under friendly, or direct, British rule.⁵

As the Lebanese Constitution was suspended, the Vichy Government ran the day-to-day operations of the country through appointees without any legislative oversight. In an attempt to re-organize executive authority in Lebanon, General Dentz issued Decision No. 80/L.R. on 9 April 1941 and granted executive authority to a prime minister, who would be appointed by the High Commissioner, and be assisted by five acting state secretaries.⁶ General Dentz then appointed Alfred Naccache as the Prime Minister of the Lebanese Republic.⁷

In a political environment that was stained with a suspended constitution and dissolved parliament, Naccache tried to govern the country with very limited authority. Nevertheless, he was able to re-organize the municipalities by appointing new members to the municipality councils and re-districting others. In an attempt to re-organize the Beirut Municipality, Naccache issued Decision No. 100/N on 16 May 1941 and accepted the resignation of some of the members of the Beirut Municipality Council that included Hratchia Shamlian, and

³ Fares Sa'adeh, *El Mawsu'a El Intikhabiyeh Min Hayatina El Barlamaniyeh: Khafaya wa Mawaqef*, Vol. 4, [*The Encyclopedia of Elections from our Parliamentary Life: Secrets and Positions, Vol.4*], (Jounieh: Matabe' El Kareem El Haditheh, 1996), p.363.

⁴ For a detailed account of the British involvement in the Levant during World War II, see Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*, (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015). Also, James Barr, *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2011).

⁵ Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.207.

⁶ Administrative Decision No. 80/L.R. dated 9 April 1941 signed by General Henri Dentz. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3886, 14 May 1941, p.8310.

⁷ Administrative Decision No. 81/L.R. dated 9 April 1941 signed by Henri Dentz, the High Commissioner of France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3886, 14 May 1941, p.8311.

appointed new members including two Lebanese-Armenians: Karekin Tabourian and Dr Yervant Djidedjian.⁸

Prime Minister Naccache issued another decision and appointed members of a newly formed Municipal Council of El Buss and El Rashidiyeh Municipality (District of Tyre/Soor) comprising of the following Lebanese-Armenians: Shemavon Postadjian, Sarkis Aghazarian, Sarkis Khatcherian, Ohannes Agop Khandjian and Boghos Karabet Jabrayan.⁹

In organizing the Bourj Hammoud Municipality, the Prime Minister annulled a previous decision to divide the Bourj Hammoud Municipality into two districts, but rather divided it into five sub-districts: (1) Camp Marash; (2) Camp Tomarza, Camp Yozgat, Camp Trad and Camp Kolabashian; (3) Camp Tiro, Camp Sanjak, Camp Adana, Tripoli Street and Haret Sadr; (4) Camp Sis, Camp Norashen, Camp Assaf Khoury; and (5) Camp Aghabios and Old Cemetery.¹⁰

The reign of the Vichy Government in the Levant in general, and Lebanon in particular, did not last long, as the British decided to let the Free French mount a coup that would remove Vichy from the region.¹¹ The British Army and Free-French troops attacked Lebanon and Syria from three directions and overthrew the Vichy administration in the summer of 1941.¹² General George Catroux, on behalf of Free France, issued Decision No. 8/FL on 16 July 1941 and declared that the authority that had been bestowed upon the High Commissioner of the French

⁸ Decision No. 100/N dated 16 May 1941 signed by Prime Minister Alfred Naccache and Director of Interior Camille Chediak. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3888, 21 May 1941, p.8354.

⁹ Decision No. 102/N dated 17 May 1941 signed by Prime Minister Alfred Naccache and Director of Interior Camille Chediak. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3888, 21 May 1941, p.8354.

¹⁰ Decision No. 107/N dated 17 May 1941 signed by Prime Minister Alfred Naccache and Director of Interior Camille Chediak. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3888, 21 May 1941, pp.8354-8355.

¹¹ Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.207.

¹² The mobilization of the British and the Free French troops toward Syria and Lebanon in summer of 1941 was an immediate reaction to certain unfolding events in the region as, on 2 April 1941, a nationalist army officer Rasheed Ali El Gaylani of Iraq, seized power in Baghdad, whereas, in Libya, Hitler's Erwin Rommel captured Benghazi on the Libyan coast the following day, and three days later the Germans invaded Yugoslavia. See, Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.208-210.

Republic in the Orient would now be conferred on, and exercised by, himself as the new General Delegate of Free France in the Orient.¹³

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Alfred Naccache		
Cabinet of 1 December 1941¹⁴		
1.	Ahmad Bek El Da'ouq	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Philip Najeeb Boulos	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice
3.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Interior
4.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Foreign Affairs
5.	Ameen El Sa'ad	Minister of Public Works
6.	Ramez Sarkis	Minister of Education
7.	Wassef Azedeen	Minister of Cooperatives
8.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Agriculture and PTT
9.	Hekmet Jumblatt	Minister of Defense and Health
10.	Alfred Skaff	Minister of Trade & Industry

**Table 5.1 – Cabinet Members of Ahmad El Da'ouq's Government
(1 December 1941)**

To make the Allied invasion on the Levant easier in summer 1941, General Catroux came up with the idea of the Free French granting independence to Syria and Lebanon.¹⁵ General Catroux dispatched an official letter to Prime Minister Naccache on 23 November 1941 and proposed that Naccache assumed the position of the President of the Republic despite the suspension of the legislative authority in the Constitution.¹⁶ A day later, Prime Minister Naccache responded to

¹³ Administrative Decision No. 8/FL dated 16 July 1941 signed by General George Catroux, General Delegate of Free France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3912, 13 August 1941, p.8645. Immediately thereafter, General Charles de Gaulle issued Decree No. 1 on 20 August 1941 and declared that in the absence of the President of Free France, the General Delegate of Free France in Syria and Lebanon would be authorized to issue the decrees. Decree No. 1 dated 20 August 1941 signed by General Charles de Gaulle, President of Free France. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3920, 10 September 1941, p.8739.

¹⁴ Decree No. 2/N dated 1 December 1941 and signed by President Alfred Naccache and Prime Minister Ahmad Bek El Dawouq appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3944, 2 December 1941, p.9023.

¹⁵ With the backing of the British General Spears, George Catroux informed General de Gaulle on 19 May 1941 that on Catroux's entry into Syria and Lebanon, Catroux would proclaim the end of mandate and declare independence for the two countries. See, Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.212.

¹⁶ Letter No. 3536 dated 23 November 1941 addressed to H.E. Alfred Naccache, P.M. of the Lebanese Republic, signed by General George Catroux, General Delegate of

General Catroux's proposal and accepted the post of Lebanese President.¹⁷ Accordingly, the Lebanese Government issued an administrative decision the next day and declared 26 November 1941 as a National Holiday to celebrate the declaration of Lebanese Independence.¹⁸

General Catroux, on behalf of the government of Free France, officially announced the independence of Lebanon in a public ceremony in Beirut on 26 November 1941.¹⁹ Many countries, including Egypt, the USA, France, Britain, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iraq recognized the independence of Lebanon.²⁰

However, the Constitutionalists led by Beshara El Khoury and the Sunni contingent led by Riad El Solh entourage, along with the Maronite Patriarch Aridi, stood up against an incomplete independence and insisted on having new elections and a complete handover of executive and legislative powers to the Lebanese people, including the right to elect the President.²¹ Notwithstanding such demands and lack of any legislative oversight over the Executive Branch of the government, President Naccache proceeded to appoint Ahmad Bek El Da'ouq as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form the first government.²²

The government of Prime Minister El Da'ouq immediately started to re-organize the administration of the government that had been neglected partly because of instability caused partially by the war but mostly because of the absence of any official authority in the country since the suspension of the Constitution in 1939. To start this new phase in history, the government immediately issued a legislative decree and granted the Lebanese people a general amnesty for crimes perpetrated

Free France in Syria and Lebanon. See the reprinted version at, Sa'adeh, *El Mawsu'a El Intikhabiyeh*, Vol. 4, pp.368-370.

¹⁷ Letter Docket No. 512/C dated 24 November 1941 addressed to H.E. General George Catroux, General Delegate of Free France in Syria and Lebanon signed by Alfred Naccache, Prime Minister of Lebanon. See the reprinted version at, Sa'adeh, *El Mawsu'a El Intikhabiyeh*, Vol. 4, pp.370-371.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Sa'adeh, *El Mawsu'a El Intikhabiyeh*, Vol. 4, pp.372-379.

²⁰ Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, London, 2nd Ed., (London: Pluto Press, 2012), p.104.

²¹ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, p.105.

²² Decree No. 1/N dated 1 December 1941 signed by President Alfred Naccache appointing Ahmad Bek El Dawouq as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3944, 2 December 1941, p.9023.

before 27 November 1941 – except for those crimes that related to robbery, forgery and moral turpitude.²³ The government then proceeded to form the State Council (*Majlis El Shura*)²⁴ and established the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the first time in the Lebanese history.²⁵

To establish the complete independence of Lebanon from the reign of Free France, Great Britain dispatched Sir Edward Louis Spears as the first British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Lebanon on 21 March 1942.²⁶ Spears did not waste any time in trying to persuade President Naccache to hold new legislative elections in Lebanon.²⁷ However, the government of Prime Minister El Da'ouq did not last long. There were demonstrations in Beirut and other cities demanding full independence. The clashed between the demonstrators and the *gendarmierie* led Minister of Interior Ahmad El Hussein, the Minister of Interior, to resign on 1 May 1942.²⁸ Then on 25 July 1942 the entire Cabinet resigned and President Naccache appointed Sami El Solh as the new Prime Minister.²⁹

²³ Legislative Decree No. 128/NI dated 19 December 1941 signed by President Alfred Naccache, Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq and Minister of Justice Philip Najeeb Boulos. *Official Gazette (1941)*, Issue No. 3949, 20 December 1941, pp.4116-4117.

²⁴ Legislative Decree No. 137/NI dated 28 December 1941 signed by President Alfred Naccache, Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq and Minister of Justice Philip Najeeb Boulos organizing the State Council (*Majlis El Shura*). *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 3960, 28 January 1942, pp.9298-9300.

²⁵ Legislative Decree No. 179/NI dated 16 May 1942 signed by President Alfred Naccache Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq and Minister of Foreign Affairs Hameed Franjeh. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 3993, 23 May 1942, pp.9872-9873.

²⁶ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.233.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, at p.236.

²⁸ Decree No. 575/NI dated 1 May 1942 signed by President Alfred Naccache and Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq accepted the resignation of Ahmad El Hussein as the Minister of Interior. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 3988, 6 May 1942, p.9808.

²⁹ Decree No. 945/NI dated 25 July 1942 signed by President Alfred Naccache accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq's government and appointing Sami El Solh as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 4012, 29 July 1942, p.10137.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Alfred Naccache		
Cabinet of 27 July 1942 ³⁰		
1.	Sami Bek El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Trade & Industry
2.	Moussa Bek Nemour	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Interior and PTT
3.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Justice and Agriculture
4.	Philip Boulos	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works
5.	Hekmet Jumblatt	Minister of Defense and Health
6.	George Kfoury	Minister of Education

Table 5.2 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh’s Government (27 July 1942)

Prime Minister Sami El Solh’s government was instrumental in organizing some of the internal affairs of the Lebanese state. In September 1942, for example, the government appointed Sami El Khoury as President of the State Council (*Majlis El Shura*)³¹, and on 4 November 1942 the government re-organized the religious courts of the Sunni and Shia (*Ja’afari*) sects in Lebanon.³²

As the British pressured the Free France to grant full independence to Lebanon, General Catroux reinstated certain provisions of the Lebanese Constitution pending the election of a new parliament in March 1943.³³ He then issued another decision re-organizing the Executive Branch of the Lebanese Government by granting the High Commissioner (Delegate-General) the power to appoint the Head of the State and the Prime Minister on a temporary basis until a new parliament

³⁰ Decree No. 946/NI dated 27 July 1942 and signed by President Alfred Naccache and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 4012, 29 July 1942, pp.10137-10138.

³¹ Decree No. 1191/NI dated 25 September 1942 signed by President Alfred Naccache and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointed Sami El Khoury as the President of the Majlis El Shura. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 4030, 30 September 1942, p.10340.

³² Legislative Decree No. 241/NI dated 4 November 1942 signed by President Alfred Naccache and Prime Minister Sami El Solh organized the Religious Courts of the Sunni and Ja’afari groups in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1942)*, Issue No. 4050 (Supplement), 9 December 1942, pp.2-28.

³³ Administrative Decision No. 129/FC dated 18 March 1943 signed by General George Catroux, the General Delegate of Free France and Commander-in-Chief in Syria and Lebanon, reinstating the Lebanese Constitution as of the date of a new parliament is elected. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4073, 24 March 1943, pp.10967-10969.

was elected.³⁴ Catroux then appointed Ayoub Tabet as Head of the State and Prime Minister.³⁵ Tabet, a Protestant from Beirut, immediately formed a three-member Cabinet that was entrusted with organizing legislative elections in Lebanon. General Catroux stepped down as Delegate-General at the end of March 1943 and Jean Helleu, who used to be Vichy Ambassador to Turkey, was appointed as the new Delegate-General in Syria and Lebanon.³⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President of State Ayoub Tabet		
Cabinet of 19 March 1943 ³⁷		
1.	Ayoub Tabet	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior, Justice and Cooperatives
2.	Khaled Chehab	Minister of Finance, Educ., Trade & Industry, Agriculture, PTT
3.	Jawad Boulos	Minister of Public Works, Health and Foreign Affairs

Table 5.3 – Cabinet Members of Ayoub Tabet’s Government (19 March 1943)

Under pressure from the British Ambassador, General Spears, who insisted on the need to organize legislative elections in Lebanon, President Tabet set 26 and 27 September 1943 as the dates to hold election for the new Lebanese Parliament.³⁸ President Tabet further declared that immigrants would take part in the election, which led to a sizable uprising by Muslims who threatened to boycott the elections.³⁹ As a result, Tabet resigned in July 1943.

To remedy the situation, Jean Helleu issued a new Decision on 21 July 1943 annulling Decision No. 130/FC and instead declared that, as a temporary measure, the executive power of the government be

³⁴ Administrative Decision No. 130/FC dated 18 March 1943 signed by General George Catroux. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4073, 24 March 1943, p.10969.

³⁵ Administrative Decision No. 131/FC dated 18 March 1943 signed by General George Catroux, the General Delegate of Free France and Commander-in-Chief in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4073, 24 March 1943, p.10970.

³⁶ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.248.

³⁷ Decree No. 1/AT dated 19 March 1943 and signed by President of State Ayoub Tabet appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic*, Issue No. 4073, 24 March 1943, p. 10970.

³⁸ Legislative Decree No. 56/ET dated 25 June 1943 signed by Head of State and Prime Minister Ayoub Tabet, Minister of Finance Khaled Chehab and Minister of Public Works Jawad Boulos. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4087, 30 June 1943, p.11227.

³⁹ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, p.107. See also, Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.250.

centralized in the President, appointed by the Delegate-General and assisted by a State Secretary.⁴⁰ He then appointed Petro Trad (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) as the new President.⁴¹

To subdue the outcry and the calls to have legislative elections, Helleu further issued Decision No. 312/FC on 31 July 1943 and set the number of Deputies to the new Lebanese Parliament at 55.⁴² President Trad then issued Decree No. 2/PT and called for legislative elections to be held on 29 August 1943.⁴³

The last electoral campaign was held in 1937, a little more than six years earlier when only one Lebanese-Armenian deputy was elected and another one was appointed by the President. In 1943 the Lebanese-Armenian community became actively engaged in the pre-election campaign for the 5th Parliament and Lebanese-Armenian political parties promoted their own candidates in addition to local, non-Armenian candidates. The Lebanese-Armenian vote had a dramatic impact on the outcome of the election, especially in Beirut District.⁴⁴ Movses Der-

⁴⁰ Administrative Decision No. 300/FC dated 21 July 1943 signed by Jean Helleu, Delegate-General of Free France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4091, 28 July 1943, p.11302.

⁴¹ Administrative Decision No. 301/FC dated 21 July 1943 signed by Jean Helleu, Delegate-General of Free France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4091, 28 July 1943, pp.11302-11303.

⁴² The distribution of the seats among the religious sects to the 5th Lebanese Parliament were as follow: Beirut: 3 Sunnis; 1 Shia; 2 Armenian Orthodox; 1 Roman Orthodox; 1 Maronite; and 1 Minorities. Mount Lebanon: 10 Maronites; 3 Druze; 1 Sunni; 1 Shia; 1 Roman Orthodox; and 1 Roman Catholic. North Lebanon: 5 Maronites; 5 Sunnis; and 2 Roman Orthodox. South Lebanon: 6 Shias; 1 Sunni; 1 Maronite; 1 Roman Catholic; and 1 Roman Orthodox. Beka'a Valley: 2 Shias; 1 Sunni; 1 Maronite; 1 Roman Catholic; 1 Roman Orthodox; and 1 Druze. Administrative Decision No. 312/FC dated 31 July 1943 signed by Jean Helleu, Delegate-General of Free France in Syria and Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4093, 11 August 1943, pp.11327-11329.

⁴³ Decree No. 2/PT dated 5 August 1943 signed by President Petro Trad and State Secretary Abdullah Beyham and Assistant State Secretary Tawfeeq Awwad. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4093, 11 August 1943, pp.11328-11329.

⁴⁴ For the pre-election campaign of the Lebanese-Armenian candidates, see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.61-83. For an account on the 1943 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.134-148.

Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlian were elected to as members of the 5th Parliament.⁴⁵

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Attendance
1	Movses Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	179	12	93%
2	Hratchia Shamlian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	179	15	92%

Table 5.4 – The Lebanese Armenian Deputies in the 5th Lebanese Parliament

In general, the result of the 1943 legislative elections was a net victory for Beshara El Khoury's Constitutionalist Bloc and a blow to the French position in Lebanon.⁴⁶

As soon as the official results of the elections were announced, President Trad called for an extraordinary session of the newly elected Parliament to be held on 21 September 1943, with two items on the agenda: election of the speaker and then the election of the President of the Republic.⁴⁷

The 5th Parliament held its first meeting on 21 September 1943 with both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlian in attendance. Most members of the Nationalist Bloc did not attend as their rival Constitutionalist Bloc had registered a vast victory in the elections.⁴⁸ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the opening of the extraordinary

⁴⁵ For the official results of the elections, please see *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4098, 15 September 1943, pp.11387-11388.

⁴⁶ Philippe Filliol, the Deputy Free French Representative in Cairo in a conversation with Lord Casey, the British Minister of State in the Middle East, acknowledged that, "... the results of the election had been a severe blow to the French position in Lebanon ...". See Eyal Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, (London, I.B. Tauris Publications, 2000), p.41, citing FO 371/35182-E 6220/27/89, Casey to FO, 16 October 1943.

⁴⁷ Decree No. 185/TB dated 14 September 1943 signed by President of the State Petro Trad and State Secretary Abdullah Beyham, calling for an extraordinary session of the newly elected parliament to commence on 21 September 1943. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4098, 15 September 1943, p.11387.

⁴⁸ Amongst the absentee to the 1st Meeting of the 5th Parliament were: Emile Edde, Kamal Jumblatt, Asa'ad El Bustani, George Akl, Ahmad El Husseini, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb, Jameel Talhouq (all Nationalist Bloc) and Ayoub Tabet (Independent). See Beshara El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol. 2. [Lebanese Facts, Vol. 2]*, (Beirut: Manshourat Awaraq Lubnaniyeh, 1995), p.15. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1943)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 21 September 1943.

session of the parliament and called for the election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) was elected as Speaker. After delivering a short speech, Speaker Hamadeh called for the election of the President. Out of the 47 present, Deputy Beshara El Khoury received 44 votes with three blank papers, and thus became the first elected President of the Republic after independence.⁴⁹ President-Elect El Khoury took the Oath of Office on 23 September 1943.⁵⁰

	55	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 5th Lebanese Parliament (1943-47)
Beirut District	9	Alfred Naccache (Maronite); Ayoub Tabet (Minorities); Habib Abi Shihla (Roman Orthodox); Sami El Solh (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni); Muhammad Beydoun (Shia); Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox) and Hratchia Shamlian (Armenian Orthodox).
Beka'a Valley	7	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Adeeb El Ferzli (Maronite); Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Naseeb El Dawood (Druze); Henry Pharaon (Roman Catholic) and Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite).
North Lebanon	12	Boutros El Khoury (Maronite); Hameed Franjeh (Maronite); Sa'adi El Munla (Sunni); Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Abdul Hameed Karami (Sunni); Muhammad El Aboud (Sunni); Muhammad El Mustafa (Sunni); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Yacoub El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox); Youssef Estefan (Maronite); Youssef Daw (Maronite); Waheeb Tarba Geagea' (Maronite) replaced by Youssef Karam (Maronite).
South Lebanon	10	Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia); Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Riad El Solh (Sunni); Adel Osseiran (Shia); Ali Abdullah (Shia); Kazem El Khalil (Shia); Maroun Kena'an (Maronite); Muhammad El Fadl (Shia); Naseeb Gabriel (Roman Orthodox) and Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic).
Mount Lebanon	17	Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); Asa'ad El Bustani (Maronite); Emir Majeed Arslan (Druze); Emile Lahoud (Maronite); Ameen El Sa'ad (Maronite); Jameel Talhouq (Druze); George Zuwein (Maronite); George Akl (Maronite); Abdul Ghani El Khateeb (Sunni); Gabriel El Murr (Roman Orthodox); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Camille Chamoun (Maronite); Wadi' El Ashqar (Maronite); Wadi' Na'eem (Maronite); Emile Edde (Maronite) replaced by Khalil Abu Jaoude (Maronite); Beshara El Khoury (Maronite) replaced by Fareed El Khazen (Maronite); Saleem Taqla (Roman Catholic) replaced by Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic).

Table 5.5 - Names of the Elected Deputies of the 5th Lebanese Parliament (1943-47)

⁴⁹ *Official Minutes (1943)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 21 September 1943.

⁵⁰ Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlian attended the meeting. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 23 September 1943.

The first and foremost task that President El Khoury undertook was to appoint Riad El Solh as the Prime Minister and asked him to form a government.⁵¹ The two men had collaborated shortly before the Presidential election and agreed on a course of action on foreign and domestic policies of the new Republic.⁵²

President El Khoury and Prime Minister El Solh agreed that Lebanon should be governed with certain compromises made by the religious denominations. This was known as the National Pact and regulated the political life in Lebanon until the Ta'ef Accord in 1989. The unwritten understanding defined the Lebanese identity as that of being a country having an Arabic profile with the assimilation of what was beneficial and useful in Western civilization. In short, Lebanon's Arab profile substituted Muslim demands to unite with Syria for the Christians abandoning their demand for the French and Western protection.⁵³ The Pact further stipulated that the President be a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni and the Speaker of Parliament a Shia and established a 6:5 ratio of Christians to Muslims in the parliament.⁵⁴

The initial intent of the President and the Prime Minister during the early stages of the formation of the 1st Cabinet was to include Gabriel El Murr and George Zuwein as ministers from Edde's Nationalist Bloc, however, Edde refused any participation of the opposition in the new government's lineup.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the 1st Cabinet headed by Riad El Solh consisted of six pro-Constitutionalist ministers.

The first political maneuver of his presidency, just before Prime Minister El Solh presented his ministerial statement to the Parliament, President Beshara El Khoury hosted an official visit by a high-ranking Syrian Government delegation led by the Prime Minister Jameel Mardam

⁵¹ Decree No. 1/K dated 25 September 1943 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing Riad El Solh as Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No 4100, 29 September 1943, p.11423.

⁵² Beshara El Khoury and Riad El Solh had met two days before the Presidential election and agreed on a course of action based upon a National Pact between the two. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.17.

⁵³ For details of the National Pact, see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*. pp.289-299. See also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.110-113, and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.721. See also, Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.57-67.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.19.

Bey in Chtura, Beka'a Valley, on 1 October 1943. The two official delegations signed a bilateral agreement through which Syria officially recognized and promised to defend the sovereignty of both countries and Lebanon pledged that its territory would not be used as a base or passageway for any foreign force that endangered Syria. Both delegations then agreed on close and friendly collaboration in economic and social domains.⁵⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 25 September 1943 ⁵⁷		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Habib Abi Shahla	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice and Education
3.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Interior and PTT
4.	Saleem Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works
5.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense; Agriculture and Health
6.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Trade and Industry

Table 5.6 – Cabinet Members of Riad El Solh's Government (25 September 1943)

Prime Minister Solh presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement on domestic and foreign policies to the 5th Parliament on 7 October 1943. He reiterated his understanding of the National Pact and promised to present a proposal to the legislative body to amend the Constitution in due course. Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan were in attendance and cast votes of confidence in the government.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.77-78. See also, Trabolsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.107, and Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.68-71. The parliament rectified the Chtura Agreement between the Lebanese and Syrian Governments in its session on 3 February 1944. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 3 February 1944. Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan voted in favor of the ratification.

⁵⁷ Decree No. 2/K dated 25 September 1943 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4100, 29 September 1943, p.11424.

⁵⁸ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 7 October 1943 and received 50 confidence votes, including those from Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan with only Alfred Naccache abstaining. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 7 October 1943.

The ordinary session of the 5th Parliament opened on 19 October 1943 and elected Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) as Speaker and Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) as Deputy Speaker.⁵⁹ The 5th Parliament held a total of 179 meetings consisting of 101 ordinary and 78 extraordinary meetings. Both Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian were actively involved with the legislative life of the 5th Parliament with both registering a very high attendance record throughout their parliamentary mandate.

The new Lebanese Government and Parliament were both legally and constitutionally ready to consider any proposed amendments to the Lebanese Constitution. President El Khoury and the government of El Solh did not waste any time to present a draft law amending the provisions of the Constitution to abolish any, and all, references to the French Mandate, through Decree No. 92 dated 5 November 1943, despite the warnings of the Delegate General Helleu against it.⁶⁰

In its 8 November 1943 meeting, the Lebanese Parliament deliberated on the proposed amendments to the Constitution. Three members of the Parliament, Ayoub Tabet, Ahmad El Husseini and Movses Der-Kaloustian, did not attend. Edde and George Akl suggested that a special committee be formed to study the constitutionality of the proposed amendments and report back to the Chamber.⁶¹ However,

⁵⁹ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest deputy present, opened the session and presided over the election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 47 votes against 1 vote for Ibrahim Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) and 1 vote for Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley). Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1943): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 19 October 1943.*

⁶⁰ The French Delegate-General Jean Helleu warned President Beshara El Khoury against going forward with amendments to the Constitution without the consent of the Free French Government. Helleu first suggested having a tri-partite discussion between President Beshara El Khoury and PM Riad El Solh on one side and Syria's Prime Minister Jameel Merdem on the other and himself in Chtura, Lebanon, in late October 1943 to coordinate the calls for independence by the Lebanese and Syrian governments. Helleu then travelled to Algiers for consultations and receive instructions from General de Gaulle. For detailed coverage of events in early November 1943, see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vols.2*, pp.17-21. See also, Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.261.

⁶¹ *Official Minutes (1943): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 November 1943.*

Speaker Hamadeh reminded the Deputies of Article 78 of the Lebanese Constitution which, in pertinent parts, stipulated that should there be any proposal to amend the constitution, then the Chamber of Deputies must deliberate and vote on it before considering any other matter.⁶² Edde's suggestion was rejected by most of the Deputies, and Edde and Ameen El Sa'ad of the Nationalist Bloc withdrew before parliament voted on the amendments. Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Hratchia Shamlian voted in favor of amending the Constitution to abolish all references made to the French Mandate.⁶³ President El Khoury signed the amendments into law the next day on 9 November 1943.⁶⁴

The amendment of the Constitution by Parliament, and President El Khoury signing into law, infuriated the French authorities. Three days later, armed French gendarmeries prevented members of the Lebanese Parliament from attending their next meeting by blocking the doors of the parliament building.⁶⁵ The French authorities then took President El Khoury, Prime Minister El Solh, and Cabinet Ministers Abdul Hameed Karami, Saleem Taqla and Camille Chamoun into custody and incarcerated them at the Rashayya Fort in southeast Lebanon.⁶⁶

The French authorities appointed Edde as the interim President of Lebanon on 11 November 1943. However, the members of Parliament did not recognize Edde as the legitimate President and issued a statement on 12 November 1943 affirming that Beshara El Khoury was

⁶² Article 78 of the Lebanese Constitution. "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>.

⁶³ The amendments to the constitution were passed by 48 votes. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 November 1943.

⁶⁴ President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh signed the amendments into law on 9 November 1943. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4106, 10 November 1943, p.11501.

⁶⁵ *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943.

⁶⁶ Trabolsi, *A History of modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed, pp.105-109. See also, Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.256-264. For a detailed personal account during the incarceration, see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.33-52.

Lebanon's legitimate President and Riad El Solh its legitimate Prime Minister under the Lebanese Constitution.⁶⁷

The British Government did not appreciate what the Free French authorities did to the legitimate government of Lebanon. The Saudi and Egyptian monarchs pressured Great Britain's Winston Churchill, who intervened with General de Gaulle, while, the British Minister of State R. G. Casey sent an ultimatum to the Free French authorities giving them until 10:00 am on 22 November 1943 to release the ministers and the President, otherwise, the British would declare martial law in the Orient.⁶⁸ General de Gaulle dismissed Jean Helleu and appointed General George Catroux to resolve the situation in Lebanon.⁶⁹

On 20 November 1943, General Catroux informed General Spears, the British Ambassador in Beirut, that the French Committee for National Liberation in Algiers had agreed to release and reinstate the President of Lebanon as well as the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.⁷⁰ The French then released the detained Lebanese officials on 22 November 1943. A week later, on 30 November 1943, President El Khoury and Prime Minister El Solh signed Decree No. K/133 and called upon the Lebanese Parliament to convene and consider amending Article 5 of the Lebanese Constitution that related to the flag of the Lebanese Republic, amending it to red, white and red horizontal stripes with a green cedar tree in the middle of the white section.⁷¹

On 1 December 1943, the 5th Parliament convened and amended Article 5, with Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlian voting for the amendment.⁷²

⁶⁷ *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943.

⁶⁸ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.261. See also, Caroline Attié, *Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s*, (Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies Press, 2004), pp.24-25. See also, Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.74-75.

⁶⁹ Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.80-82.

⁷⁰ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.262.

⁷¹ *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943.

⁷² Deputies Alfred Naccache, Ayoub Tabet, Wadi' El Ashqar, Gabriel El Murr, Youssef Estefan, Boutros El Khoury, Kamal Jumblatt, Emile Edde and Naseeb Gabriel did not show up at the Parliamentary meeting to amend the Article of the Cconstitution related to the flag. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943. President

The 5th Lebanese Parliament (1943-47)

	21 Sep 43	19 Oct 43 ⁷³	17 Oct 44 ⁷⁴	16 Oct 45 ⁷⁵	22 Oct 46 ⁷⁶
Speaker	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	H. Abi Shahla
Dep. Speaker	Nicola Ghossen	Nicola Ghossen	Nicola Ghossen	Nicola Ghossen	Kazem El Khalil
The Secretariat	Emile Lahhoud Ref'at Qaz'oun	Emile Lahoud Ref'at Qaz'oun	Emile Lahhoud Ref'at Qaz'oun	Philip Taqla Yousef Daw	Yousef Daw M. El Aboud

Table 5.7 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 5th Lebanese Parliament (1943-47)

On the same day, a proposal was presented by Deputy Henry Pharaon to reprimand and punish Emile Edde for the acts Edde

Beshara El Khouy signed the amendment to Article 5 of the constitution into law on 7 December 1943. *Official Gazette (1943)*, Issue No. 4109, 8 December 1943, p.11555.

⁷³ The eldest Deputy present, George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), presided over the election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 47 votes against 1 vote for Ibrahim Haydar (Shia, Beka'a Valley) and 1 vote for Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley). Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 19 October 1943.

⁷⁴ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 36 votes against 15 votes for Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic, South Lebanon). Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 17 October 1944.

⁷⁵ Ahmad El Huseini, (Shia, Mount Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Deputy Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 33 votes against 14 votes for Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon). Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic, Mount Lebanon) and Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 16 October 1945.

⁷⁶ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) received 29 votes against 22 votes for Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley). Kazem El Khalil (Shia, South Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Muhammad El Aboud (Sunni, North Lebanon) as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1946)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 22 October 1946.

perpetrated against the Lebanese Republic in collaboration with the French authorities. The proposal was accepted and adopted by the majority of the Deputies – with six Deputies, including Der-Kaloustian, casting negative votes.⁷⁷

Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian were involved in the standing committees of the 5th Parliament throughout their tenure. Der-Kaloustian was elected as a member of the Industry & Tourism Committee in 1943 and 1944, whereas Shamlian became a member of the same committee in 1945, 46 and 47. Shamlian became a member of the Proposals & Grievance Committee and the Administration & Justice Committee throughout the term of the 5th Parliament. Der-Kaloustian was elected a member of the Public Works Committee and the Agriculture and Commerce Committee in 1945.

		1943-44 ⁷⁸	1944-45 ⁷⁹	1945-46 ⁸⁰	1946-47 ⁸¹	1947-48 ⁸²
1	Budget/Finan	None	None	None	None	D-Kaloustian
2	Admin & Just.	None	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian
3	Foreign Aff.	None	None	None	None	None
4	Public Works	None	None	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
5	Nat'l Ed.	None	None	None	None	None
6	Industry & Tourism	D-Kaloustian H. Shamlian	D-Kaloustian H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian
7	Agr. & Comm.	None	None	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
8	Props/Griev.	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian	H. Shamlian

Table 5.8 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 5th Lebanese Parliament

Deputy Shamlian was very active in the deliberations and made several proposals on certain pieces of legislation, which were mostly

⁷⁷ Deputies George Akl, Asa'ad El Bustani, Ahmad El Hussein, Ameen El Sa'ad, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb and Movses Der-Kaloustian rejected reprimanding Emile Edde by casting negative votes. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 1 December 1943.

⁷⁸ *Official Minutes (1943)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 7 October 1943.

⁷⁹ *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 21 March 1944.

⁸⁰ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 20 March 1945.

⁸¹ *Official Minutes (1946)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 19 March 1946.

⁸² *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 18 March 1947.

considered and adopted by the Parliament. One such proposal was an amendment to a proposed General Amnesty Law that Prime Minister El Solh's Government presented to the Parliament for consideration in January 1944.⁸³ Shamlian was also instrumental in parliament's adoption of an amended Rental Law.⁸⁴ He was further involved in the deliberations on a proposed Labor Law, was adopted by the Parliament with Shamlian's proposed amendments.⁸⁵ He was also involved in proposing amendments to the Commercial Law to promote foreign investments in Lebanon which were adopted.⁸⁶

Several important measures were undertaken during the tenure of the 5th Parliament that left tremendous impact on the future course of political dealings of ensuing Lebanese governments. One such measure was the ratification of the bilateral agreement between the governments of Lebanon and Syria signed on 1 October 1943 and ratified by the Lebanese Parliament on 27 January 1944.⁸⁷ Another important measure was the ratification of a multi-partite financial agreement, between Lebanon and Syria on one side and France and Britain on the other, concerning monetary policy. Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian voted in

⁸³ Hratchia Shamlian actively participated in the deliberations on the proposed General Amnesty Law in January 1944, and proposed that the law should have a carved out exception on crimes perpetrated in relation to unlawful competition in Lebanon. Shamlian's proposal was accepted and adopted and became part of the law. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 27 January 1944.

⁸⁴ Hratchia Shamlian suggested certain amendments to the Rental Law, which were adopted by the Chamber. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 24 February 1944; and later in 1946 during the 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 14 November 1946.

⁸⁵ *Official Minutes (1946)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 31 May 1946. Also, *Official Minutes (1946)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 21 August 1946.

⁸⁶ Hratchia Shamlian made certain comments and suggestions to the proposed draft Commercial Law to encourage the foreign investments in the Lebanese stock companies. A measure that was accepted and incorporated into the draft law by parliament. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 5th Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 11 September 1944.

⁸⁷ *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 27 January 1944 and the 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 3 February 1944. Both M. Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlian voted in favor of the ratification.

favor of the ratification.⁸⁸ The 5th Parliament also considered and adopted a proposed law to protect the Constitution.⁸⁹ It further considered a proposal to terminate Edde's membership in the 5th Parliament as a result of Edde's collaboration with the French authorities against the legitimate government of Lebanon in November 1943.⁹⁰

Prime Minister El Solh's first government did not last long, as the negative criticism of the public at large of the performance of ministers Adel Osseiran and Camille Chamoun surfaced, leading to the resignation of the entire Cabinet.⁹¹ Thereafter, President El Khoury appointed Camille Chamoun as the Lebanese Ambassador to Great Britain and re-appointed El Solh as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form

⁸⁸ *Official Minutes (1944)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 10 February 1944.

⁸⁹ Decree No. 909 dated 22 March 1944 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh proposed a legislation to criminalize any acts perpetrated against the Constitution. The measure was very controversial, and many deputies did not attend the parliamentary session. Among the absentees were: Emile Edde, Ayoub Tabet, Alfred Naccache, Adel El Ghani El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Muhammad Beydoun, Abdullah el Yafi, Marun Kena'an and Naseeb El Dawood. The measure was adopted including the positive votes of Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 31 March 1944.

⁹⁰ Deputy Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) presented a proposal to dismiss Emile Edde as a member of the 5th Parliament as a result of Edde's conspiracy against the legitimate Lebanese Government based upon Article 28 of Administrative Decision No. 2 dated 2 January 1934 and signed by the French High Commissioner Damien de Martel, which called for the dismissal of any Deputy who took-up a paid executive position. See the *Official Gazette (1934)*, Issue No. 2916, 12 January 1934, pp.5-14. The 5th Parliament considered the proposal and dismissed Emile Edde from parliament with 35 votes in favor of dismissal, including the in-favor votes of Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlan, against 8 no-votes of Youssef Salem, Gabriel El Murr, Wadi' El Ashqar, Muhammad El Aboud, Ahmad El Husseini, George Akl, Asa'ad El Bustani and George Zuwein. Deputy Ameen El Sa'ad left the meeting before voting. Deputies Emile Edde, Ayoub Tabet, Alfred Naccache, Adel El Ghani El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Muhammad Beydoun, Abdullah El Yafi, Marun Kena'an and Naseeb El Dawood did not attend the session. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 31 March 1944. See also El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.81-85 and Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.105-107.

⁹¹ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.95. Decree No. 1483/K dated 3 July 1944 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1944)*, (1944), Issue No. 27, 5 July 1944, p.1.

his second cabinet.⁹² The new cabinet consisted of six members, replacing Camille Chamoun with Hameed Franjeh and Adel Osseiran was substituted with Muhammad El Fadl.

The new Cabinet presented its statement of general policies (ministerial statement) to parliament on 11 July 1944 and received 41 votes of confidence including that of Movses Der-Kaloustian. Hratchia Shamlan, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb, Alfred Naccache George Akl and Gabriel El Murr did not attend the meeting.⁹³

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 3 July 1944 ⁹⁴		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Habib Abi Shahla	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice and Education
3.	Saleem Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works
4.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Finance
5.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense; Agriculture and Health
6.	Muhammad El Fadl	Minister of Trade & Industry and PTT

Table 5.9 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Riad El Solh's Government (3 July 1944)

The government of Riad El Solh was constantly and strongly criticized by the Independence Party led by Abdul Hameed Karami and Henry Pharaon. The criticism, however, escalated when the Cabinet failed to present a budget for 1945, leading to the President demanding El Solh's resignation. The President then asked Abdul Hameed Karami to form a new government.⁹⁵ Before Prime Minister Karami presented his

⁹² Decree No. 1484/K dated 3 July 1944 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury re-appointing Riad El Solh as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1944)*, Issue No. 27, 5 July 1944, p.2.

⁹³ The following deputies cast No-Confidence Votes to PM El Solh's 2nd Government on 11 July 1944: Abdullah El Yafi, Youssef Salem, Kazem El Khalil, and Youssef Karam. Deputies Rasheed Beydoun and Muhammad El Abboud abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 11 July 1944.

⁹⁴ Decree No. 1485/K dated 3 July 1944 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointed ministers. *Official Gazette (1944)*, Issue No. 27, 5 July 1944, p.2.

⁹⁵ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.123-124. Decree No. 2620/K dated 9 January 1945 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 2, 10 January 1945, p.16.

ministerial statement to the Parliament, Minister of Foreign Affairs Saleem Taqla passed away and was replaced by Henry Pharaon.⁹⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 9 January 1945 ⁹⁷		
1.	Abdul Hameed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
2.	Nicola Ghossen	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Trade & Industry/PTT
3.	Saleem Taqla/Henry Pharaon	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice
4.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Public Works and Health
5.	Wadi' Na'eem	Minister of Interior and Education
6.	Jameel Talhouq	Minister of Agriculture

Table 5.10 – Cabinet Members of Abdul Hameed Karami's Government (9 January 1945)

Prime Minister Karami presented the general statement of policy of his Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 20 January 1945 and received 36 votes of confidence out of the 36 Deputies present, including that of Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan.⁹⁸

Despite this, Prime Minister Karami's term did not last long, there were many important regional and international events that took the spotlight of the legislative branch. For example, the Lebanese Parliament in its session on 27 February 1945 adopted a resolution presented by Deputy Habib Abi Shahla calling for declaration of war against Germany and Japan. Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan voted in favor of declaring war against the two countries.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Decree No. 2624/K dated 13 January 1945 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami appointing Henry Pharaon as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 3, 17 January 1945, p.35. El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.124-126.

⁹⁷ Decree No. 2622/K dated 9 January 1945 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami appointed ministers. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 2, 10 January 1945, pp.16-17.

⁹⁸ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 20 January 1945.

⁹⁹ Deputy Emile Lahoud argued during the deliberation, parliament could not declare war. According to Lahoud, it was the constitutional right of the executive branch to declare war while the legislative branch approved or disapproved it. The government immediately adopted Habib Abi Shahla's proposal and requested the Parliament to approve the declaration of war against Germany and Japan. *Official*

On the regional level, Prime Minister Karami's government signed the Alexandria Protocol on 22 March 1945 which became the cornerstone of the Charter of the League of Arab Nations. Lebanon became a founding member of the Arab League. Parliament unanimously adopted the measure ratifying the Charter of the Arab League.¹⁰⁰ A proposal was submitted by Deputies Boulos El Khoury, Youssef Estefan, Yacoub El Sarraf, Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlian, appreciating and congratulating the government for successfully negotiating and executing the Alexandria Protocol. The measure was adopted unanimously on 7 April 1945.¹⁰¹

As Lebanon declared war on Germany and Japan in February 1945, the Allies, led by the United States, extended an official invitation to the Lebanese Government to participate in the deliberations that took place in San Francisco, California, to script the Charter of the United Nations (UN).¹⁰² Lebanon became one of the founders of the United Nations by signing the UN Charter on 26 June 1945. Immediately thereafter, President El Khoury issued Decree No. 3649/K on 25 July 1945 and called for an extraordinary session of parliament to consider and officially adopt the UN Charter.¹⁰³

The direct and indirect meddling of the French, however, continued in Lebanon and neighboring Syria and tensions between the French and locals escalated, particularly when the Lebanese Government received a written notification from the French on 3 May 1945 that

Minutes (1945): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 27 February 1945.

¹⁰⁰ For the detailed behind the scenes negotiations of the Lebanese Delegation in Egypt on the adoption of the relevant language utilized in the Charter of the Arab League, please see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.133-134. Decree No. 3000/K dated 3 April 1945 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami. *Official Minutes (1945): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 7 April 1945.*

¹⁰¹ *Official Minutes (1945): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 7 April 1945.*

¹⁰² On 31 March 1945 the State Department of the United States officially extended an invitation to the Lebanese Government to participate in the deliberations to script the Charter of the United Nations. See, El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.135.

¹⁰³ Decree No. 3649/K dated 25 July 1945 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami calling for the commencement of an extraordinary session of the 5th Parliament on 1 August 1945. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 31, 1 August 1945, pp.1-2.

several Senegalese troops were going to embark onto Lebanese soil. Minister of Foreign Affairs Henry Pharaon, upon the request of the Prime Minister, went to Parliament on 8 May 1945 and presented the Lebanese Government's concerns and informed Parliament of the government's intent to collaborate with the Syrian counterpart in that regard.¹⁰⁴

The Lebanese and Syrians revolted against the French intrusion into their respective countries and demanded the immediate termination of the Mandate. To do so, the French urged that both countries enter into respective treaties to provide air and navy bases to the French Army.¹⁰⁵ Presidents El Khoury and Shukri El Quwatli of Syria held an emergency meeting in Chtura, Lebanon, on 19 May 1945 to coordinate the efforts for common defense against the aggression.¹⁰⁶ As the revolt continued in Lebanon and Syria, the killing of three French soldiers in Aleppo, Syria, on 20 May 1945 gave the French the excuse to intervene militarily in most Syrian cities and fighting erupted in the cities of Hama and Homs between the Syrian revolutionaries and the French Army on 27 May 1945 and extended to the outskirts of Damascus.¹⁰⁷ The French Air Force then started aerial bombardments on the Syrian capital on 29 May 1945, lasting a few days.¹⁰⁸

As anti-mandate feelings further escalated against the French in Lebanon, Prime Minister Karami with his Minister of Foreign Affairs Henry Pharaon re-appeared before the 5th Parliament on 22 May 1945

¹⁰⁴ After delivering a speech on the Lebanese Government's Foreign Policy *vis-a-vis* the intrusion of the Senegalese-French troops into Lebanon, Foreign Minister Henry Pharaon was dispatched to Damascus to discuss the matter with the Syrian authorities. El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.138-139. Movses Der-Kaloustian was present but Hratchia Shamlan did not attend this meeting. 1,200 Senegalese troops embarked into the Port of Beirut on 14 May 1945. *Official Minutes (1945): 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 May 1945.*

¹⁰⁵ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.139. See also Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.297-311.

¹⁰⁶ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.140-141. See also, Su'ad Jarous, *Min El Intidab ila El Inqilab: Souria Zaman Najeeb El Rayyes (1898-1952), [From Mandate to Coup d'Etat: Syria in the times of Najib El Rayyes 1898-1952]*. (Beirut, Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2015), pp.312-313.

¹⁰⁷ Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, pp.302-304.

¹⁰⁸ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, London, 2nd Ed., p.113, and Barr, *A Line in the Sand*, p.303. See also, McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, p.110. From a Syrian's perspective of the French aerial bombardment of Damascus on 29 and 30 May 1945, see, Jarous, *Min El Intidab ila El Inqilab*, pp.313-316.

and reiterated the Lebanese Government's policies toward the unlawful French infringements. The patriotic enthusiasm, and the appreciation and approval of the Deputies of the conduct of the executive branch were similar to those feelings during the independence era in November 1943. Most Deputies representing the religious denominations in Lebanon delivered fiery speeches against the French Mandate and appreciated the patriotic political stance that the government had taken against the foreign troops.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, the criticism against Prime Minister Karami's domestic policies increased during the summer of 1945, when 22 deputies signed a petition demanding an extraordinary session of parliament in order to withdraw the recent vote of confidence in the government.¹¹⁰ Abdul Hameed Karami therefore informed the President of his intension to resign, but President El Khoury convinced him to call for another vote of confidence before submitting his resignation.¹¹¹ In its session on 14 August 1945, the Parliament re-granted a confidence vote in Karami's Cabinet. Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan cast votes of confidence.¹¹² Prime Minister Karami, however, did not wait long but

¹⁰⁹ Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami (Sunni, North Lebanon), Riad El Solh (Sunni, South Lebanon), Sa'adi El Munla (Sunni, North Lebanon), Muhammad El Mustafa (Sunni, North Lebanon), Saeb Salam (Sunni, Beirut), Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni Beka'a Valley), Muhammad El Fadl (Shia, South Lebanon), Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), Kamal Jumblatt (Druze, Mount Lebanon), Minister of Foreign Affairs (Roman Catholic, Beka'a Valley), Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Adeeb El Ferzli (Maronite, Beka'a Valley), Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) made speeches registering on the record the feelings of their constituents and their respective religious denominations. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan, however, did not make any comments. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 12th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 22 May 1945.

¹¹⁰ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.145. The total votes were shy of the constitutional threshold (needed 28 votes out of 55) to have an extraordinary session. According to Article 33 of the Lebanese Constitution, a majority vote is needed for such measure. Article 33 of 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>

¹¹¹ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.145-148.

¹¹² Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami's Government received 35 votes of confidence against the no-confidence votes of Ibrahim Haydar, Rasheed Beydoun, Kazem El Khalil, Adel Osseiran, Majeed Arslan, Riad El Solh, Philip Taqla and Fareed El Khazen. Deputies Emile Lahoud, Ayoub Tabet, Khalil Abu

submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the President on 22 August 1945.¹¹³

President El Khoury immediately asked Sami El Solh to form a new Cabinet. The new eight-member Cabinet presented its ministerial statement to parliament on 3 September 1945 and received a unanimous vote of confidence (45 votes out of 45 present), including the votes of Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan.¹¹⁴ The very next day, the 5th Parliament adopted the Charter of the United Nations and the President signed it into law on 25 September 1945.¹¹⁵

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 22 August 1945 ¹¹⁶		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Trade & Industry and PTT
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Public Works
3.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education
4.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Defense and Agriculture
5.	Jameel Talhouq	Minister of Health
6.	Youssef Salem	Minister of Interior
7.	Emile Lahoud	Minister of Finance
8.	Sa'adi El Munla	Minister of Justice

Table 5.11 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh's Government (22 August 1945)

As soon as Sami Solh's government received the confidence of parliament, entered into negotiations and signed an agreement with the Mediterranean Refining Company, a US firm, on 24 September 1945, to build an oil refinery in Tripoli. Two days later, in its ordinary session, the 5th Parliament considered and deliberated on the terms of the agreement

Jaoude, Suleiman El Ali and Naseeb El Dawood did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 14 August 1945.

¹¹³ Decree No. 3837/K dated 22 August 1945 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 35, 29 August 1945, pp.627-628.

¹¹⁴ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 3 September 1945.

¹¹⁵ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 4 September 1945. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 40, 3 October 1945, p.719.

¹¹⁶ Decree No. 3839/K dated 22 August 1945 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1945)*, Issue No. 35, 29 August 1945, p.628.

and ratified it despite the objection of some members. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan voted in favor of the ratification of the refinery agreement.¹¹⁷

Similar to its predecessor, Prime Minister Sami El Solh's government operated in a very turbulent political environment. The ramification of the uprisings against foreign troops in Lebanon and Syria and the bombardment of Damascus continued to dictate Lebanese foreign policy during the last quarter of 1945. Some members of the 5th Parliament were very vocal in compelling the Lebanese Government to take proactive steps to force French and British troops out of the country. The Franco-British Agreement on the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the Levant signed on 13 December 1945 was reviewed by the government and the parliament with skepticism, as Prime Minister Solh's government presented it to parliament on the same day as it was introduced to their respective legislative bodies in London and Paris. President El Khoury also attended the open session of the Lebanese Parliament, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hameed Franjeh, gave a speech describing the government's policies and future steps to be taken in that regard.¹¹⁸ Both Der-Kaloustian and Shamlan were in attendance during the session.¹¹⁹

In order to coordinate the joint efforts of the governments of Lebanon and Syria with respect to the alleged withdrawal of the foreign troops from the Levant, President El Khoury hosted Syria's President Shukri El Quwatli at his residence at Aley, Lebanon, on 15 December

¹¹⁷ Although the refinery agreement signed by the Lebanese Government and the US firm Mediterranean Refining Company was ratified by the majority of the 5th Parliament, the refinery was never built. See the remark made by President Beshara El Khoury at *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.192-193. Deputies George Akl, Ahmad El Hussein, Abdul El Ghani El Khateeb, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Muhammad El Aboud, Alfred Naccache, Youssef Karam, Muhammad Beydoun and Ameen El Sa'ad, rejected the measure. A total of 14 deputies were absent to the discussions including: Ayoub Tabet, Habib Abi Shahla, Rasheed Beydoun, Sleiman El Ali, Saeb Salam, Ali El Abdullah, Kamal Jumblatt, Muhammad El Fadl, Naseeb Gabriel, Henry Pharaon and Refa'at Qaz'oun. Deputies Ibrahim Haydar, Asa'ad El Bustani, George Zuwein and Naseeb El Dawwod were excused from attending. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 26 November 1945.

¹¹⁸ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.199-202.

¹¹⁹ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 10th Meeting of 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament on 13 December 1945.

1945.¹²⁰ The outcome of the meeting and the relevant diplomatic measures to be taken were conveyed to the Lebanese Parliament in a statement made by Franjeh during an open session of parliament on 24 December 1945, with both Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian in attendance.¹²¹ Accordingly, Franjeh and Camille Chamoun, the Lebanese Ambassador to London, were delegated to negotiate the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon. As the negotiations of the Lebanese delegation with the British and French did not reach any final conclusion, Lebanon lodged an official complaint against Great Britain and France with the UN on 4 February 1946.¹²² However, a US brokered compromise was reached to save the impasse and the Lebanese Government was able to sign an agreement with the French on 23 March 1946 for the final withdrawal of French troops from Lebanon by the end of 1946.¹²³

Despite intense negotiations, the government of Sami El Solh was constantly criticized for its foreign and domestic policies, which led to the resignation of both Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Hameed Franjeh, and that of Interior, Youssef Salem.¹²⁴ Prime Minister El Solh did not wait long and presented the resignation of his Cabinet.¹²⁵ President El Khoury then appointed Sa'adi El Munla as the new prime minister and delegated him to form the new government.

Prime Minister Sa'adi El Munla presented his government's ministerial statement to the 5th Parliament on 25 May 1946 and received 36 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian.¹²⁶ The newly formed Cabinet did not accomplish much except

¹²⁰ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.202-203.

¹²¹ *Official Minutes (1945)*: 15th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament, 24 December 1945.

¹²² For a detailed account on the Lebanese Government's negotiations in London, Paris and New York concerning withdrawal of the foreign troops, see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, pp.209-228.

¹²³ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.2*, p.228.

¹²⁴ Decree No. 5534/K dated 3 April 1946 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh accepting the resignations. *Official Gazette (1946)*, Issue No. 15, 10 April 1946, p.413.

¹²⁵ Decree No. 6035/K dated 22 May 1946 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's government. *Official Gazette (1946)*, Supplemental Issue No. 21, 22 May 1946, p.1.

¹²⁶ *Official Minutes (1946)*: 13 Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 25 May 1946.

for purchasing the railroad track that connected Tripoli in the north to El Naqoura in the south from the British.¹²⁷

However, an important and out of the ordinary event took place during the opening day of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament on 22 October 1946. Deputy George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) who was the eldest deputy, presided over the election of the Speaker of the Parliament and in a move that undermined the accepted norms and understandings under the National Pact,¹²⁸ Habib Abi Shahla, a Roman Orthodox Deputy from Beirut District, received 29 votes against 22 votes for Sabri Hamadeh, a Shia Deputy from the Beka'a Valley. A non-Shia Deputy won and was officially announced the Speaker of the 5th Parliament.¹²⁹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 22 May 1946 ¹³⁰		
1.	Sa'adi Bek El Munla	Prime Minister; Minister of Economy
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Public Works
3.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Justice
4.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education
5.	Emile Lahoud	Minister of Finance
6.	Saeb Salam	Minister of Interior
7.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and Health
8.	Youssef El Hrawi	Minister of Agriculture and PTT

Table 5.12 – Cabinet Members of Sa'adi El Munla's Government (22 May 1946)

The circumvention to the considerations of the National Pact may, or may not, have had a direct impact on Prime Minister El Munla's government, However, the Cabinet resigned a month later.¹³¹ President

¹²⁷ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh* Vol.2, p.270.

¹²⁸ The "National Pact" which was agreed upon by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh in 1943 stipulated that the President of the Republic be a Maronite, the Prime Minister be a Sunni and the Speaker be a Shia.

¹²⁹ *Official Minutes (1946)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 22 October 1946.

¹³⁰ Decree No. 6037/K dated 22 May 1946 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sa'adi El Munla appointed the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1946)*, Issue No. 21 9 Supplement), 22 May 1946, p.1.

¹³¹ Decree No. 7684/K dated 14 December 1946 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Sa'adi El Munla's Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1946)*, Issue No. 51, 18 December 1946, p.1346.

El Khoury then appointed Riad El Solh as the new prime minister. The new Cabinet included prominent Lebanese politicians, including for the first time two leading Druze leaders, Emir Majeed Arslan and Kamal Bek Jumblatt; two renowned Maronite ministers, Camille Chamoun and Eias El Khoury; and two major Sunni figures, Riad El Solh and Abdullah El Yafi. The Cabinet also included Sabri Hamadeh, a Shia, and a Roman Orthodox and a Roman Catholic minister. There were no representatives of the Lebanese-Armenian community on the Cabinet.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 14 December 1946 ¹³²		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister
2.	Sabri Hamadeh	Deputy PM; Minister of Interior
3.	Abdullah El Yafi	Minister of Justice
4.	Gabriel El Murr	Minister of Public Works
5.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and PTT
6.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Finance
7.	Henry Pharaon	Minister of Foreign Affairs
8.	Kamal Jumblatt	Minister of Economy; Agriculture and Social Affairs
9.	Elias El Khoury	Minister of Health and Education

Table 5.13 – Cabinet Members of Riad El Solh’s Government (14 December 1946)

Prime Minister El Solh presented his new Cabinet’s ministerial statement to parliament on 14 December 1946. Three prominent Shia Deputies, Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, South Lebanon), and Kazem El Khalil (Shia, South Lebanon), complained about the portfolio distribution of the ministries, especially about the Shia portfolio in the Cabinet, where the Shia constituency of South Lebanon was not represented in the Cabinet nor had it taken the position of the Speakership of the Parliament. The three then resigned but the 5th Parliament did not accept their resignation. The ministerial statement, nevertheless, received a unanimous vote of confidence – including the votes of Der-Kaloustian and Shamlian.¹³³

¹³² Decree No. 7686/K dated 14 December 1946 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointed the ministers. *Official Gazette (1946)*, Issue No. 51, 18 December 1946, p.1346.

¹³³ In addition to Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), Kazem El Khalil (Shia, South Lebanon) and Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, South Lebanon) who presented their resignation to the Speaker, five other members were not present: Muhammad El Mustafa, Ayoub Tabet, Naseeb El Dawood, Youssef Salem, and Alfred Naccache.

	PMs	Riad El Solh	Riad El Solh	Abdul Hameed Karami
		7 Oct. 1943 ¹³⁴	11 Jul. 1944 ¹³⁵	20 Jan. 1945 ¹³⁶
1.	Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓	✓
2.	H. Shamlan	✓	NS	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 5.14 (a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 5th Parliament

When the last foreign troops left Lebanon on 31 December 1946, the 5th Parliament, in an extraordinary session on 10 January 1947, amended the Constitution and cleaned up the remaining references to

The *Official Minutes (1946)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 14 December 1946.

¹³⁴ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 7 October 1943 and received 50 confidence votes, including those from Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan out of 51 deputies present, with only Alfred Naccache abstaining. *Official Minutes (1943)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 7 October 1943.

¹³⁵ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his 2nd Government to the 5th Parliament on 11 July 1944 and received 41 Confidence Votes, including that of Movses Derkaloustian's. Hratchia Shamlan was absent during the deliberations. Abdullah El Yafi, Youssef Salem, Kazem El Khalil, and Youssef Karam cast no-confidence votes, whereas, Rasheed Beydoun and Muhammad El Aboud abstained from voting. In addition to Hratchia Shamlan, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb, Alfred Naccache, George Akl and Gabriel El Murr did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes (1944)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 11 July 1944.

¹³⁶ Prime Minister Abdul Hameed Karami presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 20 January 1945 and received 36 confidence votes out of 36 present, including the confidence votes of Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlan. Sixteen Deputies were absent for the deliberations including: Ahmad El Hussein, Asa'ad El Bustani, Alfred Naccache, Ameen El Sa'ad, George Akl, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb, Gabriel El Murr, Wadi' El Ashqar, Kamal Jumblatt, Muhammad El Aboud, Ibrahim Haydar, Camille Chamoun, Youssef Estefan, Ayoub Tabet, Muhammad Beydoun, Youssef Karam and Maroon Kena'an. Deputy George Zuwein was present but withdraw from the meeting. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 20 January 1945.

the Mandate.¹³⁷ President El Khoury signed the amendment to the constitution into law on 21 January 1947.¹³⁸

		P M Sami El Solh	PM Sa'adi El Munla	PM Riad El Solh
		3 Sep. 1945 ¹³⁹	25 May 1946 ¹⁴⁰	21 Dec. 1946 ¹⁴¹
1.	Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓	✓
2.	H. Shamlan	✓	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 5.14 (b) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 5th Parliament

¹³⁷ Both Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlan attended the meeting. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 10 January 1947.

¹³⁸ Law Amending the Constitution dated 10 January 1947 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1947)*, Issue No. 5, 29 January 1947, p.58.

¹³⁹ Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 3 September 1945 and received 45 confidence votes out of 45 present, including those of M. Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlan. Amongst the absentees on the deliberation were: Ayoub Tabet, Suleiman El Ali, Muhammad El Mustafa, Rasheed Beydoun, and Naseeb Gabriel. *Official Minutes (1945)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 3 September 1945.

¹⁴⁰ Prime Minister Sa'adi El Munla presented his ministerial statement to the 5th Parliament on 25 May 1946 and received 36 confidence votes including those of Der-Kaloustian and H. Shamlan, against 5 no-confidence votes of: Muhammad El Mustafa, Muhammad El Aboud, Asa'ad El Bustani, George Akl, and Youssef Karam. Ameen El Sa'ad abstained. There were 12 absentees to the deliberations: Khalil Abu Jaoude, Abdul Ghani El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Naseeb El Dawood, Ibrahim Haydar, Alfred Naccache, Ayoub Tabet, Youssef Salem, Muhammad Beydoun, Refa'at Qaz'oun, Nicola Ghossen, and Youssef Estefan. *Official Minutes (1946)*: 13th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 25 May 1946.

¹⁴¹ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his 3rd Cabinet to the 5th Parliament on 14 December 1946 and received confidence-votes of all present, including those from Movses Der-Kaloustian and Hratchia Shamlan. 8 members were absent: Kazem El Khalil, Rasheed Beydoun, Adel Osseiran, Muhammad El Mustafa, Ayoub Tabet, Naseeb El Dawood, Youssef Salem, and Alfred Naccache. Additionally, the first three absentees: Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon), Kazem El Khalil (Shia, South Lebanon) and Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, South Lebanon) presented their resignation to the Speaker complaining of the lack of changes in the new Government. The Chamber did not accept their resignation. *Official Minutes (1946)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 14 December 1946.

On 14 February 1947 Deputy Ayoub Tabet passed away causing President El Khoury to dissolve the Parliament and call for new legislative elections on 25 May and 1 June 1947.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Decree No. 8685/K dated 8 April 1947, signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh dissolving the Parliament and setting the legislative election dates for 25 May and 1 June 1947. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 April 1947.

The 6th Lebanese Parliament

(1947-51)

The legislative elections for the 6th Lebanese Parliament were held in two stages on 25 May and 1 June 1947 respectively, pursuant to Decree No. 8685/K of 8 April 1947, signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh.¹ The elections were held in accordance with the election laws, with a total of 55 electoral seats two of which were allocated to the Armenian Orthodox community in Beirut.²

¹ Decree No. 8685/k signed on 8 April 1947 dissolved the 5th Parliament and called for new legislative elections. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1947)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 5th Parliament held on 8 April 1947.

² *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.

The Lebanese-Armenian community actively participated in the pre-election campaign for the 6th Parliament.³ Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian were elected to the 6th Lebanese Parliament.⁴

The election was a net victory for President El Khoury whose party got a two-thirds majority in the newly elected parliament.⁵ Many of the opposition figures to the El Khoury regime were not elected.⁶

	Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Attendance
1.	Movses Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	170	25	85%
2.	Melkon Hayrabedian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	170	15	91%

Table 6.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 6th Lebanese Parliament (1947-51)

The Ministry of Interior officially announced the election results in a letter addressed to the Secretariat of the Chamber of Deputies on 2 June 1949 and President El Khoury and Prime Minister El Solh issued

³ For the pre-election campaign of the Lebanese-Armenian candidates in 1947, see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.88-104.

⁴ Ministry of Interior Letter with Docket No. 1614 dated 2 June 1947 announcing the official results of the election of members to the 6th Parliament. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.

⁵ For an analysis of the results of the 1947 legislative elections in Lebanon, see Eyal Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, (London, I.B. Tauris Publications, 2000), pp.128-139.

⁶ Among the non-elected political figures were: Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite, Beka'a Valley); Alfred Naccache (Maronite, Beirut); Asa'ad El Bustani (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); Ameen El Sa'ad (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); George Akl (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); Wadi' El Ashqar (Maronite, Mount Lebanon); Maroon Kena'an (Maronite, South Lebanon); Boutros El Khoury (Maronite, North Lebanon); and Youssef Estefan (Maronite, North Lebanon). Also were not elected: Saeb Salam (Sunni, Beirut); Abdul El Ghani El Khateeb (Sunni, Mount Lebanon); Sa'adi El Munla (Sunni, North Lebanon); Abdul Hameed Karami (Sunni, North Lebanon); Muhammad El Abed (Sunni, North Lebanon); and Muhammad El Mustafa (Sunni, North Lebanon). Three Shia individuals were also not elected: Muhammad El Beydoun (Shia, Beirut); Ali El Abdullah (Shia, South Lebanon) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia, South Lebanon).

Decree No. 9147/K and called the newly elected parliament to commence in an extraordinary session.⁷

Elected MPs	55	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 6 th Lebanese Parliament (1947-51)
Beirut District	9	Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox); Hussein El Oweini (Sunni); Ra'eef Abillama (Maronite); Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Sami El Solh (Sunni); Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni); Moses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Hayrabetian (Armenian Orthodox) and Moussa de Freij (Minorities).
Beka'a Valley	7	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Adeeb El Ferzli (Maronite); Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni); Shebli El Aryan (Druze); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Henry Pharaon (Roman Catholic) and Youssef Elias Chamoun (Maronite).
North Lebanon	12	Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox); Hameed Franjeh (Maronite); Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Adnan El Jisr (Sunni); Mayez El Muqqadam (Sunni); Muhammad El Aboud Abdul Razzak (Sunni); Michel Mufrej (Roman Orthodox); Nadra Issa El Khoury (Maronite); Nassouh Agha El Fadel (Sunni); Youssef Daw (Maronite); Youssef Fedoul (Maronite) and Youssef Karam (Maronite).
South Lebanon	10	Ibrahim Azar (Maronite) replaced by Rashad Azar (Maronite); Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Riad El Solh (Sunni); Adel Osseiran (Shia); Muhammad El Fadl (Shia); Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia); Muhammad Ali El Azeimi (Shia); Nassar Ghelmiyeh (Roman Orthodox) and Youssef El Zein (Shia).
Mount Lebanon	17	Ahmad El Berjawi (Sunni); Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); Emir Majeed Arslan (Druze); Elias El Khoury (Maronite); Ameen Nakhle (Maronite); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); George Zuwein (Maronite); Khalil Abu Jaoude (Maronite); Saleem El Khoury (Maronite) replaced by Emile Lahoud (Maronite); Shaheed El Khoury (Maronite); Gabriel El Murr (Roman Orthodox); Fareed El Khazen (Maronite) replaced by Saleem El Khazen (Maronite); Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Camille Chamoun (Maronite); Wadi' Na'eem (Maronite) and Youssef Matta (Maronite).

Table 6.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 6th Lebanese Parliament (1947-51)

The first meeting of the 6th Parliament was held on 9 June 1947 with 51 out of the 55 elected Deputies present. George Zuwein, the eldest deputy present, presided over the deliberation until the election of the Speaker. Deputy Zuwein presented the resignation of the Cabinet headed

⁷ Ministry of Interior Letter with Docket No. 1614 dated 2 June 1947 was read during the 1st Meeting of the 6th Parliament on 9 June 1947. Decree No. 9147/k dated 4 June 1947 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.

by Prime Minister Riad El Solh and announced that the President re-assigned Riad El Solh as the new prime minister to form a new cabinet.⁸ Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) was elected as the Speaker of the 6th Parliament, with Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) elected as the Deputy Speaker.⁹

Prime Minister El Solh formed an eight-member government and presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 6th Parliament on 17 June 1949 and received an overwhelming vote of confidence with both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian being present and casting their respective votes of confidence to the newly formed government.¹⁰

Several important regional and international events took place during the term of the 6th Parliament that had a direct and indirect effect on the shaping of future political affairs in Lebanon. The 6th Parliament witnessed the first and immediate consequences of the Truman Doctrine¹¹ followed by the passage of the US National Security Act of 18 September 1947 and the establishment of the Central Intelligence

⁸ Decree No. 9251/K dated 7 June 1947 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Riad El Solh's government. Decree No. 9252/K dated 7 June 1947 signed by President El Khoury re-appointing Riad El Solh as the new Prime Minister. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.

⁹ Deputy Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 44 votes out of the 50 deputies present. There were 6 blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as the Deputy Speaker and Deputies Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze, Mount Lebanon) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.

¹⁰ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 6th Parliament on 17 June 1947 and received 49 Confidence Votes, out of 51 present. Only Kamal Jumblatt and Adel Osseiran abstained from voting. Deputies Saleem El Khoury, Philip Taqla, Fareed El Khazen and Ibrahim Haydar were not present. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 17 June 1947.

¹¹ US President Harry S. Truman, before the Joint Session of Congress on 12 March 1947, declared US would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. See "The Truman Doctrine" Larry S. Truman Library & Museum Official Website. [Last visited 10 October 2015]. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/.

The 6th Lebanese Parliament (1947-51)

	09 Jun 47 ¹²	21 Oct 47 ¹³	19 Oct 48 ¹⁴	18 Oct 49 ¹⁵	17 Oct 50 ¹⁶
Speaker	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh
Dep. Speaker	Gebran Nahhas	Gebran Nahhas	Gebran Nahhas	Gabriel El Murr	Gabriel El Murr
Secretariat	Youssef Daw Beheej Taqiedeen	Youssef Daw Ref'aat Qaz'oun	Youssef Daw Ref'aat Qaz'oun	Youssef Daw Ref'aat Qaz'oun	Youssef Daw Ref'aat Qaz'oun

Table 6.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 6th Lebanese Parliament

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- ¹² Deputy George Zuwein, the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of the Speaker. Deputy Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 44 votes against 1 vote for George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) out of the 51 present. There were six blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as Deputy Speaker with Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze, Mount Lebanon) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 9 June 1947.
- ¹³ The eldest deputy George Zuwein presided over the election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 46 votes out of 46 present. There were 2 blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as Deputy Speaker with Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 21 October 1947.
- ¹⁴ Deputy George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) as the Speaker, who received 42 votes out of 44 present. There were 2 blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as Deputy Speaker with Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 19 October 1948.
- ¹⁵ The eldest Deputy present, George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), presided over election of the Speaker. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) received 42 votes out of 44 present. There were 2 blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as Deputy Speaker with Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1949)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament on 18 October 1949.
- ¹⁶ Deputy George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley) as the Speaker, receiving 42 votes out of 46 present. There were 4 blank papers. Gebran Nahhas (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected as Deputy Speaker with Youssef Daw (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1950)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 17 October 1950.

Agency (CIA) that carried out direct and indirect inter-meddling in the political affairs of Lebanon and the neighboring countries throughout the coming decades.¹⁷ Furthermore, the adoption of the “Containment Policy against the Soviet Union” by the US as its overarching foreign policy, led the entire world into an era of Cold War that lasted for decades.¹⁸

The Executive Branch of the Government President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 7 June 1947 ¹⁹		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Public Works
3.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Justice
4.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and PTT
5.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Interior and Health
6.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education
7.	Muhammad El Aboud	Minister of Finance
8.	Suleiman Nawfal	Minister of Economy and Agriculture

Table 6.4 – Cabinet Members of Riad El Solh’s Government (7 June 1947)

One of the first foreign distractions that the El Solh government encountered was the creation of the United Nation’s Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP)²⁰ that visited Lebanon and met with the Prime

¹⁷ Sam C. Sarkissian, John Allen Williams and Stephen J. Cimbala, *US National Security: Policymakers, Processes and Politics*, (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008), p.149. See also, Bruce D. Berkowitz and Allen E. Goodman, *Strategic Intelligence for American National Security*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989). The text of the US National Security Act of 1947 as amended can be found at the official website of the US House of Representatives. [Last visited 10 October 2015]. <https://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/National%20Security%20Act%20of%201947.pdf>.

¹⁸ The US adoption of the “Containment Policy of the Soviet Union” was based upon a recommendation by George Kennan, a US diplomat in Moscow in 1947. Kennan suggested that “[T]he main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” See George Kennan, “The Source of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1947), pp.575-576.

¹⁹ Decree No. 9253/K dated 7 June 1947 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister El Solh appointing ministers. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic* (1947), Issue No. 24, 11 June 1947, p.371.

²⁰ UNSCOP was created on 15 May 1947 through UN General Assembly Resolution No. 106 (S-1) in response to the UK’s request that the General Assembly makes a recommendation under Article 10 of the UN Charter on the future of Palestine. UN General Assembly Res. 106 (S-1) dated 15 May 1947. [Last visited 5 October

Minister and the Foreign Minister Hameed Franjeh on 21 June 1947 despite the extensive boycott of the committee by Arab counties.²¹ The opposition in Lebanon reacted by holding a meeting at Rasheed Jumblatt's residence in Sawfar, El Metn Region, Lebanon, on 24 June 1947 in order to strategies on future action. To counter that meeting, the government declared a curfew in the Sawfar region on the day of the meeting, preventing the the participants reaching Jumblatt's residence.²²

The UNSCOP presented its report to the UN Secretary General on 3 September 1947. The opposition called for another meeting to be held at Abdul Hameed Karami's residence in Tripoli on 14 September 1947 to deliberate on the pressing political issues and discuss the contents of the report submitted by Archbishop Ignatius Mubarak, Maronite Bishop of Beirut, to UNSCOP.²³ To ease the political tension in Lebanon, President Beshara El Khoury called the Parliament to an Extraordinary Session on 15 September 1947.²⁴

The Parliament held a meeting on 23 September 1947, but Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian was not present. He had sent a telegram to the Speaker asking for some time off from parliament in order to holiday in Egypt. Der-Kaloustian's request was communicated to the

2015]. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/106\(S-1\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/106(S-1))

²¹ Beshara El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3. [Lebanese Facts, Vol.3]*, (Beirut: Manshourat Awaraq Lubnaniyeh, 1995), pp.55-56.

²² El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.50-51.

²³ Archbishop Ignatius Mubarak, the Maronite Bishop of Beirut, presented a memorandum to UNSCOP in which he declared that considering Palestine and Lebanon as part of the Arab word was tantamount to denying history. In his memorandum, Archbishop Mubarak draw parallels between the fates of the Maronites in Lebanon and Jews in Palestine and stressed the need for the two communities to collaborate against the Arab Muslims. For details, see, Eyal Zisser, "Maronites, Lebanon and the State of Israel: Early Contacts," *Middle East Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (October 1995), p. 907. See also, Kail C. Ellis, "US Policy toward Lebanon," Kail C. Ellis, Ed., *Lebanon's Second Republic: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), p. 112 and Hilal Khashan, "The Evolution of Israeli-Lebanese Relations: From Implicit peace to Explicit Conflict," Efraim Karsh, Rory Miller and Michael Kerr, Eds, *Conflict, Diplomacy and Society in Israeli-Lebanese Relations*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.3.

²⁴ Decree No. 9951/K dated 11 September 1947 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh calling for an Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament to be held on 23 September 1947. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd Sitting held on 23 September 1947.

members in an open session and was approved by parliament.²⁵ During the same meeting, a complaint was lodged by the residents of Tyre (*Soor*), Sidon and Antelias demanding the return of certain lands that had been allocated to the Armenians. Parliament voted to refer the matter to the government for further consideration.²⁶

The 6th Parliament discussed the ramification of Archbishop Mubarak's report to the UNSCOP on the Palestinian cause and its impact on domestic Lebanese politics during its meeting on 29 September 1947. Movses Der-Kaloustian was not present, whereas, Melkon Hayrabedian did not make any comments.²⁷ Several Maronite Deputies presented a statement and denied any relationship or dealings with Archbishop Mubarak and refuted the contents of Archbishop's report.²⁸

The UN General Assembly, in its Preliminary Session on 29 November 1947, passed a resolution and adopted the recommendation of UNSCOP in its entirety.²⁹ Both the executive and the legislative

²⁵ *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd sitting of 6th Parliament held on 23 September 1947. Subsequently, Der-Kaloustian sent another telegram from Egypt requesting an extra month off claiming the lack of transportation because of widespread cholera in the region. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 10 November 1947.

²⁶ *Official Minutes (1947)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 23 September 1947.

²⁷ There were 11 absentees to the deliberations on Mubarak's report including, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Adeeb El Ferzli, Ameen Nakheh, Mayez El Muqaddam, Henry Pharaon, Elias El Khoury, Saleem El Khoury, Adel Osseiran, Abdullah El Yafi, Issa El Khoury and Youssef Fadoul. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd sitting of the 6th Parliament held on 29 September 1947.

²⁸ Among the Signatories to the Maronite statement were: George Zuwein, Ra'eef Abillama, Khalil Aby Jaoude, Wadi' Na'eem, Youssef Hatti, Fareed El Khazen, Shaheed El Khoury, Youssef Daw and Ibrahim Azar. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd sitting of the 6th Parliament held on 29 September 1947.

²⁹ The UNSCOP report recommended the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine and the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states in Palestine and a Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem. The report was adopted in UN General Assembly Resolution 181 on 29 November 1947. UN General Assembly Resolution Number 181: "Future Government of Palestine." [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/181\(II\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/181(II)) [Last visited 10 October 2015]. President Beshara El Khoury and the Lebanese Government were caught by surprise at the adoption of the UN General Assembly

branches of the Lebanese government were disappointed in the UN resolution. Prime Minister El Solh presented the government's policy towards the adoption of the resolution on the partition of Palestine to the 6th Parliament on 5 December 1947, when 18 different deputies representing all major religious sects in Lebanon, registered outrage at the passage of UN Resolution 181 and expressed their support and dedication to the Palestinian cause.³⁰ Among the Deputies present was Movses Der-Kaloustian, who requested permission from Speaker Sabri Hamadeh to deliver a short speech on Palestine, which was read by the clerk. In his speech, Der-Kaloustian said:

"I approve all that have been mentioned by my colleagues in terms of the Palestinian cause, and I declare that despite of all our differences, we are one bloc which aims at defending this neighboring nation."³¹
[Translation from Arabic].

On 5 December 1947 in response to a proposal the Deputies unanimously voted for a resolution stating that the UN resolution was not binding and that Lebanon did not recognize the resolution and refused to abide by any measures stemming from it. This parliamentary

Resolution No. 181 on Palestine. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.74-76.

³⁰ The Deputies who made remarks/speeches on the record against the adoption of UN Resolution No. 181 and expressed solidarity with the Palestinian cause were: Henry Pharaon (Roman Catholic, Beka'a Valley), Hussein El Oweini (Sunni, Beirut), Michel Mufrej (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon), Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Youssef El Zein (Shia, South Lebanon), Moussa de Freij (Maronite, Beirut), Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia, South Lebanon), Shebli Agha El Aryan (Druze, North Lebanon), Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic, Mount Lebanon), Nassouh El Fadel (Sunni, North Lebanon), Nassar Ghelmiyeh (Roman Orthodox, South Lebanon), Ameen Nakhle (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic, South Lebanon), Muhammad Ali El Azeimi (Shia, South Lebanon), Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Sami El Solh (Sunni, Beirut) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Beka'a Valley). Eight (8) other deputies did not attend the meeting, including: Ahmad El Asa'ad, Rasheed Beydoun, Khilail Abu Jaoude, Saleem El Khoury, Fareed El Khazen, Kamal Jumblatt, Youssef Chamoun, Adel Osseiran, Abdullah El Yafi, Wadi' Na'eem and Youssef Fadoul. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 5 December 1947.

³¹ For the full Arabic text of Der-Kaloustian's short speech on Palestine, please see Appendix 11.1. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 5 December 1947.

measure further underscored that Lebanon underlined the independence of Arab Palestine and would do whatever was required to defend it. A resolution was also adopted to earmark 1 million Lebanese Pounds for the support of Arabs in Palestine.³²

The 6th Parliament was very active in legislating. It held a total of 170 parliamentary meetings including 74 ordinary and 96 extraordinary meetings from 1947 to 1951. Both Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian were involved in parliamentary committees. Der-Kaloustian continued as a member of the Public Works Committee throughout this term. Hayrabedian became a member of the National Education & Public Health committees throughout the term.

		1947-48 ³³	1948-49 ³⁴	1949-50 ³⁵	1950-51 ³⁶	1951-52 ³⁷
1	Budget/nance	None	None	None	None	None
2	Admin & Justice	None	None	None	None	None
3	Foreign Affairs	None	None	None	None	None
4	Public Wor	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
5	Educ./Public Health Com.	Hayrabedian	Hayrabedian	Hayrabedian D-Kaloustian	Hayrabedian D-Kaloustian	Hayrabedian D-Kaloustian
6	Industry/Touris	D-Kaloustian	None	None	None	None
7	Agr/Commerce	None	None	None	None	None
8	Pro./Grievance	None	None	None	None	None

Table 6.5 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 6th Lebanese Parliament (1947-51)

During the tenure of the 6th Parliament, the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict underwent a sharp turn in 1948 as a result of the *El Nakba* when the Palestinians were expelled from their homeland and sought refuge in Lebanon. The financial markets crumbled and the French Franc devalued and the French authorities pressured Lebanon to

³² Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian voted in favor of both measures concerning Palestine. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 5 December 1947.

³³ *Official Minutes (1947)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 1 July 1947.

³⁴ *Official Minutes (1948)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 16 March 1948.

³⁵ *Official Minutes (1949)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 22 March 1949.

³⁶ *Official Minutes (1950)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 21 March 1950.

³⁷ *Official Minutes (1951)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session for the 6th Parliament held on 20 March 1951.

enter into a monetary agreement with France. Lebanon struggled to keep balanced political and monetary policies but eventually signed the monetary agreement on 24 January 1948.³⁸

The Palestinian cause, nevertheless, pre-occupied the Lebanese Government and the 6th Parliament alike in 1948. President El Khoury held a summit for Arab leaders in Beirut on 21 March 1948, to discuss the Palestinian issue as a result of the adoption of Resolution 181 by the UN General Assembly, which set 15 May 1948 as the last day of the British Mandate over Palestine.³⁹ The sudden and early evacuation of British troops from Palestine on 20 April 1947, however, changed all predictions.⁴⁰ The immediate unfolding of events in Palestine had direct consequences in Lebanese political life in May 1948.

Citing the volatile situation in the Middle East in general, and in the Palestine territories in particular, and fearful of creating unstable political conditions in Lebanon, a group of 46 Deputies, including the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian, signed a letter on 9 May 1948 demanding the re-election of Beshara El Khoury as the President for a second term, despite the fact that the President's term of office was going to end after a year.⁴¹

³⁸ See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.85-93. The Franco-Lebanese Agreement was ratified by the 6th Parliament in its meeting on 28 and 30 August 1948. Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian voted in favor of the ratification. Deputies who objected to the ratification were: Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Sami El Solh, Nassouh El Fadel, Adel Osseiran, and Suleiman El Ali. Speaker Sabri Hamadeh abstained from voting. Ten (10) other deputies did not show up to the meeting: Henry Pharaon, Abdullah El Yafi, Rasheed Beydoun, Issa El Khoury, Saleem El Khoury, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Mayez El Muqaddam, Youssef Karam, Youssef Skaff and Youssef Hatti. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 30 August 1947.

³⁹ A pre-summit meeting of the Political Committee of the Arab League was held in Cairo with the participation of Prime Minister Riad El Solh and Foreign Minister Hameed Franjeh and Minister of Interior Camille Chamoun. El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.99-100.

⁴⁰ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.102.

⁴¹ Almost a two-thirds majority of the Deputies of the 6th Parliament signed the letter, which is a legal requirement needed to amend the Constitution. Among the Deputies who did not sign were the President's brother, Saleem El Khoury, and the President's relatives Henry Pharaon and Moussa de Freij. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.122-123.

As the dramatic events unfolded in Palestine, the Lebanese Government declared a State of Emergency in Lebanon on 14 May 1948.⁴² The same day, Parliament held a closed, secret session at the request of Prime Minister Riad El Solh to discuss the situation in the Middle East in general and Palestine in particular. Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian attended the secret meeting.⁴³ By midnight that day, David Ben-Gurion declared the creation of the State of Israel.⁴⁴ Arab armies from Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon entered Palestine the next day, 15 May 1948.⁴⁵

In the midst of a chaotic situation in the Middle East, President El Khoury issued Decree No. 11809/K on 19 May 1948, for a proposed law that temporarily amended Article 49 of the constitution to facilitate his re-election.⁴⁶ There was severe opposition to this, led by Kamal Jumblatt and Camille Chamoun, who resigned from the Cabinet before the Parliament considered the proposed amendment.⁴⁷ Parliament met on 22 May 1948 and passed a resolution, by a two-thirds majority, and temporarily amended Article 49 of the Constitution. Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian were present and voted in favor of the

⁴² Decree No. 11770 dated 13 May 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury, Prime Minister Riad El Solh, Interior Minister Camille Chamoun and Defense Minister Majeed Arslan declaring a State of Emergency in Lebanon effective 14 May 1948. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 20, 19 May 1948, p.391.

⁴³ Twelve Deputies did not attend the meeting of 14 May 1948, including, Kamal Jumblatt, Beheej Taqiedeen, Henry Pharaon, Rasheed Beydoun, Adeeb El Ferzli, Ra'eef Abillama, Saleem El Khoury, Issa El Khoury, Michel Mufarej, Wadi' Na'eem, Toussef Karam and Ameen Nakhle. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 8th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 14 May 1948.

⁴⁴ For a detailed account on the events during the "1948 Nakba", see, Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). See also, Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.145-163.

⁴⁵ For the President's address to the Lebanese soldiers on 15 May 1948 concerning the Lebanese Army's involvement in Palestine, see, El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.100-103.

⁴⁶ Decree No. 11809/K dated 19 May 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh for a proposed law to amend Article 49 of the Constitution. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 22 May 1948.

⁴⁷ Camille Chamoun resigned as the Minister of Interior and his resignation was accepted by President Beshara El Khoury on 19 May 1948 through Decree No. 11808 signed by the President and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 21, 26 May 1948, p.362.

amendment.⁴⁸ President El Khoury signed the amendment into law on the same day.⁴⁹ On 27 May 1948, within a few days of the amendment being passed, the 6th Parliament re-elected Beshara El Khoury as the President of Lebanon for a second term. Both Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian cast their vote in favor of the President's re-election.⁵⁰

While the President and parliament were involved in re-election issues, the Lebanese Army was engaged in the ongoing Arab-Israeli War at Ras El Naqura, on the coastal road in south Lebanon.⁵¹ The hostilities, however, ended when the UNSC passed Resolution No. 50 calling on all concerned parties to cease fire and refrain "... from importing or exporting war material into or to Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan or Yemen during the cease-fire," and urged "... all governments and authorities concerned to take every possible precaution for the protection of the Holy Places and of the City of Jerusalem..."⁵²

As the Arab armies were defeated in Palestine, opposition voices in Lebanon started to soar against the government's policies, leading to

⁴⁸ Forty-six deputies, including Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian voted in favor of amending Article 49 of the Constitution. Nine other deputies including Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Henry Pharaon, Suleiman El Ali, Saleem El Khoury, Moussa de Freij, Nassouh El Fadel, Youssef Karam and Rasheed Beydoun did not show up at the parliamentary session. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 22 May 1948.

⁴⁹ "Law Temporarily Amending the Constitution" dated 22 May 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury, Prime Minister Riad El Solh, and the rest of the ministers. *Official Gazette (1948)*: Issue No. 21, 26 May 1948, p.359.

⁵⁰ In its ordinary session, the 6th Parliament re-elected Beshara El Khoury as the President of the Republic for a second term with a unanimous vote. The same 46 deputies who had signed the letter on 9 May 1948 were present, including Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian. The absentees to the election were: Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Suleiman El Ali, Saleem El Khoury, Moussa de Freij, Nassouh El Fadel, Henry Pharaon, Youssef Karam and Rasheed Beydoun. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 27 May 1948.

⁵¹ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.114.

⁵² United Nations Security Council Resolution. No. 50 adopted on 29 May 1948 claimed that if the resolution was "... rejected by either party or by both, or if, having been accepted, it is subsequently repudiated or violated, the situation in Palestine will be reconsidered with a view to action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations." UNSC Resolution No. 50. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/50\(1948\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/50(1948)). [Last visited on 13 October 2015].

the resignation of the El Solh Government.⁵³ President El Khoury, however, re-appointed Riad El Solh as prime minister and asked him to form a new government.⁵⁴

The Executive Branch of the Government President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 26 July 1948 ⁵⁵		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Justice
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
3.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and Agriculture
4.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education
5.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Public Works
6.	Philip Taqla	Minister Economy and PTT
7.	Elias El Khoury	Minister of Health
8.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Finance

Table 6.6 – Cabinet Members of Riad El Solh's Government (26 July 1948)

Prime Minister El Solh presented his new Cabinet's general statement on policy to the 6th Parliament on 3 August 1948. Nine deputies, including Kamal Jumblatt, Henry Pharaon, Adnan El Jisr, Rasheed Beydoun and Youssef Skaff, did not attend the deliberations on the ministerial statement. On behalf of the opposition, Deputy Camille Chamoun severely criticized the policies of El Solh's government. The new Cabinet received 41 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian, against five votes of no confidence from Beheej Taqiedeen, Sami El Solh, Camille Chamoun, Suleiman El Ali and Adel Osseiran.⁵⁶

The Palestinian *Nakba* and the exodus of the Palestinians from their homeland into Lebanon as well as the absence of a coherent government policy on settling refugees in the country, gave the

⁵³ Prime Minister Riad El Solh resigned on 25 July 1948 and President Beshara El Khoury accepted the resignation the next day. Decree No. 12597 dated 26 July 1948. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 30, 28 July 1948, p.542.

⁵⁴ Decree No. 12598 dated 26 July 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury re-appointing Riad El Solh as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 30, 28 July 1948, p.542.

⁵⁵ Decree No. 12599/K dated 26 July 1948 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 30, 28 July 1948, p.542.

⁵⁶ *Official Minutes (1948)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 3 August 1948.

opposition more ammunition to attack the President and the Prime Minister during the latter part of 1948. The opposition further demanded the dissolution of parliament and called for new legislative elections.⁵⁷ To minimize the politically tense situation, Prime Minister El Solh's government met a few times in early January 1949 and tried to deliberate on the possibility of amending the Constitution to re-create a senate that would satisfy the demands of the opposition.⁵⁸

The rapid unfolding of regional and international military and political events in 1949 did not help Lebanon to stabilize itself. The adoption of UNSC Resolution. No. 69 accepting Israel as a member nation⁵⁹ and the signing of the armistice between Lebanon and Israel later in March 1949, infuriated opposition forces in Lebanon and Syria, leading to a military coup in Syria, led by Husni El Za'eem, on 31 March 1949⁶⁰ and a failed armed revolt by Antoun Sa'adeh's Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) in Lebanon.⁶¹

It took more than a month for the Lebanese government to recognize the new regime in Syria.⁶² Husni El Za'eem accused Prime Minister Riad El Solh of conspiring with Syria's Defense Minister, Ahmad El Sharbati, who had taken refuge in Lebanon, to overthrow or kill El

⁵⁷ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.187.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 69 of 4 March 1949 accepting State of Israel as a new member state of the United Nations. [*Last visited 13 October 2015*].

[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/69\(1949\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/69(1949)). The UN General Assembly in its 207th Plenary meeting on 11 May 1949 passed a Resolution recognizing Israel as a member state. United Nations General Assembly Resolution Number 273(III) dated 11 May 1949. [*Last visited 14 October 2015*].
[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/273\(III\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/273(III)).

⁶⁰ On 31 March 1949, the Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian Army, Husni El Za'eem blaming the Syrian civilian leadership of President Shukri El Quwatli and Prime Minister Khaled El Azem for the military defeat in Palestine, seized power in Damascus in a military coup in which the CIA was implicated. See Douglas Little, "Cold War and Covert Actions: The US and Syria, 1945-1958," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 1990), p.55.

⁶¹ See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.205-236.

⁶² Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.115.

Za'eem.⁶³ In the meantime, El Za'eem's coup attracted opposition parties in Lebanon, especially the SSNP, which clashed with the Phalange Party (*El Kataeb*) in Beirut's Jumezreh District on 9 June 1949 that led to a large-scale arrests in the SSNP's cadres.⁶⁴ Antoun Sa'adeh fled to Damascus, where Husni El Za'eem immediately granted political asylum to him in a political maneuver against the Lebanese government.⁶⁵ After mediation by Egyptian and Saudi governments, Lebanon's President El Khoury and Prime Minister El Solh received El Za'eem in Chtura on an official visit on 24 June 1949 and extended official recognition to the new authority in Syria and signed a full economic treaty.⁶⁶ In response, Sa'adeh declared a popular uprising from Damascus against El Khoury and El Solh's government on 1 July 1949. This rebellion was foiled within 72 hours by the Lebanese Army.⁶⁷ The Syrian authorities handed over Sa'adeh to the Lebanese security forces, and after a military trial in Lebanon, Sa'adeh was sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad at dawn on 8 July 1949.⁶⁸

The execution of Antoun Sa'adeh by the interior security forces worsened the unstable political condition in Lebanon and eventually led to the resignation of the Minister of Interior, Gabriel El Murr, on 20 July 1949.⁶⁹ Prime Minister El Solh followed suit and resigned as the Minister of Justice on the same day.⁷⁰

The turbulent events in Lebanon took place without legislative oversight in the summer of 1949 as the 6th Parliament did not hold any meetings in June and July that year. The opposition continued to criticize the government's domestic and foreign policies, and demanded new

⁶³ Husni El Za'eem sent his emissary to President Beshara El Khoury on 14 August 1949, who informed the President of the accusations. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.211.

⁶⁴ For a detailed account on the confrontation of the Lebanese Government with the SSNP, please see Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, pp.176-189.

⁶⁵ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.115.

⁶⁶ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.220-236.

⁶⁷ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.116.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Decree No. 15690/K dated 20 July 1949 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh accepted the resignation of Gabriel El Murr, Minister of Interior. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 30, 27 July 1949, p.331.

⁷⁰ Decree No. 15694/K dated 20 July 1949 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh accepting the resignation of Riad El Solh as Minister of Justice. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 30, 27 July 1949, p.331.

legislative elections with new election laws. To reduce the unpleasant and antagonistic tensions in the country, President El Khoury called for an extraordinary session of the parliament on 9 August 1949 and set a long agenda for consideration.⁷¹ The intent behind the call for an extraordinary session of the parliament was twofold: first, to engage parliament in deliberations on the proposed items on the agenda, and second, to keep the session open for the President to take the Oath of Office for a second term in September 1949.

As the Lebanese people and their Deputies were getting ready for an extraordinary session of the 6th Parliament, another coup d'état, led by Sami El Hannawi, took place in Syria on 14 August 1949. Husni El Za'eem and his Prime Minister Muhsen El Barazi were arrested and tried before the War Council and immediately sentenced to death. El Hannawi declared himself as Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian Army and the Prime Minister of the Syrian Government. The events in August 1949 in Syria slowed down the pace of deliberations on the items of the agenda that the President had originally proposed to the 6th Parliament.⁷² Among many other items, the legislative elections were not discussed during the session. As a result, the Lebanese opposition raised the intensity of the demands for new legislative elections with new election laws and further announced the non-constitutionality of the re-election of the President.⁷³ Nevertheless, President El Khoury took the Oath of Office for a second term on 21 September 1949. Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian were present at the meeting.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Decree No. 15925/K dated 9 August 1949 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to commence on 16 August 1949. The President set a long agenda for the Parliament to consider. The first item on the agenda was the upcoming legislative elections. Another item was a draft law amending Article 3 of Law of 17 June 1946 regarding the lands in "Rass El Ain" that relate to the Armenians. Other items on the Agenda included proposals to organize the Beirut Stock Market, and deliberate and ratify some agreements that the government had signed with Arab countries. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 33, 17 August 1949, pp.474-476.

⁷² El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.250.

⁷³ The Opposition led by Camille Chamoun and Kamal Jumblatt met on 20 September 1949, just one day before the President took the Oath of the Office, and issued a declaration announcing that the re-election of the President was unconstitutional. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.256-257.

⁷⁴ Among the absentees at the session at which President Beshara El Khoury took the oath, were Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Henry Pharaon, Sami El Solh,

With the President's Oath, a new era started. The government of Prime Minister Riad El Solh resigned but President El Khoury requested that the resignation be postponed because of the official visitation of King Abdullah Bin Hussein of Jordan to Lebanon on 24 September 1949, and the passing of Ex-President Emile Edde.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the government resigned and President El Khoury re-appointed Riad El Solh as the prime minister and asked him to form a new government on 1 October 1949.⁷⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 1 October 1949 ⁷⁷		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Education
2.	Gebran Nahhas	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Justice
3.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Public Works
5.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Economy
6.	Elias El Khoury	Minister of Interior
7.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Finance and PTT
8.	Emir Ra'eef Abillama	Minister of Health
9.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Agriculture

Table 6.7 – Cabinet Members of Riad Solh's Government (1 October 1949)

Within a few days of its formation, the new government underwent certain changes. Minister of Interior Elias El Khoury resigned immediately after being appointed.⁷⁸ On the same day the President decreed the establishment of a new Ministry of Information and modified the lineup of the ministerial portfolios of Prime Minister El Solh's Cabinet

Suleiman El Ali, Nassouh El Fadel, Gabriel El Murr, Ra'eef Abillama and Nassar Ghelmiyeh. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies M. Der-Kaloustian and M. Hayrabedian attended the meeting. *Official Minutes (1949)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 21 September 1949.

⁷⁵ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.257-258.

⁷⁶ Decree No. 1 dated 1 October 1947 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Riad El Solh's government. Decree No. 2 dated 1 October 1947 signed by President re-appointing Riad El Solh as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 40, 5 October 1949, p.422.

⁷⁷ Decree No. 3 dated 1 October 1949 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 40, 5 October 1949, pp.422-423.

⁷⁸ Decree No. 9 dated 6 October 1949 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh accepting the resignation of Elias El Khoury as the Minister of Interior. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 41, 12 October 1949, p.456.

on 6 October 1949, by appointing Charles Helou as the Minister of Justice and Information.

Prime Minister El Solh presented the ministerial statement of the revised Cabinet of 6 October 1949 to the 6th Parliament on 15 October 1949 and received 37 votes of confidence out of 46 present, including the votes of Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabetian. Nine other Deputies cast votes of no confidence, including Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Emile Lahoud, Suleiman El Ali, Adel Osseiran, Youssef Hatti, Wadi' Na'eem, Khalil Abu Jaoude and Issa El Khoury.⁷⁹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 6 October 1949 ⁸⁰		
1.	Riad El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Gebran Nahhas	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Economy and PTT
3.	Emir Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Minister of Public Works
5.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
6.	Elias El Khoury	Minister of Health
7.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Finance
8.	Emir Ra'eef Abillama	Minister of Education
9.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Agriculture
10.	Charles Helou	Minister of Justice and Information

Table 6.8- Cabinet Members of P.M. Riad Solh's Government (6 October 1949)

The Cabinet commenced its work under immense criticism from the opposition. A month after receiving the vote of confidence of the Parliament, the opposition deputies led by Camille Chamoun staged a verbal attack on the government's foreign policy *vis-a-vis* the Palestinian cause in general, and the way the government was handling the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, in particular. In response to the opposition's concerns, Philip Taqla, Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented the government's statement that was submitted to the

⁷⁹ Seven other deputies were absent at the deliberations, including Abdullah El Yafi, Sami El Solh, Youssef Karam, Nassouh El Fadel, Henry Pharaon, Gabriel El Murr and Nassar Ghelmiyeh. *Official Minutes (1949)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 15 October 1949.

⁸⁰ Decree No. 11 dated 6 October 1949 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1949)*, Issue No. 41, 12 October 1949, pp.456-457.

conference of Arab League on the issue of Palestinian refugees to the Parliament for discussion on 14 November 1949.⁸¹

As the opposition pressed harder against the government's foreign policy by the end of 1949, the *L'Orient Daily* strongly criticized the performance of Philip Taqla, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, leading to the arrest of George Naccache, the owner of *L'Orient Daily* by the internal security forces who was charged by the prosecutor with treason.

As a result of the apprehension of L'Orient's owner, Minister of Information Charles Helou resigned from his ministerial post in a strong protest at the government's suppression of freedom of speech in Lebanon.⁸²

The resignation of Charles Helou from the Cabinet gave the opposition forces in Lebanon the stimulus to form a united front against the El Khoury-El Solh alliance. The Patriotic Socialist Front (PSF), a coalition of opposition figures that included Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Raymond and Pierre Edde, in addition to the Phalange, the Najjadeh and the SSNP parties, was formed as early as January 1950 to demand the dissolution of parliament and call for early elections under new election laws.⁸³

⁸¹ Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present during the deliberations on the government's foreign policy in parliament. *Official Minutes (1949)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 14 November 1949.

⁸² El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.271-272. Charging the owner of a newspaper with treason because of the publication of a news article criticizing the government was not the first such act during the era of President Beshara El Khoury. Earlier, the government had suspended *Ararad Daily*, a newspaper issued in the Armenian Language in Beirut. Decree No. 11027/K dated 2 February 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh indefinitely suspending the publication, because it published an article criticizing the government. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 6, 11 February 1948, pp.84-85. *Ararad Daily* was reinstated on 20 February 1948 through Decree No. 11191/K signed by President El Khoury and Acting Prime Minister Gabriel El Murr and Acting Minister of Interior Ahmad El Hussein. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 8, 25 February 1948, p.135. In another incident and citing similar reasons, the government suspended another Armenian newspaper, *Aravod* indefinitely. Decree No. 11902/K dated 10 June 1948 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1948)*, Issue No. 24, 6 June 1948, pp.415-416.

⁸³ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.125.

		Riad El Solh	Riad El Solh	Riad El Solh	H. El Oweini
		17 Jun 1947 ⁸⁴	3 Aug. 1948 ⁸⁵	15 Oct. 1949 ⁸⁶	14 Feb. 1951 ⁸⁷
1.	Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	Hayrabedian	✓	✓	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR - No Voting Record					

Table 6.9 - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 6th Parliament

Intending to calm the opposition, President El Khoury issued Decree No. 837 on 9 January 1950 and called an extraordinary session of

⁸⁴ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 6th Parliament on 17 June 1947 and received 49 votes of confidence, including those from Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian with only Kamal Jumblatt and Adel Osseiran abstaining. Deputies Saleem El Khoury, Philip Taqla, Fared El Khazen and Ibrahim Haydar were not present. *Official Minutes (1947)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 17 June 1947.

⁸⁵ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of his government to the 6th Parliament on 3 August 1948 and received 41 votes of confidence, including that of Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian against 5 no-confidence votes from Beheej Taqiedeen, Sami El Solh, Camille Chamoun, Suleiman El Ali and Adel Osseiran. Nine Deputies were absent, including, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Saleem El Khoury, Adnan El Jisr, Kamal Jumblatt, Nassouh El Fadel, Henry Pharaon, Youssef Karam, Rasheed Beydoun and Youssef Skaff. *Official Minutes (1948)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 3 August 1948.

⁸⁶ Prime Minister Riad El Solh presented the ministerial statement of the Cabinet of 6 October 1949 to the 6th Parliament on 15 October 1949 and received 37 votes of confidence out of 46 present, including from Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian. Seven Deputies were absent at the deliberations including: Abdullah El Yafi, Sami El Solh, Youssef Karam, Nassouh El Fadel, Henry Pharaon, Gabriel El Murr and Nassar Ghelmiyeh. 9 deputies cast votes of no confidence, including: Kamal Jumblatt, Emile Lahoud, Suleiman El Ali, Camille Chamoun, Adel Osseiran, Youssef Hatti, Wadi' Na'eem, Khalil Abu Jaoude and Issa El Khoury. *Official Minutes (1949)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 15 October 1949.

⁸⁷ Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini presented the ministerial statement of his three-member Cabinet to the 6th Parliament on 20 February 1951 and received unanimous votes of confidence. Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedia were present and cast their votes of confidence. Deputy Henry Pharaon was the only absentee at the meeting. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 20 February 1951.

parliament to consider a long list of new legislation, including draft election laws and a draft Social Security law.⁸⁸

Deliberations on the state budget, however, took precedence over other legislative measures during the extraordinary sessions in January and February 1950, and discussions over new electoral law were postponed. In the meantime, the country fell into a state of shock after an assassination attempt on the life of Prime Minister Riad El Solh by someone who fired several shots at the Prime Minister, but missed, during a gathering in Beirut on 9 March 1950. The shooter was apprehended and, after intense interrogations, was identified as Tawfeeq Hamdan, a member of the SSNP.⁸⁹

The 6th Parliament strongly condemned the assassination attempt in its 13 March 1950 meeting.⁹⁰ For its part, the government presented an urgent draft law during the same meeting of parliament, setting the terms for laws that would allow the apprehension and punishment of members of dissolved parties who get engaged in party activities during the state of emergency and authorize the state prosecutor to incarcerate any newspaper editors who publish any news or articles that aim to destabilize the internal security of the country. After a heated discussion, where opposition Deputies Camille Chamoun and Kamal Jumblatt expressed grave concerns about the government's

⁸⁸ Decree No. 837 dated 9 January 1950, signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh, calling for an extraordinary session of parliament on 12 January 1950. *Official Gazette (1950)*, Issue No. 2, 11 January 1950, pp.16-17.

⁸⁹ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.285-286.

⁹⁰ Speaker Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Beka'a Valley), Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Ibrahim Azar (Maronite, South Lebanon), Emile Lahoud (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), Suleiman El Ali (Sunni, North Lebanon), Muhammad El Aboud (Sunni, North Lebanon), Kamal Jumblatt (Druze, Mount Lebanon) and Hameed Franjeh (Maronite, North Lebanon) condemned and denounced the attack. Ten deputies did not attend the meeting, including Ahmad El Hussein, Wadi' Na'eem, Youssef El Zein, Adel Osseiran, Mayez El Muqaddam, Adnan El Jisr, Henry Pharaon, Nassar Ghelmiyeh, Youssef Karam and Shibli Al Aryan. Both Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian were present, but did not make any comments. A Resolution condemning the assassination attempt on Prime Minister Riad El Solh, co-sponsored by Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox, Beirut), Hameed Franjeh (Maronite, North Lebanon) and Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni, Beirut) was passed. *Official Minutes (1950)*: 14th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 13 March 1950.

suppression of free speech, the proposed law was passed. Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian voted in favor of the measures.⁹¹

On domestic matters, and particularly on the issue of the municipal elections, Deputy Adeeb El Ferzli questioned the government as to the status of a promise that was made to him about granting a *Moukhtarship* to a Lebanese-Armenian in Zahle, Beka'a Valley. Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian did not comment.⁹²

One of the remarkable achievements of the 6th Parliament, however, was the consideration and adoption of the Legislative Elections Law of 1950. After thorough consideration, President El Khoury submitted a draft electoral law to parliament for consideration.⁹³ President El Khoury's proposed law increased the number of deputies to 77 to accommodate a special seat for the Catholic Lebanese-Armenian community.⁹⁴

The 6th Parliament considered the Electoral Law in its 8 August 1950 meeting. An Administration and Justice Committee report signed by Deputy Muhammad Safiedeen strongly recommended the increase of the number of the Deputies from 55 to 77 in order to allocate two seats

⁹¹ Decree No. 2377 dated 13 March 1950 signed by President Beshara El Khoury, Prime Minister Riad El Solh and Minister of Justice Gebran Nahhas on an urgent draft law to apprehend and incarcerate party members who carry on activities on behalf of dissolved/suspended political parties. The measure was passed by majority vote. Deputies Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Suleiman El Ali, Nassouh El Fadel and Sami El Solh objected. *Official Minutes (1950)*: 14th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 13 March 1950. President Beshara El Khoury signed the measure into law on 28 March 1950. *Official Gazette (1950)*, Issue No. 11, 15 March 1950, p.135.

⁹² *Official Minutes (1949)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 17 November 1949.

⁹³ Decree No. 9561 dated 3 August 1950 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Minutes (1950)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 8 August 1950.

⁹⁴ During the drafting of the Electoral Law, President Beshara El Khoury paid special attention to allocate a seat to the Catholic Lebanese-Armenian community in Beirut District. The President was keen to keep a promise he had made to Cardinal Aghajanian, who reminded the President of the promise in a letter on 19 July 1950. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.320-321. Cardinal Aghajanian was instrumental in mediating with the Pope over the Vatican's official recognition of Lebanese independence and establishing diplomatic relationship. Charles Helou was the first Lebanese Ambassador to the Vatican. El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.234-236.

to Catholic Armenians and another for other minorities in Lebanon.⁹⁵ The new law further stipulated that the *Muhafaza*, with its relative sub-divisions, be the electoral district. Elections were going to be carried out in one stage, eliminating the two-stage procedures.

The new law apportioned a total of 13 seats to Beirut District including two seats for the Orthodox Armenians and one seat for the Catholic Armenians.⁹⁶ Mount Lebanon District was divided into three sub-districts of Kesrewan, Baabda-El Metn, and Chouf-Aley, with a total of 19 seats including one seat that was allocated to the Lebanese-Armenian community in El Metn.⁹⁷ North Lebanon District had a total of 16 seats divided into three sub-districts of Tripoli, Akkar and Zghorta-Batroun-El Koura.⁹⁸ South Lebanon had a total of 14⁹⁹ seats whereas the Beka'a Valley had 11.¹⁰⁰ The President signed the newly adopted Election Law into law on 10 August 1950.¹⁰¹

El Solh's Cabinet finally resigned on 14 February 1951 and President El Khoury appointed Hussein El Oweini to form a new government, entrusting him to organize the upcoming legislative elections under the new Election Law. Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini presented the ministerial statement of his three-member Cabinet to the 6th Parliament on 20 February 1951 and received a unanimous vote of

⁹⁵ *Official Minutes (1950)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 8 August 1950.

⁹⁶ The allocation of parliamentary seats in the Beirut District was as follows: 4 Sunni, 1 Shia, 1 Maronite, 1 Roman Catholic, 1 Roman Orthodox, 1 Protestant, 1 Armenian Catholic, 2 Armenian Orthodox and 1 Minorities.

⁹⁷ The distribution of the seats in the District of Mount Lebanon was as follows: Keserwan Sub-District: 4 Maronites and 1 Shia; Baabda-El Metn: 5 Maronites, 1 Shia, 1 Druze, 1 Roman Catholic and 1 Armenian Orthodox; and the Chouf-Aley Sub-District: 3 Maronites, 3 Druze, 1 Roman Catholic, 1 Roman Orthodox, and 1 Sunni.

⁹⁸ A Total of 6 seats were allocated to Tripoli: 5 Sunni and 1 Roman Orthodox. Akkar had 2 Sunni, 1 Maronite and 1 Roman Orthodox seats. Zghorta-Batroun-El Koura Sub-District was allocated 5 Maronite and 1 Roman Catholic seats.

⁹⁹ South Lebanon District had 8 Shia, 2 Sunni, 2 Maronite, 1 Roman Orthodox and 1 Roman Catholic seats.

¹⁰⁰ The Beka'a Valley had 2 Sunni, 3 Shia, 1 Druze, 2 Maronite, 2 Roman Catholic and 1 Roman Orthodox seats.

¹⁰¹ "Election Law of 1950" signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh on 10 August 1950. *Official Gazette (1950)*, Issue No. 33, 16 August 1950, pp.523-536.

confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian's and Hayrabedian's. Deputy Henry Pharaon was the only absentee from the meeting.¹⁰²

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 14 February 1951¹⁰³		
1.	Hussein El Oweini	P.M.; Minister of Interior; Foreign Affairs; Defense & Finance
2.	Boulos Fayyad	Minister of Justice; Economy; Health and Agriculture
3.	Edward Noon	Minister of Public Works; Education; PTT and Information

**Table 6.10 – Cabinet Members of Hussein El Oweini's Government
(14 February 1951)**

The last meeting of the 6th Parliament was held on 15 March 1951 when it considered and adopted a piece of legislation concerning the jurisdictional powers of the religious sects over civil matters, including religious marriages in Lebanon. That day, the Parliament was officially notified of the date of the upcoming legislative elections as 22 April 1951.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Official Minutes (1951)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 20 February 1951.

¹⁰³ Decree No. 4241 dated 14 February 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing Hussein El Oweini as the Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Defense and Finance. Decree No. 4242 dated 14 February 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini appointing the two Ministers. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 20 February 1951.

¹⁰⁴ Decree No. 4441 dated 15 March 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini setting 22 April 1951 as the legislative election date. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 15th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 15 March 1951.

The 7th Lebanese Parliament

(1951-53)

The legislative elections for the 7th Parliament took place in accordance with the new Election Law that the previous parliament considered and adopted.¹ The new law raised the number of the deputies to 77 and, for the first time, allocated four parliamentary seats to the Lebanese-Armenian Community: three seats to the Orthodox Armenians – two in Beirut and one in El Metn – and one for Catholic Armenians in Beirut.²

¹ *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1950)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 8 August 1950. The Election Law of 1950 was signed into law by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh on 10 August 1950. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1950)*, Issue No. 33, 16 August 1950, pp.523-536.

² Schedule No. 2 of the Election Law of 10 August 1950 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. *Official Gazette (1950)*, Issue No. 33, 16 August 1950, pp.535-536. See also, *Official Minutes (1950)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 8 August 1950.

The elections took place in accordance with Decree No. 4441 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini.³

The incumbent deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian won the elections in Beirut. Dickran Tosbat (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn)⁴ and Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), the Vice-President of the Lebanese Phalange Party (*Al Kataeb Al Loubnanieh*), were also elected.⁵

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Distr.	Mtg	Absence	Attendance
1	Movses Derkaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	126	23	82%
2	Melkon Hayrabedian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	126	2	98%
3	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut	126	0	100%
4	Dickran Tosbat	Arm. Orth.	Metn	126	15	88%

Table 7.1 – Names of Armenian Deputies in the 7th Lebanese Parliament (1951-53)

The 7th Parliament lasted for only two years. Despite its short tenure it was very active in legislating. The first meeting of the 7th Parliament was held based upon Decree No. 4995 dated 22 May 1951 officially calling upon the newly elected Parliament to convene in an extraordinary session on 5 June 1951.⁶

³ Decree No. 4441 dated 15 March 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini setting 22 April 1951 as the legislative election date. *Official Gazette (1951)*, Issue No. 12, 21 March 1952, p.205. See also, *Official Minutes (1951)*: 15th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 15 March 1951.

⁴ The incumbents Movses Der-Kaloustian and Melkon Hayrabedian were the candidates of the Armenian Tashnak Party, whereas, Dickran Tosbat was endorsed by the Hunchaks. For a detailed pre-election campaign for the 7th Parliament in the Lebanese-Armenian community, see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.104-118.

⁵ George H. Aynilian, "Armenian Deputies in Lebanon (1929-2009): A Historical Perspective," *Keghart Online*. <http://www.keghart.com/Aynilian-Deputies>. [Last accessed 9 August 2016]. See also Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, p.112. For an analysis of the 1951 election results, please see Eyal Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, (London, I.B. Tauris Publications, 2000), pp.197-201.

⁶ Decree No. 4995 dated 22 May 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini. The official results of the election and the list of elected deputies were published by the Ministry of Interior, Letter Nos. 1436

The 7th Lebanese Parliament (1951-53)

MPs	77	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 7 th Lebanese Parliament (1951-53)
Beirut District	13	Ameen Beyham (Sunni); Habib Abi Shahla (Roman Orthodox); Ramez Sarkis (Protestant); Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Sami El Solh (Sunni); Charles Helou (Maronite); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni); Moussa de Freij (Minorities); Henry Pharaon (Roman Catholic); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox) and Melkon Hayrabedian (Armenian Orthodox).
Beka'a Valley	11	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Jean Skaff (Roman Catholic); Habib Moutran (Roman Catholic); Iskandar Sursuk (Roman Orthodox); Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Shafeeq Hanna El Daher (Maronite); Fadlallah Hamadeh (Shia); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni) and Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite).
North Lebanon	16	<u>Tripoli</u> : Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Sa'adi El Munla (Sunni); Fouad El Bart (Roman Orthodox); Qobouli El Zouk (Sunni); Nassouh Agha El Fadel (Sunni); and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni). <u>Akkar</u> : Albert El Hajj (Maronite); Basheer El Othman (Sunni); Suleiman El Ali (Sunni) and Yacoub El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox). <u>Zogharta-Batroun-El Koura</u> : Antoine Estefan (Maronite); Hameed Franjeh (Maronite); Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox); Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite); Camille Akl (Maronite) and Youssef Karam (Maronite).
South Lebanon	14	Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia); Elias Trabolsi (Roman Orthodox); Hussein El Abdullah (Shia); Rashad Azar (Maronite); Suleiman Arab (Shia); Suheil Chehab (Sunni); Ali Baderdeen (Shia); Ali Bazzi (Shia); Maroun Kena'an (Maronite); Muhammad El Fadel (Shia); Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia); Muhammad Ali El Ozeimi (Shia); Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic) and Riad El Solh (Sunni)* replaced by Salah El Bezri (Sunni).
Mount Lebanon	23	<u>Ba'abda-El Metn</u> : Elias El Khoury (Maronite); Emile Lahoud (Maronite); Elia Abu Jaoude (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Edde (Maronite); Dickran Tosbat (Armenian Orthodox); Abdullah El Hajj (Shia); Fouad El Khoury (Roman Orthodox) and Michel Doumet (Maronite). <u>Chouf-Aley</u> : Emir Majeed Arslan (Druze); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); Saleem El Khoury (Maronite); Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Camille Chamoun † (Maronite) replaced by Elie Moukarzel (Maronite); Emile El Bustani (Maronite); Anwar El Khateeb (Sunni) and Ghassan Tueini (Roman Orthodox). <u>Keserwan</u> : Ahmad El Hussein (Shia); George Karam (Maronite); Roufael Lahoud (Maronite); Saleem El Khazen (Maronite); and George Zuwein (Maronite)* replaced by Louis Ziadeh (Maronite).
		† Elected President of the Republic * Deceased

Table 7.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 7th Lebanese Parliament

and 1506 dated 18 April 1951 and 23 April 1951 respectively. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 5 June 1951.

Deputy George Zuwein, the eldest deputy elected, presided over the election of Ahmad El Asa'ad as Speaker of the 7th Parliament.⁷

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 7 June 1951⁸		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Philip Boulos	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Public Works
3.	Emile Lahoud	Minister of Education
4.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Finance and National Economy
5.	Youssef El Hrawi	Minister of Agriculture
6.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
7.	Charles Helou	Minister of Foreign Affairs
8.	Rasheed Beydoun	Minister of Defense
9.	Muhammad Safiedeen	Minister of Information and PTT
10.	Rasheed Karami	Minister of Justice

Table 7.3 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government (7 June 1951)

During its 2-year term, the 7th Parliament held a total of 126 meetings comprising of 69 ordinary and 57 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese Armenian Deputies attended most of the meetings of the 7th Parliament, with Der-Kaloutsian missing 23 meetings and Dickran Tosbat missing 15. Hayrabedian registering only two absences whereas Joseph Chader had a perfect 100% attendance record. In general, Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian were very quiet and did not make any significant contribution to the legislation process throughout. Tosbat and Chader, on the other hand, were active and sometimes very vocal in their speeches and both made significant contributions to Lebanese legislation, each in his own way.

⁷ Deputy Ahmad El Asa'ad was elected as the Speaker with 67 votes against Deputy Philip Boulos's 1 vote. There were 9 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 5 June 1951.

⁸ Decree No. 5261 dated 7 June 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing ministers to the 11th Lebanese government after independence. *Official Gazette (1951)*, Issue No. 24, 13 June 1951, pp.324-325.

The government led by Prime Minister El Oweini resigned on 5 June 1951, as soon as the 7th Parliament convened.⁹ President El Khoury then appointed Abdullah El Yafi to form a new government.¹⁰

Within two weeks of being appointment, Prime Minister El Yafi presented his 10-member Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament and received its vote of confidence on 19 June 1951.¹¹ Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabetian cast their respective votes of confidence. Chader, after giving a very long and exhaustive speech touching upon the domestic and foreign policies of Yafi's Government, cast his vote of confidence.¹² In particular, Chader emphasized:

"The underlying program [*of the government*] seeks to transform Lebanese society, which is based upon individualism and communalism and feudal monopoly where capitalist powers exploit the weak, to a more progressive secular society structured on the basis of setting up of trade unions and political parties, that frees the people from feudalists and shrewd investors and leads Lebanon to a proper national, social and democratic society. . . We look forward to the possibility of accomplishing these basic programs and urge the government to work towards achieving them.

⁹ Decree No. 5259 dated 7 June 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini's Government. *Official Gazette* (1951), Issue No. 24, 13 June 1951, p.324.

¹⁰ Decree No. 5260 dated 7 June 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing Abdullah El Yafi as the new prime minister and entrusted him to form a new government. *Official Gazette* (1951), Issue No. 24, 13 June 1951, p.324.

¹¹ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 19 June 1951 and received 52 votes of confidence, including those of Movses Der-Kaloustian, Melkon Hayrabetian and Joseph Chader. Dickran Tosbat and 22 other deputies cast no-confidence votes to the government, including: Sami El Solh, Emile El Bustani, Camille Chamoun, Anwar El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Abdullah El Hajj, Ghassan Toueini, Pierre Edde, Riad El Solh, Muhammad El Fadel, Majeed Arslan, Beheej Taqiedeen, Suleiman El Ali, Albert El Hati, Yacoub El Sarraf, Basheer El Othman, Saleem El Dawood, Refa'at Qaz'oun, Shafeeq Hana El Daher, Habib Moutran, Sabri Hamadeh, and Nazem El Qadiri. Deputy Hameed Franjeh abstained from voting and Deputy Suhail Chehab was not present. *Official Minutes* (1951): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 June 1951.

¹² Deliberation on the ministerial statement of Abdullah El Yafi's Government lasted more than 6 hours. See Beshara El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3. [Lebanese Facts, Vol. 3]*, (Beirut: Manshourat Awaraq Lubnaniyeh, 1995), p.383.

“As it relates to the issue of state taxes, we emphasis the establishment of a progressive system of taxes on inheritance of movable and immovable properties including the agricultural lands. It is not fair for an individual to inherit hundreds or thousands and even millions of pounds without the state receiving a share therefrom. Therefore, the imposition of a fair tax on inheritance that exceeds certain limit is a requirement. This way we can fund social security endowment fund and adequately utilize the money from the rich to relieve the misery of the poor.

“We fully agree with the government’s foreign policy, which is based upon maintaining close cooperation with Arab countries on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and preserving the independence and full sovereignty of Lebanon within its current borders without any external interference in our internal affairs and sparing the country from the devastation of war.”¹³
[Translation from Arabic].

Dickran Tosbat, on the other hand, commenced his parliamentary career aligning himself with 22 other politicians who cast votes of no confidence in Abdullah El Yafi’s government, –including Sami El Solh, Emile Boustani, Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Majeed Arslan, Abdullah El Hajj, Ghassan Tueini, Pierre Edde, Riad El Solh, Beheej Taqiedeene and Sabri Hamadeh.¹⁴

Tosbat’s voting record on certain pieces of legislation during the term of the 7th Parliament was noteworthy, as he cast a record of 27 negative votes to different proposed legislation, including a proposed legislations on telecommunication and tourism on 10 July 1951.¹⁵ He also

¹³ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Abdullah El Yafi’s government, see Appendix 8.1. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 June 1951.

¹⁴ *Official Minutes (1951)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 June 1951.

¹⁵ The 7th Parliament considered and voted in favor of adopting legislation on telecommunication submitted by the previous government through Decree No. 4543 dated 28 March 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and the then Prime Minister Oweini. Joseph Chader as the Rapporteur of the Budget and Finance Committee submitted a report to parliament in favor of passing the legislation. Dickran Tosbat along with Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Anwar

	5 Jun 1951 ¹⁶	16 Oct 1951 ¹⁷	21 Oct 1952 ¹⁸
Speaker	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Ahmad El Asa'ad	Ahmad El Asa'ad
Deputy Speaker	Fouad El Khoury	Fouad El Khoury	Philip Boulos
The Secretariat	Nazem El Qaderi Qabalan Issa El Khoury	Basheer El Osman Qabalan Issa El Khoury	Basheer El Osman Qabalan Issa El Khoury

Table 7.4 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 7th Lebanese Parliament

El Khateeb, Ghassan Tueini and Abdullah El Hajj voted negatively to the measure. The same deputies cast negative votes on the proposed Tourism Law. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 10 July 1951.

¹⁶ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia, South Lebanon) as the Speaker with 67 Votes against 1 vote for Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon). There were 9 blank papers. Fouad El Khoury (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon) was elected Deputy Speaker and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, North Lebanon) were elected as secretaries. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 5 June 1951.

¹⁷ George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia, South Lebanon) as the Speaker with 61 votes against 9 votes for Hussein El Abdullah (Shia, South Lebanon) with 1 blank paper. Fouad El Khoury (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon) was elected Deputy Speaker and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, North Lebanon) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Sami El Solh, Saleem El Khoury, Saleem El Dawood, Hameed Franjeh, Kamal Jumblatt and Movses Der-Kaloustian did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 16 October 1951.

¹⁸ Eldest Deputy George Zuwein (Maronite, Mount Lebanon), presided over the election of Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia, South Lebanon) as the Speaker with 53 votes against 18 votes for Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, Beirut) with 1 blank paper. Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox, North Lebanon) was elected Deputy Speaker and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Beka'a Valley) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, North Lebanon) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Saleem El Khoury, Emile El Bustani, Habib Moutran and Philip Taqla were absent. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 21 October 1952.

cast a negative vote on a proposed law for the allocation of additional funds for the purchase of ammunition and equipment for the Lebanese Army.¹⁹

A few weeks into the workings of the newly elected parliament, the former Prime Minister Riad El Solh was assassinated at Amman Airport on his way back from a visit to King Abdullah of Jordan on 16 July 1951.²⁰ Four days later, on 20 July, King Abdullah was assassinated in Jerusalem as he was entering the El Aqsa Mosque.²¹ Speaker Ahmad El Asa'ad declared an official period of mourning and asked the Deputies to stand and observe five minutes silence during a special meeting of the parliament on 25 July 1951.²² Der-Kaloustian was absent from this meeting and Hayrabedian expressed his condolences through a succinct written speech that was read by the clerk. Hayrabedian stated:

“We bend before the commemoration of the great man whom we lost and we denounce the perfidious assault which led to his death. May God have mercy on his soul and comfort the hearts of his loyal loved ones and

¹⁹ The 7th Parliament considered and adopted proposed legislation for the allocation of additional funds for the purchase of ammunition and equipment for the Lebanese Army submitted by the previous government through Decree No. 4009 dated 22 January 1950 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Riad El Solh. Dickran Tosbat, Pierre Edde, Ghassan Tueini and Abdullah El Hajj voted negatively to the measure. 16 other Deputies did not attend the meeting, including Ahmad El Hussein, Iskandar Sursok, Ameen Beyham, George Zuwein, Saleem El Dawood, Youssef Karam, Emile El Bustani, Elia Abu Jaoude, Sami El Solh, Camille Chamoun, Saleem El Khoury, Saeb Salam, Ali Badredeen, Muhammad El Fadl and Movses Der-Kaloustian. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 9th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 26 July 1951.

²⁰ Former prime Minister Riad El Solh travelled to Amman to meet with King Abdullah of Jordan on 13 July 1951. El Solh was gunned down by members of the SSNP as revenge for the execution of Antoine Sa'adeh in 1949. Two of the assassins were killed by the Jordanian Army. King Abdullah telephoned President Beshara El Khoury to inform him about the assassination. See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.393. For an SSNP perspective of the assassination, please see Ahmad Salem El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Souri El Qawmi El Ijtima'i: 1932-1962*, [Arabic: *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party: 1932-1962*], (Beirut: Literary Heritage House, 2014), pp.154-157. See also, Zisser, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*, p.202.

²¹ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.397-398.

²² *Official Minutes (1951)*: 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th parliament held on 25 July 1951.

friends and recover our country after this great loss.”²³
[Translation from Arabic].

Joseph Chader, however, on behalf of the Armenian denominations in Lebanon, made a speech offering his condolences and highlighted Riad Solh's contribution to the stability of Lebanon. Chader said:

“On my behalf, on behalf of the Armenian denominations in Lebanon and on behalf of the Kataeb Party, which I cherish and respect, I am addressing you on this painful occasion to fulfill a sacred duty towards you and to speak a brief word of truth about you, while you are physically absent from Lebanon and from the Arab world . . . In order to cherish your memory, we call upon the Lebanese Government and the noble Lebanese people to build two statutes of your eminent figure, one at the Martyrs' Square since you are among the greatest martyrs and another one here at the *Beit El-Umma* (House of the People) ...”²⁴ [Translation from Arabic].

The 7th Parliament commenced its legislative journey by first amending Article 16 of its By-Laws and established nine standing committees.²⁵ All four Lebanese-Armenian deputies were actively involved in those committees. Der-Kaloustian maintained his membership at the Public Works Committee and was elected to the Proposals & Grievances Committee for the years 1951-52. Hayrabedian was not elected to any of the committees in 1951, whereas Tosbat became a member of the National Economy Committee. The focal point of the committee elections, however, was the election of Joseph Chader to the two most important committees, namely the Budget and Finance

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech re: Riad Solh's assassination, please see Appendix 8.2. Speeches in this regard were put on the record by the Speaker Ahmad El Asa'ad, Beheej Taqiedeem, Anwar El Khateeb, Jean Skaff, Nicola Salem, Sa'adi El Munla, Elias El Khoury, Fouad El Khoury, Ali Badredeem, Iskandar Sursok, Ali Bazzi, Yacoub El Sarraf, Melkon Hayrabedian and Joseph Chader. Deputies Albert El Hajj, Sami El Solh, Saleem El Khoury, Saeb Salam, Muhammad El Fadl, Youssef Karam, Emile El Bustani, Elia Abu Jaoude, Camille Chamoun and Mowes Der-Kaloustian were absent from this occasion. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 25 July 1951.

²⁵ *Official Minutes (1951)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 28 June 1951.

and the Administration and Judicial committees and became the chairman of the notorious and influential Budget and Finance Committee that oversaw each and every piece of legislation in order to study the fiscal impact on the budget and report back to parliament. Tosbat did not participate in any committee activities during the last year of the 7th Parliament.

Joseph Chader was re-elected to the same committees throughout the tenure in the 7th Parliament. He was very active and engaged in many pieces of legislation. His contribution to the Lebanese legislation was immense. As Chairman, Chader authored, signed and presented 107 separate Budget and Finance Committee reports to the 7th Parliament, and made numerous speeches and opined on almost every piece of legislature presented to parliament. He also questioned the government on its fight against the increased wave of criminal activities in Lebanon and about the preemptive steps taken to suppress the invasion of insects and bugs into the country.²⁶

			1951-52 ²⁷	1952-53 ²⁸	1953-54 ²⁹
1	Budget & Finance	20	Chader*	Chader*	Chader*
2	Admin. & Justice	15	Chader	Chader	Chader
3	Nat'l Econ. Industry	15	Tosbat	None	None
4	Public Works & PTT	15	Der-Kaloustian	None	None
5	Foreign Affairs Com	12	None	None	None
6	Nat'l Educ. & Health	11	None	Hayrabadian	Hayrabadian
7	Social Affairs Com.	11	None	Hayrabadian	Hayrabadian Der-Kaloustian
8	Nat'l Defense Com.	9	None	None	None
9	Prop. & Grievances	7	Der-Kaloustian	Tosbat	None
			* Committee Chairman		

Table 7.5 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 7th Lebanese Parliament (1951-53)

²⁶ *Official Minutes (1951)*: 11th Meeting of 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 2 august 1951.

²⁷ *Official Minutes (1951)*: 5th Meeting of 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 28 June 1951.

²⁸ *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 18 March 1952.

²⁹ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 17 March 1953.

Tosbat was very active in legislation as well. He co-sponsored many pieces of legislation and proposed others. His voting record was mostly different than those of Der-Kaloustian and Hayrabedian. Tosbat aligned himself with the National Socialist Front comprising of Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Anwar Al Khateeb, Pierre Edde, Ghassan Tueini, and Abdallah Al Hajj. This political alignment was not only noticeable as to voting on different pieces of legislation, but this difference was obvious during the heated debates during the parliamentary sessions. One such heated debate was on the issue of over-budgeted expenses for construction of the airport, where President El Khoury and his entourage were accused of corruption and, as a gesture of severe objection, Deputies Jumblatt, El Khateeb, Edde, Tueini, El Hajj and Tosbat withdraw from the deliberation as Joseph Chader, as Chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, presented the committee's report on this very issue.³⁰

Another heated debate took place on 18 October 1951, when parliament considered a proposed law to postpone municipal elections. The measure was carried with a majority vote, including that of Hayrabedian, whereas Tosbat and Chader cast negative votes. Der-Kaloustian was absent.³¹ Another heated debate took place on the issue of civil status of Lebanese individuals, including matters such as marriages, changing of faith, residency records, birth certificates, divorces and death certificates. The measure was carried with a majority

³⁰ During the deliberation on the issue of additional financing to complete the construction of Beirut International Airport, Deputy Camille Chamoun questioned the Government as to the corruption, including the putting entire Air Force, the Army and the Navy immediately under the President's command and importation of boats and cars for him and his entourage. See the *Official Minutes (1951)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 2 August 1951. See also, El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, p.404.

³¹ The measure to postpone municipal elections in Lebanese cities was heavily debated. The measure was carried with only 55 votes in favor. Deputies Camille Chamoun, Jean Skaff, George Zuwein, Albert El Hajj, Pierre Edde, Ghassan Tueini, Abdullah El Hajj, Hameed Franjeh, Ali Bazzi, Qobouli El Zouk, Suleiman El Ali, Anwar El Khateeb, Emile El Bustani, Joseph Chader and Dickran Tosbat voted negatively and Moussa de Freij abstained. Deputies Kamal Jumblatt, Majeed Arslan, Sabri Hamadeh, Elias Trabolsi, Saleem El Khoury and Movses Der-Kaloustian were not present. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 18 October 1951.

vote including those of Hayrabedian and Chader, whereas Tosbat abstained from voting and Der-Kaloustian was absent.³²

As the 7th Parliament began to re-establish its momentum after the political shock that Lebanon experienced after the assassination of Riad El Solh, both the legislative and the executive branches of government were faced with another jolt with the 4th coup d'état in neighboring Syria, led by General Adeeb El Shishekli, who took over the Syrian Government on 29 November 1951 and restricted cross-border commercial activities with Lebanon.³³

Parliament continued its sessions as normal and Deputies deliberated on new pieces of legislation. Tosbat questioned the government on the issue of fatal poisoning of citizens because of the chemical products used in spraying fruit trees and demanded that the government banned such products as did the Syrian Government.³⁴ During the same meeting Joseph Chader questioned the government on the steps taken to control the increase of the food and consumer product prices. Chader also questioned the government on the escalation of criminal activities in Lebanon. In particular, Chader demanded:

“A series of crimes is overshadowing the country and not a single day goes by without several crimes

³² The proposed legislation on the civil status of individuals was debated and adopted by the majority of 52 votes, including the affirmative votes of Joseph Chader and Melkon Hayrabedian. Deputies Camille Chamoun, Emile El Bustani, Anwar El Khateeb, Pierre Edde, Ghassan Tueini, Abdullah El Hajj and Dickran Tosbat abstained from voting on the issue. 22 others were absent during the deliberation, including, Ameen Beyham, Beheej Taqiedeen, George Karam, Refa'at Qaz'oun, Ali Badredeen, Kamal Jumblatt, Saleem El Khoury, Saleem El Khazen, Sabri Hamadeh, Fadlallah Hamadeh, Moussa de Freij, Michel Doumet, Majeed Arslan, Henry Pharaon, Yacoub El Sarraf and Movses Der-Kaloustian. *Official Minutes (1951): 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 8 November 1951.*

³³ For the immediate official reaction of the Lebanese Government to the Shishekli's coup d'état, please see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.432-433. See also, Hashim Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith, [Arabic: Modern History of Syria]*, (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2012), pp.251-273. For the SSNP's coordination with the Shishekli's regime, see El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Souri El Qawmi El Ijtima'i*, pp.142-143.

³⁴ For the full Arabic text of Dickran Tosbat's question and the official response of the government thereto, please see Appendix 7.1. *Official Minutes (1951): 18th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 December 1951.*

occurring mainly for silly reasons and perpetrated through heavy weapons. This dominating phenomenon is causing the death of a large number of people and wounding many victims who undoubtedly demand a quick and adequate resolution provided by both the competent Ministries of Interior and Justice.

“We believe the reasons behind this situation are as follows:

A large number of citizens are carrying illegal weapons. Lack of preemptive measures taken by the Ministry of Interior (Police, Gendarmes, General Security). Lack of fear of the authorities resulting from the following:

- a. Delay in arresting criminals, investing in their cases and issuing judgments and sentencing them.
- b. Mercy of judges who easily grant mitigating and discretionary reasons, thinking that such mercy would help in rehabilitating criminals.
- c. Flexibility of regulations and sanctions of prisons that lead to not implementing hard labor as they should (contrary to Egypt’s case for example).
- d. Measures taken inside the prisons such as establishing hospitals for prisoners who are not ill and allowing them to spend the night outside the prison.
- e. Granting of general amnesty.”

“Within the context of these reasons (not to mention other indirect reasons such as unemployment, lack of education for which other ministries are responsible), we would like to know what adequate measures are taken by the ministries of Interior and Justice so as to put an end to these crimes.”³⁵ [*Translation from Arabic*].

On another occasion, Chader was shared his thoughts on the pressing issue of electricity supply in Lebanon and defended the rights of

³⁵ For the full Arabic text of the questions and demands made by Joseph Chader and the government’s responses thereto, see Appendix 8.3. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 18th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 December 1951.

the people against the exploitation of prices by the electricity company. He expressed his sympathy with the people in their strikes against the government of Abdullah El Yafi. Chader asserted:

“Until yesterday, the people had restrained their anger and controlled their nerves, as the electricity company took advantage by exploiting the prices. Today, they have united to fight this over-exploitation and, justifiably, have organized strikes everywhere...

“We, as the representatives of the people and defenders of their interests, demand that the atrocities of the electricity company be stopped and that justice and equity prevails in the relationship between the company and consumers.

“The increase in electricity prices that have occurred without the government’s approval is illegal, and even raising prices within certain limits requires sufficient justification and can only happen after obtaining the government’s approval.”³⁶ [*Translation from Arabic*].

The government of Abdullah El Yafi did not last long. Under tremendous pressure from demonstrations against the increase of utility, food and consumer product prices in most cities in Lebanon, Prime Minister El Yafi presented the resignation of his Cabinet on 9 February 1952.³⁷

After holding consultations with Deputies, including prominent members of the opposition, Jumblatt and Chamoun, President El Khoury appointed Sami El Solh to form a new government.³⁸

Prime Minister El Solh presented his Cabinet’s ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 19 February 1952 and received 56

³⁶ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech on the issue of the electricity in Lebanon in January 1952, see Appendix 8.5. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 15 January 1952.

³⁷ President Beshara El Khoury accepted Abdullah El Yafi’s resignation with Decree No. 7598 on 11 February 1952. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 7, 13 February 1952, p.55.

³⁸ For the details on the issue of consultations with the Deputies, see El Khoury, *Haqa’eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.443-444. President El Khoury issued Decree No. 7599 on 11 February 1952 and officially appointed Sami El Solh as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 7, 13 February 1952, pp.55-56.

votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Hayrabedian and Chader. Deputy Tosbat did not attend the session.³⁹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 11 February 1952 ⁴⁰		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Fouad El Khoury	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Justice
3.	Ahmad El Hussein	Minister of Public Works
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and Health
5.	Emile Lahoud	Minister of Finance
6.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
7.	Suleiman El Ali	Minister of Agriculture and National Economy
8.	Michel Doumet	Minister of Social Affairs
9.	Antoine Estefan	Minister of Education
10.	Hussein El Abdullah	Minister of Information and PTT

Table 7.6 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh’s Government (11 February 1952)

Before casting his confidence vote in Sami El Solh’s government, Joseph Chader delivered a short speech, in which he stated:

“Nothing prevents us today to cast a confidence vote to the government because confidence means trust and hope for success...

“Furthermore, we would like to demonstrate to the second government emanating from this Chamber, as we demonstrated to the first government, that we want to encourage them to complete the difficult task of implementing their promises made to us and to the

³⁹ Prime Minister Sami El Solh’s government received 56 votes of confidence against 8 votes of no confidence cast by Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Ghassan Tueini, Emile El Bustani, Pierre Edde, Anwar El Khateeb, Abdullah El Hajj and Hameed Franjeh. In addition to Dickran Tosbat, 11 other Deputies were not present, including, Habib Moutran, Rasheed Beydoun, Saleem El Dawood, Saleem El Khoury, Abdallah El Yafi, Camille Akl, Moussa de Freij, Nicola Salem, Henry Pharaon, Jean Skaff, and Nazem El Qadiri. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 February 1952.

⁴⁰ Decree No. 7600 dated 11 February 1952 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 7, 13 February 1952, p.56.

country at this critical stage.”⁴¹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

As soon as El Solh's government took office, the 7th Parliament considered the very controversial draft Rental Law on 21 February 1951. Chader delivered a long explanation as to why the proposed draft Rental Law should not be adopted. Tosbat joined Chader and cast a negative vote, whereas Hayrabedian voted in favor of the draft. Der-Kaloustian was absent.⁴²

On the other hand, Tosbat co-sponsored several pieces of legislation including a proposed law to establish a Supreme Council that could put ministers on trial.⁴³ Other draft proposals included an amendment to the religious courts in Lebanon.⁴⁴ Tosbat aligned himself with the opposition that included members of the National Socialist Front.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberation on the ministerial statement of PM El Solh's government, see Appendix 8.6. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 February 1952.

⁴² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech on the Rental Law, please see Appendix 8.7. The measure was adopted by majority vote, including the affirmative vote of Hayrabedian. Chader and Tosbat along with Abdullah El Hajj, Philip Boulos, Suheil Chehab, Rasheed Beydoun, and Hameed Franjeh cast negative votes to the measure. In addition to Moses Der-Kaloustian, 13 other deputies were absent from the deliberations, including, Basheer El Othman, Jean Skaff, Habib Maroun, Saleem El Khoury, Charles Helou, Abdullah El Yafi, Camille Akl, Maroun Kena'an, Moussa de Freij, Nicola Salem, Henry Pharaon, Youssef Karam and Qobouli Zouk. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 21 February 1952.

⁴³ Dickran Tosbat co-sponsored a draft legislation on the establishment of a Supreme Council with Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Emile El Bustani, Ghassan Tueini, Abdullah El Hajj, Anwar El Khateeb, and Pierre Edde. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 1 May 1952.

⁴⁴ Tosbat co-sponsored a draft legislation on the issue of religious courts in Lebanon with Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Emile El Bustani, Ghassan Tueini, Abdullah El Hajj, Anwar El Khateeb, and Pierre Edde. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 13 May 1952.

⁴⁵ The National Socialist Front was a coalition of deputies of the 7th Parliament, formed in early 1952, comprising of those deputies aligning themselves with the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), the Nationalist Bloc and other deputies, including Dickran Tosbat, Camille Chamoun and Gassan Tueini. See El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Souri El Qawmi El Ijtima'i*, p.158.

Strong opposition to the President, however, took effect when a heated debate ensued during a parliamentary meeting on 27 May 1952, as Kamal Jumblatt accused the President's brother Saleem El Khoury of interference and corruption. This led to a big argument between Jumblatt, Pierre Edde and Abdallah El Hajj on one side and Majeed Arslan on the other, compelling Kamal Jumblatt, Abdallah Al Hajj, Ghassan Tueini, Pierre Edde and Dikran Tosbat to leave the General Meeting Hall of Parliament from one door, while Majeed Arslan and Camille Chamoun leaving from another.⁴⁶

A few days later, on 30 May 1952, Jumblatt published an article in the *El Anba'* Newspaper entitled "The foreigners brought him, the people will take him" [*Translation from Arabic*], in a reference to President El Khoury, accusing him and his entourage of corruption. The government suspended the newspaper immediately on the same day.⁴⁷ Six days later, on 6 June 1952, seven other newspapers published Jumblatt's article. The government suspended all seven papers.⁴⁸ A public outcry was raised and a general strike was announced for 13 June 1952 unless the government cancelled the Special Emergency Laws on Publications and allowed the suspended newspapers to re-publish.⁴⁹

The intensity of the opposition demands escalated by July 1952 and soared especially when the revolution by the Free Officers Movement in Egypt toppled the Egyptian monarchy in a bloodless coup on 23 July 1952. In Lebanon, General Muhammad Naguib led the opposition to organize mass demonstration in Deir El Qamar on 17 August 1952. More than 50,000 people participated, demanding

⁴⁶ *Official Minutes (1952)*: 14th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 27 May 1952.

⁴⁷ *El Anba'* Newspaper was the official paper of Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party. President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh signed Decree No. 8510 and suspended the newspaper for 3 days. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 23, 4 June 1952, p.310.

⁴⁸ Decree No. 8599 dated 6 June 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh suspending the following newspapers from being published for three days: *El Buraq, Beirut, El Telegraph, Sada Loubnan, El Nida' and Annahar*. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 24, 11 June 1952, p.323. Decree No. 8603 dated 7 June 1951 signed by President El Khoury and PM El Solh suspended *El Hadeef* newspaper, for the same reason, for three days. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 24, 11 June 1952, pp.323-324.

⁴⁹ El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Sourî El Qawmî El Ijtima'i*, p.158.

reforms.⁵⁰ The demonstrators accused the President and the President's men of corruption. The protests eventually led to the resignation of Ahmad El Hussein, Minister of Public Works.⁵¹

The 9 September 1952 meeting of the 7th Parliament, however, was the turning point for the opposition. During a general discussion session, Tosbat single handedly proposed a draft legislation granting a general amnesty for publication crimes.⁵² Parliament could not allocate the time to consider the draft and left the deliberations for another session, as Prime Minister Sami El Solh exploded a political bomb during the open session by declaring that "covert powers" led by men with authority holding power, but without being accountable, interfere in all state affairs, – and alluding to the President's brother Saleem El Khoury – and announced his resignation.⁵³ As a result, ministers presented their official resignation and the President declared Prime Minister El Solh as officially resigned on 9 September 1952.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ For the Lebanese reaction to the Egypt's Free Officers' coup, please see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.454-455. See also, El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Sour El Qawmi El Ijtima'i*, pp.159-160.

⁵¹ Decree No. 9321 dated 27 August 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Sami El Solh accepting the resignation of Ahmad El Hussein, Minister of Public Works. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 36, 2 September 1952, pp.436-437. The opposition brought up the scandal of the airport construction where the Minister of Public Works was Ahmad El Hussein, the contractors were the Kettanehs and cement provider was Shekka's Plant that belonged to Fouad El Khoury, the President's brother. See Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.272, n.19, citing FSUSA, dispatch No. 372, 21 January 1952 by Harold B. Minor.

⁵² Deputies Melkon Hayrabedian and Movses Der-Kaloustian were absent to this session of the Parliament along with Ameen Beyham, Beheej Taqiedeen, Habib Abi Shahla, Camille Chamoun, Emile El Bustani, Pierre Edde, Rashad Azar, Saleem El Khoury, Salah Bezri, and Michel Doumet, Minister of Social Affairs. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 September 1952.

⁵³ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh Vol.3*, pp.464-467. See also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.126. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 September 1952.

⁵⁴ Decree No. 9415 dated 9 September 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignations of Ministers Fouad El Khoury, Majeed Arslan, Emile Lahoud, Philip Taqla, Suleiman El Ali, Hussein El Abdullah, Antoine Estefan and Michel Doumet and declaring Prime Minister Sami El Solh officially being resigned. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 37, 10 September 1952, p.454.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 9 September 1952		
1.	Nazem Akari	P.M.; Minister of Interior; Defense; Foreign Aff.; Info. & Agric.
2.	Baseel Trad	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Economy, Public Works, Educ./Health
3.	Moussa Mubarak	Minister of Justice, Finance, PTT and Social Affairs

Table 7.7 – Cabinet Members of Nazem Akari’s Government (9 September 1952)

President Beshara El Khoury immediately appointed a 3-member cabinet with Nazem Akari, who was the Director General of the office of the Prime Minister, as the new Prime Minister on 9 September 1952.⁵⁵

Nazem Akari’s 3-member cabinet did not last long as it did not have the necessary political clout to overcome the intensity of the opposition.⁵⁶ Akari’s Cabinet resigned 3 days later, on 12 September 1952 and the President appointed Saeb Salam to head another tri-member cabinet.⁵⁷ However, the opposition called for another strike on 15 and 16 September and demanded the resignation of the President.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 14 September 1952 ⁵⁸		
1	Saeb Salam	P.M.; Minister of Interior, Defense, Foreign, Info. & Agr.
2	Baseel Trad	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Economy, Public Works, Educ.; Health
3	Moussa Mubarak	Minister of Justice, Finance, PTT and Social Affairs

Table 7.8 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam’s Government (14 September 1952)

⁵⁵ Decree No. 9416 dated 9 September 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing the ministers of the tripartite Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 37, 10 September 1952, pp.454-455.

⁵⁶ El Khoury, *Haqa’eq Lubnaniyeh*, Vol.3, pp.468-469.

⁵⁷ Decree No. 9425 dated 14 September 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing Saeb Salam to form a cabinet. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 38, 17 September 1952, p.462. President El Khoury issued Decree No. 9427 on 14 September 1952 and re-appointed Nazem Akari back to his original position as the Director General of the Office of the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 39, 24 September 1952, p.471.

⁵⁸ Decree No. 9426 dated 14 September 1952 and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the ministers of the tripartite Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 38, 17 September 1952, pp.462-463.

President El Khoury depended on Prime Minister Saeb Salam and Army General Fouad Chehab to suppress the demonstrations.⁵⁹ However, the opposition dispatched an official letter through the intermediary offices of the Speaker of the Parliament on 17 September 1952, and demanded the immediate resignation of President El Khoury. The letter was signed by nine members of the opposition, including Tosbat, Chamoun, Jumblatt, El Khateeb, Edde, Tuieni, Al Hajj, El Bezzi, and Qobouli El Zouk.⁶⁰

Both the President and Saeb Salam's government were faced with an impasse with the escalation of the political pressure exerted by the opposition as it came to a climax by midnight of 17 September 1952. President El Khoury intended to dismiss Prime Minister Saeb Salam and appoint Army General Fouad Chehab and declare a state of emergency in the country, when Prime Minister Saeb Salam, after consultation with political leaders, offered his resignation to the President in the early hours of 18 September 1952.⁶¹ President El Khoury accepted the resignation and immediately appointed Fouad Chehab (a Maronite) as the new prime minister to head another three-member cabinet.⁶² General Chehab's choice as Prime Minister contradicted the understandings under the National Pact of 1943, as it was stipulated by himself, President El Khoury and the late Riad El Solh, to have a Sunni Muslim as the Prime Minister of Lebanon.

The intent behind the appointment of General Chehab as the Prime Minister was to prevent a bloodshed among the Lebanese factions as President Beshara El Khoury was about to resign and leave the executive branch of the government in the hands of a Maronite, in accordance with the National Pact, who also controlled the armed forces and was also acceptable to the opposition.⁶³

⁵⁹ El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh*, Vol.3, pp.468-480.

⁶⁰ For the Arabic text of the Demand Resignation Letter addressed to President Beshara El Khoury, please see Appendix 7.3. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 14 October 1952.

⁶¹ For a detailed account as to how the events unfolded during the night of 17-18 of September 1952, please see El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh*, Vol.3, pp.468-480.

⁶² Decree No. 9442 dated 18 September 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Saeb Salam. Decree No. 9443 dated 18 September 1952 appointed Army General Fouad Chehab as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 39, 24 September 1952, p.478.

⁶³ See El Khoury, *Haqa'eq Lubnaniyeh*, Vol.3, pp.478-480.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Beshara El Khoury		
Cabinet of 18 September 1952 ⁶⁴		
1	Fouad Chehab	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Defense
2	Nazem Akari	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs; Public Works; Educ.; PTT; Information; Health & Agriculture.
3	Baseel Trad	Minister of Economy, Justice, Finance and Social Affairs

**Table 7.9 – Cabinet Members of Fouad Chehab's Government
(18 September 1952)**

President El Khoury officially submitted his resignation to Ahmad El Asa'ad, Speaker of the Parliament, on the morning of 18 September 1952.⁶⁵

Prime Minister Fouad Chehab took charge of the executive branch immediately, and he moved to control the outburst of the opposition by issuing certain decrees and employing the Army and the Internal Security Forces in an attempt to maintain the tranquility and order in the country. Amongst the initial decrees that General Chehab issued was Decree No. 1, dated 18 September 1952, re-appointing Moussa Mubarak as the Director-General of Customs. He then issued Decree No. 4, on 22 September 1952, that re-established the scope of the authorities of the Commander-in-Chief of the Internal Security Forces, and through Decree No. 5 allowed the Commander-in-Chief of the Security Forces to re-shuffle command posts within the Security Forces.⁶⁶ Prime Minister Chehab further issued Decree No. 11, on Monday 22 September 1952 and granted amnesty to eight newspapers editors who were sentenced to imprisonment because they had published Kamal Jumblatt's article.⁶⁷ On the same day, Chehab issued Decree No. 21 and declared the imposition of a curfew in Beirut from 4:00

⁶⁴ Decree No. 9444 dated 18 September and signed by President Beshara El Khoury and Prime Minister Fouad Chehab appointing the ministers of the tri-member Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 39, 24 September 1952, p.478.

⁶⁵ *Official Minutes (1952)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 23 September 1952.

⁶⁶ *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 39, 24 September 1952, pp.439-480.

⁶⁷ Decree No. 11 dated 22 September 1952 signed by Prime Minister Fouad Chehab, Deputy P.M. Nazem Akari and Minister Baseel Trad, granting amnesty to certain editors from imprisonment sentences. The amnesty included: Elie Moukarzel, Mumtaz El Khateeb, Muhammad El Ba'albecki, Khalil Abu Jaoude, Zuheir Osseiran, Waleed Tueini, Imad El Solh, and Ahmad Zeki El Afiouni. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 39, 24 September 1952, p.481.

am until 3:00 pm the following day in anticipation for a special meeting of parliament to elect the President.⁶⁸

The 7th Parliament convened at 10:00 am on Tuesday 23 September 1952 to elect the President in accordance with Articles 74 and 75 of the Lebanese Constitution.⁶⁹ The only absentee was Saleem El Khoury, President Beshara El Khoury's brother. 76 Deputies, including the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Hayrabedian, Tosbat and Chader were present and elected Camille Chamoun as the new President of the Republic.⁷⁰

President-elect Chamoun took the Oath of Office immediately after being elected⁷¹ and immediately issued several executive decrees.

⁶⁸ Decree No. 21 dated 22 September 1952 signed by Prime Minister Fouad Chehab, Deputy P.M. Nazem Akari and Minister Baseel Trad declaring a curfew in the City of Beirut from 4:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. on 23 September 1952. *Official Gazette* (1952), Issue No. 40, 1 October 1952, p.484.

⁶⁹ Article 74 of the Lebanese Constitution stipulates that: "Should the Presidency become vacant through the death or resignation of the President or for any other cause, the Chamber shall meet immediately and by virtue of the law to elect a successor." And 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." Please see, "The Lebanese Constitution," *Official Website of the Presidency of Lebanon*. [Last accessed 17 August 2015]. <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>.

⁷⁰ Camille Chamoun (Maronite, Mount Lebanon) received 74 votes against 1 vote by Abdullah El Hajj (Shia, Mount Lebanon) with 1 blank paper. *Official Minutes* (1952): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 23 September 1952. The original contestants for the Presidency were Hameed Franjeh and Camille Chamoun. Some foreign governments exerted direct and indirect pressure on the deputies to elect the latter. Syria's President Adeb El Shishekli put pressure on the Lebanese deputies from Tripoli to vote for Chamoun, whereas the British Ambassador in Beirut, Sir Edwin Chapman-Andrews, personally interviewed some Deputies to induce them to shift their inclination from voting for Franjeh to Chamoun. See, Caroline Attié, *Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s*, (Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies Press, 2004), pp.46-47.

⁷¹ President-Elect Camille Chamoun took the Oath of Office at 11:00 am. *Official Minutes* (1952): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 23 September 1952.

First and foremost, he accepted PM General Fouad Chehab's resignation⁷² and appointed Khaled Chehab as the new Prime Minister. P.M. Khaled Chehab formed a 4-member cabinet.⁷³

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 30 September 1952 ⁷⁴		
1	Khaled Chehab	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior, Defense, Justice and Info.
2	Moussa Mubarak	Minister of Foreign Affairs, Public Works and PTT
3	Saleem Haydar	Minister of Education, Health and Social Affairs
4	George Hakeem	Minister of Finance, Economy and Agriculture

**Table 7.10– Cabinet Members of Khaled Chehab's Government
(30 September 1952)**

Prime Minister Chehab presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 9 October 1952. During the same session, President Chamoun presented Decree No. 6, dated 8 October 1952, and asked parliament to grant the executive branch temporary authority for 6 months to issue legislative decrees. The requested items were incorporated into P.M. Khaled Chehab's ministerial statement. It included a request for authority to issue legislative decrees on the following matters:

1. Amendment to the Election Laws;
2. Amendment to the Municipality Laws;
3. Granting women right to vote;
4. Amending Publication Laws & Order of Journalists;
5. Restructuring of the Ministries;
6. Reorganizing the Judicial System;
7. Decentralizing the Administration;
8. Amending the Accountancy Laws;
9. Amending the Import-Export Laws;
10. Amending the State of Emergency Laws.

⁷² Decree No. 1 dated 30 September 1952 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Fouad Chehab as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1952, p.483.

⁷³ Decree No. 2 dated 30 September 1952 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Khaled Chehab as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1952, p.483.

⁷⁴ Decree No. 3 dated 30 September 1952 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Khaled Chehab appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1952, pp.483-484.

The 7th Parliament considered the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Khaled Chehab and granted its vote of confidence. All four Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present and cast their votes of confidence. Only Deputy Sami El Solh cast a vote of no-confidence while Saeb Salam and Charles Helou abstained from voting.⁷⁵ Joseph Chader delivered a speech before casting his vote of confidence. In pertinent parts, Chader stated:

“The integrity and efficiency that enjoys the Prime Minister and members of the present government allow us to contemplate a great deal of success in their mission.

“Needless to say that courage is what they need in particular in the present circumstances. Also, coming from the outside of the chambers qualifies them more than others to act firmly and intensity.

“We should allow them to work quickly by granting them the power to legislate, especially with respect to the election laws, where it should minimize the number of deputies to three at the most in each district, until the adoption of a single-member constituency.

“Finally, we must say that we will continue to grant confidence to the government and help in its mission.”⁷⁶
[Translation from Arabic].

As to the President’s request to issue legislative decrees, a heated debate ensued, however the majority of Deputies voted in favor of granting such authority to the government, including Der-Kalousian, Hayrabedian and Chader. Only Tosbat, Saeb Salam and Sami El Solh voted against, while Charles Helou abstained.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Prime Minister Khaled Chehab’s government received 67 votes of confidence. Absentees to the voting were: Ahmad El Husseini, Emile El Bustani, Habib Moutran, Saleem El Khoury, Ameen Beyham and Rashad Azar. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 October 1952.

⁷⁶ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech during the deliberations on Prime Minister Khaled Chehab’s ministerial statement, please see Appendix 8.9. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 October 1952.

⁷⁷ *Official Minutes (1952)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 October 1952.

Accordingly, President Chamoun and Prime Minister Khaled Chehab issued several legislative decrees, including Legislative Decree No. 4 concerning the publication laws,⁷⁸ which led Tosbat to withdraw his own proposed legislation on the same issue and which was heavily debated during the parliamentary sessions on 14 and 23 October 1952.⁷⁹

President Chamoun also issued Decree No. 6 amending the election laws, reducing the number of elected Deputies from 77 to 44 and granting women the right to vote.⁸⁰ The new law divided Lebanon into 33 electoral districts and criminalized non-participation in the voting process.⁸¹ Joseph Chader, however, was not satisfied with what the new laws stipulated. Chader, in a speech during a General Discussion Session of the 7th Parliament pointed out that the government should have considered other important issues in the election laws, including:

- 1- Abolishing sectarianism. Women should be granted their full rights and also be able to be elected.
- 2- The voting age should have been 18 years rather than 21 years.
- 3- The secret vote should have been ensured.
- 4- A law on the expenses of candidates should have been adopted.

⁷⁸ Legislative Decree No. 4 dated 22 October 1952 concerning Publication Law signed by President Camille Chamoun, P.M. Khaled Chehab and Ministers Saleem Haydar, Moussa Moubarak and George Hakeem. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 44, 29 October 1952, pp.854-867.

⁷⁹ Dickran Tosbat, presented a controversial draft law granting a general amnesty to publication crimes earlier on 9 September 1952. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 September 1952. Because of the lack of enough time to deliberate, the matter was carried over to the 14 October 1952 session of the Parliament, when a heated debate ensued on the matter and the Speaker postponed further deliberations to the next meeting. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 14 October 1952. In the meantime, President Chamoun issued Legislative Decree No. 4 on Publication Law that led Tosbat to withdraw his proposed legislation from the Parliament claiming that most of the items mentioned in Tosbat's proposed law were incorporated into Law No. 4. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 23 October 1952.

⁸⁰ Legislative Decree No. 6 dated 4 November 1952 signed by President Camille Chamoun, Prime Minister Khaled Chehab, Ministers Saleem Haydar, Moussa Moubarak and George Hakeem. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 46, 12 November 1952, pp.927-934.

⁸¹ New Articles 2 and 23 respectively of Legislative Decree No. 6. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 46, 12 November 1952, pp.927-928.

- 5- Only people with a voting card should be allowed to vote.
- 6- A legal entity should be given the right to look into the objections and grievances presented before and during elections.⁸²

Prime Minister Chaheb's government lasted for only six months as it came under harsh verbal attacks from Deputies Yacoub Al Sarraf, Rasheed Beydoun, Hameed Franjeh, Emile Lahoud and Dickran Tosbat.⁸³ As a result, Moussa Mubarak, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Public Works and PTT resigned on 6 February 1953.⁸⁴ Prime Minister Chehab followed suit and resigned on 30 April 1953.⁸⁵ President Chamoun then nominated Saeb Salam to form a new cabinet.⁸⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 30 April 1953 ⁸⁷		
1.	Saeb Salam	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Defense
2.	Baseel Trad	Minister of PTT and Health
3.	Basheer El A'awar	Minister of Public Works
4.	George Hakeem	Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Economy
5.	Pierre Edde	Minister of Education
6.	George Karam	Minister of Finance
7.	Jean Skaff	Minister of Agriculture and Social Affairs
8.	Mouhiedeen El Nessouli	Minister of Justice and Information

Table 7.11 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam's Government (30 April 1953)

⁸² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech on the Election Law, please see Appendix 8.10. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 November 1952.

⁸³ Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, p.120.

⁸⁴ Decree No. 1112 dated 6 February 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Moussa Mubarak, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Public Works and PTT. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 6, 11 February 1953, p.79.

⁸⁵ Decree No. 1951 dated 30 April 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting resignation of Prime Minister Khaled Chehab. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 18, 16 May 1953, p.194.

⁸⁶ Decree No. 1952 dated 30 April 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Saeb Salam as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 18, 16 May 1953, p.194.

⁸⁷ Decree No. 1953 dated 30 April 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 18, 6 May 1953, pp.194-195.

The 7th Lebanese Parliament (1951-53)

	Prime Minister	A. El Yafi	S. El Solh	Kh. Chehab	Saeb Salam
		19 Jun 51 ⁸⁸	19 Feb. 52 ⁸⁹	9 Oct. 52 ⁹⁰	12 May 53
1	Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	Hayrabedian	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	Chader	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	Tosbat	X	NS	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record					

⁸⁸ Decree No. 5260 dated 7 June 1951 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointed Abdullah El Yafi as the Prime Minister to head the 11th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1951)*, Issue No. 24, 13 June 1951, p.324. Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 19 June 1951 and received 52 votes of confidence, including those of Movses Der-Kaloustian, Melkon Hayrabedian and Joseph Chader. Dickran Tosbat and 22 other deputies cast no-confidence votes to the government, including: Sami El Solh, Emile El Bustani, Camille Chamoun, Anwar El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Abdullah El Hajj, Ghassan Toueini, Pierre Edde, Riad El Solh, Muhammad El Fadel, Majeed Arslan, Beheej Taqiedeen, Suleiman El Ali, Albert El Hati, Yacoub El Sarraf, Basheer El Othman, Saleem El Dawood, Refa'at Qaz'oun, Shafeeq Hana El Daher, Habib Moutran, Sabri Hamadeh, and Nazem El Qadiri. Deputy Hameed Franjeh abstained from voting and Deputy Suhail Chehab was not present. *Official Minutes (1951)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 June 1951.

⁸⁹ Decree No. 7599 dated 11 February 1952 signed by President Beshara El Khoury appointing Sami El Solh as the Prime Minister for the 12th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 7, 13 February 1952, pp.55-56. Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 19 February 1952 and received 56 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Hayrabedian and Chader. Tosbat was absent along with 11 other deputies, including Habib Moutran, Rasheed Beydoun, Saleem El Dawood, Saleem El Khoury, Abdullah El Yafi, Camille Akl, Moussa de Freij, Nicola Salem, Henry Pharaon, Jean Skaff, and Nazem El Qadiri. Eight other deputies cast no-confidence votes, including: Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Ghassan Tueini, Emile El Bustani, Pierre Edde, Anwar El Khateeb, Abdullah El Hajj, and Hameed Franjeh. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 February 1952.

⁹⁰ Decree No. 2 dated 30 September 1952 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Khaled Chehab as the Prime Minister of the 16th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1952, p.483. Prime Minister Khaled Chehab presented his ministerial statement to the 7th Parliament on 9 October 1952 and received 67 votes of confidence, including those of the four Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. Only Deputy Sami El Solh cast a no-confidence vote while Saeb Salam and Charles Helou abstained from voting. Amongst the absentees to the voting were: Ahmad El Hussein, Emile El Bustani, Habib Moutran, Saleem El Khoury, Ameen Beyham and Rashad Azar. *Official Minutes (1952)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 October 1952.

Prime Minister Saeb Salam presented his ministerial statement to the Parliament on 12 May 1953 and received a vote of confidence including those of the Lebanese Armenian Deputies.⁹¹ Tosbat, for the first time, changed course and did not align himself with the Socialist National Front of Kamal Jumblatt and voted independently.

Joseph Chader delivered a speech to highlight that his “Confidence Vote” was contingent upon the performance of the government on its promises, otherwise Chader was going to withdraw his vote of confidence in the government along with the members of the party he was affiliated with.⁹²

The last meeting of the 7th Parliament was on 28 May 1953, and was boycotted by 24 Deputies. A heated debate started when Deputy Habib Moutran accused Prime Minister Saeb Salam and his Cabinet of bribing certain Deputies to extract votes of confidence for the government.⁹³ A proposal was made to form a special committee to investigate the allegations made by Deputy Moutran. A further heated debate ensued, during which Joseph Chader elaborated on the very sensitive issue of Deputies receiving bribes and proposed certain additional language to the resolution establishing the special committee.

⁹¹ The Government headed by Saeb Salam received 37 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Hayrabedian, Tosbat and Chader. 31 deputies cast no-confidence votes, including: Elie Moukarzel, Anwar El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Ghassan Tueini, Souheil Chehab, Roufael Lahoud, Ahmad El Hussein, Muhammad El Fadl, Sami El Solh, Fouad El Khoury, Philip Taqla, Beheej Taqiedeem, Elias El Khoury, Saleem El Khazen, Emile Lahoud, Albert El Hajj, Yacoub El Sarraf, Nassouh El Fadel, Suleiman El Ali, Habib Moutran, Fadlallah Hamadeh, Charles Helou, Ali El Bezzi, Qobouli El Zouk, Nazem El Qadiri, Sabri Hamadeh, Emile El Bustani, Yussef Karam, Rashad Azar, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, and Abdullah El Hajj. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 12 May 1953.

⁹² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech during the deliberations on Prime Minister Saeb Salam’s ministerial statement on 12 May 1953, please see Appendix 8.12. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 12 May 1953.

⁹³ The 24 absentees to the 28 May 1953 meeting were: Dickran Tosbat, Saleem El Khoury, Emile El Bustani, Antoine Estefan, Refa’at Qaz’oun, Saleem El Khazen, Philip Taqla, Camille Akl, Muhammad Safiedeem, Muhammad El Azeimi, Henry Pharaon, Elias El Khoury, Elias Trabolsi, Michel Doumet, Moussa de Freij, Ahmad El Hussein, Albert El Hajj, Hameed Franjeh, Suleiman Arab, Ali Badredeem, Ghassan Tueini, Fadlallah Hamadeh, Kamal Jumblatt and Nicola Salem. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 13th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 28 May 1953.

At this point, some of the Deputies left the Meeting Hall and the Speaker of the Parliament declared a non-quorum and adjourned the meeting.⁹⁴

To avoid further deliberations on the issue of bribes, President Chamoun and Prime Minister Salam dissolved the 7th Parliament two days later, on 30 May 1953 and set the new legislative election dates for 12, 19 and 26th of July 1953.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 13th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 28 May 1953.

⁹⁵ Decree No. 2062 dated 30 May 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Saeb Salam dissolving the 7th Parliament. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 22, 3 June 1953, pp.1167-1169.

The 8th Lebanese Parliament

(1953-57)

President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Saeb Salam dissolved the 7th Parliament on 30 May 1953, alleging that parliament was “incapable of fulfilling its obligations” and that it neglected to enact numerous legislative measures due to frequent absences of the members. The Preamble of the Dissolution Decree further claimed that the members of Parliament repeatedly left the legislative sessions prematurely, thus causing a lack of quorum necessary for legislation.¹ The same decree set the date of new legislative election for Beirut and

¹ Decree No. 2062 dated 30 May 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Saeb Salam dissolving the 7th Parliament. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1953)*, Issue No. 22, 3 June 1953, pp.1167-1169. See also Murad, Muhammad, *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.169-177. Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.119-120.

Mount Lebanon for 12 July 1953, and elections for the North Lebanon, South Lebanon and the Beka'a Valley for 19 July 1953.²

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtg	Absence	Attendance
1	M. Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	242	60	75%
2	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 5 th	242	5	98%
3	Dickran Tosbat	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	242	20	92%

Table 8.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 8th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)

The 1953 legislative elections were based upon an amended electoral law that President Chamoun and the then Prime Minister Khaled Chehab had issued through Legislative Decree No. 6 that reduced the number of Deputies to 44, and divided the country into 33 electoral districts. For the first time in history, the amended law allowed the participation of women in the elections, in fact making participation mandatory for both men and women above the age of 21.³ The amended law, however, allocated only two seats for Lebanese-Armenians: one Armenian Orthodox seat in the Beirut District and another one in the El Metn District.⁴ Armenian Catholics lost their seat with this amended election law, and instead Joseph Chader was able to run in Beirut's 5th District as a member of Minorities.⁵

The Lebanese-Armenian community took a very active part in the pre-election campaign of 1953. Among the incumbent Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Movses Der-Kaloustian was elected to the Armenian Orthodox seat in Beirut District, Joseph Chader as an Armenian Catholic representative was elected to the Minorities seat in Beirut's 5th District,

² A subsequent decree, however, postponed the legislative elections of North Lebanon to 26 July 1953. Decree No. 2181 dated 20 June 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Saeb Salam amended Article No. 2 of Decree No. 2062 postponing the legislative elections of North Lebanon to 26 July 1953. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 25, 24 June 1953, pp.1199-1200.

³ Legislative Decree No. 6 dated 4 November 1952 signed by President Camille Chamoun, Prime Minister Khaled Chehab and Ministers Mousa Mubarak, Saleem Haydar and George Hakeem. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 46, 12 November 1952, pp.927-934.

⁴ Appendix to Decree No. 6. *Official Gazette (1952)*, Issue No. 46, 12 November 1952, pp.932-933.

⁵ For a comprehensive pre-election campaign conducted by the Lebanese-Armenian community in 1953, please see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.119-133.

The 8th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)

44	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 8 th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)
1 st	Beirut	Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox).
2 nd	Beirut	Alfred Naccache (Maronite); Ghassan Tueini (Roman Orthodox).
3 rd	Beirut	Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni).
4 th	Beirut	Sami El Solh (Sunni); and Abdullah El Hajj (Shia).
5 th	Beirut	Joseph Chader (Minorities/Armenian Catholic).
6 th	Ba'abda	Pierre Edde (Maronite); and Basheer El A'awar (Druze).
7 th	El Metn	Emile Lahoud (Maronite) replaced by Saleem Lahoud (Maronite); Gabriel El Murr (Roman Orthodox).
8 th	Bourj Hamm	Dickran Tosbat (Armenian Orthodox).
9 th	Deir El Qamar	Emile El Bustani (Maronite); and Ahmad El Berjawi (Sunni).
10 th	Be'aqleen	Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Na'eem Moughabghab (Roman Cath.)
11 th	Aley	George Akl (Maronite); and Majeed Arslan (Druze).
12 th	Keserwan	Clovis El Khazen (Maronite).
13 th	El Ftouh	Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
14 th	Jubeil	Raymond Edde (Maronite).
15 th	Tripoli	Hashem El Hussein (Sunni).
16 th	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni).
17 th	Denniyeh	Nassouh El Fadel (Sunni).
18 th	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox).
19 th	Zghorta	Hameed Franjeh (Maronite).
20 th	Besheri	Sa'eed Tawq Maronite).
21 st	El Batroun	Jean Harb (Maronite).
22 nd	Akkar	Rou'ouf Hanna (Roman Orthodox); Basheer El Othman (Sunni).
23 rd	Saida	Nazeeh El Bezri (Sunni).
24 th	El Zahrani	Adel Osseiran (Shia).
25 th	Nabatiyeh	Youssef El Zein (Shia).
26 th	Jezzine	Maroun Kena'an (Maronite); and Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic).
27 th	Marja'youn	Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia).
28 th	Sour	Kazem El Khalil (Shia).
29 th	Bent Jbeil	Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia).
30 th	Zahle	George El Hrawi (Maronite); and Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic).
31 st	Rashaya	Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni); and Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox).
32 nd	Baalbek	Saleem Haydar (Shia).
33 rd	El Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia).

Table 8.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 8th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)

and Dickran Tosbat was elected as the Armenian Orthodox representative from El Metn District.⁶

The 8th Parliament was the most active legislative body in Lebanon's history as it held a total of 242 meetings, consisting of 140 ordinary and 102 extraordinary meetings. Its tenure, however, overlapped with the intensification of the Cold War between the West and the Soviet Union, along with numerous major international, regional and domestic conflicts that shaped the future political landscape of the entire Middle East. The staged *coup d'état* against the Iranian Prime Minister in 1953; the rise of nationalism and Arabism with Gamal Abdul El Nasser of Egypt; the Suez Canal dispute between Egypt and the UK; the fall of the Shishekli regime followed by another attempted coup in Syria in 1954; the signing of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 followed by the declaration of the Arab Defense Treaty between Egypt and Syria; marred with the CIA's covert actions in Syria on one hand and the declaration of the tripartite war against Egypt in 1956 on the other; and the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, were just some of the numerous controversies that had immediate direct and indirect ramifications on the political stability in Lebanon during the mid-1950s, which eventually led the country into the civil disturbances in 1958.⁷

The 8th Parliament held its first meeting on 13 August 1953 to announce the results of the elections. The eldest deputy elected, Youssef El Zein (Shia, Nabatiyeh-South Lebanon), presided over the deliberations, whereas Deputies Ahmad El Asa'ad, Nicola Salem, Emile Lahoud, Kamal Jumblatt and Abdullah el Hajj were not present.⁸ After presenting the official results issued by the Ministry of Interior, the Speaker *pro tempore* presided over the election of the speaker of parliament. Deputy Adel Osseiran (Shia, South Lebanon) was elected as Speaker with 37 votes out of the 39 present. There were two blank papers. Ghassan Tueini (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the

⁶ The official election results were announced through official Letter No. 2352 for Beirut and El Metn; Letter No. 2442 for South Lebanon and Beka'a Valley; Letter No. 2533 for North Lebanon and Letter No. 2603 for Akkar District issued by the Ministry of Interior. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1953)*, Special Meeting of the 8th Parliament held on 13 August 1953.

⁷ Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, (New York, Routledge, 2014). See also, F. A. Gerges, "The Lebanese Crisis of 1958: The Risk of Inflated Self-Importance," *Beirut Review*, Vol. 5 (1993), pp.83-113.

⁸ *Official Minutes (1953)*, Special Meeting of the 8th Parliament held on 13 August 1953.

Deputy Speaker with 35 votes against four votes for Gabriel El Murr (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon). Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan, Mount Lebanon) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya, Beka'a Valley) were elected as the Secretaries.⁹ During the same session, members of a special Grievances Committee were elected, including Der-Kaloustian, Nazeeh El Bezri, Emile Lahoud, Adeeb El Ferzli, and Sa'eed Tawq.

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies had a very active legislative tenure during the 8th Parliament. Although Der-Kaloustian was not an active participant in the deliberations during the open sessions of the parliament, he was active in the standing committees. Joseph Chader and Dickran Tosbat were very engaged in legislating. Chader registered only five absences in four years, whereas Tosbat had 20 absences. Der-Kaloustian missed 60 meetings.

The legislative life of the 8th Parliament commenced with turbulent domestic political conditions, further complicated by regional instability. Just one day before the last elections in North Lebanon, on 25 July 1953, the Minister of Public Works, Beshara El A'awar, resigned from the Cabinet under dire criticism from the opposition. Prime Minister Saeb Salam entrusted the portfolio to the Minister of Education, Pierre Edde.¹⁰ Regionally, the Middle East underwent a major political jolt, as a major *coup d'état*, facilitated by the US intelligence and military agents in a covert action code named Operation Ajax deposed the Iranian Prime Minister Dr Mohammad Mossadeq.¹¹

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Decree No. 2415 dated 27 July 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and PM Saeb Salam accepting the resignation of Basheer El A'awar and appointing Minister of Education Pierre Edde as the Acting Minister for Public Works. *Official Gazette* (1953), Issue No. 31, 5 August 1953, pp.358-359.

¹¹ In August 1953, US intelligence and military agents covertly assisted a coup to depose the then Iranian PM Mohammed Mossadeq, and paved the way for Iran to become a US client-state under the rule of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Shah of Iran. The coup of 1953 marked the climax of over three years of crisis brought about by the failure of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) and successive Iranian governments to agree terms for a revision of the 1933 oil concession between Iran and Great Britain. With the leadership of Mossadeq, the Iranian *Majlis* had voted to nationalize AIOC on 15 March 1951. For detailed account on the CIA's direct involvement in the Iranian coup, please see Donald Wilber, *Clandestine Service History: Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran November 1952-August 1953*, www.cryptome.org/cia-iran-all.htm [last accessed 7 February

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 16 August 1953 ¹²		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior; Defense/formation
2.	Alfred Naccache	Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Gabriel El Murr	Minister of Public Works
4.	Basheer El A'awar	Minister of Justice and PTT
5.	Rasheed Karami	Minister of Economy and Social Affairs
6.	Pierre Edde	Minister of Finance
7.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Agriculture and Public Health
8.	Nicola Salem	Minister of Education

Table 8.3 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government (16 August 1953)

Under the turbulent political situation in the Middle East and with the announcement of the official results of the legislative elections in Lebanon, Prime Minister Saeb Salam's government resigned.¹³ President Chamoun appointed Abdullah El Yafi as Prime Minister and entrusted him to form a new government immediately.¹⁴

As soon as Abdullah El Yafi formed a government, President Chamoun and Prime Minister Yafi issued Decree No. 2514 on 19 August 1953 and called for an extraordinary session of the Parliament.¹⁵ The

2016]. See also, Mostafa T. Zahrani, "The Coup That Changed the Middle East: Mossadeq v. the CIA in Retrospect," *World Policy Journal*, 22 June 2002. Also, Moyara de Morales Ruehsen, "Operation 'Ajax' Revisited: Iran, 1953," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1 July 1993. And, Steve Marsh, "The United States, Iran and Operation 'Ajax': Inventing Interpretive Orthodoxy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1 July 2003. See further, Ofer Israeli, "Twilight of Colonialism: Mossadegh and the Suez Crisis," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp.147-156.

¹² Decree No. 2512 dated 16 August 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 33, 19 August 1953.

¹³ Decree No. 2509 dated 16 August 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of PM Saeb Salam's Government. *Official (1953)*, Issue No. 33, 19 August 1953.

¹⁴ Decree No. 2510 dated 16 August 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Abdullah El Yafi as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 33, 19 August 1953.

¹⁵ Decree No. 2514 dated 19 August 1953 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi calling for an extraordinary session of parliament commencing on 24 August 1953. *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 34, 26 August 1953, pp.1287-1288.

first meeting of the 8th Parliament was held on 27 August 1953.¹⁶ During this meeting, the members of the standing committees were elected. Der-Kaloustian was re-elected to the Public Works Committee and became a member of the National Education Committee, replacing the outgoing Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Melkon Hayrabedian. Joseph Chader was re-elected to the Budget and Finance Committee and maintained its chairmanship and was also elected to the Administration and Justice Committee. Tosbat was elected to the Social Affairs and Public Health Committee and became the latter's Chairman throughout his tenure in the 8th Parliament.¹⁷

			1953-54 ¹⁸	1954-55 ¹⁹	1955-56 ²⁰
1	Budget & Finance	11	Chader*	Chader*	Chader*
2	Admin. & Justice	9	Chader	Chader	Chader
3	Public Works & PTT	9	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian
4	Social Affairs & Health	9	Tosbat*	Tosbat*	Tosbat*
5	Foreign Aff. & Defense	7	Tosbat	Tosbat	Tosbat
6	National Education	7	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian
7	Econ., Tourism Agr.	7	None	None	None
8	By-Laws Committee	5	None	None	None
			* Committee Chairman		

Table 8.4 (a) – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 8th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)

Deputy Tosbat was eager to become a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He protested vehemently that he was not elected as a member and left the meeting hall, claiming that there was a “gentlemen’s agreement” among the leading legislators to include him on that committee.²¹ After deliberations, Deputy Ghassan Tueini, who was elected as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, resigned, claiming that being the Deputy Speaker of Parliament, he could not be a member of the committee and that his colleague Tosbat should be elected

¹⁶ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 August 1953.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 August 1953.

¹⁹ *Official Minutes (1954)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 March 1954.

²⁰ *Official Minutes (1955)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 24 March 1955.

²¹ *Ibid.*

instead.²² Thus, Tosbat was elected as the 7th member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

			1956-57 ²³	1957-58 ²⁴
1	Budget & Finance	11	Chader*	Chader*
2	Admin. & Justice	9	Chader	Chader
3	Public Works & PTT	9	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian
4	Social Affairs & Health	9	Tosbat*	Tosbat*
5	Foreign Aff. & Defense	7	Tosbat	Tosbat
6	National Education	7	Der-Kaloustian	Der-Kaloustian
7	Econ., Tourism Agr.	7	None	None
8	By-Laws Committee	5	None	None
			* Committee Chairman	

Table 8.4 (b) – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 8th Lebanese Parliament (1953-57)

The contributions of both Chader and Tosbat were remarkable to this parliament. As Chairman, Chader authored, signed and presented 68 different Budget and Finance Committee reports, whereas, Tosbat, signed and presented seven different Social Affairs Committee reports during the term of the 8th Parliament.

Prime Minister Yafi presented the ministerial statement of his Cabinet to the 8th Parliament on 3 September 1953. After heated debate, the new government received 33 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat. Joseph Chader along with Kamal Jumblatt, Emile Lahoud and Emile El Bustani cast no-confidence votes in the government.²⁵ Before casting his vote of no confidence, however, Chader delivered a long speech criticizing the proposed governmental policies. In particular, Chader argued:

“While acknowledging the advantages of this ministerial statement, we cannot but underline some of its major

²² All elected deputies attended the 1st Meeting of the 8th Parliament except for Kamal Jumblatt and Ahmad El Husseini. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 August 1953.

²³ *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 20 March 1956.

²⁴ *Official Minutes (1957)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 19 March 1957.

²⁵ Speaker Adel Osseiran, Deputy Speaker Ghassan Tueini, Ahmad El Berjawi and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 September 1953.

flaws related to chronic problems burdening people and mainly security, justice, in crease in the cost-of-living and the economic crisis.

“On the security level, the government does not promise us to execute the requested cleansing within the departments of security forces mainly the supreme departments, neither to establish a school for police officers and gendarmeries while forcing them to abide by strict disciplinary regulations.

“On the justice level, and besides cleansing, the government does not promise to implement the effective and absolute independence of the judiciary, to increase the number of judges, to facilitate the code of procedure’s rules and to implement firm discipline with regards to judges, assistants, experts and receivers in bankruptcy.

“On the increase in the cost-of-living, the government promises to reduce some of the fees and taxes as well as some of the prices including the transportation, cigarettes and medicines prices. However, it did not promise to take major measures such as promoting protection, and supporting consumers’ cooperatives, establishing residential compounds and carrying out free hospitalization.

“On the economic crisis, which is about to become a national disaster, the government is not offering us any successful solutions to overcome the crisis. In fact, it is neglecting the protection of the labor force and national trade from foreign competition and finding foreign markets for its agricultural and industrial products in addition to establishing a central bank so as to supervise and facilitate the credit operations while reducing the foreign oppression on transactions and therefore on the country’s economy. . .²⁶ [*Translation from Arabic*].

One of the major accomplishments of the 8th Parliament was the consideration and adoption of new by-laws that provided for three

²⁶ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s comments on PM Abdullah El Yafi’s ministerial statement, please see Appendix 8.13. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 September 1953.

commissions in addition to the two secretaries. The new by-laws were adopted by the majority of the Deputies present, with Der-Kaloustian and Chader not attending the session on 16 September 1953.²⁷

The 8th Parliament held the 1st Meeting of its Ordinary Session with the newly enacted by-laws on 20 October 1953. After electing Adel Osseiran and Ghassan Tueini as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively, Chader was elected as one of the three commissioners at the Speaker's Bureau.²⁸ Chader was the 1st Lebanese-Armenian Deputy to hold the post of a commissioner at the Speaker's Bureau. He was subsequently re-elected to the same post in 1954, 1955 and 1956. (See Table 8.5 for details).

The unstable international and regional political situation, however, adversely affected the workings of the 8th Parliament during the last months of 1953. The escalation of the tensions between the West and the East because of the Cold War reached its climax during 1953 when US President Dwight Eisenhower's administration agreed to allocate \$30 million in military aid to a few Middle Eastern counties – including Lebanon, Syria and Jordan²⁹ – at a time when the Israeli Government was trying to divert the

²⁷ In addition to Der-Kaloustian and Chader, the absentees to the deliberations were: Nazem El Qadiri, Adeeb El Ferzli, Emile Lahoud, Hameed Franjeh, Nassouh El Fadel, Na'eem Moughabghab, Emile El Bustani, Ahmad El Asa'ad, George El Hrawi, Sabri Hamadeh, Kamal Jumblatt and Majeed Arslan. Only deputy Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting to the measure. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 September 1953. The By-Laws became official after being published in the Official Gazette on 30 September 1953. See the *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 39, 30 September 1953, pp.1340-1359.

²⁸ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 20 October 1953.

²⁹ US President Eisenhower's National Security Council (NSC) directive 155/1 earmarked \$30 Million in military aid to Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon in late 1953. Please see *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX/i*, pp. 416-417. For a comprehensive analysis of the US military aid to the Middle East within the regional defense and security perspective in the early 1950s, please see, Kevin Ruane, "SEATO, MEDO and the Baghdad Pact: Anthony Eden, British Foreign Policy and the Collective Defense of Southeast Asia and the Middle East, 1952-1955," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2005), p.183. See also, Kevin Ruane, "Anglo American Relations, The Cold War and Middle East Defense: 1953-1955," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 2006), pp.1-25.

	13 Aug 53 ³⁰	20 Oct 53 ³¹	19 Oct 54 ³²
Speaker	Adel Osseiran	Adel Osseiran	Adel Osseiran
Deputy Speaker	Ghassan Tueini	Ghassan Tueini	Edeeb El Ferzli
Secretaries	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri
Commissioners³³	N/A	Joseph Chader Fouad Ghosen Nazeeh Bezri	Joseph Chader Fouad Ghosen Nazeeh Bezri

Table 8.5 (a) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 8th Lebanese Parliament

³⁰ Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as Speaker of the 8th Parliament with 37 votes out of 39 present. There were 2 blank papers. Ghassan Tueini (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as Deputy Speaker with 35 votes against Gabriel El Murr's (Roman Orthodox, Mount Lebanon) 4 votes. Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1953)*: Special Meeting of the 8th Parliament held on 13 August 1953.

³¹ Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as Speaker of the 8th Parliament with 32 votes against Adeeb El Ferzli's (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) 1 vote with 2 blank papers. Ghassan Tueini (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. According to the new By-Laws adopted in September 1953, Deputies Joseph Chader (Minorities/Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, El Koura) and Nazeeh El Bezri (Sunni, Saida) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 20 October 1953.

³² Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 8th Parliament with 27 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, El Hermel) 13 votes and Kazem El Khalil's (Shia, Sour) 1 vote. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as Deputy Speaker, whereas Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Joseph Chader (Minorities/Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Fouad Ghossen (Rman Orthodox, El Koura) and Nazeeh El Bezri (Sunni, Saida) were elected as commissioners. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 19 October 1954.

³³ Article No. 2 of the newly approved by-laws of the Lebanese Parliament, adopted during the 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 September 1953, and published in the *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 39, 30 September 1953, pp.1340-1359, stipulated that the Speaker's Bureau consisted of the Speaker; the Deputy Speaker; 2 Secretaries and 3 Commissioners.

	18 Oct 55 ³⁴	16 Oct 56 ³⁵
Speaker	Adel Osseiran	Adel Osseiran
Deputy Speaker	Edeeb El Ferzli	Edeeb El Ferzli
Secretaries	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri
Commissioners³⁶	Joseph Chader Nicola Salem Hesham El Hussein	Joseph Chader Nicola Salem Hesham El Hussein

Table 8.5 (b) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 8th Lebanese Parliament

waters of the River Jordan through the construction of the Banat Ya'qub Canal leaving the irrigation canals in Syrian territories virtually empty.³⁷

³⁴ Eldest Deputy present, Youssef El Zein, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 8th Parliament with 32 votes against Abdullah El Hajj's (Shia, Beirut) 4 votes with 5 blank papers. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Joseph Chader (Minorities/Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as commissioners. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 18 October 1955.

³⁵ Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 8th Parliament with 28 votes out of 28 present. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Joseph Chader (Minorities/Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as commissioners. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 October 1956.

³⁶ Article No. 2 of the newly approved by-laws of the Lebanese Parliament, adopted during the 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 September 1953, and published in the *Official Gazette (1953)*, Issue No. 39, 30 September 1953, pp.1340-1359, stipulated that the Speaker's Bureau consisted of the Speaker; the Deputy Speaker; 2 Secretaries and 3 Commissioners.

³⁷ For more details about the unstable political situation in both Lebanon and Syria as a result of the US and Israeli intrusion and interference in the water rights of Lebanon and Syria towards the end of 1953, please see Sami Moubayed, *Syria and the USA: Washington's Relations with Damascus from Wilson to Eisenhower*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publications, 2013), pp.103-105.

A move that had created direct shock waves and demonstrations in Lebanon and Syria. Syria's President Adee El Shishekli immediately filed a complaint against Israel with the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on 12 October 1953. Two days later, Israel attacked the Jordanian village of Qibya, killing 53 people. The UNSC convened and adopted Resolution No. 101 on 24 November 1953, however, the Lebanese Government, being a temporary member of the UNSC at the time, abstained from voting on the measure.³⁸ The unstable political and security situation in the region and Lebanon's abstention from voting at the UNSC left an adverse impact on the newly elected members of the Foreign Affairs Committee who collectively resigned, and a new committee was elected on 3 November 1953 with the membership of Tosbat.³⁹

Both Chader and Tosbat were very active in legislating during their tenure at the 8th Parliament. Tosbat, by himself, sponsored several pieces of legislation, including a special bill concerning the enforcement of limitation to the building heights in Beirut and Tripoli.⁴⁰ He further co-sponsored – with Joseph Chader and other colleagues including Majeed Arslan, Emile Lahoud, Ghassan Tueini and Abdallah Al Hajj – another piece of legislation concerning the administration of the Police Department.⁴¹ Tosbat, however, was notorious in casting negative votes to 13 different pieces of legislation in 1953 and 1954 alone. In one

³⁸ The UNSC in its 642nd Meeting adopted Resolution 101 on 24 November 1953 by 9 votes against none, with 2 abstentions: Lebanon and the Soviet Union. UNSC Resolution No. 101, [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/101\(1953\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/101(1953)) [last accessed 11 February 2016]. The adoption of the UNSC Resolution 101 was based upon the official report made the Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine dated 23 October 1953. The Report may be found at: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N53/295/25/PDF/N5329525.pdf?OpenElement>, [last accessed 10 February 2016].

³⁹ The original elected members to the Foreign Affairs Committee on 27 August 1953 were: Hameed Franjeh, Nazeeh El Bezri, Majeed Arslan, Joseph Skaaf, Emile El Bustani, Raymond Edde and Dickran Tosbat. The newly elected members were the same except that the 8th Parliament replaced Raymond Edde with Adee El Ferzli. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 November 1953.

⁴⁰ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 15th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 15 October 1953.

⁴¹ *Official Minutes (1953)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 December 1953.

particular instance, the only Deputies that cast negative vote on a piece of legislation concerning the Port of Beirut, were Tosbat and Chader.⁴²

The legislative life in 1954 started with President Chamoun and Prime Minister Yafi's issuance of Decree No. 3818 on 20 January 1954 calling for an extraordinary session of parliament.⁴³ The regional and domestic political instability, however, forced the parliamentarians to shift their deliberations from legislating to questioning the government on its domestic and foreign policies. As the political situation deteriorated in neighboring Syria, the Foreign Affairs Committee officially requested that the Speaker held a secret meeting during the session on 11 February 1954, in order to pose sensitive questions to the Yafi government on Lebanon's official foreign policy and any security measures the government was taking during such turbulent times in the country and the region.⁴⁴ A few days after the secret session, Deputy Emile El Bustani questioned the government on its policies and demanded a re-cast of confidence vote on the Yafi government on 16 February 1954. Adeeb El Ferzi, Kamel El Asa'ad, Hameed Franjeh, Ghassan Tueini, Emile Lahoud and Saleem Haydar delivered speeches and demanded similar re-cast of the confidence vote to the government. Joseph Chader, however, was the vocal voice that highlighted the failure of the Yafi Government. In a speech demanding the replacement of the current government with another, Chader emphasized:

“When this government was formed, we asked them and they promised to be a revolutionary government, a government that took off, a government with the mentality of the revolution in order to improve the situation in the country. Many days have passed by and today we are examining and judging the government on its performance. This examination must be fair to the

⁴² *Official Minutes (1956)*: 13th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 December 1956.

⁴³ Decree No. 3818 dated 20 January 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi calling for the commencement of an extraordinary session of parliament on 20 January 1953. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 4, 27 January 1954, pp.42-44.

⁴⁴ Dickran Tosbat, Adeeb El Ferzli and Joseph Skaiff, members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, were absent from the secret session of parliament on 11 February 1954. Other absentees were: Maroun Kena'an, Nazem El Qadiri, Sabri Hamadeh, Nassouh Agha El Fadel, Fouad Ghossen, Emile Lahoud, Kamal Jumblatt, Covis El Khazen, and Ahmad El Asa'ad. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 11 February 1954.

government, and this must be our duty. We shall focus on the policies and implementation of such policies on the issues of security, administration, justice and economy.

“If we went back and examined these issues. . . we see, unfortunately, that the government has generally failed in its mission. On one hand the public was complaining from the political interference in the work of the gendarmerie. . . and the lack of execution arrest warrants issued by the judiciary, and on the other the widespread of prostitution and the banned activities of the dissolved political parties are diminishing the prestige of the current government. Now that six months have passed from the first appointment of this government, and the situation has not been improved. The wave of criminal activities has been escalated more than before, and the gambling has not been seized and the bench warrants are still outstanding.

“ . . . Therefore, it could be argued that the government did not perform as efficiently as the country needed. . . However, we as the members of the Chamber of Deputies do not want to ask the members of the government to leave their posts . . . but we want to cooperate. We have to find appropriate solutions to these unfortunate problems.”

“We need a strong government capable in carrying out the agreed upon programs and lift the country from the bad situation.”⁴⁵ [*Translated from Arabic*].

The Parliament re-cast the confidence vote and Yafi's Cabinet, unlike the previous vote (33 votes of confidence), received 18 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat against 16 votes of no confidence that included the vote of no confidence of Chader.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the 16 February 1954 session of parliament, please see Appendix 8.14. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 February 1954.

⁴⁶ Among the Deputies who cast a no-confidence vote in Abdullah El Yafi's Government, were: Adeeb El Ferzli, Abdullah El Hajj, Nazeeh El Bezri, Emile El Bustani, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ghassan Tueini, Basheer El Othman, Rou'ouf Hanna,

With parliament almost equally split between supporters and non-supporters of the government, Yafi's Cabinet was put on a very difficult political track which worsened a week later as the Syrian Army in Aleppo, led by Colonel Faisal El Atasi and Lieutenant Colonel Mustafa Hamdoun, revolted against the Syrian President Adeeb El Shishekli on 24 February 1954, forcing him to resign and seek political asylum at the Saudi Embassy in Beirut the next day.⁴⁷ On the same day, Ma'moun El Kezbari, the Speaker of the Syrian Parliament, declared himself as the Acting President. Colonel Faisal El Atasi demanded Syrians revolt against Kezbari, a call that drove political disturbances in Lebanon as well.⁴⁸ The unstable political situation in the region rendered both Ma'arouf El Dawalibi and Abdullah El Yafi, the respective Prime Ministers of Syria and Lebanon, to resign on 1 March 1954.⁴⁹

President Chamoun re-delegated Abdullah El Yafi to form a new government immediately, who presented the newly appointed Government's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 5 March 1954 and received 23 votes of confidence, including that of Der-Kaloustian. Deputies Tosbat and Chader cast votes of no confidence along with Sami El Solh, George Akl, Ghassan Tueini, Kamel El Asa'ad, Pierre Edde and Rou'ouf Hanna.⁵⁰

Nazem El Qadiri, Hameed Franjeh, Jean Harb, Emile Lahoud, Saleem Haydar, Sabri Hamadeh, George El Hrawi and Joseph Chader. Among the absentees were: Clovis El Khazen, Kamal Jumblatt, Ahmad El Asa'ad, Joseph Skaff and Sa'eed Tawq. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 February 1954.

⁴⁷ For the details of the Syrian Army's revolt against President Adeeb El Shishekli on 24 February 1954, see Hashim Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith, [Arabic: Modern History of Syria]*, (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2012), pp.268-271.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Decree No. 4291 dated 1 March 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi's Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 9, 3 March 1954, p.177.

⁵⁰ Deputies Hameed Franjeh, Emile El Bustani and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting, whereas, Kamal Jumblatt, Raymond Edde, Basheer El A'awar, Ahmad El Asa'ad, Nazeeh El Bezri and Maurice Zuwein did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 5 March 1954.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 1 March 1954 ⁵¹		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Information
2.	Alfred Naccache	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Gabriel El Murr	Minister of Public Works
5.	Rasheed Karami	Minister of Economy and Social Affairs
6.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Public Health and Agriculture
7.	Nicola Salem	Minister of Education and PTT
8.	George El Hrawi	Minister of Interior

Table 8.6 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government (1 March 1954)

Before casting his vote of no confidence, Chader delivered a speech and criticized the way Yafi formed the government. Chader asserted that:

“There is a crisis that lies in the formation of ministries. Such crisis comes and goes every six months, and we hope that the present Prime Minister handles things properly. The same reasons are found in both the previous and current governments.

“The current distribution of portfolios in the government and the allocation of two ministries per minister makes it impossible for him to carry out the functions efficiently.

“The country has political parties and organizations that have their respective weighs to carry out political tasks. Independent ministers, who do not represent any parties are not able to carry out the ministerial tasks as needed. In Syria, for example, when the last cabinet was formed, it included 8 members from two major parties and four independents. Whereas, in Lebanon, the current ministers do not represent any political parties and thus their weakness will lead to failure, as before.

⁵¹ Decree No. 4293 dated 1 March 1954 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 9, 3 March 1954, pp.177-178.

“I will be sincere with myself and I will withhold my confidence from the government.”⁵² [*Translated from Arabic*].

As the ideological and partisan differences among the Lebanese constituents widened because of domestic and foreign circumstances, political and sectarian tensions escalated in Lebanon in 1954. As such, the frequency of clashes between opposition groups and the Yafi's Government, within and without the four corners of the parliament building, increased. The political debate amplified, specially during the open session of parliament on 30 March 1954, when Deputies Ahmad El Asa'ad, Ghassan Tueini, Hameed Franjeh and Kamal Jumblatt accused the government, and in particular the Minister of Interior George El Hrawi, of crushing student demonstrations and killing and wounding several demonstrators with live ammunition on 27 March 1954, as they were protesting against Iraq's potential accession to the Turkey-Pakistan Treaty. The accusations and arguments were so acute that Prime Minister Yafi stood up and angrily yelled at Kamal Jumblatt who, as a result, threw a glass of water at the former's face during the deliberations. Speaker Adel Osseiran was obliged adjourn the meeting immediately.⁵³

Sectarian tensions continued to escalate in Lebanon, especially when the news arrived that Gamal Abdul Nasser had become Prime Minister of Egypt on 17 April 1954. This was followed by a failed coup in Syria led by Colonel Muhammad Safa on 17 June 1954 and the eventual resignation of the Syrian Government two days later.⁵⁴

The foreign policy of the Lebanese Government became the focal point of inquiries of the Lebanese parliamentarians, who criticized the

⁵² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech before casting his No-Confidence Vote to Abdullah El Yafi's Government on 5 March 1954, please see Appendix 8.15. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 5 March 1954.

⁵³ Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Dickran Tosbat and Joseph Chader were present during the heated debate on the clashes between the Internal Security Forces and the Lebanese students of 27 March 1954. Movses Der-Kaloustian along with Emile El Bustani, Rou'ouf Hanna, Maroun Kena'an and Yousef El Zein were absent. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of 8th Parliament held on 30 March 1954.

⁵⁴ Colonel Muhammad Safa organized a coup against the Syrian Government in favor of the Iraqi regime and in favor of the Turkey-Pakistan Pact. Please see, Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith*, pp.276-277.

poor performance of the Yafi Government, leading Chader to demand a re-cast of the confidence vote in the Cabinet a month later.⁵⁵

The sectarian strains further worsened in summer 1954 as a result of the publication of a book by a Zahle resident, George Ibrahim Shakar, which was considered very offensive to Muslims. Shakar was arrested and put on trial on 23 July 1954 and acquitted, leading to tremendous emotional outburst and demonstrations in Lebanon.⁵⁶ The Lebanese Parliament debated the incident in its sessions on 30 and 31 July 1954, when Chader and Ghassan Tueini criticized the Minister of Justice Alfred Naccache for not taking the appropriate measures to denounce the outcome of the court ruling and condemned the Yafi Government for turning over domestic security to the Lebanese Army.⁵⁷

With its authority shaken, Yafi's Government resigned on 16 September 1954.⁵⁸ President Chamoun appointed Sami El Solh to form a new government.⁵⁹ The newly appointed Cabinet called for an extraordinary session of parliament to convene on 28 September 1954 in order to present the Government's ministerial statement.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Joseph Chader delivered a speech during the open session of the Parliament on 14 July 1954 pointing out the failure of the Yafi Government in several domains, including the foreign policy. Chader demanded a re-cast of a confidence vote. Abdullah El Yafi's Cabinet received 28 votes of confidence, including that of Movses Der-Kaloustian, against 9 no-confidence votes that included those of Chader himself, Sami El Solh, Raymond Edde, Ahmad El Asa'ad, Kamel El Asa'ad, Hameed Franjeh, Ghassan Tueini, Jean Harb and Emile El Bustani. The only deputy that abstained from voting was Dickran Tosbat. The absentees to the voting were Kamal Jumblatt, Saleem Haydar, George Akl and Abdullah El Hajj. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 July 1954.

⁵⁶ Caroline Attié, *Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s*, (Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies Press, 2004), p.59.

⁵⁷ *Official Minutes (1954)*: 16th and 17th Meetings of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 30 and 31 July 1954 respectively.

⁵⁸ Decree No. 6390 dated 16 September 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi's Government. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 39, 22 September 1954, p.612.

⁵⁹ Decree No. 9391 dated 16 September 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Sami El Solh to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 39, 22 September 1954, p.612.

⁶⁰ Decree No. 6396 dated 23 September 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime minister Sami El Solh calling for the Parliament to an Extraordinary Session. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 40, 29 September 1954, p.731.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 16 September 1954 ⁶¹		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy P.M., Minister of Interior
3.	Alfred Naccache	Minister of Foreign Affairs
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	Charles Helou	Minister of Justice and Public Health
6.	Rasheed Karami	Minister of Economy and Social Affairs
7.	Saleem Haydar	Minister of Agriculture and PTT
8.	Mouhiedeen El Nessouli	Minister of Finance and Information
9.	Maurice Zuwein	Minister of Education
10.	Na'eem Moughabghab	Minister of Public Works

Table 8.7 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh's Government (16 September 1954)

The 8th Parliament convened on 28 September 1954 and deliberated on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Sami El Solh, who received 28 votes of confidence including those of Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat. After delivering a speech, Chader cast a vote of no confidence.⁶² In his speech Chader argued that:

"I want to mention a very important issue not covered by the colleagues regarding the honor and dignity of this Chamber. The failure here is the lack of consultation with the deputies in forming the government, which took place in a very short period of time. The parliamentary system of governance imposes on a prime minister to consult the Parliament in a matter of forming a government. Contrary to this principle, the Prime Minister sitting down at the Beiteddine Palace formed his government at his leisure and wrongfully distributed the portfolios amongst the ministers, such that the expert in agriculture was given the Ministry of

⁶¹ Decree No. 6392 dated 16 September 1954 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1954)*, Issue No. 39, 22 September 1954, p.613.

⁶² Joseph Chader cast a vote of no confidence along with Ghassan Tueini and Hameed Franjeh. Deputies Abdullah El Hajj, Raymond Edde, Adeeb El Ferzli, Kamal Jumblatt, Joseph Skaff, Sabri Hamadeh, Pierre Edde, George El Hrawi and Nazem El Qadiri abstained from voting. Abdullah El Yafi, Sa'eed Tawq and Emile El Bustani were absent. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 28 September 1954.

Education whereas the specialist in education was granted another unrelated portfolio.

"I say that the reasons for the failures of the previous government would be the same for this government in addition to the following reasons: First, the lack of will in applying new methods of governance... and Secondly, the mentality of the rulers of the existing government must be changed so as to apply the law on every citizen."⁶³ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Prime Minister El Solh's Government did not have a different destiny to its predecessor. The pressing political and security issues rocked the Cabinet. Regionally, the Turkish and Iraqi governments announced the intension to enter into a security agreement in January 1955 which, in fact, culminated in the signing of a Turkish-Iraqi Defense Treaty on 24 February 1955 (better known as the Baghdad Pact),⁶⁴ which had direct repercussions on Lebanese domestic political life.⁶⁵

The United States presented its positive stance on the Baghdad Pact through its Ambassador in Damascus on 26 February 1955, which was followed by an Israeli raid over Gaza two days later on 28 February 1955.⁶⁶ The Syrian Government responded to the Baghdad Pact by signing the tripartite Arab Defense Treaty with Egypt and Saudi Arabia on 2 March 1955.⁶⁷ However, the situation in the Middle East, in general, and Lebanon in particular, worsened when the Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the Syrian Army, Colonel Adnan El Malki, was assassinated by a member

⁶³ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech at parliament before casting his vote of no confidence in Sami El Solh's Government, see Appendix 8.16. *Official Minutes (1954)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 28 September 1954.

⁶⁴ For the political implications of the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East and the US's position, see Ruane, "Anglo American Relations," pp.1-25. See also, Ruane, "SEATO, MEDO and the Baghdad Pact," pp.169-199.

⁶⁵ For the details on the polarization of the situation in Lebanon after the Turco-Iraqi Defense Treaty was signed on 24 February 1955, please see Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, pp.81-89. See also, Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp.131-134.

⁶⁶ Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith*, pp.279-280.

⁶⁷ For details on negotiations leading to the signing of the Arab Defense Treaty on 3 March 1955, see Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.115-118.

of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) during a football game on 22 April 1955.⁶⁸

In the midst of such a turbulent and polarized political situation, Der-Kaloustian presented an unparalleled official written request to the 8th Parliament on 14 April 1955 to take a month and a half off from his legislative duties and spend some time in Egypt. Speaker Adel Osseiran presented Der-Kaloustian's request to the Chamber and requested a vote during an open legislative session. Parliament voted in favor of granting the leave.⁶⁹

As Lebanese politicians were divided between the two rival camps of the Baghdad Pact and the tripartite Arab Defense Treaty, the 8th Parliament held a special session on 13th and 14th May 1955 to discuss official Lebanese foreign policy, especially after Saudi Arabia exerted political pressure on the Lebanese Government to oppose the Baghdad Pact and join the Arab Defense Treaty. Many Deputies took the podium and criticized the government's foreign policy. Joseph Chader delivered a speech and praised the official foreign policies of the Lebanese Republic as they relate to the Baghdad Pact and the tripartite treaty. In particular, Chader emphasized that:

“ . . . [h]is Majesty, the King of Saudi Arabia has sent a message to the President of the Lebanese Republic, which was published in some newspapers, included numerous warnings to us to deliberate in this Chamber on our foreign policy and reach a decision that would be for the best interest of Lebanon and the Arab world.

“Gentlemen, the situation that Lebanon and the Arab world have reached has become unbearable . . . the situation between the non-Arab world and the

⁶⁸ The then newly appointed pro-Nasserite Syrian Intelligence Director Abdul Hameed El Sarraj officially accused the SSNP of assassinating Adnan El Malki and more than 150 members of the SSNP were arrested in Syria and charged with murder, including the widow of the former SSNP founder Antoine Sa'adeh. Other SSNP chiefs including Ghassan Jadid and George Abdul Massih fled to Lebanon. For details of the Malki affair, please see Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.132-133, and Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith*, p.282. See also, Ahmad Salem El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Sour El Qawmi El Ijtima'i: 1932-1962*, [*Arabic: The Syrian Social Nationalist Party: 1932-1962*], (Beirut: Literary Heritage House, 2014), pp.148-153.

⁶⁹ *Official Minutes (1955): 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 April 1955.*

neighboring countries can be described as a cold war, war full of accusations, lies, etc. This situation is abnormal and we reject it in Lebanon, for no Arab individual can accept it. Further, it is our sacred duty to seek the reason behind these conflicts and seek a satisfactory solution, because if we do not put an end to this unusual situation we will face a dark fate and witness the deterioration of the Arab world and the Arab League, whereas the victory will be to Israel.

“...[t]he seven Arab countries are all opponents of Israel. Nevertheless, all Arab countries are allied with the West. Egypt entered into an agreement with Britain for the withdrawal of the British troops to the Suez base in case of any attack launched against one of the Arab countries or Turkey. This means that Egypt is allied with the West while Iraq, by signing the Turkish-Iraqi alliance, linked itself to England. Similarly, Jordan and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are linked to the United States of America thus granting the Dhahran Airport to the US. Lastly, as to Lebanon and Syria, everyone knows that we tend to lean towards the West.

“As long as this is the case, why are we in conflict? And why all these accusations against Lebanon? What was Lebanon’s position recently? Lebanon’s position was the noblest position ever and in harmony with its traditional message. In fact, it played the role of mediator for the Arab’s best interest as it realized that division is inevitable in the Arab region and for it felt that the Arab League is on the verge of collapse. This is why Lebanon interfered and requested the neighboring Syria to slow down before signing the tripartite agreement; is that a crime? I believe it is for the best interest of the Arab world.

“The position expressed by Lebanon and its government was completely in line with the instructions given by this Chamber and its Foreign Affairs Committee.

“... Lebanon rejects to take part of the Turkish-Iraqi agreement for several reasons. However, Lebanon believed that Iraq has the right to sign this alliance due to its special situation and in accordance with the second paragraph of article nine of Cairo Charter... Egypt on the other hand is free to sign the withdrawal agreement

with the British to withdraw from Suez, without taking into consideration the opinion of the Arab countries. Similarly, what Kingdom of Saudi Arabia did with the United States of America. Every country with a special situation has the right, by virtue of Cairo Charter, to conclude agreements for the best interest of the nation.”

“We, in Lebanon, do not oppose the Turkish-Iraqi alliance, however, we are against the tripartite alliance in its current formula and form, especially that it is against Iraq. Our policy consists of uniting the Arab World . . . the subject is serious and we wish to know what are the measures taken by the government to respond to this dangerous [*Saudi*] message? We want to have a strong, honest and friendly relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. We wish to know how the response was to that message. I have already said at the Foreign Affairs Committee that the government must send a special high ranking delegate to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to follow-up this case.”⁷⁰ [*Translation from Arabic*].

After two weeks from the deliberation on Lebanon’s foreign policy, the 8th Parliament reconvened on 30 May 1955 and considered a measure to enforce a total ban on the State of Israel. All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Der-Kaloustian, Chader and Tosbat were present during the deliberations and voted in favor of the legislation imposing a boycott on the Israel.⁷¹ The measure was carried with a unanimous vote, and President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh signed it into law on 23 June 1955.⁷²

⁷⁰ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech on the issue of the Foreign Policy of Lebanon vis-a-vis the Baghdad Pact and the Arab Defense Treaty, see Appendix 8.17. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 May 1955.

⁷¹ The measure to impose a total ban on the State of Israel was carried out with a unanimous vote. However, Deputies Kamal Jumblatt, Hameed Franjeh, Ahmad El Asa’ad, Kamel El Asa’ad, Abdullah El Yafi, Abdullah El Hajj, Hashem El Husseini, Nicola Salem and Jean Harb were absent from the meeting. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 15th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 30 May 1955.

⁷² President Chamoun presented a proposed law to boycott Israel through Decree No. 8970 dated 30 May 1955 to the 8th Parliament, which in its 30 May 1955 legislative session adopted it unanimously. President Chamoun and Prime

During the same session on 30 May 1955, Tosbat unilaterally sponsored and presented a proposed law concerning the Order of Journalists in Lebanon, and Chader presented a proposed law concerning the expenses of the Speaker's Bureau. Both measures were considered by parliament and voted favorably.⁷³

The consideration and adoption of the measure to boycott Israel and the deliberation on several legislative measures by the parliament did not, however, have a positive effect on the disturbed political situation in Lebanon. As a result, Minister Charles Helou resign as Minister of Justice and Public Health on 30 May 1955,⁷⁴ leading eventually to the resignation of the entire Cabinet a month later.⁷⁵

President Chamoun asked Sami El Solh to form another government, who presented his ministerial statement on 14 July 1955. After long deliberations, parliament granted 22 votes of confidence against 11 with two abstentions. Disappointedly, the official records of the chamber do not have specific records as to how each and every Deputy voted during this session. Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat and Chader were all present.

Joseph Chader, in a speech criticizing the newly formed government, declared that he was going to cast a no-confidence vote.⁷⁶ In his speech, Chader stated:

“Mr. Speaker, esteemed compatriots: Opposition is fundamental in the parliamentary regime and if it wasn't

Minister Sami El Solh signed it into law on 6 June 1966. *Official Gazette* (1955), Issue No. 26, 29 June 1955, pp.1001-1003.

⁷³ *Official Minutes* (1955): 15th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 30 May 1955.

⁷⁴ Decree No. 9361 dated 30 May 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh accepting the resignation of Charles Helou as Minister of Justice and Public Health. *Official Gazette* (1955), Issue No. 23, 8 June 1955, p.645. President Chamoun immediately appointed Sami El Solh as the Acting Minister of Justice through Decree No. 9362 dated 30 May 1955. *Official Gazette* (1955), Issue No. 23, 8 June 1955, pp.645-646.

⁷⁵ Decree No. 9855 dated 9 July 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Sami El Solh's Government. *Official Gazette* (1955), Issue No. 28, 13 July 1955, pp.769-770.

⁷⁶ Deputies Nicola Salem, Fouad Ghossen, Alfred Naccache and Saleem Lahoud were not present during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Sami El Solh's Government. *Official Minutes* (1955): 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 July 1955.

for the opposition we wouldn't have enjoyed the valuable speech delivered by his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I am talking about the noble opposition that only aims at serving the public interest; a constructive opposition that brings clarity to the Chamber, especially that no matter how perfect a human being can be, he is always subject to committing mistakes, and as they say in French, *la vérité est fille de discussion*' – discussions lead to the truth.

"That is why we were opponents and we will remain opponents through a constructive and noble opposition that only aims at reaching the best interest of this country.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 9 July 1955 ⁷⁷		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Public Planning
2.	Gabriel El Murr	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice and Health
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Hameed Franjeh	Minister of Foreign Affairs
5.	Rasheed Karami	Minister of Economy and Social Affairs
6.	Saleem Haydar	Minister of Agriculture and PTT
7.	Pierre Edde	Minister of Finance
8.	Mouhiedeen El Nessouli	Minister of Interior and Information
9.	Na'eem Moughabghab	Minister of Public Works
10.	Saleem Lahoud	Minister of Education

Table 8.8 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh's Government (9 July 1955)

"Today, we are witnessing a government formed by Messrs. El Solh, Franjeh, Edde and other heroes who participated with us in carrying out the *coup d'état* headed by his Excellency President of the Republic Mr Camille Chamoun who raised his voice high in this Chamber demanding reform, cleansing and putting an end to the corruption. . . However, we were disappointed by the ministerial statement as we were disappointed by the heroes of the *coup d'état* who concluded it and came

⁷⁷ Decree No. 9857 dated 9 July 1955 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 28, 13 July 1955, pp.769-770.

to the Cabinet in July 1955 after three years of the *coup d'état*.

“On the Foreign Policy level, the ministerial statement mentioned the current relationship with the Arab world as being bad and that since Lebanon is currently playing a noble mediating role, things will go back to normal. All that has been said in the ministerial statement about the relationships was between Lebanon and Syria, constituting an excellent masterpiece in form but lacking substance. . . [a]s it did not mention anything about [foreign] alliances. Such a lack of information cannot be accepted.

“On the domestic front level, the ministerial statement did not tackle a major issue related to the internal security problems which affect our relationship with the neighboring Syria, especially with the issue of dissolving of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) and the Communist Party. . . [a]s Syria requested from Lebanon to hand over some criminals who took refuge in this country, the Lebanese Government did not respond to such request. This is one of the reasons that aggravated our relationship with Syria.

“On the cost-of-living increase, you should have mentioned that you will reduce the high prices and the enormous profits made by tradesmen and industrialists so that the employees and workers' salaries and wages become sufficient. . . Moreover, the ministerial statement did not tackle the social issues as if there aren't in this country. What happened to the government's promises in terms of the social security or at least the medical security? What happened to its promises in terms of freezing the lottery profits so as to establish infirmaries necessary for the elderly and the poor in Beirut?

“On the financial level, I was very surprised to read what was mentioned in the ministerial statement about the proposed financial reform. It said that the government will reconsider taxes, however it did not state how. Is it

going to increase or decrease taxes?"⁷⁸ [Translation from Arabic].

A month after El Solh's Government received the vote of confidence from parliament, new developments in neighboring Syria curbed the government's performance. Presidential elections took place in Syria on 18 August 1955 and the prominent pro-Egypt Shukri El Quwatli was elected and took office on 6 September 1955.⁷⁹ The next day, both the Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Hameed Franjeh and Minister of Finance Pierre Edde resigned shaking the entire lineup of the Cabinet.⁸⁰ Several days later, Prime Minister Sami El Solh resigned.⁸¹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 19 September 1955 ⁸²		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Public Planning
2.	Fouad Ghossen	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of PTT and Social Affairs
5.	Saleem Lahoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs
6.	George Akl	Minister of Education and Information
7.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
8.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Health and Economy
9.	Jameel Mekkawi	Minister of Public Works
10.	Jameel Chehab	Minister of Finance

**Table 8.9 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government
(19 September 1955)**

⁷⁸ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech on Prime Minister Sami El Solh's ministerial statement on 14 July 1955, please see Appendix 8.18. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 July 1955.

⁷⁹ Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith*, pp.280-281.

⁸⁰ Decree No. 10195 dated 7 September 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh accepting the resignations of Hameed Franjeh and Pierre Edde as Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance respectively. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 37, 14 September 1955, p.926.

⁸¹ Decree No. 10298 dated 19 September 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Sami El Solh. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 38, 21 September 1955, p.935.

⁸² Decree No. 10300 dated 19 September 1955 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 38, 21 September 1955, pp.935-936.

President Chamoun then appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new government. Prime Minister Karami presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed 10-member cabinet to the 8th Parliament on 4 October 1955 and received 30 votes of confidence, against seven votes of no confidence, with three abstentions.⁸³

There are no voting records of individual deputies in the official minutes of the Chamber of Deputies on this occasion. Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat and Chader were in attendance. However, Chader, after delivering a long speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement, declared his intention of casting a vote of no confidence in Rasheed Karami's Government. Chader, in pertinent parts, said:

"Mr Speaker, I've been a Deputy since 1951 and I have attended all the sessions that votes of confidence votes were cast [*in the governments*]. I honestly feel that this constitutional issue is losing its meaning and its power. As if it has become a formality, more or less. Consensus is usually given or not given for personal reasons. We notice that every government that was formed since 1943 was granted a consensus vote of confidence, however, it did not survive for more than eight months on the average, despite that it came up with a great ministerial statement that included wonderful promises.

"We consider that the principles to form government are wrong. The Prime Minister told me that the future is ahead of him and if he was unable to form a strong government he would resign. We really want a strong government. . . however, what we noticed was the unsuccessful distribution of portfolios. Therefore, we will cast votes of no confidence because the methods that were utilized during the formation of the Cabinet were incorrect. . . despite our faith that the government headed by Prime Minister Karami will do some good work but will fail in the majority of its tasks because its formation was based on defective principles.

"This ministerial statement lacks many substantial matters, including administrative issues. Honestly, we

⁸³ Deputies Sami El Solh and Nazem El Qadiri were absent. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 1st Meeting of the 4th Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 October 1955.

did not see that the government is willing to solve this problem since the ministerial statement did not mention any measures in that regard.

“Another important issue is the increase of the cost of living, the country’s biggest problem. What did you [*Prime Minister Karami*] say concerning this matter in your ministerial statement? You did not say anything. The increase of the cost of living was the major cause for the strikes because of insufficient salaries of workers and employees, and yet you did not make any comments concerning this issue.

“When it comes to the judicial field, as everyone knows, every minister promises to bring about judicial reforms. I shall mention their names: Excellencies A’war, El Helou and El Murr and today our compatriot Fouad Ghossen. All these people, despite promising to bring about reforms, were unable to do so to this moment.

“I have given this subject special attention as a lawyer and as a Deputy. Therefore, I will repeat what my compatriots Mr Emil El Bustany and Jean Harb have already said, don’t rely on the Supreme Judicial Council to bring any reforms . . . The judiciary is in need of new good judges and in need of more than 25 new judges . . .”⁸⁴ [*Translation from Arabic*].

The government then embarked on a legislative programme, asking parliament to consider draft pieces of legislation including a reformed Rental Law and an improved Judicial Law.⁸⁵ However, domestic and regional political upheavals and security incidents did not help the

⁸⁴ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami’s Government before casting his vote of no-confidence, please see Appendix 8.19. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 1st Meeting of the 4th Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 October 1955.

⁸⁵ President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami issued Decree No. 11567 on 27 February 1956 and called upon the Parliament to convene in an extraordinary session commencing 29 February 1956 to consider among other things, a proposed draft of an amended Rental Law as well as a draft law for judicial reforms. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 9, 29 February 1956, pp.142-143.

Karami Government to last long.⁸⁶ After accepting Karami's resignation, President Chamoun asked Abdullah El Yafi to form a new government.⁸⁷

Prime Minister Yafi presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 29 March 1956 and received 24 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat. Chader cast a no-confidence vote along with 13 other Deputies. Deputy Kamal Jumblatt delivered a speech criticizing the policies of the new government and left the chamber before casting his vote.⁸⁸

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 19 March 1956 ⁸⁹		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Saeb Salam	Minister of State
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	George Karam	Minister of Finance
5.	George Hakeem	Minister of Economy and Education
6.	Saleem Lahoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice
7.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
8.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
9.	Emile El Bustani	Minister of Public Works and Public Planning
10.	Muhammad Sabra	Minister of Information and PTT

Table 8.10 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government (19 March 1956)

⁸⁶ Decree No. 11775 dated 19 March 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's Government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 12, 21 March 1956, p.234.

⁸⁷ Decree No. 11776 dated 19 March 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Abdullah El Yafi to form the new government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 12, 21 March 1956, pp.234-235.

⁸⁸ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 29 March 1956 and received 24 votes of confidence, against 14 no-confidence votes those of Joseph Chader, Sa'eed Tawq, Sami El Solh, Saleem Haydar, Hashem El Husseini, Raymond Edde, Pierre Edde, Rou'ouf Hanna, Ghassan Tueini, Fouad Ghossen, Maurice Zuwein, Clovis El Khazen, Hameed Franjeh and Kazem El Khalil. Deputies Alfred Naccache and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting whereas, George Karam and Kamel El Asa'ad were not present. *Official Minutes (1956): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 29 March 1956.*

⁸⁹ Decree No. 11777 dated 19 March 1956 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 12, 12 March 1956, p.235.

Chader delivered a speech before casting his vote of no confidence stressing that:

“The experience has proved to be true, that ten ministers [*in the Cabinet*] are not enough, because as it is known to Prime Minister Yafi and all the former and present ministers that any particular minister cannot carry out his mission efficiently to the fullest when he is heading more than a single portfolio. When a minister is given two ministries, the business of the ministry is crippled. . . along with the people’s welfare and that of the public.

“In foreign policy, Prime Minister Yafi mentioned that the government’s basic foreign policy is not to join the Baghdad Pact, and not enter into any foreign alliances, thus achieving the objectives of the Charter of the League of Arab States, and the Mutual Defense Treaty... However, this policy is not clear and not sufficient enough. We cannot accept it, because Prime Minister Yafi did not tell us honestly whether Lebanon, in its current situation, is neutral or not. The policy adopted by this Chamber is to be totally neutral from all Arab countries. Then we would have agreed with Premier Yafi when he said that we do not want to join the Baghdad Pact. With the same token, however, we want him to have declared that we would not join the Tripartite Alliance as well.

“Concerning our relations with Syria, the ministerial statement repeated what was previously said, but in beautiful sentences, that did not bring any benefit to this country since 1950. To the contrary, it brought benefit to Syria and harm to Lebanon. Gentlemen, we wanted Yafi’s Government to announce that Lebanon’s economic policy will be purely Lebanese concern . . .

“Regarding domestic policies, the ministerial statement was ambiguous, unclear and incomplete in three substantial domains: administration and judiciary, construction and the water projects in this country.

“[W]e were expecting the ministerial statement to come up with assertive and bold measures to resolve the financial problems. However, [*the Prime Minister*] only said that the government would impose special taxes and assessments so the Lebanese people will contribute

to alleviating of the financial burden due to the cost of reconstruction as a result of the earthquake that hit the country. . . we do not agree.

“For all the aforementioned reasons, I apologize to the government, I will explicitly say that I shall cast a no-confidence vote to them.”⁹⁰ [*Translated from Arabic*].

Prime Minister El Yafi’s new government did not last long. International and regional unstable political conditions negatively affected the new government’s performance. As Yafi’s Government was about to take off, President Eisenhower approved a “secret policy” code named “Omega” on 28 March 1956, that gave tacit US support to the Baghdad Pact without joining it, in order to persuade Saudi Arabia to stay away from Nasser and delay actions on matters important to Egypt – including the financing of Egypt’s Aswan Dam.⁹¹ The political situation in the Middle East was further complicated as the Israeli Army invaded Gaza on 5 April 1956.⁹²

Under political pressure, Minister of Justice Saleem Lahoud and Minister of Education George Hakeem resigned on 10 and 13 April 1956 respectively.⁹³ A month later, Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi’s Government resigned.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi on 29 March 1956, see Appendix 8.20. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 29 March 1956.

⁹¹ A key element of the “Omega” plan was to draw Syria away from Nasser’s Egypt. For details of the “*Omega Plan*,” please see Stephen Blackwell, “Britain, the United States and the Syrian Crisis, 1957,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 11, Issue 3 (2000), pp.139-145. As to the day-to-day involvement of the US President D. Eisenhower’s Administration on the *Omega Plan*, see David A. Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956: The President’s Year of Crisis, Suez and the Brink of War*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), pp.90-96.

⁹² Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956*, pp.95-96.

⁹³ Decree Nos. 11902 and 11903 dated 13 April 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignations of Ministers George Hakeem and Saleem Lahoud respectively. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 16, 18 April 1956, pp.319-320.

⁹⁴ Decree No. 12476 dated 8 June 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 24, 13 June 1956, pp.518-519.

President Chamoun re-appointed El Yafi to form a new government,⁹⁵ who presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed cabinet to the 8th Parliament on 14 June 1956 and received 29 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat. Chader was absent from the deliberations along with Saleem Haydar and Hameed Franjieh.⁹⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 8 June 1956 ⁹⁷		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior/Public Planning
2.	Alfred Naccache	Minister of Justice
3.	Saeb Salam	Minister of State
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	George Karam	Minister of Finance
6.	Fouad Ghossen	Minister of Education an PTT
7.	Saleem Lahoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs
8.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
9.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
10.	Muhammad Sabra	Minister of Public Works and Information

Table 8.11 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government (8 June 1956)

The political situation during Yafi’s second term was as turbulent as the first one. The international intelligence communities in Beirut were busy organizing and planning the overthrow of the regime in Syria with the direct involvement of Syria’s exiled former President Shishekli, who had arrived in Beirut in July 1956. The SSNP provided Shishekli with logistical support in coordination with the Anglo-American-Iraqi Intelligence Committee to bring down the regime of neighboring Syria, under the code name *Operation Straggle*.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Decree No. 12477 dated 8 June 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Abdullah El Yafi’s to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 24, 13 June 1956, p.519.

⁹⁶ Deputies Gabriel El Murr, Rasheed Karami, Hashem El Husseini, Raymond Edde and Pierre Edde cast votes of no-confidence, whereas, Kamal Jumblatt and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 June 1956.

⁹⁷ Decree No. 12478 dated 8 June 1956 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No.24, 13 June 1956, pp.519-520.

⁹⁸ For details about CIA’s covert operation to bring down the Syrian regime in 1956, code named “Operation Straggle,” see Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.147-151,

The coup in Syria was planned to take place in a few months. However, successive dramatic events in the Middle East led to the abandonment of the operation. On 19 July 1956, US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced that the US would not fund the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt,⁹⁹ leading the World Bank to turn down Abdul Nasser's request for financial assistance for the project.¹⁰⁰ As a result, President Gamal Abdul Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company on 26 July 1956.¹⁰¹

On the same day, the Lebanese Parliament was engaged in considering a proposed legislative measure on the secrecy of the banking system in Lebanon. After long deliberations over the measure, the 8th Parliament adopted the banking secrecy law on 26 July 1956. Dickran Tosbat and Joseph Chader voted in favor of the measure. However,

and Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, pp.104-105. See also, Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988), pp.263-282. See also Diane B. Kunz, "The Emergence of the United States as a Middle Eastern Power, 1956-1958," Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen, Eds., *A Revolutionary Year: The Middle East in 1958*, (London: I.B. Taurus Publishers & Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1972), pp.77-100. See further, Douglas Little, "Cold War and Covert Actions: The US and Syria, 1945-1958," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 1990), p.55.

⁹⁹ See Evans Thomas, *Ikes' Bluff: President Eisenhower's Secret Battle to Save the World*, (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 2012), p.217. See also, Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956*, pp.124-127.

¹⁰⁰ Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.140-141.

¹⁰¹ For the circumstances leading to the nationalization of the Suez Canal and its ramification on the Middle East, see Elie Podeh, "The Struggle over Hegemony after the Suez Crisis," *Middle East Studies*, (January 1993). Highbeam Research, www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-13457253.html (Last accessed 7 September 2015). See also, Ofer Israeli, "Twilight of Colonialism: Mossadegh and the Suez Crisis," *Middle East Policy*, Vo. 20, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp.147-156. See also, Zach Levey, "Anglo-Israeli Strategic Relations, 1952-56," *Middle Eastern Studies*, (October 1995). Highbeam Research. (Last accessed 7 September 2015). www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-17784309.html.

Movses Der-Kaloustian was not present during the deliberations.¹⁰² President Chamoun signed the measure into law on 3 September 1956.¹⁰³

As the Suez Canal crisis unfolded in the summer of 1956, the Lebanese Government tried to play a balanced role by offering qualified support to Egypt while criticizing “the abruptness” of the maritime traffic by the nationalization.¹⁰⁴ Protests and general strikes took place in support of Nasser in all Arab countries, including Lebanon, as the western powers tried to find a diplomatic solution to the crisis.¹⁰⁵

As preparations were undergoing to launch the CIA led *Operation Straggle* to topple the Syrian regime on 28 October 1956, the British convinced the Americans to postpone the covert action in Syria, as a tripartite war was declared against Egypt by France, Britain and Israel to pressure the Egyptians to withdraw from the Suez Canal and hand it over to Anglo-French management.¹⁰⁶ The US administration was not consulted before the aggression.¹⁰⁷ Nasser, however, officially asked the US President D. Eisenhower to mediate on 1 November 1956, who

¹⁰² The legislative measure of the Banking Secrecy Law was adopted by the 8th Parliament with a majority vote. In addition to Movses Der-Kaloustian, the following deputies were not present: Abdullah El Hajj, Emile El Bustani, Gabriel El Murr, Ahmad El Asa’ad, Kamel El Asa’ad, Hameed Franjeh, Kamal Jumbatt, Nazem El Qadiri, Sami El Solh, Rasheed Karami, Nassouh El Fadel and Sabri Hamadeh. The only abstention to the measure was by George Akl. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 13th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 26 July 1956.

¹⁰³ Banking Secrecy Law dated 3 September 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun, Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi and Minister of Economy/Trade and Finance George Karam. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 36, 5 September 1956, pp.799-800.

¹⁰⁴ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.132.

¹⁰⁵ On 16 August 1956 a conference was held in London by the Western powers to seek a diplomatic resolution of the Suez Canal Crisis. See Podeh, “The Struggle over Hegemony after the Suez Crisis.”

¹⁰⁶ According to Moubayed, the coup in Syria was originally scheduled to take place on 28 October 1956, but was postponed so as not to coincide with the Suez Canal War so that it wouldn’t be branded as Israeli accomplices by the Syrian Secret Service. The postponement, however, led Syrian Intelligence to uncover the coup plot and 47 Syrians were accused of treason. See, Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.142-143, 150. See also, Podeh, “The Struggle over Hegemony after the Suez Crisis.”

¹⁰⁷ For the day-to-day follow up of the US administration of the Suez Canal crisis, please see Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956*, pp.188-237.

applied diplomatic pressure on Tel Aviv, London and Paris to end the war.¹⁰⁸

As the aggression on Egypt was unfolding, political polarization in Lebanon increased. The Lebanese Government took extraordinary steps by putting the Army on alert and declaring a state of emergency in Lebanon on 31 October 1956.¹⁰⁹ The 8th Parliament convened in a special session to discuss the tripartite aggression on Egypt on 30 and 31 October, and on 2 November 1956 considered and passed a resolution condemning the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt.¹¹⁰

President Chamoun on his part, called for an emergency summit of Arab leaders in Beirut in November 1956 to discuss the impending situation. The conference was held just after the war ended on 13 November 1956, and was attended by Arab kings and presidents – except for President Abdul Nasser who delegated Egypt's Ambassador in Beirut to represent him.¹¹¹ A resolution was adopted by the Arab leaders to sever all diplomatic relations with France and Britain. However, Lebanon, led by President Chamoun, refused to comply.¹¹² As a result, Prime Minister El Yafi and State Minister Saeb Salam resigned and joined the opposition.¹¹³

President Chamoun asked Sami El Solh to form a new government that was more pro-western than the previous cabinet. The

¹⁰⁸ Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, p.142.

¹⁰⁹ Decree No. 13925 dated 31 October 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun, Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Abdullah El Yafi and Minister of Defense Majeed Arslan declaring a state of emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 45, 7 November 1956, pp.921-922.

¹¹⁰ The resolution condemning the tripartite aggression against Egypt was passed with a majority vote. Movses Der-Kaloustian and Joseph Chader were present, whereas, Dickran Tosbat was absent along with Deputies Nassouh El Fadel, Youssef El Zein, Ahmad El Asa'ad, Sabri Hamadeh, Na'eem Moughabghab, Rou'ouf Hanna, Edeeb El Ferzli, Pierre Edde, Hameed Franjeh, Nicola Salem, Kamel El Asa'ad and Rasheed Karami. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 2 November 1956.

¹¹¹ Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.106. See also, Podeh, "The Struggle over Hegemony after the Suez Crisis."

¹¹² Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.132.

¹¹³ Decree No. 14163 dated 18 November 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi's government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 47, 21 November 1956, pp.1088-1089.

new line up included Charles Malik as the Foreign Minister and General Fouad Chehab as the Defense Minister.

Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the new government's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 27 November 1956 and received 38 votes of confidence, including the votes of the three Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. Only Abdullah El Yafi and Abdullah El Hajj cast a vote of no confidence. Kamal Jumblatt, Emile El Bustani, Adeeb El Ferzli and Pierre Edde were not present.¹¹⁴

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 18 November 1956 ¹¹⁵		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior; Justice and Information
2.	Fouad Chehab ¹¹⁶	Minister of Defense
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Health and Agriculture
4.	Muhammad Sabra	Minister of Public Works, Public Planning and PTT
5.	Charles Malik	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education
6.	Nasri El Ma'alouf	Minister of Finance, Economy and Social Affairs

Table 8.12 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh's Government (18 November 1956)

Joseph Chader, before casting his vote of confidence, delivered a speech and emphasized two important topics: security and foreign policy. Chader asserted that:

“This government was formed in an extraordinary circumstances and for such extraordinary circumstances, there must be extraordinary decisions. Therefore, we in this Chamber will accept the formation of this Cabinet with a small number of individuals.

“I will not speak on the budget, nor on the administration, nor on the reforms of the judiciary, and not on schools and not on the economy. I will emphasize,

¹¹⁴ *Official Minutes (1956)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 November 1956.

¹¹⁵ Decree No. 14165 dated 18 November 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 47, 21 November 1956, p.1089.

¹¹⁶ President Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh issued another Decree No. 14166 on 18 November 1956 to allow General Fouad Chehab to maintain the position as the Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 47, 21 November 1956, p.1090.

however, on two subjects only asking the government to give its utmost attention. They are the issue of security and the foreign policy.

“... I have to ask the government to strike with an iron fist on those foreign hands that were able to infiltrate our ranks and who wanted to ignite a sectarian fire and provoke civil war. But, thank God, the Government was able to seize their weapons and ammunition and thus saved the nation from their criminal activity.

“In the matter of foreign policy... we now understand the reasons why our colleague Abdullah El Yafi wanted the Lebanese ties be severed with Britain and France. It was the reason for his resignation and the resignation of Saeb Salam. However, we also learned that this view was a minority opinion in the *[previous]* government and the Chamber ... we are very pleased to have the presence of Dr Charles Malik at this difficult juncture in the government ... we hope that Dr Charles Malik exerts his utmost with what he's capable of doing for the betterment of the Lebanese and the Arab cause.

“Therefore, I am one of those who are asking Professor Charles Malik to visit the Arab capitals and then go to the United States, where he has captured the hearts of one hundred and sixty million Americans, including that of President Eisenhower. He *[Charles Malik]* knows the problems of the Near East and Israel and the case of Egypt. He should go to America and explain to the Americans and the United Nations what the problems are and what kind of solutions should be given ...”¹¹⁷
[Translation from Arabic].

Prime Minister Sami El Solh's government continued for the rest of 1956 in a volatile and unsettled political situation in the Middle East. Defense Minister Fouad Chehab resigned on 3 January 1957 and Prime Minister El Solh took over the portfolio at a time when President Eisenhower officially announced his doctrine to the US Congress on 5 January 1957, emphasizing the importance of the Middle East to the US national interest, and highlighting the communist menace to the world

¹¹⁷ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's government on 27 November 1956, please see Appendix 8.21. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 November 1956.

and asked Congress for the necessary funds of up to \$200 million to enable the US to provide economic and military aid to those Middle Eastern countries that were exposed to the communist threat.¹¹⁸

President Chamoun formally linked Lebanon with the Eisenhower Doctrine on 16 March 1957, when Minister of Foreign Affairs Charles Malik signed a joint communique with James Richards, the US President's special envoy to the Middle East, officially accepting the accession of Lebanon to the Eisenhower Doctrine.¹¹⁹

The 8th Parliament considered the Eisenhower Doctrine as it applied to Lebanese foreign policy in its open session on 4 April 1957 when Prime Minister Sami El Solh delivered the adopted policy of the Lebanese Government. In response, Joseph Chader delivered a speech, wherein he argued against communist expansion in the Middle East and praised the government's foreign policy. Chader asserted that:

"I like to discuss just two important points, namely: the fight against international communism and the US assistance... We differentiate between the philosophical, political, economic and social doctrines of communism, and international communism, which is a policy adopted by communist governments except for Yugoslavia and possibly Poland recently, to control the whole world. We are not fighting against the communist doctrine in Lebanon, as Lebanon is the country of freedom where views and beliefs are expressed freely. However, we are against international communism as its goal is to dominate and control the world and impose proletarian dictatorship.

"On the other hand, we have accepted US aid in the past and will accept it today as well, because US assistance is

¹¹⁸ For a comprehensive overview of the Eisenhower Doctrine and its impact on the Middle East, please see Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). See also, Peter L. Hahn, "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (March 2006), pp.38-47. See further, Salim Yaqub, "Imperious Doctrines: US - Arab Relations from Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002), pp.571-592.

¹¹⁹ Fawwaz, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.133. See also, Nicola Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, [Arabic: *Fouad Chehab's Republic*], (Beirut: Dar Annahar Publishing, 2011), p.178, and Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.112.

unconditional and helps maintain the independence of Lebanon, and help us raise the standard of the living by helping fight poverty and ignorance. However, it is free assistance to us in exchange for one thing - which is what we want with all our heart - the fight against the international communism."¹²⁰ [Translation from Arabic].

As the sectarian and partisan divisions among the Deputies increased as a result of the regional and international political disputes, the 8th Parliament considered the draft of a new Election Law. The Deputies deliberated on the provisions of new law that raised the number of Deputies from 44 to 66, and reduced the electoral districts from 33 to 27. The measure allocated a total of four seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community. One seat was allocated to Orthodox Armenians from Beirut's 1st District, one Orthodox and one Catholic Armenian seat from Beirut's 2nd District, and one Orthodox Armenian seat from Bourj Hammoud. The measure was carried with a majority vote in the Parliament with only Ghassan Tueini and Maurice Zuwein voting against it, whereas Joseph Chader, Basheer El A'awar and Joseph Skaiff abstained. Tosbat voted in favor of the measure. Der-Kaloustian was absent.¹²¹ President Chamoun signed the new Election Law into law on 24 April 1957.¹²²

The last meeting of the 8th Parliament was on 7 May 1957. On that day, President Chamoun lifted the State of Emergency from the Lebanese territories except for the southern border,¹²³ and issued a decree calling for a new legislative election to take place in June 1957.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech on Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government's foreign policy on 4 April 1957, see Appendix 8.22. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 April 1957.

¹²¹ *Official Minutes (1957)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 April 1957.

¹²² President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh signed the new Election Law into law on 24 April 1957. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 18, 25 April 1957, pp.426-454.

¹²³ Decree No. 15734 dated 7 May 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh lifting the State of Emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 20, 8 May 1957, p.464.

¹²⁴ Decree No. 15733 dated 7 May 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh calling for legislative elections to take place on the following dates: 9 June in Beirut and Southern Lebanon; 16 June in Mount

	Prime Minister	Abdullah El Yafi	Abdullah El Yafi	Sami El Solh
		3 Sep 53 ¹²⁵	5 Mar 54 ¹²⁶	28 Sep 54 ¹²⁷
1	M. Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓	✓
2	D. Tosbat	✓	X	✓
3	J. Chader	X	X	X
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 8.13 (a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 8th Parliament

Lebanon; 23 June in Beka'a Valley; and 30 June 1057 in Northern Lebanon. *Official Gazette* (1957), Issue No. 20, 8 May 1957, p.463.

¹²⁵ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 3 September 1953 and received 33 votes of confidence, including those of Movses Der-Kaloustian, and Dickran Tosbat. Joseph Chader and 3 other Deputies cast no-confidence votes to the Government, including: Kamal Jumblatt, Emile Lahoud and Emile El Bustani. Deputies Ghassan Tueini, Abdullah El Hajj, Ahmad El Berjawi and Speaker Adel Osseiran abstained from voting. *Official Minutes* (1953): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 September 1953.

¹²⁶ Decree No. 4292 dated 1 March 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Abdullah El Yafi as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette* (1954), Issue No. 9, 3 March 1954, p.177. Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 5 March 1954 and received 23 votes of confidence, including that of Der-Kaloustian's. Deputies Tosbat and Chader cast no-confidence votes along with Sami El Solh, George Akl, Ghassan Tueini, Kamel El Asa'ad, Pierre Edde and Rou'ouf Hanna. Deputies Hameed Franjeh, Emile El Bustani and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting, whereas, Kamal Jumblatt, Raymond Edde, Basheer El A'awar, Azeimi, Nazeeh El Bezri and Maurice Zuwein did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes* (1954): 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 5 March 1954.

¹²⁷ Decree No. 6391 dated 16 September 1954 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Sami El Solh as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette* (1954), Issue No. 39, 22 September 1954, p.613. Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented his ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 28 September 1954 and received 28 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian's and Tosbat's. Joseph Chader cast no-confidence vote along with Ghassan Tueini and Hameed Franjeh. Deputies Abdullah El Hajj, Raymond Edde, Adeeb El Ferzli, Kamal Jumblatt, Joseph Skaff, Sabri Hamadeh, Pierre Edde, George El Hrawi and Nazem El Qadiri abstained from voting. Abdullah El Yafi, Sa'eed Tawq and Emile El Butani were absent. *Official Minutes* (1954): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 28 September 1954.

	Prime Minister	Sami El Solh	Rasheed Karami	Abdullah. El Yafi
		14 Jul 55 ¹²⁸	4 Oct 55 ¹²⁹	29 Mar 56 ¹³⁰
1	M. Der-Kaloustian	NVR	NVR	✓
2	D. Tosbat	NVR	NVR	✓
3	J. Chader	X	X	X
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

¹²⁸ Decree No. 9856 dated 9 July 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Sami El Solh as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 28, 13 July 1955, p.769. Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the ministerial statement of the new government to the 8th Parliament on 14 July 1955 and received 22 votes of confidence, against 11 with 7 abstentions. There is no voting record of individual Deputies in the Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies on this occasion. However, Deputy Joseph Chader cast a No-Confidence Vote to Sami El Solh's Government. Please see Chader's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement on 14 July 1955 at Appendix 8.18. Deputies Nicola Salem, Fouad Ghossen, Alfred Naccache and Saleem Lahoud did not attend the meeting. *Official Minutes (1953)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 July 1955.

¹²⁹ Decree No. 10300 dated 19 September 1955 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Rasheed Karami as the Prime Minister to head the 22nd Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1955)*, Issue No. 38, 21 September 1955, p. 935. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented the ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 4 October 1955 and received 30 votes of confidence, and 7 votes of no-confidence with 3 abstentions. There are no voting records of individual deputies in the Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies on this occasion. However, Deputy Joseph Chader cast a vote of no-confidence in Rasheed Karami's Government. Please see Chader's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement on 4 October 1955 at Appendix 8.19. Deputies Sami El Solh and Nazem El Qadiri were absent. *Official Minutes (1955)*: 1st Meeting of the 4th Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 October 1955.

¹³⁰ Decree No. 11777 dated 19 March 1956 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointing Abdulla El Yafi as the Prime Minister for the 23rd Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 12, 12 March 1956, p.235. Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 29 March 1956 and received 24 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian's and Tosbat's. Joseph Chader cast a no-confidence vote along with 13 other deputies, including, Sa'eed Tawq, Sami El Solh, Saleem Haydar, Hashem El Hussein, Raymond Edde, Pierre Edde, Rou'ouf Hanna, Ghassan Tueini, Fouad Ghossen, Maurice Zuwein, Clovis El Khazen, Hameed Franjeh and Kazem El Khalil. Alfred Naccache and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting. Deputies George Karam and Kamel El Asa'ad were absent. Deputy Kamal Jumblatt delivered a speech criticizing the policies of the new government and left the Chamber before casting any vote. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 29 March 1956.

	Prime Ministers	Abdullah El Yafi	Sami El Solh
		14 Jun 56 ¹³¹	27 Nov 56 ¹³²
1	M. Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓
2	D. Tosbat	✓	✓
3	J. Chader	NS	✓

Table 8.13 (c) - Confidence Vote in the Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 8th Parliament

¹³¹ Decree No. 12479, dated 8 June 1956, signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Abdullah El Yafi as the Prime Minister of the 24th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1956)*, Issue No. 24, 13 June 1956, p.519. Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented his ministerial statement to the 8th Parliament on 14 June 1956 and received 29 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian's and Tosbat's. Joseph Chader was absent with Saleem Haydar and Hameed Franjeh. Deputies Gabriel El Murr, Rasheed Karami, Hashem El Husseini, Raymond Edde and Pierre Edde cast no-confidence votes, whereas, Kamal Jumblatt and Abdullah El Hajj abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 June 1956.

¹³² Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the ministerial statement of the new government to the 8th Parliament on 27 November 1956 and received 38 votes of confidence, including the votes of the three Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. Only Abdullah El Yafi and Abdullah El Hajj cast no-confidence votes. Kamal Jumblatt, Emile El Bustani, Adeeb El Ferzli and Pierre Edde were not present. *Official Minutes (1956)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 November 1956.

The 9th Lebanese Parliament

(1957-60)

Legislative elections for the 9th Lebanese Parliament took place on 9, 16, 23, and 30th June 1957,¹ based upon the newly promulgated Election Law of 24 April 1957, that was considered and adopted by the previous parliament and signed into law by President Camille Chamoun.² According to the new law, the total number of the Deputies of the 9th Parliament was increased from 44 to 66, allocating a total of four seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community: two Armenian Orthodox seats in

¹ Decree No. 15733 dated 7 May 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh calling for legislative elections to take place on the following dates: 9 June in Beirut and Southern Lebanon; 16 June in Mount Lebanon; 23 June in Beka'a Valley; and 30 June 1957 in Northern Lebanon. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1957)*, Issue No. 20, 8 May 1957, p.463.

² The 8th Parliament in its session on 16 April 1957 considered and adopted a new election law. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1957)*: 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 April 1957. President Chamoun signed the measure into law on 24 April 1957. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 18, 25 April 1957, pp.426-454.

Beirut (one in each of the 1st and 2nd Districts), an Armenian Catholic seat in Beirut's 2nd District, and an Armenian Orthodox seat in Bourj Hammoud District.

The Lebanese-Armenian community participated very actively in the pre-election campaign in 1957.³ The incumbent Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Chader were re-elected in Beirut's 2nd District and Tosbat was elected in Bourj Hammoud's District. Khatchig Babikian was elected for the first time in Beirut's 1st District.⁴

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Attend.
1	M. Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 2 nd	122	44	64%
2	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 2 nd	122	40	67%
3	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	122	8	93%
4	Dickran Tosbat	Arm. Orth.	B. Hamm.	122	6	95%

Table 9.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 9th Lebanese Parliament (1957-60)

The life span of the 9th Parliament was relatively short. Despite its 3-year term, the 9th Parliament is considered as having one of the busiest legislative lives. It held a total of 122 parliamentary meetings, including 76 ordinary and 46 extraordinary meetings. Leading opposition Muslim leaders, including Saeb Salam, Kamal Jumblatt, Abdullah El Yafi, Ahmad El Asa'ad and others lost their seats and were replaced by candidates loyal to President Chamoun. The tenure of the 9th Parliament, however, was haunted by international and regional animosities with the escalation of Cold War rivalry between the West and the East, culminating into several regional and domestic disturbances. The 9th Parliament witnessed a failed coup in neighboring Syria and observed and deliberated over the adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine by the government. The adoption of controversial policies by President Chamoun, nevertheless, led to hostilities between the two rival political camps, that were supported by the Baghdad Pact and the UAR respectively, eventually leading to the first civil war in Lebanon. The bloody coup in Iraq in July 1958, and the arrival of US Marines in Beirut

³ For a detailed electoral campaign for the election of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to the 9th Lebanese Parliament please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections: 1934-2009*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.133-158.

⁴ Official Results of the legislative elections were presented by the Ministry of Interior to the 9th Parliament's special session on 12 August 1957. *Official Minutes (1957)*: Special Meeting of the 9th Parliament held on 12 August 1957.

complicated the Lebanese domestic scene. Eventually the hostilities decreased as the 9th Parliament elected General Fouad Chehab as the successor to President Chamoun in 1958.

66	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 9 th Lebanese Parliament (1957-60)
1 st	Beirut	Pierre Edde (Maronite); Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Khalil El Habri (Sunni); Sami El Solh (Sunni); and Naseem Majdalani (Roman Orthodox).
2 nd	Beirut	Jameel Makari (Sunni); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Shafeeq Naseef (Minorities); Fawzi El Hoss (Sunni) and Moses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox).
3 rd	Baabda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Elia Abu Jaoude (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); and Mahmoud Ammar (Shia).
4 th	El Metn	Asad El Ashqar (Maronite); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox) and Saleem Lahoud (Maronite).
5 th	B. Hammoud	Dickran Tosbat (Armenian Orthodox).
6 th	Deir El Qamar	Emile El Bustani (Maronite) and Anwar El Khateeb (Sunni).
7 th	Be'aqleen	Qohtan Hamadeh (Druze); Henry Trabolsi (Maronite) and Na'eem Moughabghab (Roman Catholic) replaced by Salem Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic).
8 th	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze); Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox); and George Akl (Maronite).
9 th	Keserwan	Clovis El Khazen (Maronite); Maurice Zuwein (Maronite) and Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite).
10 th	Jbeil	Raymond Edde (Maronite).
11 th	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Fouad El Bart (Roman Orthodox); Nadeem El Jisr (Sunni) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni)
12 th	El Deniyyeh	Nassouh El Fadel (Sunni).
13 th	Zgharta	Hameed Franjeh (Maronite) and Rene Mouawad (Maronite).
14 th	Besheri	Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite).
15 th	El Koura	Charles Malik (Roman Orthodox).
16 th	El Batroun	Jean Harb (Maronite).
17 th	Akkar	Basheer El Othman (Sunni); Rou'ouf Hanna (Roman Orthodox); Abdul Kareem El Qoddour (Sunni) Michel El Daher (Maronite).
18 th	Saida	Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
19 th	El Zahrani	Adel Osseiran (Shia).
20 th	Nabatiyyeh	Muhammad El Fadl (Shia) and Youssef El Zein (Shia).
21 st	Jezzine	Jean Aziz (Maronite); Nicola Salem (Maronite) and Fareed Qozma (Maronite) replaced by Baseel Abboud (Maronite).
22 nd	Marja'youn	Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia).
23 rd	Sour	Reda Waheed (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia).
24 th	Bent Jbeil	Ali Bazzi (Shia).
25 th	Zahle	Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orth.); Taqiedeen El Solh (Sunni); George El Hrawi (Maronite) and Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic).
26 th	Rashaya	Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni); and Saleem El Dawood (Druze).
27 th	Ba'albek-Hermel	Ibrahim Haydar (Shia); Shafeeq Murtada (Shia); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia) and Philip Taqla (Roman Catholic).

Table 9.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 9th Lebanese Parliament

The first meeting of the 9th Parliament was held on 12 August 1957. Youssef El Zein (Shia, Nabatiyeh), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 9th Parliament with 35 votes out of 60 present, against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Baalbek) 17 votes. Kazem El Khalil (Shia, Soor) received 1 vote. There were 5 blank papers. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Zahle) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni, Rashaya) were elected as Secretaries. Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Fawzi El Hoss (Sunni, Beirut) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri) were elected as Commissioners.⁵ The legislative life, however, commenced by Executive Decree No. 17055 dated 20 August 1957 signed by President Chamoun calling for an extraordinary session of the 9th Parliament on 20 August 1957.⁶

In general, the Lebanese-Armenian deputies were very active participants in the legislative life of the 9th Parliament with the exception of Der-Kaloustian. Consistent with his record during the past four legislative cycles, Der-Kaloustian was very silent and registered very low attendance. Chader, despite being active, had a low attendance record as well. Tosbat and Babikian, on the other hand, attended most meetings. Chader and Babikian were very vocal during the sessions and made numerous speeches opining on different proposed pieces of legislation throughout the 9th Parliament.

All four Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were involved in the workings of the standing committees of the 9th Parliament. Der-Kaloustian was re-elected as a member of the Public Works Committee and the Economy, Tourism and Agriculture Committee. Tosbat maintained his membership in the Foreign Affairs Committee during his tenure in the 9th Parliament. Chader was re-elected to the Budget and Finance Committee and continued to be its Chairman. He was elected to the newly formed Petroleum Committee for the initial two years and was re-elected to the Administration and Justice Committee in 1959 and 1960. Babikian was elected to the By-Laws Committee and continued to

⁵ *Official Minutes (1957)*: Special Meeting of the 9th Parliament held on 12 August 1957.

⁶ Decree No. 17055 dated 20 August 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to commence on 20 August 1957. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 38, 28 August 1957, p.907.

	12 Aug 57	22 Nov 57 ⁷	21 Oct 58 ⁸	20 Oct 59 ⁹
Speaker	Adel Osseiran	Adel Osseiran	Adel Osseiran	Sabri Hamadeh
Deputy Speaker	Adeeb El Ferzli	Adeeb El Ferzli	Munir Abu Fadel	Adeeb E Ferzli
Secretaries	Clovis El Khazen Nazem El Qadiri	Clovis El Khazen H. El Hussein	Fawzi El Hoss Nouhad Boueiz	Nouhad Boueiz Q. Hamadeh
Commissioners	Joseph Chader Fawzi El Hoss Q. I. El Khoury	Joseph Chader Fawzi El Hoss Q. I. El Khoury	Kh. Babikian Reda Waheed Q. I. El Khoury	Kh. Babikian Reda Waheed Q. I. El Khoury

Table 9.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 9th Parliament

⁷ Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 9th Parliament with 44 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Baalbek) 16 votes with 1 blank paper. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Zahle) was elected as the Deputy Speaker with 38 votes against Naseem Majdalani's (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) 4 votes, Albert Moukheiber's (Roman Orthodox, El Metn) 2 votes and Raymond Edde's (Maronite, Jubeil) 1 vote. Deputies Clovis El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut) with 35, Fawzi El Hoss (Sunni, Beirut) with 39 and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri) with 45 votes were elected as Commissioners. Dickran Tosbat was absent along with Asad El Ashqar, Emile El Bustani, Hameed Franjeh and Rene Mouawad. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 22 October 1957.

⁸ Youssef El Zein, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Adel Osseiran (Shia, El Zahrani, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 9th Parliament with 31 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Baalbek) 26 votes. Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Deputies Fawzi El Hoss (Sunni, Beirut) and Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Reda Waheed (Shia, Sour) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri) were elected as Commissioners. Deputies Kamel El Asa'ad, Philip Taqla, Charles Malik, Hameed Franjeh, Sami El Solh, Jamil Makkawi, Emile El Bustani, Elia Abu Jaoude and Joseph Skaff did not show up to the meeting. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 21 October 1958.

⁹ The eldest Deputy present, Youssef El Zein, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 9th Parliament with 33 votes against Adel Osseiran's (Shia, Zahrani) 29 votes. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Zahle) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Deputies Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite, Keserwan) and Qohtan Hamadeh (Druze, Be'aqleen) were elected as Secretaries. *Official Minutes (1959)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 October 1959. The Commissioners Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Reda Waheed (Shia, Sour) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri), however, were elected a week later. *Official Minutes (1959)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 27 October 1959.

be a member for the duration of the term.¹⁰ Babikian was also elected to the Administration and Justice Committee for the entire term of the 9th Parliament.

			1957-58 ¹¹	1958-59 ¹²	1959-60 ¹³	1960-61 ¹⁴
1	Budget & Finance Com.	17	Chader*	Chader*	Chader*	Chader* Babikian
2	Admin. & Justice Com.	15	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian Chader	Babikian Chader
3	P. Works/PTT	15	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
4	Social/ Health	12	None	None	None	None
5	Foreign & Def.	12	Tosbat	Tosbat	Tosbat	Tosbat
6	Nat'l Educ.	12	Babikian	Babikian Tosbat	None	None
7	Economy, Tourism.Agric.	12	DerKaloustian Babikian	DerKaloustian Tosbat	DerKaloustian Tosbat	DerKaloustian Tosbat
8	By-Laws Com.	8	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
9	Petroleum ¹⁵		Chader	Chader	N/A	N/A
* Committee Chairman						

Table 9.4 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 9th Lebanese Parliament (1957-60)

The contribution of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to the legislative life was remarkable during the term of the 9th Parliament. Tosbat, as the Rapporteur, signed and presented a Public Health Committee report to parliament, whereas, Babikian, as the Rapporteur of the Administration & Justice Committee signed and presented 11

¹⁰ *Official Minutes (1957)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 22 August 1957.

¹¹ *Official Minutes (1957)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 27 August 1957.

¹² *Official Minutes (1958)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 18 March 1958.

¹³ *Official Minutes (1959)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 17 March 1959.

¹⁴ *Official Minutes (1960)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 24 March 1960.

¹⁵ Article 16 of the By-Laws was amended and a temporary Petrol Committee was established for two terms only. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 3 September 1957. The amendment to the By-Laws and the creation of the Petrol Committee was as a direct response to the Government's creation of a Ministerial Committee for Petroleum Affairs in August 1957 through Decree No. 17057 signed by President Chamoun and P.M. Sami El Solh. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 38, 28 August 1957, p.815.

different committee reports, and Chader as the Chairman of the Budget & Finance Committee signed and presented 26 different committee reports to the parliament.

As the 9th Parliament was about to embark on its legislative life, the Syrian Intelligence Service uncovered an attempted coup against the Syrian regime in August 1957, through a covert action led by the CIA code named *Operation Wappen*. As a result, the Syrian Government expelled three US diplomats including Howard Stone, the CIA Station Chief, and Frank Jeton.¹⁶ A Syrian political and military act that sent shock waves into Lebanon.¹⁷

Under unstable political and security conditions Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government resigned on 18 August 1957.¹⁸ President Chamoun re-appointed Sami El Solh to form a new government and issued a decree to call parliament to an extraordinary session to consider the ministerial statement.¹⁹

Prime Minister El Solh presented the newly formed government's ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 29 August 1957 and, after long deliberations, received 38 votes of confidence, including those of

¹⁶ For details of failed attempted coup in Syria led by the CIA code named *Operation Wappen*, please see Stephen Blackwell, "Britain, the United States and the Syrian Crisis, 1957," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 11, Issue 3 (2000), p.145. See also, Peter L. Hahn, "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (March 2006), p.43. See also, Matthew Jones, "The Preferred Plan: The Anglo-American Working Group Report on Covert Action in Syria, 1957," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (Autumn 2004), p.404. For a comprehensive coverage of "*Operations Wappen*" and the "Howard Stone affair", please see Sami Moubayed, *Syria and the USA: Washington's Relations with Damascus from Wilson to Eisenhower*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publications, 2013), pp.154-168.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Decree No. 17052 dated 18 August 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Sami El Solh's Government. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 37, 21 August 1957, p.771.

¹⁹ Decree No. 17055 dated 20 August 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to commence on 20 August 1957. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 38, 28 August 1957, p.907.

Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat and Khatchig Babikian. Joseph Chader and 16 other deputies cast no-confidence votes to the Government.²⁰

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 18 August 1957 ²¹		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Justice
2.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and PTT
3.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Agriculture, Economy and Public Planning
4.	Saleem Lahoud	Minister of Public Works
5.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Public Health and Social Affairs
6.	Kameel Makkawi	Minister of Finance
7.	Charles Malik	Minister of Foreign Affairs
8.	Fareed Qozma	Minister of Education and Information

Table 9.5 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh’s Government (18 August 1957)

Before casting his vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Sami El Solh’s government, Chader delivered a speech claiming:

“ . . . In foreign policy, we are with the government as to the policy mentioned in the ministerial statement, with the promise of an effort to improve our dealings with other Arab countries, particularly with Syria, given that we have reached from bad to worse and have a state of abnormal relations. We are with them [*the government*] in this area and insist they fulfill the promises they make in the ministerial statement.”

“However, I did not see any statement in reference to two important issues: First, the domestic situation in the

²⁰ Joseph Chader and 16 other deputies cast no-confidence votes to the Government, including: Ibrahim Haydar, Pierre Edde, Hashem El Husseini, Nouhad Boueiz, Raymond Edde, Ma’arouf Sa’ad, Kamel El Asa’ad, Naseem Majdalani, Shafeeq Murtada, Philip Taqla, Sabri Hamadeh, Taqiedeen El Solh, Ali Bazzi, Hameed Franjeh, Nadeem El Jisr and Rasheed Karami. Deputy Emile El Bustani abstained from voting. The absentees from this session were: George Akl, Rene Mouawad, Basheer Othman, Basheer El A’awar, Nasouh El Fadel and Fouad El Bart. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 29 August 1957.

²¹ Decree No. 17054 dated 18 August 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 37, 21 August 1957, p.772.

country, and second, our friendly relationship with America.

“As to the domestic issues, unlike other Deputies who claimed that the country has been divided into two camps, I say that there are two categories of camps in the country, those with the government in its foreign policy, and a second category against its policy... The fact the matter is, this second category consists of people of certain religious denomination, which is a serious matter. Therefore, every sincere individual should try to remove this fear. The government should explore all possible means, including radio propaganda, newspapers, etc., to create an understanding among all its constituents and propagate and persuade them to the correct foreign policy pursued by the government, and to convince everyone that this policy is a prudent, rational and valid policy for the country. The recent incidents in Syria show the righteousness of this foreign policy... the government must convince individuals by giving them adequate financial assistance and with the political backing of the United States employ them in the resolution of the Palestinian question, which is the crux of the matter for those groups.

“With regards to domestic policies, my comments are limited to a number of points, the most important being the lack of reforms and scarcity of specific projects in the ministerial statement.”

“All these prevents me from giving confidence to this government, despite our friendship with its members, led by the Prime Minister.”²² [*Translation from Arabic*].

Within three months of receiving the vote of confidence, the government was faced another demand to re-cast a vote of confidence because of its foreign and domestic policies. On 26 November 1957, the Deputies, in a question and answer session of parliament challenged El Solh and Minister Charles Malik on the domestic and foreign policies of the government, particularly on the issue of the Eisenhower Doctrine and on how it affected Lebanon. After long deliberations, members of

²² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberations on Prime Minister Sami El Solh's ministerial statement on 29 August 1957, please see Appendix 8.23. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 29 August 1957.

parliament re-cast 44 votes of confidence, against 13 votes of no confidence. Deputies Der-Kaloustian and Babikian cast votes of confidence, whereas Tosbat and Chader abstained from voting.²³

The domestic and regional political instability and the rivalry between the proponents of the Baghdad Pact and the Arabists led by Abdul Nasser, created a great deal of commotion within the four corners of the Lebanese Parliament. Sami El Solh's Government remained under attack by the opposition and within two months of the November 1957 re-cast of the confidence vote, (on 28 January 1958), several opposition Deputies demanded the withdrawal of the vote of confidence in the government because of its foreign and domestic policies. Deputy Babikian argued that, in accordance with Article 37 of the By-Laws, a written request to re-cast the confidence vote must have been presented to the Speaker's Bureau in advance, and the government should have been officially notified.²⁴ Notwithstanding that argument, the heated debate among the supporters and opponents of the government led to the vote being re-cast. Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government survived another battle by receiving 36 votes of confidence, including those of Khatchig Babikian and Dickran Tosbat, whereas Joseph Chader abstained from voting. 15 other deputies cast no-confidence votes. Movses Der-Kaloustian was not present.²⁵

²³ Deputies Dickran Tosbat, Joseph Chader and Nicola Salem abstained from voting. Among those who cast no-confidence votes were Nadeem El Jisr, Emile El Bustani, Pierre Edde, Raymond Edde, Jean Aziz, Fouad El Bart, Hashem El Husseini, Naseem Majdalani, Philip Taqla, Taqiedeen El Solh, Kamel El Asa'ad, Edward Hnein and Nouhad Boueiz. Absentees to the deliberations were Rene Mouawad, Basheer El Othman, Hameed Franjeh, George El Hrawi, Rasheed Karami and Ali Bazzi. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 26 November 1957.

²⁴ *Official Minutes (1958)*: 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 23 January 1958.

²⁵ Among the Deputies who cast no-confidence votes were: Nadeem El Jisr, Pierre Edde, Raymond Edde, Edward Hnein, Nouhad Boueiz, Rasheed Karami, Jean Aziz, Fouad El Bart, Naseem Majdalani, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Philip Taqla, Shafeeq Murtada, Sabri Hamadeh and Ali Bazzi. Deputies Clovis El Khazen, Maurice Zuwein, Taqiedeen El Solh, Salem El Dawood, Rene Mouawad, Rasheed Beydoun, Hameed Franjeh, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Hashem El Husseini, Youssef El Zein, Basheer El Othman, Abdul Kareem Qaddour and Nassouh El Fadel were absent. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 28 January 1958.

This political crisis reached another unprecedented level by 1 February 1958 as the union of Syria and Egypt, under the United Arab Republic (UAR), was announced, leading to celebrations on the streets in Beirut and other cities in Lebanon.²⁶ When Abdul Nasser arrived in Damascus on 24 February 1958, tens of thousands of predominantly Lebanese Muslims, including opposition leaders, dashed to Damascus to welcome him.²⁷ Among the Lebanese opposition leaders who crossed the border to greet Abdul Nasser were Kamal Jumblatt, Saeb Salam, Abdullah El Yafi, Sabri Hamadeh, Fouad Ammoun, Rasheed Karami, and Ma'arouf Sa'ad.²⁸

Sami El Solh's government remained under constant attack by the opposition as rumors circulated that Camille Chamoun intended to extend his term as President, despite the latter not announcing it publicly. El Solh's eight-member cabinet resigned for no apparent reasons on 14 March 1958,²⁹ and President Chamoun re-appointed him to form an expanded 14-member cabinet in order to include a broader base of Chamoun's supporters, including the Nationalist Pierre Edde and the Phalangist Joseph Chader.³⁰

Joseph Chader was the first Lebanese-Armenian ever to take a ministerial portfolio. He was appointed as Minister of Public Planning, and later held several other portfolios, such as Acting Minister of Justice on 30 May 1958,³¹ Acting Minister of Finance on 22 July 1958³² and was

²⁶ Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., (London, Pluto Press, 2012), p.134. See also, Nicola Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, [Arabic: *Fouad Chehab's Republic*], (Beirut: Dar Annahar Publishing, 2011), pp.180-181. See also, Moubayed, *Syria and the USA*, pp.169-175. For the immediate impact of the UAR on the domestic issues in Lebanon, please see Caroline Attié, *Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s*, (Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies Press, 2004), pp.154-159.

²⁷ Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.155.

²⁸ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.134.

²⁹ Decree No. 19140 dated 14 March 1958 signed by President Camille Chamoun accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 12, 19 March 1958, p.256.

³⁰ See Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.161.

³¹ Decree No. 19692 dated 30 May 1958 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing Joseph Chader as the Acting Minister of Justice. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 23, 4 June 1958, p.495.

³² Decree No. 19968 dated 22 July 1958 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing Joseph Chader as the Acting Minister of Finance. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 31, 30 July 1958, p.594.

officially appointed Minister of Finance in the same cabinet on 2 August 1958.³³

The Executive Branch of the Government President Camille Chamoun		
Cabinet of 14 March 1958 ³⁴		
1.	Sami El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Agriculture
3.	Rasheed Beydoun	Minister of Defense
4.	Basheer El A'awar	Minister of Justice
5.	Pierre Edde/Joseph Chader	Minister of Finance
6.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Economy
7.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Social Affairs
8.	Charles Malik	Minister of Foreign Affairs
9.	Fareed Qozma	Minister of Information
10.	Joseph Chader	Minister of Public Planning
11.	Basheer El Othman	Minister of PTT
12.	Clovis El Khazen	Minister of Education
13.	Albert Moukheiber	Minister of Public Health
14.	Khalil El Habri	Minister of Public Works

Table 9.6 – Cabinet Members of Sami El Solh's Government (14 March 1958)

Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 25 and 26 March 1958 and received 38 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat, Chader and Babikian, against 15 votes of no confidence.³⁵

³³ Decree No. 20043 dated 2 August 1958 signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh accepting the resignation of Pierre Edde as Minister of Finance and appointing Joseph Chader as the new Minister of Finance. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 32, 6 August 1958, p.614.

³⁴ Decree No. 19142 dated 14 March 1958 and signed by President Camille Chamoun and Prime Minister Sami El Solh appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 12, 19 March 1958, pp.256-257.

³⁵ The no-confidence votes were cast by Deputies Jean Aziz, Hashem El Hussein, Fouad El Bart, Rasheed Karami, Shafeeq Murtada, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Nicola Salem, Naseem Majdalani, Jameel Makkawi, Anwar El Khateeb, Taqiedeem El Solh, Philip Taqla, Sabri Hamadeh and Ali Bazzi. Among the absentees were: Fawzi El Hoss, Asad El Ashqar, Emile El Bustani, Nazem El Qadiri, Nadeem El Jisr, Nesouh El Fadel, Rene Mouawad, Hameed Franjeh and Elia Abu Jaoude. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 26 March 1958.

As the internal political tensions increased in March and April 1958 over rumors of Chamoun's potential second term in office, violent demonstrations broke out in Beirut, Tripoli, Saida and Soor (Tyre) claiming the lives of numerous demonstrators. On 7 May 1958, President Chamoun informed US Ambassador Robert Mills McClintock his intent to run for a second term. McClintock, accordingly informed the US Department of State.³⁶ A few hours later, just after midnight, Naseeb El Metni, a leftist journalist and the publisher of the *Telegraph* newspaper in Beirut, was assassinated, thus igniting a full-blown civil war in Lebanon.³⁷

The Lebanese Parliament immediately convened on 8 May 1958 at 6:00 pm to discuss the circumstances surrounding the assassination of El Metni and its ramification on Lebanon. Opposition deputies blamed the government of Prime Minister Sami El Solh and accused it of orchestrating the assassination. A fiery debate ensued between the opposition deputies and the members of the Cabinet that led Emile El Bustani, Raymond Edde, Taqiedeen El Solh, Philip Taqla, Ali Bazzi, Kamel El Asa'ad, Nazem El Qadiri, Jean Aziz and Rasheed Karami to walk away from the meeting. Speaker Adel Osseiran announced that there was no quorum and ordered the meeting to be adjourned. Joseph Chader, Minister of Public Planning, was present during the heated discussions, but did not make any remarks. Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat and Babikian were also present.³⁸

The opposition continued to blame the President for being behind El Metni's assassination, whereas the President charged the UAR (formerly Syrian) Intelligence Service for organizing the plot, which

³⁶ Ambassador McClintock to the US State Department, 7 May 1958, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1958-1960, XI. 20, pp. 31-33. See also Michael Graham Fry, "The United Nations Confronts the United States in 1958," Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen, Eds., *A Revolutionary Year: The Middle East in 1958*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p.148. Also see, Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, p.163.

³⁷ For the negative impact of the assassination of Naseeb El Metni on the Lebanese domestic political life, please see Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, pp.180-181. See Also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.135, and Ahmad Salem Al Ahmad, *El Hesb El Souri El Qawmi El Ijtima'i: 1932-1962*, [Arabic: *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party: 1932-1962*], (Beirut: Literary Heritage House, 2014), pp.168-176.

³⁸ Among the absentees were: Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Muhammad El Fadl, Elia Abu Jaoude, George Akl, Maurice Zuwein, Saleem El Dawood, Rene Mouawad, Michel Daher, Hameed Franjeh, George El Hrawi and Saleem Lahoud. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 8 May 1958.

complicated matters as the Lebanese Interior Security Forces uncovered an arms trafficking plot across the Syrian border by the Consul General of Belgium in Damascus, leading to his arrest on 11 May 1958.³⁹ The next day the entire country ignited into sectarian war.

On 22 May 1958, the Lebanese Government lodged an official complaint with the UNSC accusing the UAR of inciting the opposition and arming them.⁴⁰ The UNSC, in its 825th meeting on 11 June 1958, adopted UNSC Res. 128 urgently dispatching a UN Observation Group to Lebanon (UNOGIL) to verify and assess the accusations made by the Lebanese Government against the UAR.⁴¹ After conducting some investigation, the UNOGIL presented a preliminary report to the Secretary General on 3 July 1958, negating the official Lebanese allegations.⁴²

During May and June 1958, President Chamoun tried to persuade the US to interfere militarily in Lebanon under the disguise of fighting international communism. However, the Eisenhower administration despite regarding Lebanon as an important political asset to its Middle Eastern policy, did not consider it as a vital asset worthy of such interference.⁴³

Nevertheless, the bloody *coup d'état* of 14 July 1958 in Iraq led by Abdul Kareem Qassem, the killing of the Iraqi Royal family and the assassination of the Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri El Sa'eed and Emir Abdullah, changed the political situation in the entire Middle East. On the

³⁹ Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, p.182.

⁴⁰ "Letter dated 22 May 1958 from the Representative of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Security Council." *UNSC Doc. S/4007*. [Last accessed 24 February 2016]. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/4007.

⁴¹ "United Nations Security Council Resolution 128 of 11 June 1958," *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1958*, (New York: United Nations Press), 1965, pp.4-6. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/4023. [Last accessed 24 February 2016]. For more detailed coverage on the UNOGIL's activities and reports, please see Fry, "The United Nations Confronts the United States in 1958," pp.143-180.

⁴² The UNSC in its 840th meeting on 25 November 1958 decided to delete the Lebanese complaint from its list. "United Nations Security Council Resolution 128 of 11 June 1958," *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1958*, (New York: United Nations Press), 1965, p. 6. See also, Fry, "The United Nations Confronts the United States in 1958," pp.143-180.

⁴³ For a comprehensive coverage of the US military intervention, please see Erika Alin, "US Policy and Military Intervention in the 1958 Lebanese Crisis," David W. Lesch, Ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment*, 4th Edition, (Boulder, Westview Press, 2007), pp.122-140.

same day, President Chamoun officially asked the United States to interfere militarily in order to protect the current Lebanese regime against the agresstions of UAR and the communists and to defend the US interests in the TAPLINE oil pipelines that transported the Saudi oil to the Mediterranean through the Lebanese southern ports.⁴⁴ On the same day, Jordan's King Hussein made a similar plea to the British Government.

On Tuesday 15 July 1958, as 2,500 British paratroopers landed in Amman to protect the Hashemite Kingdom, 5,000 US Marines disembarked on the coast of Khaldeh, south of Beirut, with their tanks and heavy artillery and circled the Lebanese capital. The number of US Marines was eventually increased to 14,300.⁴⁵

During the events leading to the US military intervention in Lebanon, the Lebanese Parliament was unable to convene, firstly because of security reasons, and secondly because President Chamoun never called for an extraordinary session of Parliament in the summer of 1958.

Soon it became evident that the US had dispatched its 6th Fleet to Lebanon not to defend President Chamoun, but rather to impose a successor to him.⁴⁶ Almost two months before the expiration of President Chamoun's term, Speaker Adel Osseiran called the Parliament to a special session on 24 July 1958 to elect a new president by invoking Article 73

⁴⁴ For a detailed coverage of the US interests in the transportation of the Saudi oil through the Lebanese soil, please see, Irene L. Gendzier, "Oil, Politics, and US Intervention," Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen, Eds., *A Revolutionary Year: The Middle East in 1958*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), pp.101-142.

⁴⁵ For "Operation Blue Bat," please Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, pp.202-203 and Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., pp.136-137. See also, Attié, *Struggle in the Levant*, pp.197-202 and Alin, "US Policy and Military Intervention in the 1958 Lebanese Crisis," pp.122-140.

⁴⁶ The US had negotiated with Egypt's Abdul Nasser for among other things, not to object to UNOGIL's deployment. Nasser promised the US to utilize his influence and exert pressure on the opposition to end the dissidence in Lebanon provided that Camille Chamoun would finish his term, while General Fouad Chehab becomes the Prime Minister and an amnesty be granted to all those in the opposition. See Fry, "The United Nations Confronts the United States in 1958," p.152.

of the Lebanese Constitution.⁴⁷ He then re-scheduled the special meeting for 31 July 1958 because of the lack of security.⁴⁸

The 9th Parliament convened on 31 July 1958 to elect a new president with the presence of 56 Deputies. Deputies Sami El Solh, Joseph Chader, Albert Moukheiber, Saleem Lahoud, Qohtan Hamadeh, Majeed Arslan, Saleem El Dawood, Rene Mouawad, Hameed Franjeh and Nadeem El Jisr did not attend the meeting. Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat and Babikian were in attendance and participated in the election of the new president. General Fouad Chehab received 43 votes against Raymond Edde's 10 votes. There were two blank and one defective papers. Speaker Adel Osseiran announced that since no one had received the constitutional requisite 2/3 votes in accordance with Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution, a second round of election was necessary. During the second round, General Chehab was elected as the President with 48 votes against Edde's 7 votes. There was one blank paper.⁴⁹

President-elect Chehab took the Oath during a special meeting on 23 September 1958. All four Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present. Deputies Shafeeq Naseef, Edward Hnein, Elia Abu Jaoude, Henry Trabolsi, Qohtan Hamadeh, Majeed Arslan, Saleem El Dawood, Abdul Kareem El Qaddour, Charles Malik, Sami El Solh and Hameed Franjeh did not attend.⁵⁰

As soon as President Chehab took office, Prime Minister Sami El Solh resigned and the President appointed Rasheed Karami as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form a new government.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Article 73 of the Lebanese Constitution, as amended, in pertinent parts states: "One month at least and two months at the most before the expiration of the term of the President of the Republic, the Chamber shall be convened by its President to elect the new President of the Republic." Article 73 of the Lebanese Constitution. "The Lebanese Constitution." *Official Website of Presidency*. <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf> [Last accessed 17 August 2015].

⁴⁸ See Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, pp.225-227.

⁴⁹ *Official Minutes (1958)*: Special Meeting for the Election of the President held on 31 July 1958.

⁵⁰ *Official Minutes (1958)*: Special Meeting of the 9th Parliament held on 23 September 1958.

⁵¹ Decree No. 1 dated 24 September 1958 accepting the resignation of Sami El Solh. Decree No. 2 dated 24 September 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab

The Executive Branch of the Government President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 24 September 1958 ⁵²		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Defense
2.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Charles Helou	Economy and Information
4.	Muhammad Safiedeen	Minister of Education and Public Health
5.	Youssef El Sawda	Minister of Justice and Social Affairs
6.	Rafeeq Naja	Minister of Finance
7.	Fareed Trad	Minister of Public Works; Transport and Public Planning
8.	Fouad Najjar	Minister of Agriculture and PTT

**Table 9.7 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami’s Government
(24 September 1958)**

As soon as Prime Minister Rasheed Karami unveiled the lineup of his new cabinet, the Lebanese Christians, in general, considered the government as biased towards the opposition, as Karami declared that the opposition was “*reaping the fruits of the revolution*.”⁵³ Tensions between the Christians and Karami’s Government escalated when the government abducted Fouad Haddad, the Editor-in-Chief of the Phalange Party’s *El A’amal* daily on 24 September 1958, leading the Party President Pierre Gemayel to call for strikes in the Christian regions of the country, including Ashrafieh, Jemmayzeh, El Metn and Keserwan. Roadblocks were placed on most roads and an armed conflict started known as the “counter revolution” characterized by sectarian clashes between Christians and Muslims leading to the immediate resignation of Minister of Justice Youssef El Sawda, a resident of Bikfayya.⁵⁴

As the “counter revolution” started to spread throughout the country, Prime Minister Karami resigned without presenting a ministerial statement to parliament.⁵⁵ President Chehab was keen to

appointing Rasheed Karami as the new prime minister. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1958, p.735.

⁵² Decree No. 3 dated 24 September 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1958, pp.735-736.

⁵³ Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, p.260. See Also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.138.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Decree No. 29 dated 14 October 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab accepting the resignation of Rasheed Karami’s Government. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, p.761.

calm things down, so he met with Christian and Muslim leaders to formulate a win-win situation among the Lebanese. To achieve this, President Chehab asked Karami to form another government with only four cabinet members: Two Sunnis and two Maronites – representing both the loyalists and the rebels.⁵⁶ The new cabinet did not include individuals from other religious denominations, such as Shias, Druze, Roman Orthodox, Catholics or even Lebanese-Armenians.

The 9th Parliament's last legislative session was on 8 May 1958 before the domestic disturbances became widespread across the entire country. The Parliament remained dark for almost four months without exerting any legislative oversight over the government. The next legislative session of the 9th Parliament was called by President Chehab in an extraordinary session commencing 16 October 1958, to consider the ministerial statement of the new four-man "National Rescue Government".⁵⁷

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 14 October 1958 ⁵⁸		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance; Economy; Defense; Info.
2.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Foreign Affairs; Justice and Public Planning
3.	Raymond Edde ⁵⁹	Minister of Interior; Labor and Social Affairs and PTT
4.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Public Works; Transp.; Education and Agriculture

Table 9.8 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government (14 October 1958)

⁵⁶ Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, p.267. Decree No. 30 dated 14 October 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab appointing Rasheed Karami to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, p.761.

⁵⁷ Decree No. 32 dated 15 October 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami calling the Parliament for an extraordinary session to commence on 16 October 1958 to consider the ministerial statement of the new government. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, p.600. The title of "National Rescue Government" was mentioned in Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's ministerial statement presented to the 9th Parliament on 17 October 1958.

⁵⁸ Decree No. 31 dated 14 October 1958 and signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, pp.761-762.

⁵⁹ Raymond Edde resigned as the Minister of Interior, Labor and Social Affairs and PTT from the Cabinet and his resignation was accepted through Decree 2270 dated 7 October 1959 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami. *Official Gazette (1959)*, Issue No. 55, 14 October 1959, p.825.

Prime Minister Karami presented his government's ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 17 October 1958 and received 50 votes of confidence from of the 50 Deputies present, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat, Chader and Babikian. Only four Deputies delivered speeches during the deliberations on the ministerial statement, and praised Chehab's new administration. The speakers were Nadeem El Jisr (Sunni, Tripoli), Rasheed Beydoun (Shia, Beirut), George Akl (Maronite, Aley) and Fareed Qozma (Maronite, Jezzine). 16 Deputies who did not attend the meeting.⁶⁰

As soon as the new government restored order in the country, President Chehab officially asked the United States to withdraw its forces from Lebanese territories. US Marines left Lebanon on 24 November 1958.⁶¹

The 9th Parliament continued its deliberations and considered several legislative measures in November and December 1958. One of the most important measures, however, was a proposal to grant the government extraordinary powers to issue legislative decrees. In its 12 November 1958 ordinary legislative session, the parliament considered Proposed Law No. 52 granting Karami's government the power to legislate for six months. Proponents and opponents to the measure took the podium and argued for and against the measure. In his turn, Deputy Joseph Chader delivered a speech and highlighted the necessity of extraordinary measures in extraordinary circumstances. In his speech, Chader brought up ten reasons why the Chamber should adopt a measure granting such extraordinary powers to the government. The measure granting extraordinary powers to the government was carried

⁶⁰ The absentees were: Fawzi El Hoss, Shafeeq Naseef, Kamel El Asa'ad, Elia Abu Jaoude, Mahmoud Ammar, Asad El Ashqar, Emile El Bustani, Qohtan Hamadeh, Majeed Arslan, Maurice Zuwein, Joseph Skaff, Shafeeq Murtada, Philip Taqla, Sami El Solh, Hameed Franjeh and Charles Malik *Official Minutes (1958)*, 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Cycle of the 9th Parliament held on 17 October 1958.

⁶¹ Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, p.267.

with a majority vote.⁶² In addition to Chader, Khatchig Babikian and Der-Kaloustian voted in favor of the measure. Tosbar was absent.⁶³

In addition to granting the right to issue legislative decrees to the government, the 9th Parliament in its 22 December 1958 session deliberated and considered a legislative matter to grant a general amnesty for crimes perpetrated before 15 October 1958. As the Rapporteur of the Administration and Justice Committee of the 9th Parliament, Deputy Khatchig Babikian prepared, signed and then presented the committee's report on the subject. After thorough deliberations, the measure was carried with a majority vote. Only Albert Moukheiber voted against it. Both Der-Kaloustian and Babikian voted in favor of the legislation. Chader and Tosbat did not attend the session.⁶⁴ President Chehab signed it into law on 24 December 1958.⁶⁵

The 9th Parliament considered and adopted several other legislative measures during 1959, as relative stability was established with the four-man government. The government issued several legislative decrees, including a decree that covered the re-organization of the Internal Security Forces.⁶⁶ Another legislative decree was issued

⁶² For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberation on the issue of granting extraordinary powers to Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's Government to issue legislative decrees for six months, please see Appendix 8.24. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 12 November 1958.

⁶³ In addition to Dickran Tosbat, the absentees included: Ali Bazzi, Saleem El Dawood, Hameed Franjeh, Sami El Solh, Charles Malik, Elia Abu Jaoude, Abdul Kareem El Qaddour, Joseph Skaff, Kamel El Asa'ad, Asad El Ashqar, Khalil El Habri, Rou'ouf Hanna and Fouad El Bart. Only Deputy Albert Moukheiber voted negatively to the measure, while George El Hrawi abstained. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 12 November 1958.

⁶⁴ In addition to Joseph Chader and Dickran Tosbat, the following deputies were not present during the deliberations: Pierre Edde, Fawzi El Hoss, Rasheed Beydoun, Nicola Salem, Fouad Qozma, Ali Bazzi, Edeeb El Ferzli, Sami El Solh, Hameed Franjeh, Asad El Ashqar, Khalil El Habri, Kamel El Asa'ad, Charles Malik, Clovis El Khazen, Joseph Skaff, Taqiedeen El Solh and Rou'ouf Hanna. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 22 December 1958.

⁶⁵ "Law Granting General Amnesty" dated 24 December 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh and Minister of Justice Hussein El Oweini. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 53, 24 December 1958, pp.701-703.

⁶⁶ Legislative Decree No. 138-139 dated 12 June 1959 organizing the Internal Security Forces signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed

concerning the law for the issuance of Lebanese Passports.⁶⁷ In its 28 May 1959 session, the Chamber of Deputies considered several measures including Estate Hereditary Laws for the non-Muslims in Lebanon. As the Rapporteur of the Administration and Justice Committee of the 9th Parliament, Deputy Babikian prepared and signed the committee report in this regard. Although Babikian did not attend the meeting, Chader moved the Chamber to adopt the measure as recommended by Babikian's report. The measure was adopted unanimously.⁶⁸ President Fouad Chehab signed the measure into law on 23 June 1959.⁶⁹

The 9th Parliament re-assessed the performance of Karami's government within six months into its term and called for a re-cast of vote of confidence on 23 July 1959. P.M. Karami's government survived with 28 votes of confidence against 11. Joseph Chader and Khatich Babikian cast votes of confidence, whereas Dickran Tosbat did not. Der-Kaloustian was not present.⁷⁰

The 4-man government did not last long. Misunderstandings ensued between Minister Raymond Edde and President Chehab, as Edde accused the President of meddling into political life in Lebanon with the assistance of the *Deuxième Bureau* (Military Intelligence). This led to

Karami and Ministers Hussein El Oweini and Pierre Gemayel. *Official Gazette* (1959), Issue No. 30, 22 June 1959, pp.629-709.

⁶⁷ Legislative Decree No. 161 dated 12 June 1959 concerning the Lebanese Passports signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Ministers Hussein El Oweini and Pierre Gemayel. *Official Gazette* (1959), Issue No. 44, 31 July 1959, pp.1479-1481.

⁶⁸ In addition to Khatchig Babikian, the following deputies were not present: Movses Der-Kaloustian, Pierre Edde, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ali Bazzi, Emile El Bustani, Sabri Hamadeh, Philip Taqla, Michel Daher, Abdul Karoum El Qaddour, Nasouh El Fadel, Nadeem El Jisr, Fouad El Bart, Sami El Solh, Khalil El Habri, Fawzi El Hoss, Asad El Ashqar, Hameed Franjeh and Charles Malik. *Official Minutes* (1959): 14th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 28 May 1958.

⁶⁹ *Official Gazette* (1959), Issue No. 31, 24 June 1959, pp.730-749.

⁷⁰ In addition to Dickran Tosbat, the following Deputies cast no-confidence votes to Rasheed Karami's Government: Jean Aziz, Mahmoud Ammar, Henry Trabolsi, Qohtan Hamadeh, Shafeeq Naseef, Albert Moukheiber, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Jean Harb, Clovis El Khazen, and Maurice Zuwein. Amongst the absentees were: Movses Der-Kaloustian, Jameel Makkawi, Muhammad El Fadl, Elia Abu Jaoude, Khalil El Habri, Fawzi El Hoss, Rasheed Beydoun, Nicola Salem, Asad El Ashqar, George Akl, Charles Malik, Hameed Franjeh and Edward Hnein. *Official Minutes* (1959): 9th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 30 July 1959.

Edde's resignation from the Cabinet.⁷¹ President Chehab asked the Prime Minister to expand the government to eight ministers. Accordingly, Karami appointed Philip Taqla, Maurice Zuwein, Fouad Najjar, Ali Bazzi and Fouad Boutros as ministers. The new Cabinet, however, did not present a ministerial statement nor did it received a vote of confidence from the 9th Parliament.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 7 October 1959 ⁷²		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Defense
2.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
4.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Justice and Economy
5.	Maurice Zuwein	Minister of Labor & Social Affairs and PTT
6.	Fouad Najjar	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Ali Bazzi	Minister of Interior and Information
8.	Fouad Boutros	Minister of Education and Public Planning

Table 9.9 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government (7 October 1959)

As the expanded government started its work, several legislative matters were presented and considered in the last few months of 1959 and during the early part of 1960. In one particular meeting on 22 December 1959, Deputy Joseph Chader brought about the issue of abolishing sectarianism in Lebanon and argued:

“Concerning the elimination of sectarianism that was recommended by some, we declare that we support its elimination, however, we wish to eliminate it from the souls first before putting it into writing. It would be useless to eliminate it from the texts if it is still rooted in the souls because removing it from texts will cause further trouble and create problems that are not related to sectarianism but rather connected to the non-

⁷¹ Decree No. 2270 dated 7 October 1959 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami accepting the resignation of Raymond Edde from the Government. *Official Gazette (1959)*, Issue No. 55, 14 October 1959, p.825.

⁷² Decree No. 2272 dated 7 October 1959 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointed Philip Taqla, Maurice Zuwein, Fouad Najjar, Ali Bazzi and Fouad Boutros as Ministers to the previous cabinet after resignation of Raymond Edde. *Official Gazette (1959)*, Issue No. 55, 14 October 1959, p.826. This Cabinet did not present a ministerial statement and did not receive a confidence vote from the 9th Parliament.

application of equal treatment on the sectarian basis. If sectarianism was appropriately implemented, we wouldn't have witnessed this objection within the Chamber and the public opinion.

"Therefore, we want to eliminate sectarianism by implementing justice to all across the Lebanese people. It is through justice and equality that we will be able to eliminate sectarianism gradually from people's souls: we first eliminate it through social administrative justice and by giving the deprived regions their rights. Second, we eliminate it by appointing competent people [*to public posts*] and by implementing construction projects by providing water, electricity, education, hospitals, roads and telephones to all Lebanese people. Third, we eliminate it by improving the conditions and efficiency of processing applications, as each citizen, whether rich or poor, residing on the mountains or on the coasts, is given his/her right without having to refer to people in authority in the relevant confession, in order to obtain his/her right."⁷³ [*Translated from Arabic*].

In another meeting, Deputy Khatchig Babikian delivered a speech and suggested different ways to prepare the state budget prudently and efficiently. In his speech Babikian argued:

"On the occasion of the Budget's approval, I would like to underline certain remarks in terms of how to prepare or approve the budget, for these remarks may help in improving the budgets of the future years and spare the financial departments some hard work.

"On preparing the Budget in the future, allow me to say the following: we noticed that countries with a financial situation similar to ours have adopted certain basics in preparing their budgets that are different that those we approved. We prepare the budget and later we tackle coordination.

"In France for example, there is special council for the budget, whose mission is not administrative, but rather has a consultancy function that provides advice on

⁷³ For the full Arabic Text of Joseph Chader's speech on the elimination of sectarianism, see Appendix 8.25. *Official Minutes (1959)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 22 December 1959.

social, economic, financial and administrative issues as related to the budget. It consists of the chief accountant and representatives of different economic organs.

“I also want to say something about the preparation of the Budget in the Chamber. The Chamber, as a public authority, deliberates and discusses the Budget, and we all know that the only committee that studies and prepares the report on the budget is the Budget and Finance Committee headed by Mr Joseph Chader... In this context, I call upon the committee, and its chairman in particular, to share the review of the Budget with other parliamentary committees... As reviewing the budget is one of the most important issues tackled by the Chamber, it is, unfortunately, reviewed by the Budget and Finance Committee only.”⁷⁴ [*Translation from Arabic*].

As the 9th Parliament was going to consider a proposed election law in April 1960, a horrible incident happened in the village of Bhamdoun, El Metn, that took the lives of 24 young Lebanese-Armenian students in a bus accident. Deputy George El Hrawi requested from the Speaker Sabri Hamadeh to hold one minute silence in memory of those Lebanese-Armenian students who lost their lives. Deputy Joseph Chader, on behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies thanked Deputy Hrawi and the Speaker in a short speech, wherein Chader said:

“I thank from the bottom of my heart the esteemed colleague Mr. George El Hrawi for his noble passion, and I thank the Speaker for his response to the request to observe one-minute silence to mourn the souls of the martyrs who were the victims of a disaster in Bhamdoun. All the victims are from the Armenian confession. On behalf of my Armenian colleagues in the Chamber I thank the Chamber for this noble emotion. I also thank the government for all that it did and will do in order to compensate the families of the victims . . .”⁷⁵ [*Translation from Arabic*].

⁷⁴ For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian’s speech concerning the preparation of the budget, see Appendix 9.1. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 19 January 1960.

⁷⁵ *Official Minutes (1960)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 19 April 1960.

The next day all four Lebanese-Armenian Deputies: – Chader, Babikian, Der-Kaloustian and Tosbat – co-sponsored a piece of legislation to compensate the families of the victims of the Bhamdoun incident. The matter was referred to the government for further consideration.⁷⁶

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Ahmad El Da'ouq		
Cabinet of 14 May 1960 ⁷⁷		
1.	Ahmad El Da'ouq	Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
2.	Gebran Nahhas	Minister of Justice and Education
3.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs; Economy and Tourism
4.	Fouad Najjar	Minister of Agriculture and PTT
5.	Ameen Beyham	Minister of Finance and Labor and Social Affairs
6.	Edmond Kasbar	Minister of Interior and Public Planning
7.	George Naccache	Minister of Public Works, Transportation and Information
8.	Hassan El Meqdad	Minister of Health

Table 9.10 – Cabinet Members of Ahmad El Da'ouq's Government (14 May 1960)

On the same day, 20 April 1960, after a heated discussion, the 9th Parliament considered and approved the notorious Electoral Law of 1960, increasing the number of deputies to 99 and making the *Qada'* (province) as the electoral district.⁷⁸ Accordingly, five seats were allocated to the Lebanese-Armenian community, divided into three Armenian Orthodox seats and one Armenian Catholic seat in Beirut, and one Armenian Orthodox seat in El Metn District. The Lebanese-Armenian

⁷⁶ For the Arabic text of the Proposed Law to compensate the families of the victims of the bus accident of Bhamdoun that took the lives of 24 young students, co-sponsored by Joseph Chader, Khathcig Babikian, Dickran Tosbat and Movses Der-Kaloustian, please see Appendix 12.1. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 April 1960.

⁷⁷ Decree No. 4256 dated 14 May 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 23, 25 May 1960, p.705. Ahmad El Da'ouq's Cabinet did not present any ministerial statement and did not receive any confidence vote from the 9th Parliament. Its main purpose was to conduct the legislative elections in June and July 1960.

⁷⁸ Decree No. 3474 dated 5 March 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami proposed a new Electoral Law that set the number of deputies to 99 with smaller electoral districts, such as the *Qada'*. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 April 1960.

Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Chader and Babikian voted in favor of this law.⁷⁹ President Chehab signed the measure into law on 26 April 1960.⁸⁰

The last meeting of the 9th Parliament was on 28 April 1960. As the new election law took effect, Prime Minister Karami's Government dissolved the 9th Parliament and called for new legislative elections to take place on 12 June for Mount Lebanon; 19 June for Beirut and Southern Lebanon; 26 June for Northern Lebanon; and 3 July 1960 for the Beka'a Valley.⁸¹

Karami's Government did not oversee the legislative elections in June/July 1960. It resigned on 14 May 1960 and President Chehab asked Ahmad El Da'ouq to form a temporary government in order to organize and oversee the upcoming elections.

Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq's Cabinet did not present a ministerial statement nor received a vote of confidence from the legislature.

⁷⁹ Deputies who voted against the Election Law of 1960 were: Nouhad Boueiz, Adel Osseiran, Shafeeq Naseef, Kazem El Khalil, Jean Aziz, Raymond Edde, Pierre Edde, and Albert Moukheiber. Only Saleem Lahoud abstained from voting. Amongst the absentees were: Sami El Solh, Fawzi El Hoss, Jameel Makkawi, Muhammad El Fadel, Edward Hnein, Asad El Ashqar, Nazem El Qadiri, Nassouh El Fadel, Charles Malik, Hameed Franjeh, and Nadeem El Jisr. The official voting record lacks information as how Dickran Tosbat voted *Official Minutes (1960)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 April 1960.

⁸⁰ "Election Law of 1960." *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 18, 27 April 1960, pp.306-326.

⁸¹ Decree No. 4039 dated 4 May 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Ministers Hussein El Oweini, Maurice Zuwein, Ali Bazzi, Philip Taqla, Pierre Gemayel and Fouad Boutros dissolving parliament and calling for new legislative elections. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 20, 5 May 1960, p.450.

	Prime Ministers	Sami El Solh	Sami El Solh
		29 Aug 57 ⁸²	25 Mar 58 ⁸³
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓
2.	D. Tosbat	✓	✓
3.	J. Chader	X	✓ ⁸⁴
4.	Kh. Babikian	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 9.11(a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 9th Parliament

⁸² Decree No. 17053 dated 18 August 1957 signed by President Camille Chamoun appointed Sami El Solh as the Prime Minister to head a new Lebanese Government immediately after the legislative elections in 1957. *Official Gazette (1957)*, Issue No. 37, 21 August 1957. Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 29 August 1957 and received 38 votes of confidence, including those of Movses Der-Kaloustian, Dickran Tosbat and Khatchig Babikian. Joseph Chader and 16 other deputies cast no-confidence votes in the government, including: Ibrahim Haydar, Pierre Edde, Hashem El Hussein, Nouhad Boueiz, Raymond Edde, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Kamel El Asa'ad, Naseem Majdalani, Shafeeq Murtada, Philip Taqla, Sabri Hamadeh, Taqiedeen El Solh, Ali Bazzi, Hameed Franjeh, Nadeem El Jisr and Rasheed Karami. Deputy Emile El Bustani abstained from voting. The absentees from this session were: George Akl, Rene Mouawad, Basheer Othman, Basheer El A'awar, Nasouh El Fdel and Fouad El Bart. *Official Minutes (1957)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 29 August 1957.

⁸³ Prime Minister Sami El Solh presented the new cabinet's ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 25 and 26 March 1958 and received 38 votes of confidence, including those of Der-Kaloustian's, Tosbat's, Chader's and Babikian's against 15 no-confidence votes that included Deputies Jean Aziz, Hashem El Hussein, Fouad El Bart, Rasheed Karami, Shafeeq Murtada, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Nicola Salem, Naseem Majdalani, Jameel Makkawi, Anwar El Khateeb, Taqiedeen El Solh, Philip Taqla, Sabri Hamadeh and Ali Bazzi. Among the absentees were: Fawzi El Hoss, Asad El Ashqar, Emile El Bustani, Nazem El Qadiri, Nadeem El jisr, Nesouh El Fadel, Rene Mouawad, Hameed Franjeh and Elia Abu Jaoude. *Official Minutes (1958)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 26 March 1958.

⁸⁴ Joseph Chader was appointed as Minister of Public Planning in PM Sami El Solh's Government. Decree No. 19142 dated 14 March 1958 signed by President Camille Chamoun and P.M. Sami El Solh. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 12, 19 March 1958, pp.256-257. Subsequently, Joseph Chader was appointed as the Minister of Finance in the same Cabinet after the resignation of Pierre Edde. Decree No. 20043 dated 2 August 1958 signed by President Chamoun and P.M. Sami El Solh. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 32, 6 August 1958, p.614.

	Prime Ministers	Rasheed Karami	Rasheed Karami
		24 Sep 58 ⁸⁵	17 Oct 58 ⁸⁶
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	-	✓
2.	D. Tosbat	-	✓
3.	J. Chader	-	✓
4.	Kh. Babikian	-	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 9.11(b) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 9th Parliament

⁸⁵ Decree No. 2 dated 24 September 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab appointed Rasheed Karami as the Prime Minister to form a new government, immediately after President Chehab's taking office. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 40, 1 October 1958, p.735. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami did not present any ministerial statement and did not receive any confidence vote of the 9th Parliament. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's Government resigned on 14 October 1958 through Decree No. 29 signed by President Fouad Chehab. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, p.761.

⁸⁶ Decree No. 30 dated 14 October 1958 signed by President Fouad Chehab, re-appointed Rasheed Karami as Prime Minister to form a new cabinet. *Official Gazette (1958)*, Issue No. 43, 22 October 1958, p.761. Prime Minister Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 9th Parliament on 17 October 1958 and received 50 confidence votes out of the 50 deputies present, including those of Der-Kaloustian, Tosbat, Chader and Babikian. 16 Deputies were not present to the session: Fawzi El Hoss, Shafeeq Naseef, Kamel El Asa'ad, Elia Abu Jaoude, Mahmoud Ammar, Asad El Ashqar, Emile El Bustani, Qohtan Hamadeh, Majeed Arslan, Maurice Zuwein, Joseph Skaff, Shafeeq Murtada, Philip Taqla, Sami El Solh, Hameed Franjeh and Charles Malik. *Official Minutes (1958)*, 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 2nd Cycle of the 9th Parliament held on 17 October 1958.

	Prime Ministers	Rasheed Karami	Ahmad El Da'ouq
		7 Oct 59 ⁸⁷	14 May 60 ⁸⁸
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	-	-
2.	D. Tosbat	-	-
3.	J. Chader	-	-
4.	Kh. Babikian	-	-
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 9.11 (c) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 9th Parliament

⁸⁷ Prime Minister Rasheed Karami introduced new ministers to the Cabinet. This Cabinet did not present any ministerial statement and nor did receive a vote of confidence from the 9th Parliament.

⁸⁸ Decree No. 4255 dated 14 May 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab appointed Ahmad El Da'ouq as the Prime Minister to form a new government to verse the legislative elections in June and July 1960. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 23, 25 May 1960, p.704. This Cabinet did not present any ministerial statement and did not receive a vote of confidence from the 9th Parliament.

The 10th Lebanese Parliament

(1960-64)

The legislative elections for the 10th Lebanese Parliament took place under the new Electoral Law adopted by the previous parliament and signed into law by President Fouad Chehab on 26 April 1960.¹ The Electoral Law of 1960 increased the number of the deputies to 99 and included the *Qada'* as an electoral district.² Lebanese Armenians were allocated a total of five seats.

¹ Election Law 1960 adopted by the 9th Parliament and signed into law by President Fouad Chehab on 26 April 1960. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1960)*, Issue No. 18, 27 April 1960, pp.306-326.

² Decree No. 3474 dated 5 March 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami proposed a new Electoral Law that set the number of deputies to 99 with smaller electoral districts, such as the Qada'. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1960)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 April 1960.

The elections for the 10th Parliament took place between 9 June and 3 July 1960.³ The Armenian community in Lebanon engaged actively during the pre-election campaign.⁴ The incumbents Der-Kalaoustian (Armenian Orthodox), Babikian (Armenian Orthodox) and Chader (Armenian Catholic) won the elections in Beirut's 1st District. The newly elected members were Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut's 1st District) and Vartkes Shamlian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn District).⁵ A special meeting of the 10th Parliament was held on 18 July 1960 with Youssef El Zein (Shia, Nabatiyeh), the eldest Deputy presiding. Deputy Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albek) was elected as the Speaker of the 10th Parliament with 66 votes against Adel Osseiran's (Shia, Saida) 31 votes.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Record
1	Movses Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	173	37	78%
2	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1 st	173	20	88%
3	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	173	12	93%
4	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	173	49	69%
5	Vartkes Shamlian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	173	37	78%

Table 10.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 10th Lebanese Parliament (1960-64)

The new parliament elected Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) as the Deputy Speaker. Deputies Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Husseini (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries, whereas, Deputies Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. On the same day Vartkes Shamlian was elected as one of the eight-member By-Laws Committee.⁶

³ Decree No. 4039 dated 4 May 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami dissolved the 9th Parliament and called for new elections on 12 June 1960 for Mount Lebanon; 19 June 1960 for Beirut and Southern Lebanon; 26 June 1958 for Northern Lebanon; and 3 July 1960 for the Beka'a Valley. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 20, 5 May 1969, p.450.

⁴ For a narrative of the pre-election campaign in the Lebanese-Armenian community in 1960, see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.160-192.

⁵ Official confirmation of the election results. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 11 August 1960.

⁶ *Official Minutes (1960)*: Special Meeting of the 10th Parliament held on 18 August 1960.

The 10th Lebanese Parliament (1960-64)

99	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 10 th Lebanese Parliament (1960-64)
1 st	Beirut	Antoine Sahnawi (Roman Catholic); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Sourén Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Charles Sa'ad (Protestant); Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox) and Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox).
2 nd	Beirut	Adnan El Hakeem (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Minorities); Mouhsen Saleem (Shia).
3 rd	Beirut	Rafeeq Naja (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Abdullah El Mashnouq (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Naseem Majdalani (Roman Orthodox).
4 th	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Elias El Khoury (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Abdo Sa'ab (Maronite) and Mahmoud Ammar (Shia).
5 th	El Metn	Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Jameel Lahoud (Maronite); Vartkes Shamlian (Armenian Orthodox); Camille Chamoun (Maronite); Maurice Gemayel (Maronite);
6 th	El Chouf	Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); Salem Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Abdul Aziz Chehab (Maronite); Aziz Aoun (Maronite); Issam El Hajjar (Sunni); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Emile El Bustani (Maronite) replaced by Mirna El Bustani (Maronite) Qabalan Qabalan (Sunni) replaced by Anwar El Khateeb (Sunni).
7 th	Aley	Emile Moukarzel (Maronite); Khalil El Khoury (Maronite); Fadlallah Talhouq (Druze); Majeed Arslan (Druze) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8 th	Keserwan	Fouad El Bon (Mronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite) and Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite).
9 th	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Gabriel Germanios (Maronite).
10 th	Saida	Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
11 th	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic).
12 th	Nabatiyeh	Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia); Sameeh Osseiran (Shia) and Youssef El Zein (Shia), Replaced by Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia).
13 th	Sour	Ja'afar Sherefedeen (Shia); Suleiman Arab (Shia) and Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia).
14 th	Bent Jbeil	Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia) ; Ahmad El Asa'ad (Shia) replaced by Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia).
15 th	Marja'yun	Ibrahim El Abdullah (Shia); Asa'ad Biyouk (Roman Orthodox); Khaled Chehab (Sunni) and Ali Bazzi (Shia).
16 th	Jezzine	Baseel Abboud (Maronite); Jean Aziz (Maronite); Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic).
17 th	Zahle	George El Hrawi (Maronite); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hussein Mansour (Shia); Kazem El Solh (Sunni) and Mikhael El Debs (Roman Orthodox).
18 th	Rashaya	Shebli El Aryan (Druze); Michel Skaff (Roman Orthodox); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19 th	Ba'albek/Hermel	Habib Moutran (Roman Catholic); Shafeeq Murtada (Shia); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Fadlallah Dandash (Shia); Mourshed Habshi (Maronite); Nayef El Masri (Shia) and Mustafa El Rifae (Sunni) replaced by Abdullah Sukkariyeh (Sunni).
20 th	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Fouad El Bart (Roman Orthodox); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Muhammad Hamzeh (Sunni) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni).
21 st	Tripoli-S	Muhammad Khodr Fatfat (Sunni) and Muhammad Alamedeen (Sunni).
22 nd	Akkar	Rushdi Fakhr (Maronite); Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Abdul Kareem El Ali (Sunni) and Yacoub El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox).
23 rd	Zghorta	Rene Mouawad (Maronite); Suleiman Franjeh (Maronite) and Youssef Karam (Maronite).
24 th	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox)
25 th	Besheri	Habib Keirouz (Maronite and Sa'eed Tawq (Maronite).
26 th	El Batroun	Jean Harb (Maronite) and Camille Akl (Maronite).

Table 10.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 10th Lebanese Parliament

After the new parliament elected the members of the Speaker's Bureau, President Chehab made certain changes to Prime Minister El Da'ouq's Cabinet by appointing Army General Adel Chehab as Minister of Defense and the Army's Chief of Staff Youssef Shameet as the Acting Minister of Interior, before he presented his resignation from the presidency to the Speaker Sabri Hamadeh on 20 July 1960.⁷

The resignation of Fouad Chahab raised a popular uproar and a demand that the President withdraws his resignation. 80 newly elected deputies gathered at the parliament building at 6:00 pm that evening (20 July 1960) and signed a petition pleading with the President to withdraw his resignation due to popular demand. The Deputies went to see the President at his residence in Jounieh that evening to present the petition and try to convince him to retract his resignation. The deputies unanimously demanded that the resignation letter be burnt as if it never existed. President Chehab changed his position, and Deputy Albert Moukheiber burnt the letter in front of the President and all the other deputies present.⁸

With President Chehab back in post, Prime Minister El Da'ouq presented the resignation of his cabinet on 1 August 1960.⁹ President Chehab appointed Saeb Salam to succeed El Da'ouq as the Prime Minister. Prime Minister Salam formed a new government consisting of 18 individuals. Khatchig Babikian was appointed as a Minister of State for Administrative Reforms.¹⁰

⁷ Decree No. 4763 dated 20 July 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Ahmad El Da'ouq accepting the resignation of Ahmad El Da'ouq as Minister of Defense and appointing Army General Adel Chehab as the Minister of Defense. Decree No. 4764 dated 20 July 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and P.M. Ahmad El Da'ouq appointing Youssef Shameet as Acting Minister of Interior. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 32, 27 July 1960, pp.1022-1023. See also, Naseef Nicola, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab, [Arabic: Fouad Chehab's Republic]*. (Beirut: Dar Annahar Publishing, 2011), pp.433-434.

⁸ For a narrative of events during President Fouad Chehab's resignation and its retraction on 20 July 1960, please see Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, pp.433-442.

⁹ Decree No. 4942 dated 1 August 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab accepting the resignation of Ahmad El Da'ouq's government. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 33, 3 August 1960, p.1061.

¹⁰ Subsequently, President Chehab and P.M. Salam issued Decree No. 4994 to set forth the responsibilities of Minister Babikian. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 37, 31 August 1960, pp.1150-1151.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 1 August 1960¹¹		
1.	Saeb Salam	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Naseem Majdalani	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
5.	Kamal Jumblatt	Minister of Education
6.	Elias El Khoury	Minister of Public Health
7.	Muhammad Safiedeen	Minister of Agriculture
8.	Suleiman El Ali	Minister of Economy and Tourism
9.	Fouad Ghossen	Minister of Information
10.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
11.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Finance
12.	Khatchig Babikian ¹²	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
13.	Abdullah El Mashnouq	Minister of State for Municipalities
14.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of PTT
15.	Maurice Gemayel	Minister of State
16.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
17.	Hussein Mansour	Minister of State
18.	Rafeeq Shaheen	Minister of Public Planning

Table 10.3 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam’s Government (1 August 1960)

The official legislative session of the 10th Parliament commenced on 11 August 1960 upon the official invitation of the Executive Branch of the government through Decree No. 4945 dated 4 August 1960 and signed by President Chehab and P.M. Salam.¹³ The newly formed government presented its ministerial statement to the Parliament on 18 August 1960 and received 78 votes of confidence, including those of

¹¹ Decree No. 4944 dated 1 August 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 33, 3 August 1960, pp.1061-1063.

¹² Subsequently, President Chehab and P.M. Salam issued Decree No. 4994 on 26 August 1960 setting forth the responsibilities of Minister Babikian. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 37, 31 August 1960, pp.1150-1151.

¹³ Decree No. 4945 dated 4 August 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Saeb Salam calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to commence on 11 August 1960. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 34, 10 August 1960, pp.828-829.

Khatchig Babikian's, Vartkes Shamlan's, Movses Der-Kaloustian's and Souren Khanamirian's. Joseph Chader was not present.¹⁴

The 10th Parliament in its Ordinary Session on 18 October 1960 re-elected Sabri Hamadeh as Speaker and the rest of the members of the Speaker's Bureau remained as before, except that Khatcig Babikian was replaced by Vartkes Shamlan, because the former became a Minister.

The 10th Parliament's life span lasted for 4 years. Lebanon enjoyed relatively stable political climate compared to its predecessors with only three cabinets being appointed throughout. It had a very active legislative cycle with a total of 173 parliamentary meetings comprising of 96 ordinary and 77 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese-Armenian deputies were relatively active in their respective committees.

The 10th Parliament amended Article 18 of its by-laws by re-shuffling the tasks of the standing committees and adding some by forming separate committees for Agriculture and for Public Health and creating new ones such as the Defense Committee and the Public Planning Committee in order to keep up with the changes made by the government.¹⁵

Der-Kaloustian was re-elected as a member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee and became a member of the newly created Information and Post, Telephone and Telegram (PTT) Committee throughout the term of the 10th Parliament. Joseph Chader was re-elected to the Budget and Finance Committee and kept his position as Chairman. He was also elected to the Administration and Budget Committee and to the newly formed Public Planning Committee. Souren Khanamirian became a member of the Budget and Finance Committee and Public Planning Committee along with his colleague Joseph Chader. Vartkes Shamlan was elected to the By-Laws Committee, and joined Chader in the Administration and Justice Committee. Khatchig Babikian was not

¹⁴ Joseph Chader was absent along with Camille Chamoun, Salem Abdul Noor, Emile El Bustani, George El Hrawi, Youssef El Zein, Adnan El Hakeem, Ahmad Isbir and Nazem El Qadiri. There is no independent record as who cast no-confidence votes. With Deputy Khatchig Babikian taking a ministerial portfolio, it is inferred that the Lebanese-Armenian Bloc of the 10th Parliament naturally cast a vote of confidence. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 18 August 1960.

¹⁵ *Official Minutes (1960)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 25 August 1960.

	18 Jul 1960 ¹⁶	18 Oct 1960 ¹⁷	17 Oct 1961 ¹⁸
Speaker	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh
Deputy Speaker	Fouad Boutros	Fouad Boutros	Mounir Abu Fadel
Secretaries	Fouad Naffa' Hashem El Hussein	Fouad Naffa' Hashem El Hussein	Fouad Naffa' Hashem El Hussein
Commissioners	Khatchig Babikian Nicola Salem Sa'eed Fawwaz	Vartkes Shamlan Nicola Salem Sa'eed Fawwaz	Vartkes Shamlan Nicola Salem Sa'eed Fawwaz

Table 10.4 (a) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 10th Lebanese Parliament

¹⁶ Youssef El Zein (Shia), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albek) as the Speaker of the 10th Parliament with 66 votes present against Adel Osseiran's (Shia, Saida Surroundings) 31 votes. Kazem El Khalil (Shia, Soor) received 1 vote. Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as Deputy Speaker, whereas, Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1960)*: Special Meeting of the 10th Parliament held on 18 August 1960.

¹⁷ Youssef El Zein, the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamade (Shia, Ba'albek) with 58 votes against Adel Osseiran (Shia, Saida, Surroundings) with 4 blank papers. Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker with 67 votes against Yacoub El Sarraf's (Roman Orthodox, Akkar) 6 votes. Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries, whereas Deputies Vartkes Shamlan (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Nouhad Boueiz, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Baseel Abboud, Nazem El Qadiri, George El Hrawi, Camille Chamoun, Ali Bazzi, and Abdul Aziz Chehab. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 18 October 1960.

¹⁸ Emir Khaled Chehab, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albek) with 71 votes out of 78 present. There were 5 blank and 2 defective papers. Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker with 64 votes against Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, El Koura) 12 votes and Fouad Boutros's 1 vote. Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries, whereas Deputies Vartkes Shamlan (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Nouhad Boueiz, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Baseel Abboud, Nazem El Qadiri, George El Hrawi, Camille Chamoun, Ali Bazzi, and Abdul Aziz Chehab. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 17 October 1961.

	16 Oct 1962 ¹⁹	22 Oct 1963 ²⁰
Speaker	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh
Deputy Speaker	Mounir Abu Fadel	Fouad Ghossen
Secretaries	Fouad Naffa' Hashem El Hussein	Fouad Naffa' Hashem El Hussein
Commissioners	Vartkes Shamlian Nicola Salem Sa'eed Fawwaz	Vartkes Shamlian Nicola Salem Sa'eed Fawwaz

Table 10.4 (b) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 10th Lebanese Parliament

elected to any of the committees during 1960 and 1961 as he was Minister of Public Planning, but later joined the Public Planning Committee and became a member of the By-Laws Committee in 1962 and 1963. Babikian was also elected as a member of the Labor and Social Affairs Committee and the National Education Committee.

¹⁹ Emir Khaled Chehab, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albek) with 71 votes out of 84 present. Fadllallah Dandash (Shia, Hermel) received 1 vote and Nayef El Masri (Maronite, Hermel) received 1 vote. There were 11 blank papers. Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker with 72 votes against Albert Moukhebeir's (Roman Orthodox, El Metn) 3 votes and Asa'ad Biyou'd's 1 vote. There were 9 blank papers. Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries, whereas Deputies Vartkes Shamlian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Adnan El Hakeem, Emile El Bustani, Camille Chamoun, Aziz Aoun, Ali El Kareem, Baseel Abboud, Sameeh Osseiran, Adel Osseiran, Murshed Habshi, Fadlallah Dandash and George El Hrawi. *Official Minutes (1962)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 16 October 1962.

²⁰ Emir Khaled Chehab, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albek) with 69 votes out of 70 present. There was 1 blank paper. Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, El Koura) was elected as the Deputy Speaker with 53 votes against Mounir Abu Fadel's (Roman Orthodox, Aley) 20 votes and Majeed Arslan's (Druze, Aley) 1 vote. There were 1 blank and 1 defective papers. Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite, Keserwan) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries, whereas Deputies Vartkes Shamlian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), Nicola Salem (Roman Catholic, Jezzine) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia, Bent Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Saeb Salam, Joseph Chader, Adnan El Hakeem, Camille Chamoun, Salem Abdul Noor, Anwar El Khateeb, Ali Abdul Kareem, Youssef Karam, Ibrahim El Abdullah, Sameeh Osseiran, Adel Osseiran, Baseel Abboud and Edward Hnein. *Official Minutes (1963)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 22 October 1963.

			1960-61 ²¹	1961-62 ²²	1962-63 ²³	1963-64 ²⁴
1	Budget & Finance	17	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian
2	Administration & Justice Com.	15	Chader V. Shamlian	Chader V. Shamlian	Chader V. Shamlian	Chader V. Shamlian
3	Foreign Affairs	15	None	None	None	None
4	Pub.orks/Trans	15	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
5	Labor/Social Aff	12	None	None	Babikian	Babikian
6	Nat'l Econ/Tour.	12	None	None	None	None
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Education	12	None	None	Babikian	Babikian
9	Nat'l Defense	10	None	None	None	None
10	Info. & PTT	10	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
11	Public Planning Committee	10	Chader Khanamirian	Chader Khanamirian	Chader Khanamirian Babikian	Chader Khanamirian Babikian
12	Public Health	10	V. Shamlian	V. Shamlian	V. Shamlian	V. Shamlian
13	By-Laws Committee	8	V. Shamlian	V. Shamlian	V. Shamlian Babikian	V. Shamlian Babikian
		* Committee Chairman				

Table 10.4 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 10th Lebanese Parliament (1960-64)

In general, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were actively engaged during the deliberations of legislative matters during the 10th Parliament. During a Budget discussion Deputy Vartkes Shamlian argued that the population in Bourj Hammoud had exceeded 120,000 but did not have a public hospital, and as such Shamlian demanded that the Minister of Health provides the district with one.²⁵ In a subsequent meeting, in an attempt to protect the rights of court employees who were striking from

²¹ The election of the members to the standing committees was done in three separate meetings in 1960. *Official Minutes (1960)*: Special Meeting of the 10th Parliament held on 18 July 1960; 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 25 August 1960; and 4th meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Meeting of the 10th Parliament held on 29 August 1960.

²² *Official Minutes (1961)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 28 March 1961.

²³ *Official Minutes (1962)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 20 March 1962.

²⁴ *Official Minutes (1963)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 26 March 1963.

²⁵ *Official Minutes (1961)*: 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 23 January 1961.

work to demand an increase in their salaries, Shamlian argued that in accordance with an Armenian saying, *"Mothers won't breastfeed their children until they cry,"* Shamlian asserted that the standard of living for those court employees would not have been increased until they staged a strike.²⁶

Joseph Chader, on his part, defended the government when Deputy Raymond Edde accused the government of misusing funds during the purchase of gold for the purposes of increasing monetary reserves to maintain the value of the Lebanese currency in May 1961. Chader argued that:

"I wanted to answer the question raised by my compatriot, Mr. Raymond Edde concerning buying gold... Concerning the matter of purchasing gold, the reality of this issue is well known and can be summarized with the following: the issuing institution, the Bank of Syria and Lebanon, purchased in November and December 1960 more than 15 tons of gold from the market when Mr Raymond Edde questioned the government saying, 'I read in the newspapers that the issuing institution purchased a quantity of gold for a certain amount of money, therefore, I would like to ask His Excellency Minister of Finance the following: How much does the purchased quantity of gold weigh? What is the price of the ounce in Beirut compared to US? From what point of sale was the purchase made?' ... The government answered the questions concerning the price, weight and point of sale. Now, in his [*Raymond Edde's*] question he [*Edde*] asked why did the Government purchase gold from the free market and not from the Federal Reserve Bank.

"When you say, my dear compatriot [*addressing Raymond Edde*], that the issuing institution purchased a quantity of gold, you have to know that the issuing institution paid for this gold and not the Lebanese Treasury. Therefore, in case of a loss, it lies on the shoulders of the issuing institution that have purchased the gold. Do not try to play with words. Now you are saying that it is the government that purchased, or it is the government that lost and is it the Treasury that lost?

²⁶ *Official Minutes (1961)*: 8 Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament hold on 25 January 1961.

No and a thousand of no's! You have to know the truth before anyone else and everyone should know the truth. Neither the government nor the Treasury has any hand in purchasing the gold, thus why would the treasury pay for it! The issuing institution is the one that purchased the gold, the one that paid for it, and the one that received it."

"You have to know, and this is important, that the quantity of gold in the bank is to cover the Lebanese currency and it is a guarantee for the Lebanese currency ..."²⁷ [*Translation from Arabic*].

The government, headed by Saeb Salam did not last long. On 20 May 1961, Salam resigned and President Chehab re-appointed him to form a new eight-member cabinet, with no Lebanese-Armenian representation.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 20 May 1961 ²⁸		
1.	Saeb Salam	Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
2.	Philip Boulos	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice; Economy and Tourism
3.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
4.	Kamal Jumblatt	Minister of Public Works; Trans. and Public Planning
5.	Muhammad Safiedeen	Minister of Education; Labor and Social Affairs
6.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Finance and Public Health
7.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of PTT and Agriculture
8.	Abdullah El Mashnouq	Minister of Interior and Information

Table 10.5 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam's Government (20 May 1961)

Prime Minister Salam presented the new government's ministerial statement to the 10th Parliament on 30 May 1961 and received 46 votes of confidence against 44 votes of no confidence. All five

²⁷ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech on 2 May 1960 responding to Deputy Raymond Edde's accusations, about the purchase of gold, see Appendix 8.26. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 2 May 1961.

²⁸ Decree No. 6785 dated 20 May 1961 and signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 23, 24 May 1961, p.576.

Lebanese Armenian Deputies, Der-Kaloustian, Chader, Babikian, Khanamirian and Shamlian cast votes of confidence.²⁹

The new government did not last long either, as regional and domestic unrest continued to put a heavy toll on the government's performance. One such event that had a direct impact on Lebanon, in general, and Saeb Salam's Cabinet, in particular, was the secessionist movement in Syria led Syrian Army officers who staged a coup in Damascus on 28 September 1961 and ended the union between Egypt and Syria.³⁰

A month later, Salam's government resigned. President Chehab appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new government with 14 ministers on 31 October 1961. Prime Minister Karami presented his Government's ministerial statement to the 10th Parliament on 16 November 1961 and received 63 votes of confidence against 18. All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast votes of confidence.³¹ Premier Karami's government was one of the few Lebanese Governments that lasted for more than 2 years during the Chehab era.³²

²⁹ The Deputies who cast no-confidence votes were: Mahmoud Ammar, Camille Akl, Ahmad Isbir, Jean Harb, Adnan El Hakeem, Nouhad Boueiz, Suleiman El Ali, Albert Moukheiber, Raymond Edde, Gabriel Germanos, Mikhael El Debs, Murshed El Habshi, Edward Hnein, Mustafa El Rifae', Kazem El Solh, Nayef El Masri, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour, Shafeeq Murtada, Elias El Koury, Habib Keirouz, Sa'eed Tawq, Ameen El Hafez, Yacoub El Sarraf, Habib Moutran, Michel Skaff, George El Hrawi, Othman El Dana, Mouhsen Saleem and Fouad El Bart. Only Youssef Salem abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 15th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 30 May 1961.

³⁰ For a detailed account on the Syrian Army Officers' coup on 28 September 1961 and the break down of the UAR, see John McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, (London: Saqi Books, 2014), pp.141-144. See also, Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, pp.473-487 and Hashim Othman, *Tareekh Souriya El Hadith, [Arabic: Modern History of Syria]*, (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2012), pp.329-344.

³¹ Among the Deputies who cast no-confidence votes were: Albert Moukheiber, Adel Osseiran, Jean Harb, Mahmoud Ammar, Elias El Khoury, Nicola Salem, Youssef Salem, Raymond Edde, Camille Akl, Ahmad Isbir, Gabriel Germanos, Sameeh Osseiran, Habib Moutran, Edward Hnein, Khalil El Khoury, Fouad El Bon, Nouhad Boueiz and Fouad Naffa'a. Only Adnan El Hakeem abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 16 November 1961.

³² Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's government lasted from 31 October 1961 to 20 February 1964, when it resigned.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 31 October 1961 ³³		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Philip Boulos	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Info. and Tourism
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
4.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
5.	Kamal Jumblatt ³⁴	Minister of State for Interior
6.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Rafeeq Naja	Minister of Economy
8.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of State for Public Works & Trans.
9.	Ali Bazzi	Minister of Public Health
10.	Fouad Boutros	Minister of Justice
11.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Public Planning
12.	Kamel El Asa'ad	Minister of Education
13.	Edward Hnein repl'd by Jean Aziz	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
14.	Rene Mouawad	Minister of PTT

**Table 10.6 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government
(31 October 1961)**

On New Year's Eve (1961-62), an attempted *coup d'état* was staged by the members of the SSNP who were also Lebanese Army officers, against the government of Rasheed Karami. The Lebanese Army and the *Deuxième Bureau* immediately apprehended Abdullah Sa'adeh, the Chairman of the SSNP, and army Colonels Fouad Awad, Shawqi Kheirallah, Muhammad Ba'albeki, Attorney Sami Lahoud and Fouad Lahoud along with 1159 other individuals, including Kazem El Khalil. Karami's Government also issued a travel ban on past President Camille

³³ Decree No. 7992 dated 31 October 1961 and signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 48, 8 November 1961, p.1227.

³⁴ Subsequently, Decree No. 7996 dated 4 November 1961 signed by President Fouad Chehab and PM Rasheed Karami officially appointed Kamal Jumblatt as Minister of Interior and Pierre Gemayel as Minister of Public Works. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 48, 8 November 1961, p.1229.

Chamoun.³⁵ As a result, in its 2 January 1962 meeting, Karami's government issued a decree and dissolved the SSNP.³⁶

As the political and security issues were settled amicably by the government in early January 1962, the 10th Parliament convened to consider and adopt the Budget. Khatchig Babikian was actively involved in the deliberations, as he argued:

“Mr Speaker, I would not have asked for permission to speak if I had not heard this morning and during the previous session, the remarks of our compatriots. All these remarks are valuable and came as result of constructive spirit... I come to ask again, are we serious about what we are asking and saying regarding the budget?”

“Mr Speaker, between World Wars I and II, France had more than 40 governments in 20 years, but the economic and financial situation in the country remained intact. This was due not because of its governments, but because of the presence of an efficient administration composed of high caliber employees, judges and army officers.

“Mr Prime Minister, I am addressing you because you did a good job during the first term when you put the administrative reforms on a solid ground... It is not enough to provide services in order to protect the public employees from the political influences. We must apply the methods utilized in the private sector to the public sector as well ... We should use modern means in organizing the public sector and make Lebanon the frontrunner of all nations.

“We were somewhat able to distinguish the administration from politics. However, where are we from decentralization? The decentralization, which was

³⁵ For a detailed account of the attempted coup staged by the SSNP on the New Year's Eve 1961/62, see Ahmad Salem El Ahmad, *El Hesb El Sourî El Qawmî El Ijtima'î: 1932-1962*, [Arabic: *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party: 1932-1962*], (Beirut: Literary Heritage House, 2014), pp.176-191. See also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp.140-141.

³⁶ Decree No. 8420 dated 2 January 1962 signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Minister of Interior Kamal Jumblatt. *Official Gazette* (1962), Issue No. 2, 10 January 1962, pp.31-32.

the key element of the administrative reforms . . .”³⁷
[Translation from Arabic].

Joseph Chader, on the other hand, entered into heavy debate on a proposed law criminalizing the act of ridiculing the president of a foreign country, by arguing in favor of conditional freedom of speech. Chader, despite being a proponent of freedom of expression, asserted that the national security of the country outweighed any such right to speech. As such, he made certain proposals to amend the language of the draft legislature.³⁸

Shamlian, on his part, co-sponsored a piece of legislation on Rental Law with Deputy Ahmad Isbir in July 1962. Shamlian in promoting the legislative measure, argued that:

“As you may know, I presented with my compatriot Mr. Ahmad Isbir a measure to amend the Rental Laws so they resemble the laws that previously had passed in order to reduce the amount of rents for leases made after the end of 1956.

“Undoubtedly, the controversy or debate over the new increase in rents made after 1956 and the reduction of the old rents, created two, separate and oppressed groups: the first class is the lessees whose leases entered into after 1956 and the second class is related to landlords with the old leases.

“You might ask how my proposal provides a solution to this crisis, and how it mitigates it. The answer is simple: First, it is essential to approve the project known as the public housing project. Second, it is important to approve the project presented by Mr Mohsen Saleem, concerning commercial establishments. Third, accept the project presented by Mr Joseph Chader relative to the ownership of flats (*condominiums*) in a single building. Fourth, approve the measure presented by the government after giving a consensus to the abovementioned amendments, as the people are waiting

³⁷ For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian’s speech during the deliberations of the 1962 Budget, see Appendix 9.2. *Official Minutes (1962)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 16 January 1962.

³⁸ *Official Minutes (1962)*: 13th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 30 May 1962.

for the promulgation of this very law.”³⁹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Subsequent to Shamlian’s speech on the Rental Law, Deputy Joseph Chader argued:

“Dear compatriots, do not be surprised because of the tonality of some of our compatriots in the subject of the Rental Act because it is among the most complicated and hardest acts that our Chamber and other parliaments in the world have dealt with. The reason behind that is the conflicting and contradicting interests... therefore, we have to study it carefully and in depth.

“Gentlemen, the rental crisis in this country started in 1940’s during World War II. The then Lebanese legislators dealt with it in an unsuccessful manner that made us face this problem as such. Had the previous governments and this Chamber agreed on the construction of public housing ten or fifteen years ago, we wouldn’t have reached the situation that we have reached today.”

“First, we must build public housing and sell them to the poor for six thousand Lebanese pounds paid in monthly installments of fifty Lebanese pounds. Ten years later, the poor will become owners of the flats where they live with their families.”

“Second, we should adopt the bill presented by Mohsen Saleem on commercial properties. This measure was unanimously endorsed by the Administration and Justice Committee without amendment and has been adopted by the government. We ask the government to include it on the agenda.

“Third... we should adopt [*a measure*] for the organization of the properties into [*subdivided*] floors

³⁹ For the full Arabic text of Vartkes Shamlian’s speech concerning the Rental Laws, please see Appendix 10.2. *Official Minutes (1962)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 3 July 1962.

and apartments in one building.”⁴⁰ [*Translation from Arabic*].

In addition to the controversial Rental Law, the 10th Parliament considered, debated and adopted a proposed law on religious courts for the Sunni and Ja’afari (Shia) sects in Lebanon. All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies voted in favor of the adoption of the law and President Chehab signed it into law on 16 July 1961.⁴¹

Deliberations on the state budgets, however, were heavily debated, especially on the issue of allocation of funds and government expenses on public projects. During the discussions on the proposed 1963 Budget, Khatchig Babikian argued:

“The Budget, gentlemen, for most people and to some extent to a few, is an opportunity to argue and criticize as well as to praise the government. It is an opportunity either to attack the government and undermine some of its ministers, or an opportunity to applaud the government on its accomplishments... However, it [*the budget*] is a tool to deprive, and it is a tool for the government’s generosity towards the people.

“The Budget is a tool of deprivation. The budget is about taxes and fees. In the eyes of the employee, the revenue of the budget comes from the deduction from his salary at the end of each month. For the merchants and industrialists, it is the tax collector who attends at the end of each year to cut their profits...”

“However... the budget is also a tool for generosity, as it relates to public expenditure, it is considered a source of income for citizen. The budget is utilized to pay salaries, wages and pensions. The budget is for large construction

⁴⁰ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech on the Rental Laws, see Appendix 8.27. *Official Minutes (1962)*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the Parliament held on 5 July 1962.

⁴¹ Law Concerning Religious Courts for the Sunni and Ja’afari Sects was presented by the government to the 10th Parliament for consideration through Decree No. 8457 dated 8 January 1962 signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Minister of Justice Fouad Boutros. The Parliament adopted the law in a unanimous vote on 28 June 1962. *Official Minutes (1962)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 28 June 1962. President Chehab signed it into law on 16 July 1962. *Official Gazette (1962)*, Issue 29, 18 July 1962, pp.1102-1185.

projects, water, electricity, roads, ports, airports, social security . . .”⁴² [*Translation from Arabic*].

As the 10th Parliament approved the 1963 Budget, sudden revolts and counter-revolts across the border in Syria slowed down the parliament’s activities. On 8 March 1963, a group of Syrian Army officers, that included Ba’athists and independents, staged a *coup d’état* against the Syrian Government and took power. Subsequently, a counter-*coup* organized by the Nasserists was aborted in July 1963, thus tightening the grip of the Ba’ath Party in Syria.⁴³ Naturally, the implications of the Ba’athist revolution in Syria sent strong political waves into Lebanon.⁴⁴

In the light of the regional political changes, the 10th Parliament held a special extraordinary session in June 1963 to discuss the government’s foreign policy. After deliberations, Prime Minister Karami demanded that a vote of confidence in the government be re-cast. This produced 66 votes of confidence against 17 abstentions. The official records do not indicate how each individual deputy cast his vote. Nevertheless, Deputy Chader delivered a speech, and praised the foreign and domestic policies of the government before casting a vote of confidence. Chader said:

“Concerning the foreign policy, we think that the neutral policy adopted by the current government is wise and very successful. The events that took place, and are still taking place around us, lead the fair and moderate people to praise this policy, which provides stability to the country.

“As for domestic policy, we can go a little into details . . . The government has solved the security issue in a generally satisfying way. The proof is that the percentage of executed arrest warrants, according to the statistics, reached 100% in last May. This is why I praise the great efforts exerted, and still being exerted, by the General Directorate of General Security carrying out a

⁴² For the full Arabic text of Deputy Khatchig Babikian’s speech on the 1963 Budget, please see Appendix 9.3. *Official Minutes (1963)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 9 January 1963.

⁴³ For an account on the 8 March 1963 coup d’état staged by the Syrian Ba’ath Party, please see McHugo, *Syria: From Great War to Civil War*, pp.144-145.

⁴⁴ To diffuse any domestic or regional tensions, the Government of Rasheed Karami issued Decree No. 12562 on 19 April 1963 to ban any dealings with the State of Israel. *Official Gazette (1963)*, Issue No. 33, 25 April 1963, pp.1530-1531.

census of around four hundred thousand foreigners in Lebanon, along with studying their situation to control entry, exit and residency in the country. This can be considered a great achievement in internal and external security.

“The government has also effectively and successfully tackled economic matters that all experts recognized. . . In fact, the adopted monetary policy was very sound. The government established the National Central Bank to replace the issuing institution on April 1, 1964. The government drafted a law relating to the Lebanese currency and organizing the task of the Central Bank.

“The spending policy was excellent, especially for the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation. . . While talking of structural projects, it is worth mentioning the agreements concluded with the Iraq Oil Company and Tapline, which generated 88 million Lebanese pounds that were allocated to structural projects and raised the annual returns from five million to 26 million Lebanese pounds per year.

“In the agricultural field, I especially point out the land reclamation project, known as the Green Project, which is awaiting ratification by the parliament after being examined by the relevant committees... In tourism, for the first time, the government is giving this core subject a serious attention.

“Finally, I would like to mention the efforts exerted by the government to conclude agreements with the European Common Market and to improve our political, economic and cultural relationships with a wider range of wealthy African countries given the importance of these countries for Lebanese expatriates, entrepreneurs and technicians.

“In brief, the current government has undertaken great work with progressive principles and with a contemporary mentality; therefore, it deserves consensus so it may continue its useful and noble work. . . The opposition, certainly, has complaints but only God is perfect. The important is that the opposition proves to us and to the people that it is not trying to overthrow the government to just replace ministers, but to form a more

active and hardworking government than the present one. . . With all our loyalty and objectivity, we grant this Government a vote of confidence and we will continue to cooperate with it in a constructive and positive way.”⁴⁵ [Translation from Arabic].

As soon as Prime Minister Karami's government received the re-confirmation of the vote of confidence by the 10th Parliament, issued Decree No. 13513 on 1 August 1963 and established the Central Bank of Lebanon (*Banque du Liban*).⁴⁶ The government then appointed Philip Taqla as the first Governor⁴⁷ and Joseph Oughourlian as the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank.⁴⁸

Further to the introduction of such reforms by the Executive Branch, the Government, with the intent of establishing transparency and later to utilize it in the legislative elections, published the results of a census that was conducted by 31 December 1961 and which was based upon the 1932 Census, claiming that the the population in Lebanon was 2,151,884, distributed as follows: Beirut: 298,129; Mount Lebanon: 622,284; Northern Lebanon: 506,079; Southern Lebanon: 404,425; and Beka'a Valley: 320,967.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader' speech during the special session of the 10th Parliament discussing the foreign and domestic policies of P.M. Rasheed Karami's government, see Appendix 8.28. *Official Minutes (1963)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session, 2nd Cycle, of the 10th Parliament held on 27 June 1963.

⁴⁶ Decree No. 13513 dated 1 August 1963 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami establishing a Monetary Policy and a Central Bank in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1963)*, Issue No. 62 Supplement, 5 August 1963, pp.3439-3474.

⁴⁷ Decree No. 13734 dated 28 August 1963 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing Philip Taqla as the Governor of the Central Bank. *Official Gazette (1963)*, Issue No. 71, 5 September 1963, p.3833.

⁴⁸ Decree No. 13745 dated 31 August 1963 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing Joseph Oughourlian as the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank. *Official Gazette (1963)*, Issue No. 73, 12 September 1963, p.3954.

⁴⁹ Decree No. 14987 dated 31 December 1961 signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Minister of Interior Kamal Jumblatt publishing the official numbers of the Census, based upon the registered individuals in the 1932 Census up to 31 December 1961. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 4, 13 January 1964, pp.109-138.

As the 10th Parliament convened in January 1964 to deliberate on the proposed 1964 Budget, the Chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, Joseph Chader, presented a report with specific comments on the Budget, whereas Vartkes Shamlian delivered a speech to highlight the necessity of public housing, especially for those residing in Karantina and Bourj Hammoud. Shamlian argued:

“Mr Speaker, esteemed compatriots, concerning the discussions over the 1964 Budget, generally, I would like to draw your attention to some points related to the Ministry of Public Works and Public Health and the Ministry of Justice.”

“We lately read in the newspapers a declaration from Sheikh Pierre Gemayel concerning public housings, such as moving the *[metallic]* huts of Karantina to the outskirts of the City of Beirut... I must congratulate the government for this initiative, and you might remember the fire that started in Karantina’s huts exactly a year ago. Back then, a special committee was formed and fulfilled its duty but as they say ‘real work is about finishing it’.

“The fire was a disaster that affected certain people who are part of our families. This disaster was an eye opener on painful situations and pointed out at big projects and pushed us to realize them in a faster rhythm.

“Gentlemen, ‘learn from others’ mistakes’ is a very well-known proverb that we hear a lot. Therefore, we should not go through this situation by simply comforting the injured, helping them with a pity feeling or distributing money to them. Our first duty should be to learn from this disaster, a real lesson, and rush to finish the projects, such as the public housing project, that help us avoid such accidents.

“As a result, we must look at every part of Lebanon where huts similar to those in Karantina exist, such as Bourj Hammoud-El Metn . . . and demand that the Government builds decent public housings to shelter thousands of citizens that live today in the huts,

unsuitable even for animals.”⁵⁰ [Translation from Arabic].

The last day of the 10th Parliament was on 28 January 1964. The government issued Decree No. 15417 on 19 February 1964 and dissolved parliament and called for new elections to be held on four different days: Northern Lebanon on 5 April; Beka’a Valley on 12 April; Beirut and Mount Lebanon on 26 April; and Southern Lebanon on 3 May 1964.⁵¹

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Fouad Chehab		
Cabinet of 20 February 1964⁵²		
1.	Hussein El Oweini	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Defense
2.	Gebran Nahhas	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice
3.	Philip Taqla ⁵³	Minister of Foreign Affairs
4.	Charles Helou	Minister of Education
5.	Fouad Najjar	Minister of Agriculture
6.	Ameen Beyham	Minister of Finance
7.	George Naccache	Minister of Public Works; Transport; Information/ Tourism
8.	Reda Waheed	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
9.	Fouad Ammoun	Minister of Economy and Public Planning
10.	Muhammad Kena’ou	Minister of Public Health and PTT

**Table 10.7 – Cabinet Members of Hussein El Oweini’s Government
(20 February 1964)**

As soon as the President issued the decree dissolving the parliament, Prime Minister Karami’s government resigned. President Chehab appointed Hussein El Oweini to form a cabinet that would organize and oversee the legislative elections in April and May 1964.

⁵⁰ For the full Arabic text of Varkes Shamlan’s speech during the deliberations on the 1964 Budget, please see Appendix 10.3. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 2nd Ordinary Session of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 28 January 1964.

⁵¹ *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 15, 20 February 1964, p.497.

⁵² Decree No. 15652 dated 20 February 1964 signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 17, 20 February 1964, pp.569-570. This Cabinet did not present any ministerial statement and did not receive a confidence vote from the 10th Parliament.

⁵³ Minister of Foreign Affairs Philip Taqla resigned from the Cabinet on 1 April 1964. Decree No. 15966 dated 1 April 1964 signed by President Fouad Chehab and PM Hussein El Oweini accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 29, 9 April 1964, p.1179.

Pime Minister El Oweini did not present a ministerial statement nor did he receive a vote of confidence from the 10th Parliament.

	Prime Ministers	Saeb Salam	Saeb Salam
		18 Aug 1960 ⁵⁴	30 May 1961 ⁵⁵
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	✓	✓
2.	J. Chader	NS	✓
3.	Kh. Babikian	✓*	✓
4.	S. Khanamirian	✓	✓
5.	V. Shamlian	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 10.8 (a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 10th Parliament

⁵⁴ Decree No. 4943 dated 1 August 1960 signed by President Fouad Chehab appointing Saeb Salam as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1960)*, Issue No. 33, 3 August 1960, p.1061. Prime Minister Saeb Salam presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed government to the 10th Parliament on 18 August 1960 and received 78 votes of confidence, including those of Khatchig Babikian, Vartkes Shamlian, Movses Der-Kaloustian and Souren Khanamirian. Joseph Chader was absent along with Camille Chamoun, Salem Abdul Noor, Emile El Bustani, George El Hrawi, Youssef El Zein, Adnan El Hakeem, Ahmad Isbir and Nazem El Qadiri. There is no independent record as who cast no-confidence votes. With Deputy Khatchig Babikian taking a ministerial portfolio, it is inferred that the Lebanese-Armenian Bloc of the 10th Parliament naturally cast confidence votes. *Official Minutes (1960)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 18 August 1960.

⁵⁵ Decree No. 6784 dated 20 May 1961 signed by President Fouad Chehab re-appointing Saeb Salam as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 23, 24 May 1961, p.576. Prime Minister Saeb Salam presented the new Government's ministerial statement to the 10th Parliament on 30 May 1961 and received 46 votes of confidence against 44. All 5 Lebanese Armenian Deputies, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Joseph Chader, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian and Vartkes Shamlian cast votes of confidence. The Deputies who cast no-confidence votes were: Mahmoud Ammar, Camille Akl, Ahmad Isbir, Jean Harb, Adnan El Hakeem, Nouhad Boueiz, Suleiman El Ali, Albert Moukheiber, Raymond Edde, Gabriel Germanos, Mikhael El Debs, Murshed El Habshi, Edward Hnein, Mustafa El Rifae', Kazem El Solh, Nayef El Masri, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour, Shafeeq Murtada, Elias El Koury, Habib Keirouz, Sa'eed Tawq, Ameen El Hafez, Yacoub El Sarraf, Habib Moutran, Michel Skaff, George El Hrawi, Othman El Dana, Mouhsen Saleem and Fouad El Bart. Only Youssef Salem abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 15th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 30 May 1961.

	Prime Ministers	Rasheed Karami
		16 Nov. 1961 ⁵⁶
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	✓
2.	J. Chader	✓
3.	Kh. Babikian	✓
4.	S. Khanamirian	✓
5.	V. Shamlan	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 10.8 (b) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 10th Parliament

⁵⁶ Decree No. 7991 dated 31 October 1961 signed by President Fouad Chehab appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 48, 8 November 1961, p.1226. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented his government's ministerial statement to the 10th Parliament on 16 November 1961 and received 63 confidence votes against 18. All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast confidence votes. Among the Deputies who cast no-confidence votes were: Albert Moukheiber, Adel Osseiran, Jean Harb, Mahmoud Ammar, Elias El Khoury, Nicola Salem, Youssef Salem, Raymond Edde, Camille Akl, Ahmad Isbir, Gabriel Germanios, Sameeh Osseiran, Habib Moutran, Edward Hnein, Khalil El Khoury, Fouad El Bon, Nouhad Boueiz and Fouad Naffa'a. Only Adnan El Hakeem abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1961)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 16 November 1961.

The 11th Lebanese Parliament

(1964-68)

Decree No. 15417 dated 19 February 1964 dissolved the 10th Parliament and called for new legislative elections to take place throughout Lebanon.¹ The Lebanese-Armenian community was actively involved with the pre-election campaign by promoting several candidates.² The elections were held based on the Electoral Law of 1960, allocating the same five seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community in the new parliament as in the previous one.³ The incumbents Der-Kaloustian, Chader, Babikian and Khanamirian were re-elected from

¹ Decree No. 15417 dated 19 February 1964 signed by President Fouad Chehab, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Minister of Interior Kamal Jumblatt dissolving the 10th Parliament and setting the new dates for the legislative elections for the 11th Parliament. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1964)*, Issue No. 15, 20 February 1964, p.497.

² For detailed pre-election campaign of the Lebanese-Armenian community in 1964, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.192-210.

³ Decree No. 15417 dated 19 February 1964 and signed by President Fouad Chehab.

Beirut's 1st District and Andre Tabourian was elected, replacing Shamlian, in the El Metn District.⁴

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absence	Record
1	Movses Der-Kaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	147	7	95%
2	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1 st	147	6	96%
3	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	147	6	96%
4	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	147	38	74%
5	Andre Tabourian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	147	54	63%

Table 11.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 11th Lebanese Parliament (1964-68)

The 11th Parliament had an active legislative life but was overshadowed by regional and domestic turbulences that changed the political landscape in the Middle East. The emergence of the Ba'ath Party in Syria, Israel's diversion of the waters from the River Jordan and the Arab efforts to counter it;⁵ the ongoing conflict between Abdul Nasser and Saudi Arabia; the Six-Day War between Israel and neighboring Arab States in 1967 and the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had tremendous impact on Lebanon's political life. The 11th Parliament held 147 meetings comprising of 85 ordinary and 62 extraordinary meetings and a special meeting to elect the president.

The first day of the 11th Parliament was on 8 May 1964. Deputy Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite), the eldest Deputy, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) as Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 52 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Ba'albeck) 42 votes. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Abdul Lateef El Azeimi

⁴ Official results of the legislative elections were announced by the Ministry of Interior and ratified by the Chamber during the first meeting of the newly elected Parliament. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1964): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 May 1964.*

⁵ For details about the Arab-Israeli fight over water, please see Moshe Shemesh, "Prelude to the Six-Day War: The Arab-Israeli Struggle over Water Resources," *Israeli Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 3 (Fall 2004).

The 11th Lebanese Parliament (1964-68)

99	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 11 th Lebanese Parliament (1964-68)
1 st	Beirut	Antoine Sahnawi (Roman Catholic); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Sourén Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Charles Sa'ad (Protestant); Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox) and Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox).
2 nd	Beirut	Rasheed Beydoun (Shia); Sami El Solh (Sunni) and Fareed Gebran (Minorities).
3 rd	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Subhi El Mahmasani (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Naseem Majdalani (Roman Orthodox).
4 th	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Elias El Khoury (Maronite); Michel Farhat (Maronite); Najeeb Saliha (Druze) and Mahmoud Ammar (Shia).
5 th	El Metn	Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Jameel Lahoud (Maronite); Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox); Saleem Lahoud (Maronite); Maurice Gemayel (Maronite);
6 th	El Chouf	Anwar El Khatieb (Sunni); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); Joseph Moughabghab (Roman Catholic); Sami El Bustani (Maronite); Abdul Aziz Chehab (Maronite); Aziz Aoun (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Muhammad El Berjawi (Sunni).
7 th	Aley	Emile Moukarzel (Maronite); Khalil El Khoury (Maronite); Fadlallah Talhouq (Druze); Majeed Arslan (Druze) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8 th	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); George Karam (Maronite); Maurice Zuwein (Maronite) and Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite).
9 th	Jbeil	Ali El Hussein (Shia); Antoine Sa'eed (Maronite) replaced by Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Shaheed El Khoury repl'd by Najeeb El Khoury (Maronite).
10 th	Saida	Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
11 th	Saida-Sub	Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic) and Abdul Kareem El Zein (Shia).
12 th	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Ghaleb Shaheen (Shia);
13 th	Sour	Ja'afar Sherefedeen (Shia); Ali Arab (Shia) and Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia).
14 th	Bent Jbeil	Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Azeimi (Shia).
15 th	Marja'yun	Asa'ad Biyou (Roman Orthodox); Suheil Chehab (Sunni) and Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Mamdouh El Abdullah (Shia).
16 th	Jezzine	Jean Aziz (Maronite); Simon Sahnawi (Roman Catholic); Maroun Kena'an (Maronite).
17 th	Zahle	Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hussein Mansour (Shia); Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni); Mikhael El Debs (Roman Orthodox); Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite) replaced by Joseph El Hrawi (Maronite).
18 th	Rashaya	Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox); Shebli El Aryan (Druze); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19 th	Ba'albek/Hermel	Antoine Maleh (Roman Catholic); Basheer Keirouz (Maronite); Taqiedeen El Solh (Sunni); Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Fadlallah Dandash (Shia); Muhammad Abbas Yaghi (Shia); and Nayef El Masri (Shia).
20 th	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Salem Kabbara (Sunni); Fouad El Bart (Roman Orthodox); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni).
21 st	Tripoli/S	Murshed El Samad (Sunni) and Muhammad Alamedeen (Sunni).
22 nd	Akkar	Basheer El Othman (Sunni); Beheej Qaddoura (Sunni); Rushdi Fakhr (Maronite) and Yacoub El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox).
23 rd	Zghorta	Rene Mouawad (Maronite); Suleiman Franjeh (Maronite) and Father Sama'an El Douweih (Maronite).
24 th	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox)
25 th	Besheri	Habib Keirouz (Maronite) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite).
26 th	El Batroun	Jean Harb (Maronite) and Manwal Younis (Maronite).

Table 11.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 11th Lebanese Parliament (1964-68)

(Shia, Bent Jbeil) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Zahle) were elected as Commissioners.⁶

	8 May 1964 ⁷	20 October 1964 ⁸
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Sabri Hamadeh
Deputy Speaker	Adeeb El Ferzli	Adeeb El Ferzli
Secretaries	Hashem El Hussein Qabalan El Khoury	Hashem El Hussein Elias El Khazen
Commissioners	Andre Tabourian Abdullah El Azeimi Rifa'at Qaz'oun	Andre Tabourian Ja'afar Sherefedeen Muhammad El Berjawi

Table 11.3 (a) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 11th Lebanese Parliament

On the first day, several prominent Deputies proposed that Parliament considers an amendment to Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution to pave the way for the re-election of President Chehab.

⁶ *Official Minutes (1964)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 May 1964.

⁷ Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) as the Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 52 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Ba'albeck) 42 votes, with 1 blank paper. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite, Besheri) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Abdul Lateef El Azeimi (Shia, Bent Jbeil) and Refa'at Qaz'oun (Sunni, Zahle) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 May 1964.

⁸ Youssef El Hrawi (Maronite), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 52 votes against Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marjayoun) 46 votes, with 1 blank paper. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Elias El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ja'afar Sherefedeen (Shia, Sour) and Muhammad El Berjawi (Sunni, El Chouf) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 20 October 1964.

	19 October 1965 ⁹	18 October 1966 ¹⁰	17 October 1967 ¹¹
Speaker	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh	Sabri Hamadeh
Deputy Speaker	Adeeb El Ferzli	Adeeb El Ferzli	Adeeb El Ferzli
Secretaries	Hashem El Hussein Elias El Khazen	Hashem El Hussein Elias El Khazen	H. El Hussein Elias El Khazen
Commissioners	Andre Tabourian Ali El Hussein Muh'd El Berjawi	Andre Tabourian Ali El Hussein Muh'd El Berjawi	Andre Tabourian Ali El Hussein Muh'd El Berjawi

Table 11.3 (b) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau

⁹ Sami El Solh (Sunni), the eldest deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 53 votes against Kamel El As'ad (Shia, Marjayoun) 38 votes, with 1 blank paper. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Elias El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ali El Hussein (Shia, Jbeil) and Muhammad El Berjawi (Sunni, El Chouf) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees to the session were: Jean Aziz, Maurice Zuwein, Aziz Aoun, Anwar El Khateeb, Muhammad Abbas Yaghi, and Charles Sa'ad. *Official Minutes (1965)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 19 October 1965.

¹⁰ Sami El Solh (Sunni), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 62 votes against Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia, El Nabatiye) 26 votes, with 4 blank papers. Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Elias El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ali El Hussein (Shia, Jbeil) and Muhammad El Berjawi (Sunni, El Chouf) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Saleem Lahoud, Michel Farhat, Mamdouh El Abdullah, Maurice Gemayel, Rushdi Fakhr, Asa'ad Biyoude, and Ali Arab. *Official Minutes (1966)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 18 October 1966.

¹¹ Sami El Solh (Sunni), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 11th Parliament with 72 votes against Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia, Sour) 3 votes, Nayef El Masri (Shia, Hermel) 3 votes with 1 blank paper Adeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Elias El Khazen (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ali El Hussein (Shia, Jbeil) and Muhammad El Berjawi (Sunni, El Chouf) were elected as Commissioners. Absentees were: Kamel El As'ad, Muhammad Alamedeen, Anwar El Sabah, Ja'afar Sherefedeen, Simon Sahnawi, Abdul Kareem El Zein, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Abdullah El Azeimi, Mamdouh El Abdullah, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Ghaleb Shaheen, Fareed Gebran, Jean Harb, Rushdi Fakhr, Muhammad El Berjawi, Suheil Chehab, Elias El Khoury, Elias El Khazen, Saleem Lahoud and Antoine Maleh. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 17 October 1967.

Among the proponents of the constitutional amendment was Deputy Khatchig Babikian.¹² The Deputies prepared a draft law amending the Constitution on 14 May 1964 and delegated the newly elected Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad to meet with President Chehab to convince him to accept the re-election. President Chehab refused to be re-elected.¹³

Nevertheless, an official petition was signed by certain Deputies demanding an amendment to the Constitution that was presented to the Speaker on 25 May 1964, who in turn presented it to parliament for discussion on 26 May 1964.¹⁴ After heated discussions between advocates of the measure and those who strongly opposed it, the measure was carried by 79 votes in favor and 14 against. Khatchig Babikian, who supported the re-election of the President, voted in favor of the measure along with Der-Kaloustian, Khanamirian and Tabourian. Chader, however, after delivering a short speech outlining the reasons he and the party he represented would vote against the measure. Chader argued:

“The Lebanese Phalange Party must have a say in the matter of amending some articles of the constitution. The party's position on amending the constitution has been known to everyone for the past twenty-seven years. We have been and continue to be against the principle of amending the constitution for many reasons. . . Stability in the ordinary laws, and especially

¹² The prominent Deputies who urged parliament to consider an amendment to Article 49 of the Constitution were: Rasheed Karami, Sabri Hamadeh, Kamal Jumblatt, Taqiedeen El Solh, Fouad Boutros, Rene Mouawad, Beheej Taqiedeen, Anwar El Khateeb, Abdul Aziz Chehab, Fadlallah Dandash, Edeeb El Ferzli, Muhammad Safiedeen, Maurice Zuwein, Antoine Sa'eed, Othman El Dana, Elias El Khazen and Khatchig Babkian. For details, see Nicola Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, [Arabic: *Fouad Chehab'r Republic*], (Beirut: Dar Annahar Publishing, 2011), pp.514-516.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Among the signatories to the Petition to amend the Constitution were: Murshed El Samad (Sunni, Tripoli), Muhammad Alamedeen (Sunni, Tripoli), Basheer Keirouz (Maronite, Hermel), Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck), Shaheed El Khoury (Maronite, Jbeil), Ali El Hussein (Shia, Jbeil), Ameen El Hafez (Sunni, Tripoli), Saleem Kabbara (Sunni, Tripoli), Rasheed El Solh (Sunni, Beirut), Charles Sa'ad (Protestant, Beirut), and Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni, Saida). *Official Minutes (1964)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 26 May 1964.

in the country's constitution, is essential, more than the economic, financial and social stability.

“Our position on the amendment of the Constitution stems from the principle objectives and is not related to the person of the President of the Republic at all.”¹⁵
[Translation from Arabic].

As the measure to amend the constitution was carried with more than the 2/3 vote ratio necessary, Speaker Kamel El Asa’ad officially notified the President on 28 May 1964. However, President Chehab insisted on not running for a re-election.¹⁶

Accordingly, Speaker Kamel El Asa’ad called for a Special Meeting of the 11th Parliament to elect a new president on 18 August 1964. All 99 Deputies attended and elected Charles Helou as the new President of the Republic with 92 votes. Pierre Gemayel received five votes and there were two blank papers.¹⁷ President-Elect Helou took the Oath of Office on 23 September 1964.¹⁸ Andre Tabourian did not attend the Special Meeting.

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were relatively active in the 11th Parliament. Movses Der-Kaloustian marked a high 95% attendance record. Both Chader and Babikian registered a 96% attendance record each, whereas Souren Khanamirian and Andre Tabourian recorded 38 and 54 absences respectively.

¹⁵ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech against amending Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution for the re-election of President Fouad Chehab, see Appendix 8.29. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 26 May 1964.

¹⁶ Naseef, *Jumhouriet Fouad Chehab*, p.515.

¹⁷ *Official Minutes (1964)*: Special Meeting of the 11th Parliament to elect the President held on 18 August 1964.

¹⁸ *Official Minutes (1964)*: Special Meeting of the 11th Parliament held on 23 September 1964.

			1964-65 ¹⁹	1965-66 ²⁰	1966-67 ²¹	1967-68 ²²
1	Budget & Finance Com	17	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian
2	Admin/Justi	15	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
3	Foreign Aff.	15	None	None	None	None
4	Public Works	15	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
5	Labor/Social	12	None	None	None	None
6	Nat'l Educ.	12	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Econ/ Tourism	12	Babikian Tabourian	Babikian	Babikian Tabourian	Babikian Tabourian
9	Nat' Defense	10	None	None	None	None
10	Pub. Health	10	Tabourian	Tabourian	Tabourian	Tabourian
11	Public Plan.	10	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
12	Info. & PTT	10	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
13	By-Laws	8	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
			* Committee Chairman			

Table 11.4 – Committee Memberships of Armenian Deputies in the 11th Lebanese Parliament (1964-68)

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were actively involved in the workings of the standing committees of the 11th Parliament. Der-Kaloustian was again re-elected as a member to the Public Works Committee, in addition to the National Education and Information/PTT Committees. Chader kept his position as the Chairman of the notorious Budget and Finance Committee, but did not participate in any other committee. Babikian was elected to four different committees, whereas Khanamirian was only involved in the Budget and Finance Committee, and Tabourian was elected to two committees.

Der-Kaloustian and Khanamirian did not participate in the deliberation of the 11th Parliament, nor did Tabourian. Chader and

¹⁹ Election to the standing committees in 1964 was done during two meetings. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 2nd and 3rd Meetings of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 15 and 19 May 1964.

²⁰ Elections to the standing committees in 1965 was done during two meetings. *Official Minutes (1965)*: 1st and 2nd Meetings of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 16 and 18 March 1965.

²¹ Elections to the standing committees in 1966 was done during two meetings. *Official Minutes (1966)*: 1st and 2nd Meetings 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 23 March and 5 April 1966.

²² *Official Minutes (1967)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 18 March 1967.

Babikian were the vocal Lebanese-Armenian voices at the 11th Parliament as they both made numerous speeches on several pieces of legislation. Both Deputies expressed their concerns as to the foreign and domestic policies of governments during discussions on ministerial statements of successive governments. Babikian as legislator was keen to promote legislation for Rental Law²³, whereas Chader expressed his grave concerns about the criminal and civil liabilities to individuals in relation with the bankruptcy filing of Bank Intra.²⁴

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 25 September 1964 ²⁵		
1.	Hussein El Oweini	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Defense
2.	Gebran Nahhas	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Justice
3.	Fouad Najjar	Minister of Agriculture
4.	Ameen Beyham	Minister of Finance
5.	Edmond Kasbar	Minister of Education
6.	George Naccache	Minister of Public Works and Transport; Info. & Tourism
7.	Reda Waheed	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
8.	Fouad Ammoun	Minister of Foreign Affairs
9.	Muhammad Kaniyo	Minister of Public Health and PTT
10.	Joseph Najjar	Minister of Economy and Public Planning

**Table 11.5 – Cabinet Members of Huseein El Oweini Government
(25 September 1964)**

As soon as President Helou took office issued Decree No. 1 (on 25 September 1964) and accepted the resignation of Hussein El Oweini's government. He then re-appointed El Oweini to form a new government.²⁶

Prime Minister El Oweini presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed government to the 11th Parliament on 29 September

²³ For the Arabic text of Khatchik Babikian's speech on the Rental Law, please see Appendix 9.6. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 13 April 1967.

²⁴ *Official Minutes (1967)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 9 January 1967.

²⁵ Decree No. 3 dated 25 September 1964 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 80, 5 October 1964, pp.2717-2718.

²⁶ Decree No. 2 dated 25 September 1964 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Hussein El Oweini as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 80, 5 October 1964, p.2717.

1964 and received 54 votes of confidence against 33 votes of no confidence with one abstention. There is no voting record to ascertain as to how the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies voted.²⁷

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 18 November 1964²⁸		
1.	Hussein El Oweini	Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
2.	Naseem Majdalani	Deputy PM; Minister of Justice
3.	Philip Taqla ²⁹	Minister of Foreign Affairs
4.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Economy
5.	Maurice Zuwein	Minister of Information and Tourism
6.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
7.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Finance
8.	Edward Hnein	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
9.	Yacoub El Sarraf	Minister of Public Health
10.	Taqiedeen El Solh	Minister of Interior
11.	Antoine Sahnawi	Minister of PTT
12.	Najeeb Saliha	Minister of Public Planning
13.	Ali Arab	Minister of Agriculture
14.	Ghaleb Shaheen	Minister of Education

**Table 11.6 – Cabinet Members of Hussein El Oweini’s Government
(18 November 1964)**

However, the government did not last long as it resigned on 18 November 1964.³⁰ President Helou re-appointed El Oweini and asked him to form an expanded government consisting of 14 members. This government, however, despite having an extended number of members did not include any Lebanese-Armenians. President Helou and Pime

²⁷ The only absentees to the session were Najeeb Saliha and Fadlallah Talhouq. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 29 September 1964.

²⁸ Decree No. 488 dated 18 November 1964 and signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 95, 26 November 1964, p.2965.

²⁹ Philip Taqla kept his job as the Governor of the Central Bank while taking the Ministerial portfolio. He resigned from as the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 3 June 1965. Decree No. 1885 dated 2 June 1965 signed President Charles Helou and P.M. Hussein El Oweini accepting the resignation. *Official Gazette (1965)*, Issue No. 44, 3 June 1965, p.724.

³⁰ Decree No. 486 dated 18 November 1964 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of PM Hussein El Oweini. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 95, 26 November 1964, p.2964.

Minister El Oweini appointed Philip Taqla, the Governor of the Central Bank, as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs without relieving Taqla from his governing position at the Central Bank. Governor Philip Taqla, in a Special Executive Decision, however, delegated all the powers of the Governor of the Central Bank to Joseph Oughourlian, the Deputy Governor, so long as the Governor maintained a ministerial portfolio.³¹

Prime Minister El Oweini presented the new government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 8 December 1964 and received 85 votes of confidence against five, with seven abstentions. Those who cast votes of no confidence included Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian, Andre Tabourian and Kareem El Zein. Joseph Chader, unlike the rest of the Armenian Deputies, cast a vote of confidence. Only Majeed Arslan was absent during the session.³²

Deputy Babikian, before casting his vote of no confidence in PM El Oweini's government, on behalf of the Armenian Parliamentary Bloc gave a speech highlighting the reasons behind casting votes of no confidence. Babikian, in relevant parts, stated:

“[On behalf of] myself and my colleagues in the Bloc to which I belong to, I wished that an atmosphere of joy and pleasure, a climate of happiness and purity would have dominated, a unity amongst Lebanese with different religious denominations and parties with diversified communities and regions, to be supportive of their government. . . However, in this country today, a huge category of the Lebanese [*Armenian*] people in terms of number, loyalty and nationalism, is saddened and feels that have been stabbed in the back and being doubted on their nationalism and loyalty. This category is famous for its attachment to freedom and to Lebanon. This group is famous for scarifying for its dogma and faith in the country of dogmas and faith. This group should not be absent from the atmosphere of national unity and

³¹ Executive Decision No. 51 dated 19 November 1964 signed by Philip Taqla, Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon delegating all powers of the governor to Joseph Oughourlian, Deputy Governor of the Central Bank. *Official Gazette* (1964), Issue No. 95, 26 November 1964, p.3000.

³² *Official Minutes* (1964): 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 December 1964.

should not be absent from any occasion expressing nationalism.

“This is why, I regret, on my behalf and on behalf of my compatriots in the [Armenian] Bloc we are affiliated with, that we have to cast votes of no-confidence to the government.”³³ [Translation from Arabic].

As to the 1965 Budget, Deputies Babikian and Chader had considerable impact on the deliberations. Babikian made numerous remarks on the preparation of and the allocation’s in the Budget.³⁴ Joseph Chader delivered a very long technical speech, emphasizing the accounting principles as applied to the state’s budget.³⁵

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 25 July 1965 ³⁶		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Defense
2.	Joseph Najjar	Minister of Public Planning; Agriculture and PTT
3.	George Hakeem	Minister of Foreign Affairs
4.	Emile Tian	Minister of Justice
5.	George Naccache	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
6.	Rafeeq Naja	Minister of Economy
7.	Muhammad Kaniyo	Minister of Interior and Public Health
8.	Najeeb Alamedeen	Minister of Information and Tourism
9.	Suleiman El Zein	Minister of Education
10.	Wajdi Mallat	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs

Table 11.7 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami’s Government (25 July 1965)

³³ For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian’s speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of PM Hussein El Oweini’ Government, before casting no-confidence vote, please see Appendix 9.4. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 December 1964.

³⁴ Khatcig Babikian made remarks almost every day that the Parliament was in session deliberating on the Budget in January 1965. *Official Minutes (1965)*: 3rd, 4th, 6th Meetings of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8, 12 and 15 January 1965 respectively.

³⁵ For the full text of Joseph Chader’s speech on the Budget in 1965, please see *Official Minutes (1965)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 January 1965.

³⁶ Decree No. 7992 dated 31 October 1961 and signed by President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1961)*, Issue No. 48, 8 November 1961, p.1227.

After the adoption of the 1965 Budget by the 11th Parliament, Prime Minister El Oweini's government did not last long. Philip Taqla, Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned on 2 June 1965³⁷ paving the way for the resignation of the entire cabinet on 25 July 1965.³⁸ President Charles Helou immediately appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new government.

Prime Minister Karami presented his government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 12 August 1965 and received 61 votes of confidence against 32 with 1 abstention. There is no independent record to verify as how the deputies in general and the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies voted, in particular. However, in a speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement, Joseph Chader, however, indicated that he intended to cast a vote of confidence. Chader said:

"Mr Speaker, Esteemed Compatriots, MPs of the Kataeb Party will grant a vote of confidence to the honorable government for two reasons: Firstly, this is not a government of challenge, conflict and war. As you may all know, we mediated to form a coalition government that includes the members of this Chamber. . . The second reason was what included in the ministerial statement in terms of principles that we cherish in this Chamber. We have no doubt that the Government will be able to fulfill its promises mentioned in its ministerial statement."³⁹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Deputy Kamal Jumblatt, on other hand, after delivering a long speech before casting his vote of confidence argued that governmental posts should be given to the Armenians, as they were as equal citizens as other Lebanese nationals.⁴⁰ Deputy Abdul Lateef Beydoun, in a

³⁷ Decree No. 1885 dated 2 June 1965 signed by President Charles Helou and PM Hussein El Oweini accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla from the Government. *Official Gazette* (1965), Issue No. 44, 3 June 1965, p.724.

³⁸ Decree No. 2420 dated 25 July 1965 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of the Government led by PM Hussein El Oweini. *Official Gazette* (1965), Issue No. 60, 29 July 1965, p.998.

³⁹ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's government on 12 August 1965, please see Appendix 8.30. *Official Minutes* (1965): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 12 August 1965.

⁴⁰ *Official Minutes* (1965): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 12 August 1965.

subsequent session, thanked Jumblatt for defending the rights of the Armenians, and demanded that Lebanese Shias be treated the same way as the Armenians, arguing that Armenians came to Lebanon about 40 years ago whereas, the Shias were present during the establishment of the republic.⁴¹ Following up on the same subject In a few days, Joseph Chader strongly protested and demanded that ministerial portfolios should be assigned to both Armenians and Shias alike.⁴²

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 9 April 1966 ⁴³		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Information
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Education and Defense
3.	Kamel El Asa'ad	Minister of Water & Power and Public Health
4.	Philip Taqla ⁴⁴	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice
5.	Kamal Jumblatt	Minister of Public Works and Transportation and PTT
6.	Basheer Othman	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Interior
8.	Edward Hnein	Minister of Public Planning and Tourism
9.	Jameel Lahoud	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
10.	Subhi El Mahmasani	Minister of Economy

Table 11.8 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government (9 April 1966)

One of the most important accomplishments of Prime Minister Karami's government, in conjunction with the 11th Parliament, was the approval and adoption of a measure for the development of several projects in Lebanon amounting 272 million Lebanese pounds. Chader delivered a very long and exhaustive speech praising the projects and urged Deputies to adopt them.⁴⁵ The measure was carried with flying

⁴¹ For Abdul Lateef Beydoun's comments see *Official Minutes (1965)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 31 August 1965.

⁴² *Official Minutes (1965)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 7 September 1965.

⁴³ Decree No. 4452 dated 9 April 1966 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 32, 21 April 1966, pp.634-635.

⁴⁴ Philip Taqla resigned as the Minister of Justice on 7 September 1966 and P.M. Abdullah El Yafi was appointed to replace Taqla. Decree No. 5472 dated 7 September 1966 signed by President Charles Helou and PM Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla as the Minister of Justice. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 75, 19 September 1966, p.1340.

⁴⁵ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberations on the LP272 million development projects, please see Appendix 8.31. *Official Minutes*

colors. In addition to Chader, Deputies Babikian, Der-Kaloustian and Khanamirian voted in favor of the measure. Andre Tabourian, however, was not present during the session.⁴⁶

Additionally, the government led by Prime Minister Karami was keen to introduce reforms within the executive branch of the government. In a collaborative measure between the parliament and the government, a piece of legislation was introduced by the government and adopted by the Chamber in February 1966 to create two separate ministries of Tourism and Water and Power, which the President signed into law on 29 March 1966.⁴⁷ The government of Rasheed Karami then resigned on 9 April 1966 to pave the way to incorporate the new ministries into the new government.⁴⁸ President Helou immediately appointed Abdullah El Yafi to replace Karami and form a new cabinet.

Prime Minister El Yafi formed a 10-member cabinet and presented the ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 27 April 1966 and received 55 votes of confidence against 20 votes of no confidence with 13 abstentions. There is no independent record as to how the Deputies cast their votes.⁴⁹ However, Philip Taqla resigned as the Minister of Justice on 7 September 1966⁵⁰ and subsequently resigned

(1965): 9th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 18 November 1965.

⁴⁶ The measure was carried unanimously in the 11th Parliament. However, many Deputies did not attend the meeting, including: Andre Tabourian, Beheej Taqiedeene, Joseph Moughabghab, George Karam, Mahmoud Ammar, Suleiman Franjeh, Father Sama'an El Doueihy, Ja'afar Sherefedeene, Rifa'at Qaz'oun, Nazem El Qadiri, Joseph El Hrawi, Fouad El Bart, Shebli El Aryan, Basheer El Othman, Anwar El Sabah, Joseph Skaff, Rasheed Beydoun, Salem Kabbara, Maurice Gemayel, Aziz Aoun, Habib Keirouz, Rushdi Fakhr, Maroun Kena'an, and Muhammad Abbas Yaghi. *Official Minutes (1965)*: 9th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 18 November 1965.

⁴⁷ *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 27, 4 April 1966, pp.567-568.

⁴⁸ Decree No. 4450 dated 9 April 1966 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Rasheed Karam's government. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 32, 21 April 1966, p.634.

⁴⁹ Among the absentees were: Simon Sahnawi, Rushdi Fakhr, Nouhad Boueiz, Abdul Aziz Chehab, Habib Keirouz, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Saeb Salam, Muhammad Alamedeen, Khalil El Khoury, Anwar El Sabah, Majeed Arslan, and Maurice Zuwein. *Official Minutes (1966)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 27 April 1966.

⁵⁰ Decree No. 5472 dated 7 September 1966 signed by President Charles Helou and P.M. Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla as the Minister of Justice. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 75, 19 September 1966, p.1340.

as the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 28 November 1966⁵¹ leading to the collapse of the government a few days later.⁵² In the meantime, however, Lebanon experienced one of the worst economic crises ever when Bank Intra declared bankruptcy on 14 October 1966, which in itself expedited the resignation of the Yafi government.⁵³

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 6 December 1966 ⁵⁴		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	George Hakeem	Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Suleiman El Zein	Minister of Education and Labor and Social Affairs
4.	Michel El Khoury	Minister of Tourism and Public Planning
5.	Badri El Ma'oushi	Minister of Interior and Defense
6.	Sa'eed Hamadeh	Minister of Agriculture and Economy
7.	Fouad Rezk	Minister of Justice
8.	Naseeb El Barbeer	Minister of Public Health
9.	Fouad El Bezri	Minister of Public Works and Trans. and Water & Power
10.	Michel Edde	Minister of Information and PTT

**Table 11.9 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government
(6 December 1966)**

President Helou asked Rasheed Karami to form a new government. Karami presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed cabinet on 20 December 1966 and received 51 votes of confidence against 16 no-confidence votes, with nine abstentions. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian and Andre Tabourian cast votes of

⁵¹ Decree No. 6145 dated 28 November 1966 signed by President Charles Helou and PM Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 100, 15 December 1966, p.1893.

⁵² Decree No. 6315 dated 6 December 1966 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi's Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 100, 15 December 1966, p.1893.

⁵³ Bank Intra was one of the largest banks in Lebanon headed by Youssef Bayda, a Christian Palestinian. The Bank Intra group controlled the "*Compagnie du Port Beyrouth*", "Middle East Airlines", "Radio Orient" (now, *OGERO*) Hotel Phoenicia and more than 19,000 accounts. For details, please see Fawwaz Trabolsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp.150-151.

⁵⁴ Decree No. 6317 dated 6 December 1966 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1966)*, Issue No. 100, 15 December 1966, p.1894.

confidence, whereas, Joseph Chader cast a no-confidence vote.⁵⁵ Babikian, however, before casting his vote, delivered a speech praising the contents of the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Karami. In his speech Babikian said:

“We have listened to the speech delivered by Prime Minister Karami and we admired its content. He spoke of broad plans and certain programs which will lead towards development and advancement. What is said about Premier Karami as being the master of words and the best in expressing the people’s needs in his speeches, is true.”

“Dear compatriots, do I have to mention that every previous ministerial statement, like this one, spoke about the free and mandatory education? Nevertheless, eight hundred thousand students are still living without a shelter or a school. Every single ministerial statement since 1957 has mentioned about the same problem and has allocated funds to build vast residential compounds. However, not a single compound was built.”

“Mr Prime Minister, Dear gentlemen. A short time will elapse before you realize that your [*the Government’s*] decisions will remain ink on paper and would be implemented despite our solid conviction that you are determined to implement every word you said. Nevertheless, the administrative bodies are not under your control; therefore, a reform is necessary. If I could comment on the priceless statement of this Government, I would say that the statement briefly talked about administrative problems in only two lines.

“I know what is going through the minds of some of you, and some may say that we have addressed the administrative problems in the past and we do the same

⁵⁵ In addition to Joseph Chader, Raymond Edde, Hussein Mansour, Refa’at Qaz’oun, Joseph Skaff, Edward Hnein, Nouhad Boueiz, Albert Moukheiber, Subhi El Mahmasani, Saeb Salam, Taqiedeen El Solh, Othman El Dana, Rasheed El Solh, Maurice Gemayel, Pierre Gemayel, and Rashed El Khoury cast no-confidence votes. The absentees were: Michel Farhat, Abdullah El Azeimi, Mamdouh El Abdullah, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Ja’afar Sherefedeen, Ghaleb Shaheen, Anwar El Sabah, Abdul Kareem El Zein, and Kamel El Asa’ad. *Official Minutes (1966)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 20 December 1966.

now. Some may say that we imposed those who needed to be imposed, we appointed and will appoint those who have to be appointed. But, let me share with you my experience in the administrative matters. The issue of replacing a person with another or appointing this person rather than the other won't bear fruits if it is not the outcome of an objective process. It is a matter of reconsidering the formation of official departments, defining the tasks of each civil servant, reconsidering the phases of transactions and shortening administrative procedures . . ."⁵⁶ [*Translation from Arabic*].

During the same session, and before casting his vote of confidence, Deputy Kamal Jumblatt delivered a long speech, and ended by posing a question to Prime Minister Karami:

"Why we should wait until we have a government of 16 or 18 ministers so that the Armenians may be present in the cabinet? The number of Armenians [*in Lebanon*] are getting more than 170,000."⁵⁷ [*Translation from Arabic*].

After the Bank Intra incident, Prime Minister Karami's government called for an extraordinary session of the 11th Parliament in January 1967 and presented a draft law on the imposition of special laws on banks that declare insolvency.⁵⁸ Joseph Chader delivered a long speech wherein he said:

"14 October 1966 was a terrible day for Lebanon. On that day, Bank Intra stopped paying its customers and the general public was surprised by this disaster that turned out to be much bigger than we imagined in the first day . . . Bank Intra's case is not similar to other bankruptcy cases in Lebanon . . ."

"Intra's case has different aspects. The first aspect lies in the social aspect that has been tackled by the

⁵⁶ For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by Prime Minister Rasheed Karami on 20 December 1966, please see Appendix 9.5. *Official Minutes (1966)*: 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 20 December 1966.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The Government of Rasheed Karami presented a draft law through Decree No. 6333, to impose special laws on banks that declare bankruptcy. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 9 January 1967.

government and this Chamber by passing a law that allows the government to pay the small depositors 50 million Lebanese pounds. The crisis has an economic aspect as well that we tackled by issuing the law that allowed the Central Bank to provide liquidity to the Lebanese banks. Here we are, in front of a third law to avoid the declaration of Intra Bank bankruptcy and find ways to assist this bank, if possible, or go for its dissolution in accordance with the provisions instead of those of the ordinary commercial law.”

“Intra Bank case is not similar to other bankruptcy cases that occurred in Lebanon with some individuals or companies and even banks. Lebanon witnessed many bankruptcies, some of which were banks but did not have big economic and moral influence within or without this country; but, the Intra Bank case is private and has many faces, as I previously said. The most important economic case should not be left in the hands of the bankruptcy trustee as mentioned in the commercial law. As we all know, the bank’s assets are liquidated with the one-thirds or the one-fourths of its values and here is the big loss of hundreds of millions of Lebanese pounds on small and big depositors and creditors. This fact affects the spirit of the country and the future of the Lebanese banks, because if a person deposits one million Lebanese pounds in a Lebanese bank and get paid 30 or 40% of it only, he will never again trust depositing his money in Lebanon’s bank.

“More than three years ago, we started pointing out the situation of the banks in Lebanon. Banks that have flourished in an uncertain way over the last 10 years until the situation got to a point where Lebanon’s ranking in the financial world stood at third or fourth. The regulatory oversight over these banks was not enough, since they took advantage of the freedom given to them and committed abuses, sometimes with illegal or against sound banking behaviour.”⁵⁹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

⁵⁹ For the full Arabic text of Joseph Chader’s speech on the Bank Intra insolvency matter, please see Appendix 8.32. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 9 January 1967.

As the 11th Parliament was engaged in enacting and legislating new laws related to domestic matters, Israel's aggression against the Palestinians in the first half of 1967, shifted the Parliament's focus to regional and cross-border issues. In its 23 May 1967 session, after listening to the government's report on the political and military situation in the Middle East, the 11th Parliament passed a unanimous resolution and granted the Lebanese Government the power to take all necessary military steps, in coordination with Arab countries, against Israel. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Chader, Der-Kaloustian and Khanamirian were present and participated in the vote on the resolution, whereas Babikian and Tabourian were absent.⁶⁰

Two weeks later the Six-Day War broke on 5 June 1967 between Israel and the neighboring Arab states, including the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, President Helou and Prime Minister Karami's government issued an order declaring a state of emergency in Lebanon on the morning of 5 June 1967.⁶¹ The same day, the 11th Parliament held an extraordinary meeting to listen to the government's report on the status of the war. All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Babikian, Der-Kaloustian, Khanamirian, Tabourian and Chader were present during this meeting, but 30 other MPs did not attend.⁶²

Speaker Sabri Hamadeh opened the session on 5 June 1967 (first day of the war) and informed the Prime Minister that the Deputies were ready to grant any specific and extraordinary powers that the government requested as a result of the Israeli aggression.⁶³ Prime

⁶⁰ *Official Minutes (1967)*: 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 23 May 1967.

⁶¹ Decree No. 7508 dated 5 June 1967 signed by President Charles Helou, Prime Minister Rasheed Karami, Minister of Interior and Defense Badri El Ma'oushi declaring a state of emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1967)*, Issue No. 45, 5 June 1967, p.834.

⁶² Those who did not attend include: Rasheed Beydoun, Elias El Khazen, Khalil El Khoury, Muhammad Berjawi, Maurice Zuwein, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Basheer Keirouz, Fadlallah Dandash, Mikhael El Debs, Nayef El Masri, Rushdi Fakhr, Majeed Arslan, Fouad El Bart, George Karam, Antoine Sahnawi, Emile Moukarzel, Edward Hnein, Ali Arab, Rene Mouawad, Pierre Gemayel, Suleiman Franjieh, Kamal Jumblatt, Saeb Salam, Kamel El Asa'ad, Anwar El Khateeb, Ja'afar Sherefedein, Suheil Chehab, Abdul Kareem El Zein, Abdullah Azeimi, and Mamdouh El Abdullah. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 5 June 1967.

⁶³ For a detailed account of the Six-Day War of 1967 between the Arabs and the Israelis, please see Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of*

Minister Karami informed the Chamber that four Israeli military planes had already invaded Southern Lebanon and that one aircraft was downed by the Lebanese military. Karami then proceeded to request special legislative authority through Decree No. 7510, in military, economy, finance, public safety, internal and general security matters, as the conditions of war would not allow the parliament to convene. In a unanimous vote, the 11th Parliament granted powers to issue legislative decrees for two months.⁶⁴

As the Arab-Israeli war unfolded, emergency meetings were held at the UNSC in New York, culminating in the passage of several UNSC Resolutions (233 and 234) urging all governments to take all measures for an immediate cease-fire.⁶⁵ The controlling resolution for future references, however, was UNSC Resolution 242 adopted on 22 November 1967 that affirmed “*the establishment of just and lasting peace in the Middle East*” and called upon “*the withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.*”⁶⁶

In the meantime, the government of Rasheed Karami, issued Legislative Decree No. 1 on 8 June 1967 and ordered that banking institutions in Lebanon not be allowed to disperse more than LP 1,000 from each bank account until 29 June 1967.⁶⁷ The Governor of the

the Modern Middle East, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). See also, Jeremy Bowen, *Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2003) and Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*, (London, Little, Brown, 2007).

⁶⁴ All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Der-Kaloustian, Khanamirian, Tabourian and Chader voted in favor of granting special legislative powers to the Karami Government during the Six-Day War. *Official Minutes (1967)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 5 June 1967.

⁶⁵ United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 233 of 6 June 1967, calling upon the Governments to take all measures for an immediate cease-fire. UNSC Resolution No. 233. [Last visited on 10 March 2016]. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/233\(1967\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/233(1967)). United Nations Security Council Res. No. 234 of 7 June 1967 demanding the governments to discontinue all military activities at 20:00 on 7 June 1967. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/234\(1967\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/234(1967)).

⁶⁶ United Nations Security Council Res. No. 242 of 22 November 1967, calling upon the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict. [Last visited on 10 March 2016]. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/242\(1967\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/242(1967)).

⁶⁷ Legislative Decree No. 1 dated 8 June 1967 signed by President Charles Helou and P.M. and Minister of Finance Rasheed Karami, banning the withdrawal of funds

Central Bank, Philip Taqla, did not approve of the measure and therefore resigned. President Helou appointed Elias Sarkis as Taqla's successor as the new Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon on 16 June 1967.⁶⁸

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 8 February 1968 ⁶⁹		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Defense
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism
3.	Henry Pharaon ⁷⁰	Minister of State
4.	Rasheed Beydoun	Minister of Justice and PTT
5.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of Interior
6.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
7.	Edward Hnein ⁷¹	Minister of Interior
8.	Jean Aziz ⁷²	Minister of Education; Information and Public Planning
9.	Anwar El Khateeb	Minister of Water & Power
10.	Khaled Jumblatt	Minister of Public Health and Agriculture

**Table 11.10 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government
(8 February 1968)**

more than LP1,000 from the Lebanese banks until 29 June 1967. *Official Gazette (1967)*, Issue No. 47, 12 June 1967, pp.850-851.

⁶⁸ Decree No. 7537 dated 16 June 1967 signed by President Charles Helou and P.M. and Minister of Finance Rasheed Karami accepting the resignation of Philip Taqla as the Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon. Decree No. 7539 dated 16 June 1967 signed by President Helou and PM Karami appointing Elias Sarkis as the new Governor of the Central Bank. *Official Gazette (1967)*, Issue No. 49, 19 June 1967, p.886.

⁶⁹ Decree No. 9432 dated 8 February 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the ministers. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 16 February 1968.

⁷⁰ Henry Pharaon, Minister of State, resigned from the Cabinet on 11 April 1968. Decree No. 9737 dated 11 April 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and PM Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignation of Henry Pharaon. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 35, 29 April 1968, p.571.

⁷¹ Edward Hnein, Minister of Economy and Labor and Social Affairs resigned from the Cabinet on 19 June 1968. Decree No. 10309 dated 19 June 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and PM Abdullah El Yafi accepting the resignation of Edward Hnein. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 54, 4 July 1968, p.934.

⁷² Jean Aziz, Minister of Education and Information and PTT resigned from the Cabinet. Decree No. 11154 dated 9 October 1968 signed by President Helou and PM Yafi accepting the resignation of Jean Aziz from the Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1969, p.1555.

When the 1967 war ended, Prime Minister Karami's government cancelled the State of Emergency in Lebanon on 13 January 1968⁷³ and a few weeks later resigned.⁷⁴ President Helou appointed Abdullah El Yafi to form a new government in order to organize and oversee the upcoming legislative elections.

Prime Minister El Yafi presented his government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 16 February 1968 and received 85 votes of confidence, four against and three abstentions. Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Babikian, Khanamirian and Tabourian cast votes of confidence. Chader along with Rashed El Khoury, Maurice Gemayel and Pierre Gemayel cast votes of no confidence.⁷⁵

The last meeting of the 11th Parliament was on 14 March 1968.⁷⁶ New legislative election dates were set for 24 and 31 March and 7 April 1968.⁷⁷

⁷³ Decree No. 9107 dated 13 January 1968 signed by President Chales Helou, P.M. Rasheed Karami and Minister of Interior and Defense Badri El Maoushi lifting the State of Emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 6, 18 January 1968, p.81.

⁷⁴ Decree No. 9430 dated 8 February 1968 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of PM Rasheed Karami's government. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 16 February 1968.

⁷⁵ The absentees from the session were: Ali El Hussein, Muhammad Abbas Yaghi, Rushdi Fakhr, Simon Sahnawi, Antoine Sahnawi, Fadlallah Dandash, and Fouad El Bart. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 16 February 1968.

⁷⁶ *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 14 March 1968.

⁷⁷ *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 9 May 1968.

	Prime Ministers	Hussein El Oweini	Hussein El Oweini	Rasheed Karami
		29 Sep. 1964 ⁷⁸	8 Dec. 1964 ⁷⁹	12 Aug. 1965 ⁸⁰
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	NVR	X	NVR
2.	J. Chader	NVR	√	√
3.	Kh. Babikian	NVR	X	NVR
4.	S. Khanamirian	NVR	X	NVR
5.	A. Tabourian	NVR	X	NVR
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 11.11 (a) - Confidence Vote in Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 11th Parliament

⁷⁸ Decree No. 2 dated 25 September 1964 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Hussein El Oweini as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 80, 5 October 1964, p.2717. Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini presented the Ministerial statement of the newly formed government to the 11th Parliament on 29 September 1964 and received 54 votes of confidence against 33 with 1 abstention. There is no voting record to ascertain as who cast confidence vote and who withheld confidence. The only absentees to the session were Najeeb Saliha and Fadlallah Talhouq. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 29 September 1964.

⁷⁹ Decree No. 487 dated 18 November 1964 signed by President Charles Helou re-appointing Hussein El Oweini as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1964)*, Issue No. 95, 26 November 1964, pp.2964-2965. Prime Minister Hussein El Oweini presented the new government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 8 December 1964 and received 85 votes of confidence against 5 votes of no confidence, with 7 abstentions. The 5 no-confidence votes included Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian, Andre Tabourian and Abdul Kareem El Zein. Joseph Chader cast a vote of confidence. Only Majeed Arslan was absent during the session. *Official Minutes (1964)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 December 1964.

⁸⁰ Decree No. 2421 dated 25 July 1965 signed by President Charles Helou appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1965)*, Issue No. 60, 29 July 1965, p.998. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented his government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 12 August 1965 and received 61 votes of confidence against 32 with 1 abstention. There is no independent record to verify as how the deputies voted. In a speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement, Joseph Chader indicated that he was to cast a vote of confidence. Among the absentees to the session were: Abdul Kareem El Zein, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Charles Sa'ad, Maurice Zuwein and Elias El Khoury. *Official Minutes (1965)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 12 August 1965.

	Prime Ministers	Abdullah El Yafi	Rasheed Karami	Abdullah El Yafi
		27 Apr. 1966 ⁸¹	20 Dec. 1966 ⁸²	16 Feb. 1968 ⁸³
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	NVR	✓	✓
2.	J. Chader	NVR	X	X
3.	Kh. Babikian	NVR	✓	✓
4.	S. Khanamirian	NVR	✓	✓
5.	A. Tabourian	NVR	✓	✓
✓ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

⁸¹ Decree No. 4451 dated 9 April 1966 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Abdullah El Yafi as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette* (1966), Issue No. 32, 21 April 1966, p.634. Prime Minister El Yafi presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed government to the 11th Parliament on 27 April 1966 and received 55 votes of confidence against 20 votes of no confidence with 13 abstentions. There is no independent record as how the deputies cast their votes. Among the absentees were: Simon Sahnawi, Rushdi Fakhr, Nouhad Boueiz, Abdul Aziz Chehab, Habib Keirouz, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Saeb Salam, Muhammad Alamedeen, Khalil El Khoury, Anwar El Sabah, Majeed Arslan, and Maurice Zuwein. *Official Minutes* (1966): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 27 April 1966.

⁸² Decree No. 6316 dated 6 December 1966 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Rasheed Karami as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette* (1966), Issue No. 100, 15 December 1966, p.1894. Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented the new government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 20 December 1966 and received 51 votes of confidence against 16 votes of no confidence, with 9 abstentions. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian and Andre Tabourian cast votes of confidence. Joseph Chader cast a vote of no confidence along with Raymond Edde, Hussein Mansour, Refa'at Qaz'oun, Joseph Skaff, Edward Hnein, Nouhad Boueiz, Albert Moukheiber, Subhi El Mahmasani, Saeb Salam, Taqiedeen El Solh, Othman El Dana, Rasheed El Solh, Maurice Gemayel, Pierre Gemayel, and Rashed El Khoury. The absentees were: Michel Farhat, Abdullah El Azeimi, Mamdouh El Abdullah, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Ja'afar Sherefedeen, Ghaleb Shaheen, Anwar El Sabah, Abdul Kareem El Zein, and Kamel El Asa'ad. *Official Minutes* (1966): 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 20 December 1966.

⁸³ Decree No. 9431 dated 8 February 1968 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Abdullah El Yafi to form a new government. Prime Minister El Yafi presented his government's ministerial statement to the 11th Parliament on 16 February 1968 and received 85 votes of confidence against 4 votes of no confidence, with 3 abstentions. Deputies Movses Der-Kaloustian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian and Andre Tabourian cast votes of confidence. Joseph Chader along with Rashed El Khoury, Maurice Gemayel and Pierre Gemayel cast votes of no confidence. The absentees were: Ali El Hussein, Muhammad Abbas Yaghi, Rushdi Fakhr, Simon Sahnawi, Antoine Sahnawi, Fadlallah Dandash, and Fouad El Bart. *Official Minutes* (1968): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 16 February 1968.

The 12th Lebanese Parliament

(1968-72)

The legislative elections for the 12th Parliament took place on 24 and 31 March and 7 April 1968 based upon the Elections Laws of 1960.¹ The Lebanese-Armenian community was very active during the pre-election campaign and each political party promoted its own candidates.² All five incumbent Deputies, Der-Kaloustian, Babikian, Khanamirian, Chader and Tabourian, were re-elected.

The first meeting of the 12th Parliament was held on 9 May 1968. According to the by-laws of the parliament, the eldest elected member acted as the Speaker *pro tempore* until the Speaker was elected.³

¹ *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 9 May 1968.

² For detailed account of the pre-election campaign of the Lebanese-Armenian deputies for the 12th Parliament, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.211-223.

³ Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the By-Laws of the Lebanese Parliament.

Accordingly, Der-Kaloustian, being the eldest elected Deputy, acted as the Speaker *pro tempore* and officially opened the ordinary session of the 12th Parliament by giving a speech before inviting the Deputies to cast their ballots in order to elect the Speaker. In his speech, Der-Kaloustian said:

“We must work openly together with great respect, love and forgiveness, to be able to fulfill our duties for the best interest of our beloved nation, especially during difficult circumstances that the countries all over the world are going through... I call upon you to seek the objectives of this sacred unity that protects our freedom, sovereignty and correct democratic traditions, and through which we shall achieve a better future. I also call upon you to collaborate with our brothers in every Arab country so as to defend the sacred rights of the Arabs in the wounded Palestine.”⁴ [*Translation from Arabic*].

	Name of Deputy	Sect	Dist.	Mtgs	Absen	Record
1	Movses Derkaloustian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	87	7	92%
2	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1 st	87	4	95%
3	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	87	6	93%
4	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1 st	87	14	84%
5	Andre Tabourian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	87	34	61%

Table 12.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 12th Lebanese Parliament (1968-72)

Der-Kaloustian then called for the election of the permanent Speaker. All 99 newly elected members were present and participated in casting their votes. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) and Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) received 49 votes each and one vote was found outside the ballot box. An intense argument started between the two camps accusing each other of forgery (the paper outside the ballot box was for Kamel El Asa'ad). To remedy the situation, Pierre Gemayel (Maronite, Beirut) suggested to repeat the election, and Saeb Salam (Sunni, Beirut) immediately seconded that suggestion. Speaker *pro tempore* Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut) ordered another round of election that ended up with a majority of 50 votes to Kamel El Asa'ad.

⁴ For the full Arabic text of Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian's speech on 9 May 1968 as the Speaker *pro tempore*, please see Appendix 11.2. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 9 May 1968.

The 12th Lebanese Parliament (1968-72)

99	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 12 th Lebanese Parliament (1968-72)
1 st	Beirut	Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Sameer Is'haq (Protestant); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic).
2 nd	Beirut	Abdul Majeed El Zein (Shia); Adnan El Hakeem (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Minorities).
3 rd	Beirut	Shafeeq El Wazzan (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Abdullah El Yafi (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Naseem Majdalani (Roman Orthodox).
4 th	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Abdo Sa'ab (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia) and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite);
5 th	El Metn	Emile Salhab (Maronite); Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox); Saleem Lahoud (Maronite); Michel El Murr (Roman Orthodox) and Maurice Gemayel (Maronite) replaced by Ameen Gemayel (Maronite).
6 th	El Chouf	Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); Aziz Aoun (Maronite); Issam El Hajjar (Sunni); Fouad El Tahini (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); Camille Chamoun (Maronite); Anwar El Khateeb (Sunni) replaced by Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni).
7 th	Aley	Emile Moukarzel (Maronite); Khalil El Khoury (Maronite); Fadlallah Talhouq (Druze); Majeed Arslan (Druze) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8 th	Keserwan	Antoine Sa'adeh (Maronite); Philip El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite) and Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite).
9 th	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Najeeb El Khoury (Maronite).
10 th	Saida	Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
11 th	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Youssef Salem (Roman Catholic).
12 th	Nabatiyeh	Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia); Sameeh Osseiran (Shia) and Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia).
13 th	Sour	Ja'afar Sherefedeen (Shia); Ali Arab (Shia) and Muhammad Safiedeen (Shia).
14 th	Bent Jbeil	Ibrahim She'eyto (Shia) and Sa'eed Fawwaz (Shia).
15 th	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Ali Madi (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Mamdouh El Abdullah (Shia).
16 th	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Pierre Pharaon (Roman Catholic); Jean Aziz (Maronite).
17 th	Zahle	Joseph Akl (Maronite); Joseph Abu Khater (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni); Hussein Mansour (Shia) and Mikhael El Debs (Roman Orthodox).
18 th	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Camille Dahdouh (Roman Orthodox); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19 th	Ba'albek/Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia); Antoine El Hrawi (Maronite); Habib Moutran (Roman Catholic); Hassan El Rifae (Sunni); Saleem Haydar (Shia); Muhammad Dou'as Ze'ayter (Shia) and Nayef El Masri (Shia).
20 th	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Salem Kabbara (Sunni); Fouad El Bart (Roman Orthodox); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni) and Hashem El Hussein (Sunni).
21 st	Tripoli/s	Ahmad Nassouh El Fadel (Sunni) and Muhammad Fatfat (Sunni).
22 nd	Akkar	Basheer El Othman (Sunni); Beheej Qaddoura (Sunni); Fakhr Fakhr (Maronite) and Yacoub El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox).
23 rd	Zghorta	Rene Mouawad (Maronite); Suleiman Franjeh (Maronite)† replaced by Antoine Franjeh (Maronite) and Father Sama'an El Douweih (Maronite).
24 th	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Philip Boulos (Roman Orthodox) and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orthodox).
25 th	Besheri	Habib Keirouz (Maronite) and Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite).
26 th	El Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Sayed Akl (Maronite).
		† Elected President of the Republic

Table 12.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 12th Lebanese Parliament

	9 May 1968 ⁵	22 Oct 1968 ⁶	21 Oct 1969 ⁷
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Sabri Hamadeh	Kamel El Asa'ad
Deputy Speaker	Naseeb Majdalani	Mounir Abu Fadel	Michel Saseen
Secretaries	Issam El Hajjar Abdo Sa'ab	Hashem El Hussein Abdo Sa'ab	Hashem El Hussein Abdo Sa'ab
Commissioners	Habib Keirouz Ahmad Isber Fadlallah Talhouq	Andre Tabourian Fouad El Tahini Mamdouh El Abdullah	Andre Tabourian Fouad El Tahini Mamdouh El Abdullah

Table 12.3 (a) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 12th Lebanese Parliament

Der-Kaloustian declared El Asa'ad as the elected Speaker of the 12th Parliament.

The 12th Parliament held a total of 87 meetings that included 60 ordinary and 27 extraordinary meetings. After Der-Kaloustian gave

⁵ Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marjayoun) as the Speaker of the 12th Parliament with 50 votes, against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Ba'albeck) 49 votes. Naseeb Majdalani (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Issam El Hajjar (Sunni, El Chouf) and Abdo Sa'ab (Maronite, Baabda) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Habib Keirouz (Maronite, Besheri), Ahmad Isbir (Shia, Jbeil) and Fadlallah Talhouq (Druze, Aley) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 9 May 1968.

⁶ Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 12th Parliament with 50 votes against Kamel El Asa'ad's (Shia, Marjayoun) 42 votes, with 4 blank papers. Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Abdo Sa'ab (Maronite, Baabda) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Fouad El Tahini (Maronite, El Chouf) and Mamdouh El Abdullah (Shia, Marjayoun) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 22 October 1968.

⁷ Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) as the Speaker of the 12th Parliament with 45 votes against Kamel El Asa'ad's (Shia, Marjayoun) 34 votes, Ahmad El Fadel (Sunni, Tripoli) 2 votes with 1 blank paper. Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Abdo Sa'ab (Maronite, Baabda) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Fouad El Tahini (Maronite, El Chouf) and Mamdouh El Abdullah (Shia, Marjayoun) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 21 October 1969.

speeches at the first day of the ordinary sessions each year, remained silent throughout the duration of the of the 12th Parliament, as did Khanamirian and Tabourian.

	20 Oct 1970 ⁸	19 Oct 1971 ⁹
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad
Deputy Speaker	Michel Saseen	Naseeb Majdalani
Secretaries	Hashem El Hussein Sayed Akl	Hashem El Hussein Sayed Akl
Commissioners	Andre Tabourian Ahmad Isber Fadlallah Talhouq	Andre Tabourian Ahmad Isber Fouad El Tahini

Table 12.3 (b) - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 12th Lebanese Parliament

Der-Kaloustian was re-elected to the Public Works Committee and to the National Defense Committee for the 1968-69 term. He was also a member of the National Education Committee. Khanamirian was elected to the Budget and Finance Committee and later became a member of the Information and PTT Committee in 1971. Tabourian was elected to the Labor and Social Affairs Committee as well as to the National Economy Committee. Chader was involved with the Budget and Finance Committee and kept his position as the Chairman.

⁸ Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad's (Shia, Marjayoun) as the Speaker of the 12th Parliament with 83 votes against Muhammad Za'ayter's (Shia, Hermel) 1 vote and Nayef El Masri's (Shia, Hermel) 1 vote with 11 blank papers. Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Sayed Akl (Maronite, El Batroun) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ahmad Isbir (Shia, Jbeil) and Fadlallah Talhouq (Druze, Aley) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 20 October 1970.

⁹ Movses Der-Kaloustian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad's (Shia, Marjayoun) as the Speaker of the 12th Parliament with 62 votes against Mahmoud Ammar (Shia, Baabda) 36 votes. Naseem Majdalani (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Hashem El Hussein (Sunni, Tripoli) and Sayed Akl (Maronite, El Batroun) were elected as Secretaries. Deputies Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ahmad Isbir (Shia, Jbeil) and Fouad El Tahini (Maronite, El Chouf) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1971)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 19 October 1971.

			1968-69 ¹⁰	1969-70 ¹¹	1970-71 ¹²	1971-72 ¹³
1	Budget & Finance Com.	17	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian	Chader* Khanamirian
2	Admin/Justice	15	None	None	None	None
3	Foreign Affairs	15	None	None	None	None
4	Public Works	15	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
5	Labor & Social	12	None	Tabourian	Tabourian	Tabourian
6	Nat'l Educ.	12	Tabourian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian	D-Kaloustian
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Econ/Tou	12	Babikian	Tabourian	Tabourian	Tabourian
9	Nat'l Defense	10	D-Kaloustian	None	None	None
10	Public Health	10	None	None	None	None
11	PubPlanning	10	None	None	None	Babikian
12	Info. & PTT	10	None	None	None	Khanamirian
13	By-Laws Com.	8	Babikian	Tabourian	Tabourian	Babikian
* Committee Chairman						

Table 12.4 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 12th Lebanese Parliament (1968-72)

Khatchig Babikian was appointed Minister of Public Health in Rasheed Karam's government in 1969. He was not involved with parliamentary committees until 1971 when he was elected a member of the Public Planning and the By-Laws committees. Tabourian and Babikian, as Rapporteurs to the National Economy Committee, signed and presented 11 and 4 reports respectively to parliament, whereas, Chader as the Chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, signed and presented 4 reports.

The first meeting of the newly elected parliament was held in the presence of the re-shuffled government headed by Abdullah El Yafi, who subsequently presented his government's ministerial statement to the 12th Parliament on 29 May 1968 and received 62 votes of confidence against 26 votes of no confidence with 6 abstentions. Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Babikian, Khanamirian and Tabourian cast votes of

¹⁰ *Official Minutes (1968)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 27 May 1968.

¹¹ *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 18 March 1969.

¹² *Official Minutes (1970)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th parliament held on 17 March 1970.

¹³ *Official Minutes (1971)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 16 March 1971.

confidence, whereas Chader withheld a confidence vote from the government.¹⁴

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 11 April 1968 ¹⁵		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and Defense
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Rasheed Beydoun	Minister of Justice and Tourism
4.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of Interior
5.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
6.	Edward Hnein ¹⁶	Minister of Interior
7.	Jean Aziz ¹⁷	Minister of Education and Information
8.	Anwar El Khateeb	Minister of Water & Power
9.	Khaled Jumblatt	Minister of Public Health and Agriculture
10.	Joseph Najjar	Minister of PTT and Public Planning
11.	Pierre Edde ¹⁸	Minister of Finance

Table 12.5 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government (11 April 1968)

¹⁴ In addition to Joseph Chader, the following Deputies cast votes of no confidence in Abdullah El Yafi’s government: Father Sama’an El Doueihy, Habib Moutran, Mahmoud Ammar, Hasan El Mais, Hussein Mansour, Camille Dahdouh, Saleem Haydar, Basheer El A’awar, Joseph Moughabghab, Camille Chamoun, Nadeem Na’eem, Saleem Lahoud, Philip El Khazen, Michel Saseen, Nasri El Ma’alouf, Michel El Murr, Sameer Ishaq, Maurice Gemayel, Pierre Gemayel, Louis Abu Sharaf, Edmond Rezk, Antoine Sa’adeh, George Sa’adeh, Abdo Sa’ab and Issam El Hajjar. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 29 May 1968.

¹⁵ Decree No. 9737 dated 11 April 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing Joseph Najjar as Minister of PTT and Public Planning and Rasheed Beydoun Minister of Tourism. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1968)*, Issue No. 35, 29 April 1968, p.571.

¹⁶ Edward Hnein, Minister of Economy and Labor and Social Affairs resigned from the Cabinet on 19 June 1968. Decree No. 10309 dated 19 June 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and P.M. Abdullah El Yafi acting the resignation of Edward Hnein. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 54, 4 July 1968, p.934.

¹⁷ Jean Aziz, Minister of Education and Information resigned from the Cabinet. Decree No. 11154 dated 9 October 1968 signed by President Helou and PM Yafi accepting the resignation of Jean Aziz from the Cabinet. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1969, p.1555.

¹⁸ Pierre Eddé was appointed Minister of Finance on 5 July 1968 through Decree No. 10464 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yaffi, reshuffling the Cabinet for the second time. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 59, 22 July 1968, p.1055.

The domestic and regional political upheavals, however, did not help Prime Minister El Yafi's government to accomplish its objectives. The unprecedented defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 war had a devastating impact on Lebanon, in general and Yafi's government in particular. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) started to reconsider its tactics and started to wage guerrilla warfare and commando raids against Israel from neighboring states, including Lebanon.¹⁹ Consequently, the first clashes between the Lebanese Army and Palestinian *fedayeens* started on 1 March 1968 in Southern Lebanon leading to the formation of the Tripartite Alliance (*El Helf El Thulathi*) between Pierre Gemayel, Camille Chamoun and Raymond Edde.²⁰

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 12 October 1968 ²¹		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior and Education
2.	Fouad Ghossen	Deputy PM; Minister of Information and PTT
3.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense and Justice
4.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Finance and Health
5.	Nasri El Ma'alouf	Minister of Economy and Labor and Social Affairs
6.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of Public Works and Transport; Public Planning
7.	Ali Arab	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism
8.	Anwar El Khateeb	Minister of Water & Power and Agriculture

**Table 12.6 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi's Government
(12 October 1968)**

The escalation of animosity on the domestic political scene and the intensification of a negative campaign against the presence of the Palestinians in Lebanon, Prime Minister Yafi's Cabinet did not survive for six months, and resigned under political pressure.²² President Helou re-appointed El Yafi to form a new government on 12 October 1968,

¹⁹ For PLO activities post the Six Day War of 1967 war and in the early 1968, see Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*, (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015), pp.147-151. See also, Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp.153-156.

²⁰ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.154.

²¹ Decree No. 11224 dated 12 October 1968 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1968, p.1556.

²² Decree No. 11222 dated 12 October 1968 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi's government. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1968, p.1555.

however, the new Yafi government had problems surviving from its inception, as President Helou himself, presented his resignation, but later withdrew after receiving support from the *El Helf El Thulathi*.²³

The President thereafter dissolved the Cabinet,²⁴ and proceeded to re-appoint El Yafi to form a four-men cabinet: two from non-Chehabis and two from the *El Helf* a week later, on 20 October 1968.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 20 October 1968 ²⁵		
1.	Abdullah El Yafi	P.M.; Minister of Finance; Education; Labor & Social Aff.; Info.
2.	Hussein El Oweini	Minister of Foreign Affairs; Defense; and Economy
3.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Interior; Health; Tourism; and PTT
4.	Raymond Edde	Minister of Public Works & Trans.; Water & Power; Agr./Plan.

**Table 12.7 – Cabinet Members of Abdullah El Yafi’s Government
(20 October 1968)**

As the political events unfolded in the summer of 1968, the government did not summon parliament to convene in an extraordinary session. In its 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament, the deputies elected the Speaker and the members of the Speaker’s Bureau on 22 October 1968. As the eldest Deputy, Der-Kaloustian, acting as the Speaker *pro tempore* officially opened the legislative session and called for the election of the Speaker. Before proceeding, Der-Kaloustian delivered a speech, in which he said:

“It gives me great pleasure to address you... on the occasion of the second ordinary session and I wish us all full success in our future endeavors. During this session, many important projects must be achieved... We must organize our country’s economy and reactivate the exportation activities by finding new markets for our products. We must support tourism and aim at attracting additional visitors to our country... We must ameliorate the situation in the villages and enhance

²³ Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.154.

²⁴ Decree No. 11225 dated 20 October 1968 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi’s 2nd Government. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1968, p.1556.

²⁵ Decree No. 11227 dated 20 October 1968 and signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1968, p.1557.

their social and economic conditions so as to avoid the expatriation towards the cities. We must increase the residential compounds to help people with limited income...

“Let us continuously adopt the principles of equality and justice and let us ensure the rights of each religious confessions and take care of every region so that no one feels disadvantaged...

“We must provide all necessary means to strengthen our courageous army so that it becomes a strong shield to defend our beloved nation. Our relationship with all the Arab countries must be characterized by the feeling of mutual brotherhood, which is for the best interest of all of us and which constitutes our duty to achieve Arab victory for the wounding Palestine.”²⁶ [*Translation from Arabic*].

Der-Kaloustian then proceeded to call for the election of the Speaker. Deputy Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) was elected as Speaker with 50 votes against Kamel El Asa'ad's (Shia, Marja'yun) 42 votes.

One of the important legislative measures that the 12th Parliament handled in 1968 was a draft law granting general amnesty for all crimes perpetrated before 1 January 1967. The deliberations took place over three days and parliament was able to adopt the measure with a majority vote on 19 December 1968. Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Souren Khanamirian and Chader voted in favor of the measure. Khatchig Babikian and Andre Tabourian were not present.²⁷

²⁶ For the full Arabic text of Movses Der-Kaloustian's speech as the Speaker *pro tempore* on 22 October 1968, please see Appendix 11.3. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 22 October 1968.

²⁷ In addition to Babikian and Tabourian, the following Deputies were absent: Saeb Salam, Adnan El Hakeem, Ibrahim Sha'eeto, Ja'afar Sherefedeen, Basheer El Othman, Ra'ef Samara, Kamel El Asa'ad, Saleem Lahoud, Hasan El Mais, Raymond Edde, Fouad Ghossen, Mamdouh El Andullah and Sayed Akl. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 19 December 1968. The government, however, did not accept the measure as adopted. Within the constitutional timelines, the government re-submitted a revised draft of the General Amnesty Law on 4 January 1969 through Decree No. 11619 to the 12th Parliament, which was adopted in its 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session held on 13 February 1969. President Helou signed the

Domestic and regional security issues took precedence in the deliberations of the 12th Parliament. On 26 December 1968, Palestinian militants belonging to George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an Israeli El Al airliner in Athens, Greece. After two days, an Israeli reprisal came by way of commandos landing by helicopters at Beirut International Airport and destroying 13 Middle East Airline planes and blowing-up an oil tank.²⁸

Prime Minister El Yafi's government was caught between popular anger that the government was unable to defend its airport and the accusation that it was encouraging the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. Accordingly, the 12th Parliament held a secret meeting on 30 December 1968 to discuss the details of the attack and to listen to the Yafi government's report. Deputies Babikian, Der-Kaloustian, Khanamirian and Chader were present, whereas Tabourian was not.²⁹ As a result, President Helou issued Decree No. 11605 on 2 January 1969 and ordered the Army Command to take charge of internal security.³⁰ As criticism increased towards the failures of the government, El Yafi resigned.³¹

President Helou immediately appointed Rasheed Karami to form a new and expanded government to take control of the internal security matters.³² The Ministry of Public Health was assigned to Babikian. However, Ministers Nasri El Ma'alouf, Raymond Edde, Pierre Gemayel and Hussein Mansour resigned immediately and, within 7 days, the

General Amnesty Law for crimes perpetrated before 1 January 1967 into law on 17 February 1969. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 14 Suppl., 17 February 1969, pp.1-2.

²⁸ For detailed account on the Israeli attack on Beirut International Airport on 28 December 1968, see Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.164-165. See also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., pp.154-155.

²⁹ *Official Minutes (1968)*: 13th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 30 December 1968.

³⁰ Decree No. 11605 dated 2 January 1969 signed by President Charles Helou, P.M. Abdullah El Yafi, Minister of Interior Pierre Gemayel and Minister of Defense Hussein El Oweini. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 1, 2 January 1969, p.3.

³¹ Decree No. 11858 dated 15 January 1969 signed by President Charles Helou accepting the resignation of Abdullah El Yafi. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 11, 6 February 1969, p.180.

³² Decree No. 11859 dated 15 January 1969 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Rasheed Karami as the new prime minister. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 11, 6 February 1969, p.180.

Prime Minister reshuffled the Cabinet portfolios and appointed four new ministers to replace them.³³

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 15 January 1969 ³⁴		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs
2.	Naseem Majdalani	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Economy
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Interior
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Information
6.	Nasri El Ma'alouf	Minister of Tourism
7.	Raymond Edde	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
8.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Finance
9.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Water & Power
10.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Health
11.	Hussein Mansour	Minister of Public Planning
12.	Rene Mouawad	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
13.	Abdul Lateef El Zein	Minister of Agriculture
14.	Joseph Abu Khater	Minister of Education
15.	Shafeeq El Wazzan	Minister of Justice
16.	Michel El Murr	Minister of PTT

**Table 12.8 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government
(15 January 1969)**

Prime Minister Karami presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed and reshuffled government to the 12th Parliament on 30 January 1969 and received 60 votes of confidence against 30 votes of no confidence. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Tabourian and Der-Kaloustian cast votes of confidence, whereas, Chader cast a vote of no-confidence.³⁵

³³ Decree No. 11861 dated 22 January 1969 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami, accepting the resignations of Nasri El Ma'alouf and Hussein Mansour from Ministries of Tourism and Public Planning respectively. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 11, 6 February 1969, p.181.

³⁴ Decree No. 11860 dated 15 January 1969 and signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 11, 6 February 1969, pp.180-181.

³⁵ The Deputies who cast votes of no confidence in Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's government on 30 January 1969 included: Joseph Chader, Nadeem Na'eem, Joseph Moughabghab, Camille Chamoun, Mahmoud Ammar, Hussein Mansour, Habib Moutran, Father Sama'an El Doueihy, Saleem Lahoud, Michel Saseen,

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 22 January 1969³⁶		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Naseem Majdalani	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Economy
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Interior
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Information
6.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Water & Power
7.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Health
8.	Rene Mouawad	Minister of Public Works & Transportation
9.	Abdul Lateef El Zein	Minister of Agriculture
10.	Joseph Abu Khater	Minister of Education
11.	Shafeeq El Wazzan	Minister of Justice
12.	Michel El Murr	Minister of PTT
13.	Youssef Salem	Minister of Foreign Affairs
14.	Muhammad Safiedeen	Minister of Public Planning
15.	Habib Keirouz	Minister of Tourism
16.	Khalil El Khoury	Minister of Labor & Social Affairs

**Table 12.9 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government
(22 January 1969)**

Karami's government issued Decree No. 11863 on 8 February 1968 and called parliament to an extraordinary session to deliberate on the Budget and the revised version of the General Amnesty Law, as the government had not accepted the measure as adopted by the Chamber in December 1968. The 12th Parliament adopted the law on 13 February

Basheer El A'awar, Raymond Edde, Emile Salhab, Philip El Khazen, Geoge Akl, Abdo Sa'ab, Sameer Ishaq, Edmond Rezk, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Nouhad Boueiz, Camille Dahdouh, Antoine Sa'adeh, Issam El Hajar, Fadlallah Talhouq, Pierre Gemayel, Louis Abu Sharaf, George Sa'adeh, Sayed Akl, and Maurice Gemayel. The following deputies were absent: Jean Aziz, Ahmad El Fadel, Hasan El Mais, Saleem El Dawood, Muhammad Fatfat, Basheer El Othman and Edward Hnein. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 30 January 1969.

³⁶ Decree No. 11861 dated 20 January 1969 signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 11, 6 February 1969, p.181.

1969³⁷ and President Helou signed the General Amnesty Law for crimes perpetrated before 1 January 1967 into law on 17 February 1969.³⁸

The unstable internal security conditions along with the escalation of domestic political opposition put a heavy burden on the performance of Karami's government. Several protests took place in the cities of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida in March and April 1969. In order to defend the sovereignty of the country, Prime Minister Karami's government ordered the Lebanese Army to suppress a massive demonstration in support of the Palestinian resistance, which started from the Palestinian Refugee Camp *Ain El Helweh* and moved towards Saida on 23 April 1969. The Army used live ammunition that led to several deaths and many wounded.³⁹ To foil the demonstration, the government immediately declared a state of emergency in Lebanon from 23 to 27 April 1969.⁴⁰

On the afternoon of 24 April 1969, the 12th Parliament held a meeting to discuss the political and security situation in Lebanon and listen to reports by Prime Minister Karami and Minister of Interior Adel Osseiran on the subject of clashes between demonstrators and the Lebanese Army. Prime Minister Karami declared that Lebanon was forced to preserve its sovereignty, whereas, a robust opposition, led by Kamal Jumblatt, held him responsible for the repressive measures that led to a number dead and wounded. Under severe criticism from the opposition, Prime Minister Karami announced his resignation at the end of the parliamentary meeting.⁴¹

³⁷ All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present and voted in favor of the General Amnesty Law on 13 February 1969. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 13 February 1969.

³⁸ Law No. 69/8 for General Amnesty. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 14 Suppl., 17 February 1969, pp.1-2.

³⁹ For an account of the 23 April 1969 demonstration, please see Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., pp.154-155. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.164-165.

⁴⁰ Decree No. 12362 dated 23 April 1969 signed by President Charles Helou, P.M. Rasheed Karami, Minister of Interior Adel Osseiran and Minister of Defense Majeed Arslan declaring a state of emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1969)*, Issue No. 35, 1 May 1969, p.560.

⁴¹ Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Chader, Khanamirian, Der-Kaloustian and Tabourian were present along with Khatchig Babikian as Minister of Public Health, during the meeting of 24 April 1969 of the parliament. Absentees were: Ibrahim Sha'eeto, Basheer El Othman, Hasan El Mais, Muhammad Abbas Za'ayter,

The country plunged into a political vacuum, as the President was unable to delegate anyone to form a new government for the following six months. Parliament, on the other hand, was not able to convene until the opening of its 2nd Ordinary Session on 21 October 1969.

By mid-October 1969, the Lebanese Army, on its own authority, took on the responsibility of restoring sovereignty, by launching an operation to stop the import of arms from Syria to the Palestinians. The Syrian Government reacted immediately by closing its borders with Lebanon and sending the Saiqa forces and PLO militants across the border to fight against the Lebanese Army.⁴²

During these turbulent political and security conditions, the 12th Parliament convened in its 2nd Ordinary Session on 21 October 1969. Eldest Deputy Der-Kaloustian presided again as Speaker *pro tempore* and delivered a short speech, wherein he said:

“We are going through difficult times because of the existing enemy on our country’s borders and its readiness to attack us. In addition to the interference with the international airport, the enemy started to attack our regions near the borders, destroying houses and killing innocent citizens... It is time to make great sacrifices to strengthen our army and to provide it with the newest equipment and weaponry so as to defend our beloved nation and people . . .”⁴³ [*Translation from Arabic*].

As the clashes between the Army and Palestinians continued in the latter part of October 1969, President Abdul Nasser of Egypt tried to mediate a ceasefire between the parties in Lebanon. President Helou delegated the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Emile El Bustani, to negotiate with the PLO leader Yasser Arafat in Cairo for a ceasefire and a political compromise with the Palestinians. The result was the signing of

Nayef El Masri, Fouad El Bart and Raymond Edde. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 24 April 1969.

⁴² Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd Ed., p.55, and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.165.

⁴³ For the full Arabic text of Der-Kaloustian’s speech on 21 October 1969, please see Appendix 11.4. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 21 October 1969.

the Cairo Agreement between Arafat and El Bustani on 3 November 1969.⁴⁴

With the Cairo Agreement in place, President Charles Helou was able to re-delegate Rasheed Karami to form a new government on 25 November 1969, who presented the ministerial statement to the 12th Parliament a week later on 4 December 1969 and received 58 votes of confidence against 30 votes of no confidence with three abstentions. There are no independent records to verify how the Deputies cast their votes. It is presumed that since Deputy Babikian was appointed as a Minister of Tourism, the Armenian Bloc (Babikian, Tabourian, Khanamirian and Der-Kaloustian) naturally cast votes of confidence in the government. The records do not show as how Chader voted.⁴⁵

As the Cairo Agreement took effect, Palestinian fighters started to attack Israel from the southern border of Lebanon, leading to immediate Israeli reprisals in January 1970. The 12th Parliament immediately held a secret meeting on 6 January 1970 to hear the government's report on Palestinian-Israeli military activities in Southern Lebanon and discussed the provisions of the Cairo Agreement.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The Cairo Agreement realized the rights of the Palestinians to bear arms in the refugee camps and observation posts along the southern border of Lebanon with Israel. The last Article in the "Cairo Agreement" stipulated that the accord should stay secret. However, the contents of the "Cairo Agreement" was first published in *Annahar Daily* on 20 April 1970 and was re-published on 6 September 1976 in the same daily newspaper. See Joseph Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990*, [Arabic: *Dailies of the War: 1975-1990*], (Beirut: Memorial of Lebanon Publishing, 2005), p.16. For an analysis of the impact of Cairo Agreement on Lebanon, in general, 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.190-194.

⁴⁵ *Official Minute (1969)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 4 December 1969.

⁴⁶ All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies attended the secret behind the doors meeting. The absentees, however, were: Pierre Pharaon, Basheer El Othman, Ren Mouawad, Muhammad Safiedeen, Fadlallah Talhouq, Saleem Lahoud, Mamdouh El Abdullah, Majeed Arslan, Adel Osseiran and Rafeeq Shaheen. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 6 January 1970.

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Charles Helou		
Cabinet of 25 November 1969⁴⁷		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Fouad Ghossen	Deputy P.M.; Minister of PTT
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Justice
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	Kamal Jumblatt	Minister of Interior
6.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
7.	Naseem Majdalani	Minister of Foreign Affairs
8.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Tourism
9.	Suleiman Franjeh	Minister of Economy
10.	Maurice Gemayel	Minister of Public Planning
11.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Information
12.	Rafeeq Shaheen	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
13.	Anwar El Khateeb	Minister of Water & Power
14.	Abdul Lateef El Zein	Minister of Agriculture
15.	Joseph Abu Khater	Minister of Education
16.	Habib Moutran	Minister of Public Health

**Table 12.10 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Rasheed Karami's Government
(25 November 1969)**

The Palestinian military activities created an atmosphere of discomfort in Lebanon, especially with the Christians, who saw that the State was unable to defend itself, let alone the Christians, leading them to arm themselves. The first serious clashes between the Palestinians and the Christians came in March 1970 in the Village of Kahaleh where an exchange of fire took place between the locals and a Palestinian convoy escorting the corpse of a fallen Palestinian to Damascus for burial, killing 10 Palestinians.⁴⁸ Immediately thereafter, fighting broke out between the Phalange Party and the Palestinians in the suburb of Dekwaneh. As a result, the Palestinians kidnapped Basheer Gemayel, the youngest son of the Phalange Party leader Pierre Gemayel, and held him for 8 hours on 25 March 1970, before releasing him after mediation by Kamal Jumblatt and Yasser Arafat.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Decree No. 13415 dated 25 November 1969 and signed by President Charles Helou and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette* (1969), Issue No. 99, 11 December 1969, pp.1317-1318.

⁴⁸ Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.167-168.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

On 2 April 1970, the parliament re-convened in a secret meeting to discuss the ongoing political and security situation in Lebanon.⁵⁰ It held a further secret meeting on 26 May 1970 to question the government on the Israeli bombardments and casualties within the ranks of the Lebanese Army.⁵¹

As the term of President Helou was about to end in very turbulent political and security conditions, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad summoned the Deputies of the 12th Parliament to elect a new president on 17 August 1970. All 99 deputies were present for the election. After casting their votes, Elias Sarkis received 45 votes, Suleiman Franjeh 38 votes, Pierre Gemayel 10, Jameel Lahoud 5 and Adnan El Hakeem 1. As none of the candidates received the 2/3 votes required constitutionally, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad called for another round. This time around, however, there were 99 deputies with 100 ballot papers. The Speaker annulled the 2nd election and called for a third round of elections which time Suleiman Franjeh received 50 votes against Elias Sarkis's 49. Speaker El Asa'ad declared Suleiman Franjeh as the Present-Elect.⁵²

Before President-Elect Franjeh took the Oath of Office, the Middle East witnessed yet another political and military tremble, in the assassination attempt on King Hussein of Jordan on 1 September 1970 by Palestinian factions, followed by the hijacking of three planes (Swiss, American and British) that were forced to land on an airstrip near the City of Zarqa, Jordan, on 6 and 9 September 1970. The planes were eventually blown up. Immediately thereafter, the Jordanian authorities crushed the Palestinian resistance in Jordan with tanks – in what came to

⁵⁰ All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present at the secret meeting on 2 April 1970. However, 20 other deputies did not show up, including: Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Emile Moukarzel, Khalil El Khoury, Camille Chamoun, Ameen El Hafez, Salem Kabbara, Hashem El Husseini, Yacoub El Sarraf, Fakhr Fakhr, Antoine El Hrawi, Michel Saseen, Sameer Ishaq, Habib Keirouz, Philip El Khazen, Raymond Edde, Najeeb El Khoury, Edmond Rezk, Adel Osseiran, Joseph Abu Khater and Majeed Arslan. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 2 April 1970.

⁵¹ *Official Minutes (1970)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 26 May 1970.

⁵² *Official Minutes (1970)*: Special Meeting of the 12th Parliament held on 17 August 1970.

be known as Black September, forcing them under the authority of the Jordanians.⁵³

The Executive Branch of the Government		
President Suleiman Franjeh		
Cabinet of 13 October 1970 ⁵⁴		
1.	Saeb Salam	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Ghassan Tueini ⁵⁵	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Educ.and Information
3.	Henry Edde ⁵⁶	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
4.	Hasan Musharrefieh ⁵⁷	Minister of Public Planning
5.	Saeb Jaroudi	Minister of Economy and Tourism
6.	Edward Sawma ⁵⁸	Minister of Defense and Agriculture
7.	Jameel Kebbi	Minister of Justice and PTT
8.	Emile Bitar	Minister of Health
9.	Elias Saba	Minister of Finance; Deputy Prime Minister ⁵⁹
10.	Ja'afar M. Sherefedeen	Minister of Water & Power
11.	Mounir Hamdan	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
12.	Khalil Abu Hamad	Minister of Foreign Affairs

Table 12.11 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam's Government (13 October 1970)

⁵³ For comprehensive coverage of the events and political ramifications of Black September, see Iris Fruchter-Rosen, "Black September: 1970-71 Events and their Impact on the Formation of Jordanian National Identity," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (September 2008), pp.244-260. For the Syrian involvement against Jordan during September 1970, please see Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.154-165.

⁵⁴ Decree No. 5 dated 13 October 1970 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1970)*, Issue No. 85, 22 October 1970, pp.1681-1682.

⁵⁵ Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Information Ghassan Tueini resigned from the Cabinet on 20 January 1971. *Official Gazette (1971)*, Issue No. 9, 1 February 1971, p.77.

⁵⁶ Henry Edde resigned from the Cabinet on 6 October 1971. Decree No. 2040 signed by President Franjeh and P.m. Salam. *Official Gazette (1971)*, Issue No. 84, 21 October 1971, pp.1468-1469.

⁵⁷ Minister Hasan Musharrefieh resigned from the Cabinet on 18 March 1972. Decree No. 2990 signed by President Franjeh and P.M. Salam. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 28, 6 April 1972, pp.334-335.

⁵⁸ Minister Edward Sawma resigned from the Cabinet on 18 November 1970. Decree No. 30 dated 18 November 1970 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh and PM Saeb Salam accepting the resignation of Edward Sawma. *Official Gazette (1970)*, Issue No. 94, 23 November 1970, p.1705.

⁵⁹ After Ghassan Tueini resigned, Elias Saba was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister. Decree No. 437 dated 20 January 1971 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh and P.M. Saeb Salam. *Official Gazette (1971)*, Issue No. 9, 1 February 1971, p.77.

On 23 September 1970, Suleiman Franjeh took the Oath of the Office as the 5th President of the Lebanese Republic since independence.⁶⁰ President Franjeh after accepting P.M. Rasheed Karami's resignation,⁶¹ appointed Saeb Salam to form a new government on 13 October 1970.⁶² Prime Minister Salam presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 12th Parliament on 17 October 1970 and received 76 votes of confidence including those of the five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies.⁶³

As soon as Prime Minister Salam's government received the vote of confidence, proceeded to introduce a law for the ratification the Vienna Convention for Diplomatic Relations. The 12th Parliament considered and voted in favor of ratifying the Convention. Deputies Babikian, Der-Kaloustian and Chader voted in favor of the ratification. Khanamirian and Tabourian were not present.⁶⁴ President Suleiman Franjeh signed it into law on 26 December 1970.⁶⁵

As the Parliament convened in its 2nd Ordinary Session in 1970, Deputy Khatchig Babikian voiced his concerns about the government's foreign policy, especially towards Syria, during a discussion on the ratification of an agreement between Lebanon and Syria to establish a permanent joint commission. Babikian asserted that the relationship

⁶⁰ Deputies Khatchig Babikian, Movses Der-Kaloustian, Souren Khanamirian and Andre Tabourian were present, whereas Joseph Chader did not attend. *Official Minutes (1970)*: Special Meeting of the 12th Parliament held on 23 September 1970.

⁶¹ Decree No. 3 dated 12 October 1970 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh appointing Saeb Salam as the new prime minister. *Official Gazette (1970)*, Issue No. 85, 22 October 1970, p. 1681.

⁶² Decree No. 4 dated 12 October 1970 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh accepting the resignation of P.M. Rasheed Karami. *Official Gazette (1970)*, Issue No. 85, 22 October 1970, p. 1681.

⁶³ Only Deputy Sameeh Osseiran cast a vote of no confidence, whereas Abdullah El Yafi, Othman El Dana, Sa'eed Fawwaz and Ma'arouf Sa'ad abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 17 October 1970.

⁶⁴ *Official Minutes (1970)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 17 November 1970.

⁶⁵ Law No. 70/17 Accession of Lebanon to the Vienna Convention for Diplomatic Relationships dated 26 December 1970 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh, P.M. Saeb Salam and Minister of Foreign Affairs Khalil Abu Hamad. *Official Gazette (1971)*, Issue No. 9, Supplement, 1 February 1971, pp. 1-22.

between Lebanon and Syria constituted a very tight relationship, and any disturbance to it would affect the daily life of all the Lebanese.⁶⁶

On another occasion, when France's General Charles De Gaulle passed away, Babikian, on behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian community, offered his condolences and gave a speech before the Chamber where praised De Gaulle's contribution to the Arab world in general and Lebanon in particular. He further offered his condolences to the Kataeb Party on the passing of his colleague Maurice Gemayel.⁶⁷

The 12th Parliament re-assessed the domestic and foreign policies of Salam's government in a question and answer session on 25 and 28 May 1971, and re-cast a vote of confidence in favor of the Cabinet. Deputies Babikian, Tabourian, Khanamirian and Der-Kaloustian cast votes of confidence whereas Chader cast a vote of no confidence.⁶⁸

The last Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament commenced on 19 October 1971, when the eldest Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian acted as the Speaker *pro tempore* until the election of Kamel El Asa'ad as the Speaker. In his opening remarks, Der-Kaloustian noted:

"It gives me great pleasure to extend my sincere respect and appreciation on this occasion to his Excellency the President of the Republic of Lebanon Suleiman Franjeh for his last declarations to the press stating that he will maintain our current regime and the freedoms in the

⁶⁶ For the full Arabic text of Babikian's speech on the relationship with Syria, please see Appendix 9.8. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 22 December 1970.

⁶⁷ For the full Arabic text of Babikian's speech offering condolences, please see Appendix 9.7. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 17 November 1970.

⁶⁸ Prime Minister Saeb Salam's government received 48 votes of confidence against 6, with 2 abstentions. In addition to Joseph Chader, Louis Abu Sharaf, George Sa'adeh, Edmond Rezk, Pierre Gemayel and George Akl cast no-confidence votes. Deputies Camille Dahdouh and Abdullah El Yafi abstained from voting. 24 other deputies did not attend the meeting: Ameen Gemayel, Fareed Gebran, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Sameeh Osseiran, Adel Osseiran, Muhammad Safaiedeen, Khalil El Khoury, Issam Hajjar, Aziz Aoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Michel El Murr, Basheer El Othman, Fouad Ghossen, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Antoine Franjeh, Mounir Abu Fadel, Ali Arab, Fadlallah Talhouq, Emile Moukarzel, Sameer Ishaq, Hasan Rifae, Majeed Arslan, Sabri Hamadeh and Othman El Dana. *Official Minutes (1971)*: 12th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 28 May 1971.

country. The spirit of these declarations must guide us in all our works.

“Esteemed Compatriots, we must deploy all efforts to improve the condition of workers, farmers and employees. It is also necessary to support and facilitate tourism by all means. We must attach great importance to finding external markets to sell our agricultural products while putting an end to the increase of the cost of living.

“Therefore, and in order to implement all the aforementioned along with other works, I call upon you to forget all our conflicts and work hand in hand with the spirit of sincere brotherhood for the best interest of our people and for the prosperity of our nation.

“Long live His Excellency President Suleiman Franjeh. Long live the everlasting free and independent Lebanon.”⁶⁹ [*Translation from Arabic*].

⁶⁹ For the full Arabic text of Movses Der-Kaloustian’s opening remarks during the election of the Speaker in October 1971, please see Appendix 11.6. *Official Minutes (1971)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 19 October 1971.

	Prime Ministers	Abdullah El Yafi	Abdullah El Yafi	Rasheed Karami
		12 Oct 1968 ⁷⁰	31 Oct 1968 ⁷¹	30 Jan 1969 ⁷²
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	-	NS	√
2.	J. Chader	-	√	X
3.	Kh. Babikian	-	√	√ ⁷³
4.	S. Khanamirian	-	√	√
5.	A. Tabourian	-	√	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 12.12 (a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 12th Parliament

⁷⁰ Decree No. 11223 dated 12 October 1968 signed by President Charles Helou appointing Abdullah El Yafi as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1968)*, Issue No. 87, 28 October 1968, p.1555. P.M. Yafi did not present a ministerial statement to the 12th Parliament nor received any confidence vote.

⁷¹ Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi presented the ministerial statement of the government to the 12th Parliament on 31 October 1968 and received 65 votes of confidence against 2 no-confidence votes of Jean Aziz and Nazem El Qadiri. Khatchig Babikian, Andre Tabourian, Souren Khanamirin and Joseph Chader cast confidence votes, whereas, Movses Der-Kaloustian was absent along with 25 other deputies, including: Saeb Salam, Adnan El Hakeem, Fareed Gebran, Naseem Majdalani, Pierre Pharaon, Ra'ef Samara, Kamel El Asa'ad, Ma'arouf Sa'ad, Anwar El Kateeb, Beheej Taqiedeen, Saleem Lahoud, Aziz Aoun, Fouad El Tahini, Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Najeeb El Khoury, Basheer El Othman, Bakhos Hakeem, Habib Keirouz, Suleiman Franjeh, Salem Kabbara, Antoine El Hrawi, George Akl, Abdul Lateef El Zein, and Majeed Arslan. *Official Minutes (1968)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 31 October 1968.

⁷² Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed Government to the 12th Parliament on 30 January 1969 and received 60 votes of confidence against 30 no-confidence votes. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Tabourian and Der-Kaloustian cast confidence votes, whereas, Chader gave a vote of no confidence along with 29 other deputies, that included: Nadeem Na'eem, Joseph Moughabghab, Camille Chamoun, Mahmoud Ammar, Hussein Mansour, Habib Moutran, Father Sama'an El Doueihy, Saleem Lahoud, Michel Saseen, Basheer El A'awar, Raymond Edde, Emile Salhab, Philip El Khazen, George Akl, Abdo Sa'ab, Sameer Ishaq, Edmond Rezk, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Nouhad Boueiz, Camille Dahdouh, Antoine Sa'adeh, Issam El Hajjar, Fadlallah Talhouq, Pierre Gemayel, Louis Abu Sharaf, George Sa'adeh, Sayed Akl, and Maurice Gemayel. The following deputies were absent: Jean Aziz, Ahmad El Fadel, Hasan El Mais, Saleem El Dawood, Muhammad Fatfat, Basheer El Othman and Edward Hnein. *Official Minutes (1969)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 30 January 1969.

⁷³ Khatchig Babikian was appointed as the Minister of Public Health in P.M. Rasheed Karami's 15 January 1969 Cabinet.

	Prime Ministers	Rasheed Karami	Saeb Salam
		4 Dec 1969 ⁷⁴	17 Oct 1970 ⁷⁵
1.	M. Der-Kaloustian	√	√
2.	J. Chader	NVR	√
3.	Kh. Babikian	√ ⁷⁶	√
4.	S. Khanamirian	√	√
5.	A. Tabourian	√	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 12.12 (b) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 12th Parliament

The last meeting of the 12th Parliament was on 7 March 1972.⁷⁷ Prime Minister Saeb Salam's government issued Decree No. 2909 on 8 March 1972 and set the new legislative election dates for 16 April 1972 for Beirut and Northern Lebanon; 23 April 1972 for Southern Lebanon and Beka'a Valley; and 30 April 1972 for Mount Lebanon, based upon the 1960 Election Laws.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Prime Minister Rasheed Karami presented the ministerial statement of his second formed government to the 12th Parliament on 4 December 1969 and received 58 votes of confidence against 30 votes of no confidence with 3 abstentions. There are no independent records to verify as how the deputies cast their votes. It is presumed that since Deputy Khatchig Babikian was appointed as a Minister in Karami's Government, the Armenian Bloc (Babikian, Tabourian, Khanamirian and Der-Kaloustian) naturally cast confidence votes. The Records do not show as how Joseph Chader voted. *Official Minute (1969)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 4 December 1969.

⁷⁵ Prime Minister Saeb Salam presented the ministerial statement of his government to the 12th Parliament on 17 October 1970 and received 76 confidence votes including those of the all 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. Only Sameeh Osseiran cast a no-confidence vote, whereas Abdullah El Yafi, Othman El Dana, Sa'eed Fawwaz and Ma'arouf Sa'ad abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (1970)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 17 October 1970.

⁷⁶ Khatchig Babikian was appointed as the Minister of Tourism in P.M. Rasheed Karami's 25 November 1969 Cabinet.

⁷⁷ *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 7 March 1972.

⁷⁸ Decree No. 2909 dated 8 March 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjeh and Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Saeb Salam setting the dates for the new legislative elections. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 21, 13 March 1972, p.205.



14 March 1934 – The collapsed Kawkab El Sharq Building at the Martyrs Square in Beirut that claimed several lives. During an open session of the 3rd Parliament on 20 March 1934, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Vahram Leilekian expressed deep sorrow to

the losses of lives and blamed the authorities of gross negligence in carrying out their oversight tasks and malfeasance in not granting the appropriate building permits. Leilekian proposed new legislation concerning proper supervision and enforcement of building codes by the local authorities in Lebanon.

(Photo by Annahar)



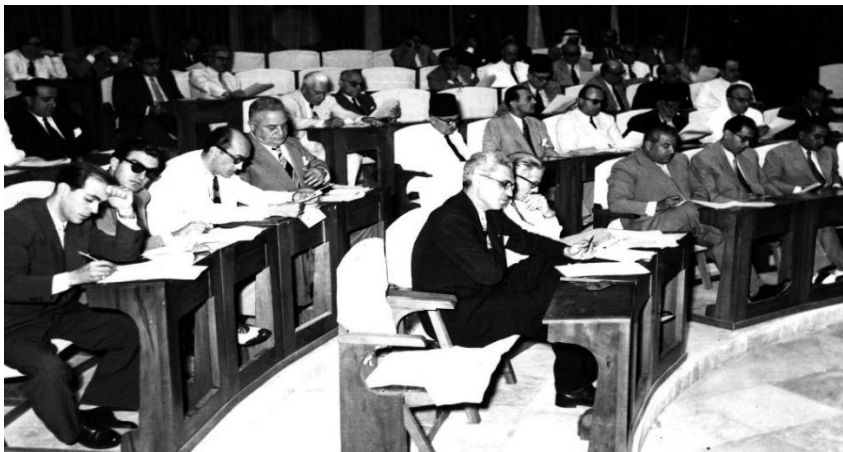
28 January 1939 – Maronite Patriarch Antonios II Boutros Arida surrounded by the members of the 4th Lebanese Parliament, just four days after the Government of Abdullah El Yafi received 33 Confidence Votes, including those of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Vahram Leilekian and Khosrov Tutundjian against 21 No-Confidence Votes. A few months later the legislative life in Lebanon was suspended by the French High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux at the break of World War II.

(Photo by Annahar)

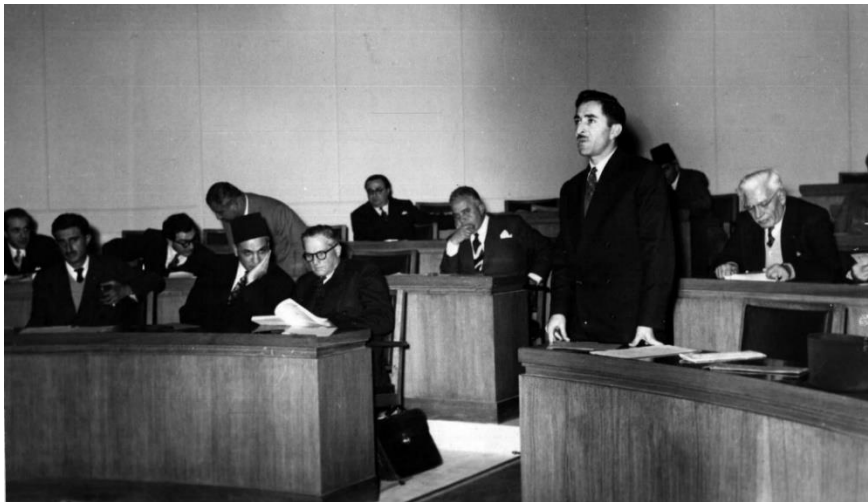


19 May 1945 - President Beshara El Khoury and President Shukri El Quwatli of Syria held an emergency meeting in Chtura, Lebanon to coordinate the efforts for common defense of the two countries against the French aggression. From left to right: Foreign Minister Henri Pharaon, Habib Abu Shahla, President Quwatli, President Beshara El Khoury, Prime Minister Riad El-Solh, and Abdullah El Yafi.

(Photo from Syrian History website)



10 July 1951- The 7th Lebanese Parliament during an open session presided by Speaker Ahmad El Asa'ad. Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Dickran Tosbat, seated on the second row next to Deputy Ghassan Tueini and behind Camille Chamoun. Tosbat had aligned himself with the National Socialist Front comprising of Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Anwar Al Khateeb, Pierre Edde, Ghassan Tueini, and Abdallah Al Hajj, during the early years of his legislative life.



27 November 1951 –Deputy Rasheed Karami delivering a speech during an open session of the 7th Parliament. Seated from left to right: Kamal Jumblatt and Camille Chamoun and on the second row behind Jumblatt, Ghassan Tueini.



6 June 1957 – Khatchig Babikian delivering a speech during a pre-election campaign meeting attended by several Lebanese politicians, including Ghassan Tueini (seated 2nd from the right). The legislative elections of the 9th Lebanese Parliament took place 3 days later and Khatchig Babikian was elected to the Lebanese legislature for the first time.

(Photos by Annahar)



1 August 1960 – President Fouad Chehab with Prime Minister nominee Saeb Salam surrounded by the newly appointed 18-member Cabinet ministers at Chehab's residence at Sarba, Lebanon. President Chehab had presented his resignation to Speaker Sabri Hamadeh on 20 July 1960 immediately after the new legislative elections. Under tremendous political pressure, however, President Chehab withdrew his resignation. (From Left to Right) Minister of State for Administrative Reforms Khatchig Babikian, Emir Majeed Arslan, P.M. Saeb Salam, President Fouad Chehab and Kamal Jumblatt.

(Photo by Official Website of President Fouad Chehab)



8 November 1963 – Dickran Tosbat (Left) and Ghassan Tueini (Right) conferring.



21 January 1965 – The Lebanese deputies of the 11th Parliament getting out of a secret and behind-closed-doors meeting presided by Speaker Sabri Hamadeh after hearing and deliberating over the Government's statement on the sensitive resolutions adopted by the Arab League at the Cairo Summit concerning the political/military status with Israel.

From left to right, standing on the first row is the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Joseph Chader, Deputies Fouad Boutros and Sami El Solh. On the second row is Deputy Father Sama'an El Douweihi and on the third row is the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Khatchig Babikian (wearing a hat).

(Photo by Annahar)



27 April 1966 – The 11th Lebanese Parliament presided by Speaker Sabri Hamadeh during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by P.M. Abdullah El Yafi. All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Babikian, Khanamirian, Tabourian and Chader were present. The official records lack information as how each deputy cast his vote. Nevertheless, P.M. Yafi's government received 55 votes of confidence against 20 votes of no-confidence with 13 abstentions.



21 February 1968 – A meeting of the pillars of the Maronite Tripartite Alliance with the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Joseph Chader just a month before the legislative elections of the 12th Parliament. Seated from left to right, Camille Chamoun, Raymond Edde, Joseph Chader, Kazem El Khalil and Pierre Gemayel.

(Photos by Annahar)



19 March 1968 – The members of the Maronite Tripartite Alliance meeting with Lebanese MPs just a few days before the legislative elections of 24 March 1968. In the middle left to right, Raymond Edde, Camille Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, and the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Andre Tabourian.



9 May 1968 – The first meeting of the newly elected 12th Parliament presided by the Speaker pro-tempore Movses Der-Kaloustian, the eldest deputy present, who after giving a speech called for the election of the Speaker of the Parliament. Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) and Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) received 49 votes each and one vote was found outside the ballot box. After intense arguments, Der-Kaloustian annulled the election and ordered a re-cast of ballots. Deputy Sabri Hamadeh was elected as the Speaker.

(Photos by Annahar)



17 October 1970 – The 12th Parliament in its extraordinary session presided by Speaker Sabri Hamadeh observe 5 minutes of silence in the memory of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Der-Kaloustian, Babikian, Khanamirian and Chader were present. Tabourian was absent. The extraordinary session was dedicated to deliverate over the ministerial statement presented by the newly appointed P.M. Saeb Salam's government that lasted several days. All 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast votes of confidence.



20 October 1970 – Speaker pro-tempore Movses Der-Kaloustian giving a speech during the opening session of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament. Sitting next to Der-Kaloustian's left was Deputy Tony Franjeh, the youngest deputy who acted as the Secretary. Deputy Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) was elected as the Speaker and Deputy Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) as elected as the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament.

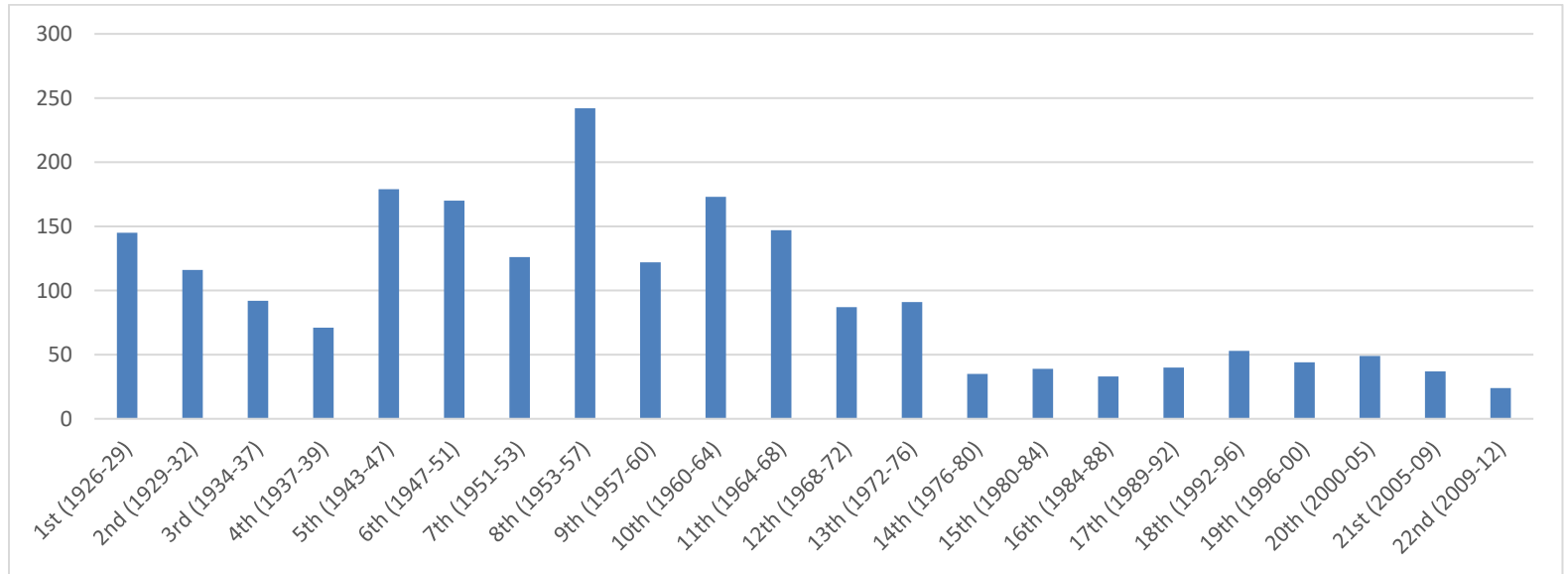
(Photos by Annahar)

Appendices

Appendix 1

Chart of Parliamentary Meetings

Appendix 1



Total Number of Ordinary and Extraordinary Meetings of the Lebanese Parliaments (1926-2012)*

* Information available up to 2012

Appendix 2
Lebanese-Armenian Deputies
(1922-72)

Appendix 2

12	Andre Tabourian												
11	Souren Khanamirian												
10	Vartkes Shamlan												
9	Khatchig Babikian												
8	Joseph Chader												
7	Dickran Tosbat												
6	Melkon Hayrabetian												
5	Hratchia Shamlan												
4	Movses Der-Kaloustian												
3	Khosrov Tutundjian												
2	Vahram Leilekian												
1	Abdullah Ishaq												
Lebanese Parliaments		1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th
		1926-1929	1929-1934	1934-1937	1937-1939	1943-1947	1947-1951	1951-1953	1953-1957	1957-1960	1960-1964	1964-1968	1968-1972
No. of Armenian Deputies		0	1	1	2	2	2	4	3	4	5	5	5
Total No. of Deputies		25	45	25	63	55	55	77	44	66	99	99	99

Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese Parliaments (1922 to 1972)

Appendix 3
Official Census of 1932

Appendix 3

Official Census of 1932

سنة ١٩٣٢

خلاصة نتيجة الإحصاء

للسكان الجمهورية اللبنانية

الذي جرى في سنة ١٩٣٢ وفقاً لقرار لجنة الإحصاء العليا

مهاجرون				مقيّمون		مقيّمون ١٧٨,١٠٠	مهاجرون ٢٥٤,٩٨٧
بعد ٣٠ آب سنة ١٩٢٤	لا يقدم	يدفع رسوم	قبل ٣٠ آب سنة ١٩٢٤	لا يقدم	يدفع رسوم		
٣,٦٢٣	١,٠٨٩	١,٨٤٠	٢,٦٥٣	٢,٦٥٣	٢,٦٥٣	١٧٨,١٠٠	٧١٣,٣٩٦
٢,٢٢٠	١,٧٧٠	٤,٥٤٣	٢,٦٧٧	٢,٦٧٧	٢,٦٧٧	١٥٥,٠٣٥	٢٥٤,٩٨٧
٢,٢٩٥	١,١٨٣	٣,٢٠٥	٢,٠٦٧	٢,٠٦٧	٢,٠٦٧	٥٣,٣٣٤	٦١,٢١٧
٢,١٨٠	١,١٤٣	٥,٨٤٥	٣,١٩٧	٣,١٩٧	٣,١٩٧	٢٢٧,٨٠٠	١١٠,٩٦٨
٤,٠٣٨	١,٨٥٥	١,٦٤٤	٧,١٩٠	٧,١٩٠	٧,١٩٠	٤٦,٧٠٩	
٩,٠٤١	٣,٩٢٢	٣,١٥٣	١٢,٥٤٧	١٢,٥٤٧	١٢,٥٤٧	٧٧,٣١٢	
٥,٧٥٥	١,٧٤٤	١,٥٧٥	١٠,٧	١٠,٧	١٠,٧	١٨,٩٩	
١,٧١٨	١,٩١	٦٠	١	١	١	٢٦,١٠٢	
٣,٧٥٥	٢٠	٥٠	٩	٩	٩	٥٨,٩٠	
٥٤	٣	٣٤	٦	٦	٦	٢,٧٢٣	
١,٠١	٦	١٩٦	٩	٩	٩	٢٨,٠٣	
١,٨٨	٧	٢١٤	٦	٦	٦	٣,٥٨٨	
٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	١٩٠	
١٩	٠	٦	٠	٠	٠	٥٤٨	
٢٣٤	٥٩	٧٥٨	٢١٢	٢١٢	٢١٢	٦٣,٩٣	
٤,٦٢٠	٢,١٧٣	١,٢٧٠	٥,٩٨١	٥,٩٨١	٥,٩٨١	٧١٣,٣٩٦	
٥,٤٥٦	٧,٢٤٧	١٥,٣٣٢	١٤,٧٤٩	١٤,٧٤٩	١٤,٧٤٩		
١٩٢٤	٣٠	١٩٢٤	١٩٢٤	٣٠	١٩٢٤	١٨٩,٩٨٤	
٢٠٠٤	٢١,٢٤٦	٥١٣٥	١٦,٥٧٨	١٦,٥٧٨	١٦,٥٧٨	٦٨,٠٠٣	
١٩٢٤	٣٠	١٩٢٤	١٩٢٤	٣٠	١٩٢٤	٢٥٤,٩٨٧	

رئيس لجنة الإحصاء العليا
مدير الداخلية
الأعضاء : صبيح أبو النصر

في ١ تشرين الأول سنة ١٩٣٢

The official results of the 1932 Census provide the following numbers: Sunnis 178,100; Shi'as 155,035; Druze 53,334; Maronites 227,800; Greek Catholics 46,709; Greek Orthodox 77,312; Protestants 6,869; Armenian Orthodox 26,102; Armenian Catholic 5,890; Syriac Orthodox 2,723; Syriac Catholic 2,803; Jews 3,588; Chaldean Orthodox 190; Chaldean Catholic 548; Miscellaneous 6,393. Total: 793,396. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic* (1932), Issue No. 2718, 5 October 1932, p.5.

Appendix 4
Abdullah Is'haq

Appendix 4.1

Abdullah Is'haq – 16 December 1929

Speech by Deputy Abdullah Is'haq during the deliberations on P.M. Emile Edde's Ministerial Statement on 16 December 1929. Please see *The 3rd Lebanese Parliament*.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1929): 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 2nd Parliament held on 16 December 1929.

الاستاذ عبد الله اسحق -

ايها السادة:

لاول مرة نتقدم الى هذا المجلس حكومة تحمل برنامجاً وزارياً معيناً: هو حدث جديد في حياتنا السياسية، فلا مناص اذاً ان ينشأ عن ذلك ما لا اسميه معارضة، بل رغبة في بحث هذا البرنامج ودرسه بعناية اكثر مما كان يفعله المجلس ازاء بيانات الوزارات التي تعاقبت لان تلك البيانات لم تكن تتضمن في الماضي الا شؤوناً اجمالية موجزة.

هذه الرغبة في الدرس والمناقشة وقد سمّتها بعض الصحف في البلد: معارضة، ليست بالحقيقة معارضة، وانا سعيد شخصياً بان اعلن على رؤوس الاشهاد اني لا ارمي الى احداث معارضة في هذا المجلس، بل اريد ان اقدم ثمرة درسي الاحوال الحاضرة، وبعض الملاحظات على بيان الحكومة الوزاري.

كنا كثيرين، نحن الذين هتفنا اغتباطاً بتأليف الوزارة الحاضرة وان الشخصية المحترمة التي عهد اليها بهذه المهمة كانت لنا بمثابة بشرى للطور الجديد الذي ستدخل فيه البلاد، طور الاصلاح، وكذلك ان اختيار رئيس الوزارة لمساعديه ثبت هذا الامل، وقوى هذه الثقة على رأس الوزارة الحاضرة، شخص نحترم مزايه النادرة، ونعجب بخبرته احوال البلاد ورجالها، ولا ننسى جاذبيته لزملائه الذين افتخر بكوني واحداً منهم. ان هذا الامر مع الاستشارة البرلمانية التي لجأ اليها الاستاذ اده قبل تأليفه وزارته، والبيان الذي عرضه على زملائه من اعضاء المجلس ومجموع المشاريع التي كان يفكر فيها لمصلحة الوطن، وجو الرضى والارتياح الذي ولدت فيه الحكومة الحاضرة وتوجه انظار الرأي العام اليها، كل هذه الظروف جعلتنا نعتقد، وجعلت اللبنانيين جميعاً يعتقدون، اننا في بدء عهد جديد، عهد سكينه واستقرار وانتاج وعمران، وقد كان ايماني ولا يزال راسخاً في ان هذه الوزارة تدخر قوى عظيمة ونيات حسنة، يعلق عليها جمهور اللبنانيين آمالهم في تحقيق الاصلاح المنشود.

ولكن تألفت الحكومة، اقول ولا اغالي، ان تأليفها قد ادهشنا اذ ان في هذا التأليف اسلوباً شاذاً، هي الوظيفة السياسية التي احداثتها الوزارة والتي لم يسبق لها مثيل عندنا، خلافاً لكل الشرائع الدستورية. حاول كثيرون منا، بكل طيبة خاطر اني يتذاهلوا ولو الى حين عن هذا

الاسلوب الشاذ، ناظرين الى ما هو ابعد واعلى، وان يعتبروا مسألة هذه الوظيفة المحدثة امراً ثانوياً مفضلين الاهتمام بالامر الجوهري، اي اعمال الحكومة، واخذوا في ترقب هذه الاعمال.

وفي 12 تشرين الاول سنة 1929 صدر مرسوم رقمه 5742 بتأليف الوزارة.

ومن ذلك الحين انزوت الوزارة لاعداد برنامجها الوزاري.

لست اقول ان المجلس كان قلقاً، ولكنه بلا شك كان متشوقاً الى معرفة النتائج التي تأخر ظهورها. كنا على ثقة من كفاية رجال الحكومة، فكنا نقول في سرنا: اجل ان التحضير بطيء، فالنتيجة اذن ستكون اكمل واحسن! وقد رضينا، خلافاً لكل العادات البرلمانية المتبعة ان تتأخر الوزارة طول هذه المدة عن مواجهة المجلس طالباً ثقته فيها وفي برنامجها.

وفي 22 تشرين الثاني اي بعد اربعين يوماً مضت على تأليفها، تقدمت الوزارة الى المجلس ببيانها.

سمعنا هذا البيان لأول مرة فاذا بنغمة شاذة ايضاً تطرق آذاننا بنغمة شاذة اخرى. وبالفعل ان البيان الوزاري الذي ابحث فيه امامكم الآن، كانت خامته فراقاً بين المجلس والوزارة بل طلاقاً لمدة ستة اشهر.

ما العمل مع هذا الصديق؟ هل ننزل على طلبه الفراق؟ ام نفعل عكس ذلك رعاية لما بيننا من العلاقات الحسنة واعتباراً للاحترام والثقة التي تملاً صدرنا، فنفكر ملياً وطويلاً قبل اجابته الى طلبه؟

ولا اكنتمكم ايها السادة ان اختيارنا وقع اخيراً على هذا الشق الاخير... لم يكن بوسعنا ان نعمل غير ذلك، لان البرنامج المعروض على المجلس يتضمن اموراً خطيرة، ووعوداً حسنة ومشاريع واسعة النطاق واصلاحات عملية وتحسيناً للانظمة الحاضرة ومشاكل اقتصادية عريضة، وفيه ايضاً مشروع لحل مشكلة الدخان، وهو يمنينا فوق ذلك بإمكان اعادة النظر في حصتنا من الواردات الجمركية... ثم ماذا ايضاً؟

لا شك انه كان من التهور بل من الخفة ان نقرر حالاً. اما الرفض واما القبول. لذلك قررنا امراً آخر. هو تأليف لجنة لدرس هذا المشروع المقدم الينا في سكرينة الجلسات الخاصة. ولذلك لم يكن بد من طلب المهلة. غير ان هذه المهلة طالت لسوء الحظ بسبب انحراف صحة الرئيس الذي نهضه بشفائه.

ان غاية تلك اللجنة ايها السادة لم تكن توسيع نطاق المعارضة لمشروع الوزارة ولا تحويل عزائم المتمنعين نحو غاية معينة ولا احداث مناورة لتوجيه التصويت الى جهة ما. كانت غايتنا فقط ان نتبادل الآراء نحن والحكومة للوصول الى التفاهم وبنوع خاص عدم حصول جدال عنيف حول المسائل الدقيقة والهامة التي جاءت بها الوزارة.

فهل توصلنا الى هذه الغاية؟ سعيانا انتج شيئاً، هو ان اغلبية اللجنة اقرت البيان الوزاري، وكنت من الاقلية التي لم تقره، فانا ابسط الاسباب التي دعنتي لان اكون من هذه الاقلية.

ايها السادة:

هذه الملاحظات التي اتقدم بها الى المجلس، اتقدم بها بكل جرأة، وبكل طيبة خاطر، اذ لا يمكن في حين من الاحيان؛ ولا لسبب من الاسباب، ان اعد بين الذين يستغلون مساوئ الحالة الحالية الحاضرة، كما اني على يقين من انه ليس في مجلسكم احد من هؤلاء، فإذا سأتكلم بكل صراحة، مناقشاً الوزارة، أو «معارضاً» اذا قضت الضرورة بان نسمي الاشياء باسمائها، ولكن ستكون معارضتي كما قال النائب نوغارو في جلسة مجلس النواب الافرنسي يوم 22 تشرين الثاني الماضي «معارضة متلطفة متأدبة» اذ من الصعب حقاً مهاجمة اشخاص نعتبرهم اصدقاء لنا، ولكن من السهل جداً ان نخالف اراءهم. وكل ما ارجوه، وسيظل هذا رجائي حتى نهاية الجلسة، لا أقول استجلابهم الى رأيي بل على الأقل حملهم على الاعتراف بصحته، فان استمروا على ما اراه خطأ، تمنيت من صميم فوادي ان يؤيدهم المستقبل ويخطئني، اذا كان في ذلك مصلحة البلاد.

تأليف الوزارة

لو كان علي ان اقبل البيان الوزاري بجملته مع المراسيم الاشتراعية لما كنت اطيّل البحث في عدم دستورية تأليف الحكومة.

لذلك وبصرف النظر عن الشخصية التي انيطت بها وكالة الوزارة اعرض على المجلس بحثاً قانونياً بهذه المسألة.

في جلسة 23 تشرين الأول الماضي، احتفظت بحق مناقشة الحكومة في دستورية المرسوم رقم 5742 الصادر في 12 تشرين الاول والذي احدث وكالة وزارة في وزارة المالية.

يبدو لي، ايها السادة، ان هذا المرسوم غير دستوري، ولتأييد هذا الحكم استشهد بالدستور والقوانين اللبنانية، واستشهد أيضاً بالدستور والقوانين الافرنسية التي كانت مصدراً لكثير من انظمتنا السياسية.

ان السلطة الاجرائية، سواء في فرنسا ام في لبنان، هي ممثلة في رئيس الجمهورية مع وزرائه، كل بمفرده، وبالأخص مجتمعين في هيئة يدعوها «مجلس الوزراء».

ليس الوزراء بمنتدبين عن رئيس الجمهورية، ولهذه الملاحظة اهميتها فيما سيلي من هذا البحث اعظم برهان على ذلك ان عملهم هو بالاصل عمل سياسي برلماني. فلو لم يكونوا الا منتدبين؛ كما ذهب اليه فئة ضعيفة من العلماء، لكانت سلطتهم تنقطع لمجرد فراغ سدة رئاسة الجمهورية.

وليس الامر كذلك.

بل على الضد، نحن نعلم ان الدستور اللبناني؛ مجارة للدستور الفرنسي، قد نص في البند 62 على ان سلطة الوزراء في مثل هذه الاحوال لا تستمر فقط، بل ان مجلس الوزراء يصبح مؤقتاً مصدر السلطة الاجرائية ومناطها.

فاذاً من الدستور ومن الشرائع يستمد الوزراء سلطتهم.

والمادة 64 من الدستور اللبناني تنص على هذا صراحة.

هذا الدستور وهذه الشرائع هي مصدر السلطة الاجرائية، واليها وحدها يجب ان نرجع لتعيين هذه السلطة، ولنعلم بنوع خاص اذا كان للسلطة الاجرائية ان تخلق وظيفة وكيل وزير ام لا؟

لا مجال للشك في الجواب على هذا السؤال

لا الدستور ولا القوانين المرعية تقرر للسلطة الاجرائية بهذا الحق ان السلطة الاجرائية، بمقتضى القواعد المقررة في الشرع الدستوري تولي جميع موظفي الدولة، الا اذا كان الدستور أو القوانين المرعية تنص صراحة على عكس ذلك.

لا يخفى ان الوظائف على نوعين مختلفين: الوظائف الادارية التي تشمل الوظائف المدنية والعسكرية، والوظائف السياسية التي يقوم بها الوزراء بنوع خاص.

ولهؤلاء وحدهم، دون سائر موظفي الحكومة، الصفة السياسية ان التمييز بين هذه الوظائف الادارية البحتة، وبين الوظائف التي تغلب عليها الصفة السياسية هو من الاهمية بمكان، وقد اقره ثقات المؤلفين صراحة، وانطوى عليه دستورنا اللبناني ضمناً حيث نرى في البند 53، ان رئيس الجمهورية يعين من جهة الوزراء ومن جهة ثانية سائر موظفي الحكومة، اي موظفيها المدنيين والعسكريين.

ولا ريب ان هذه الفقرة الاخيرة لا تشمل مطلقاً وكلاء الوزارات لان لهؤلاء صفة سياسية.

لشرح هذه المسألة، لا بأس من تذكير حضراتكم ببعض الحوادث التاريخية.

ان منشأ هذا الوضع الذي لا ذكر له في شرائعنا الدستورية او العامة وجد في انكلترا. وبمقتضى العادات المرعية في انكلترا وخلافاً لنصوص الدستورين الفرنسي واللبناني، ان الوزير الذي لا يكون عضواً في المجلس لا يحق له الجلوس ولا التكلم فيه، فلمعالجة هذه الصعوبة لجأت السياسة الانكليزية الى اختراع «وكالة الوزارة»

وهكذا اصبح للوزير الذي لا يكون عضواً في المجلس الحق بتعيين Commoner يختاره بالاتفاق مع الوزراء، اي وكيل وزير في وزارته، فوكلاء الوزراء في انكلترا هم مندوبو الوزراء ليس الا، ولهذا فإن لهم صفة سياسية صرفة.

ومن انكلترا انتقل هذا الوضع الى فرنسا في زمن اعادة الملكية Restoration ولكن على غير صورته الاصلية.

اصدر الملك مرسوماً بتاريخ 9 أيار 1816 ينص على ان وكلاء الوزارات يعينهم الملك لا الوزراء، ويعهد اليهم بكل الشؤون الادارية والمرسلة، اي تكون لهم صفة ادارية، لا سياسية.

ومما يحسن ذكره انه قبل احداث هذه الوظيفة الجديدة في فرنسا صدر مرسوم من السلطة ذات الصلاحية، ليتخذ اساساً لها ولتعيين وظائف واعمال وكلاء الوزراء.

وعلى مر الايام تطورت هذه الوظيفة حتى اشبهت وظيفة وكيل الوزارة في انكلتره، وبعبارة اخرى اخذت الصفة السياسية تغلب تدريجاً على هؤلاء الموظفين.

ان اكثر وكلاء الوزارة في فرنسا حائزون على الصفة السياسية فهم يشتركون في مداولات مجلس الوزراء، ولهم حق الدخول الى المجلس والتكلم فيه.

كذلك في لبنان نرى ان وكيل الوزير، ليس وظيفته فنية او ادارية فقط بل له ايضاً وظيفة سياسية، اذ ان المرسوم الذي احدث وكالة الوزارة يمنحه الحق بالاشتراك في مداولات مجلس الوزراء ولذلك نرى ان منح هذه الصفة السياسية لوكيل الوزير هو خرق للدستور، اذ ان الحكومة تتألف من رئيس الجمهورية ومن الوزراء ليس الا.

وبالجملة ان وكالات الوزارات هي وظائف سياسية، ولذلك لا يصح احداثها بمرسوم بسيط، بل يجب سن قانون، لان احداثها لم ينص عليه لا الدستور ولا القوانين المرعية.

لا يخفى ان ثمة فرقاً جسيماً بين احداث وظيفة سياسية جديدة وبين التعيين لوظائف سياسية موجودة. لهذه الوظائف السياسية اهميتها الكبرى، فاذا ترك امر احداث الوظائف السياسية او الغائها الى السلطة الاجرائية، لم يكن في الدستور، والقوانين المرعية الضمان

فبالنظر لاهميته وللتجاوز الذي قد يحدث عنه، لا يصح ان يناط احداث تلك الوظائف السياسية او الغاؤها بالسلطة الاجرائية بل يجب حصر هذا الحق في السلطة التشريعية.

واذا كانت مسألة احداث وكالات الوزارات تطرح لأول مرة على بساط البحث هنا، فإن مسألة احداث الوظائف السياسية على وجه العموم قد اجيب عنها.

وظيفة سياسية تختلف بجوهرها عن الوظيفة التي هي موضوع بحثنا الان، لم يسبق لها ذكر لا في الدستور اللبناني ولا في القوانين المرعية ارادت الحكومة ان تحدث تلك الوظيفة وهي كما تذكرون وظيفة مندوب تجاري لدى مكتب المفوضية العليا في باريس فقدمت للمجلس مشروع قانون بذلك.

فاذا لم تسلك الحكومة هذه السبيل؟

ليس من العيب في بلاد مثل بلادنا حديثة العهد بالانظمة النيابية ان تتخذ جميع الاحتياطات لتحاشي اي تجاوز من قبل السلطة الاجرائية وان توضع نصوص صريحة في الموضوع لحفظ مصالح الامة.

وعدا ذلك، في هذه المسألة وغيرها من المسائل القانونية الدستورية، يجب ان نستفيد من التطورات التي طرأت على البلاد الاخرى، لا سيما فرنسا.

ففي فرنسا، بعد طور التجارب الذي دام اكثر من قرن، انتهوا اخيراً الى النقطة التي نسألکم ان تبدأوا منها، وهي ان احداث وزارة او وكالة وزارة لا يتم الا بمقتضى قانون.

وفي فرنسا ينص قانون 8 حزيران 1920 على حق السلطة التشريعية وحدها في هذا الموضوع اذ يقول: «ان احداث وزارات او وكالات وزارات ووظائف امناء السر العام او رؤساء دواوين في الادارات المركزية ايأ كان اسم هذه الوظائف، وكذلك نقل اعمال وزارة الى وزارة اخرى، كل هذا لا يصح تقريره الا بمقتضى قانون ولا اجراؤه الا بعد تصديق هذا القانون من البرلمان».

لقد لفظت كلمة «تجاوز»

وبالفعل ان علماء القوانين الدستورية ذكروا صراحة «ان وكالات الوزارات لم تدم الا لأن احداثها، اثناء الازمات الوزارية، قد يكون وسيلة لارضاء فئة او فئات سياسية.

لا بد هنا من الاستعاضة عن الفئات السياسية بالفئات الطائفية - دوغوي صفحة 554

ويقول دوغوي عن قانون 1920 الجديد ان الاسباب التي دعت المجلس الى تصديقه هي «زيادة عدد الوزراء اثناء الحرب، ومقاومة ذوي المصلحة لمشروع الغائها بعد عقد الصلح، وراغبة الحكومة في الاقتصاد، علاجاً لحالة مالية حرجة».

وهؤلاء العلماء مجمعون على تحبيذ الاصلاح الذي قام به البرلمان الفرنسي ويقول «دوغي ما ترجمته: «هذا تدبير حكيم لان غايته منع التطبيقات السياسية المؤسفة».

بل ان اسمن قبل سن هذا القانون تمنى لو يسن هذا القانون فهو يقول اثناء كلامه عن تأليف الوزارة وعن عدد الوزراء ووظائفهم ما ترجمته: «اذا لم يمكن تنظيم هذه المسألة بواسطة الدستور، فلا اقل من تنظيمها بقانون. هذا طبيعي وحسن». وان الموسيو بوانكاره هو نفسه خصم لفكرة ايجاد وزارات او وكالات وزارات.

رئيس الوزارة - وما كانت النتيجة في فرنسا؟

الاستاذ عبد الله اسحق - كما هنا كذلك في فرنسا اكثرية واقلية واتمنى ان تنال الاكثرية يا حضرة الرئيس ولكنني لن اكون فيها وعدا ذلك فان احداث وكالة الوزارة في فرنسا قبل سن قانون 1920 كان يطلب تصديقه من المجلس، تلك هي العادة المتبعة في فرنسا، وهكذا فقد صدق مجلس النواب الافرنسي في اول آذار 1905 على احداث وكالتين لوزارة المالية؛ ولوزارة جديدة كما صرح بذلك وكما اعادة بعده المسيو اوغستارينو في جلسة تشرين الثاني الماضي (راجع اوجين بيار).

وبالجملة ان المرسوم رقم 5742 هو غير دستوري لانه لا يستند الى نص من الدستور اللبناني.

ان روح هذا الدستور والمبادئ القانونية العامة ومصلحة البلاد تضطرننا الى القول بأن احداث وظيفة سياسية كالوزارة او وكالة الوزارة لا يصح ان ينشأ الا عن قانون. ففي لبنان، على عكس فرنسا حيث يوجد المرسوم الملكي الصادر في 9 أيار 1816 لا يستند المرسوم الجمهوري رقم 5742 الى اساس ما، لا نص دستوري ولا قانون، ولا مرسوم سابق يذكر هذه الوظيفة بقليل او كثير.

اما ولا اساس قانوني لاحداث هذه الوظيفة، فلا يصح ان يقع هذا عرضاً في مرسوم خاص لتعيين اعضاء الوزارة الجديدة. واما وقد تم ذلك فاني ارى ان هذا العمل غير دستوري.

ثم ان هذا المرسوم هو غير دستوري ايضاً لانه ينوط بوكيل الوزير هذه الوظيفة، أو تلك بانتداب من وزير المالية، ان الدستور الفرنسي والدستور اللبناني بعده لا يتفقان مع مبدأ الانتداب هذا الذي يعنيه المرسوم، وقد استهجنه علماء القوانين الدستورية جميعاً ويرى «دوغي واوريوان مبدأ الانتداب او التوكيل هو «جرح في القانون الدستوري الافرنسي» وفي هذا المعنى ايضاً اصدر مجلس شورى الدولة احكامه وهناك قرار مشهور صادر في 2 كانون الأول 1892 ينص بما ترجمته: «كل سلطة عامة لا يجوز مبدئياً، الانتداب او التوكيل فيها لأن من تناط به يملك هذه السلطة ليعمل بها لا ينتدب لها».

فاذن، كل توكيل بسلطة من السلطات يسنده الرئيس الى الوزراء هو غير دستوري لان الوزير يستمد سلطته رأساً من الدستور والقانون وكذلك الوزراء لا يصح ان يوكلوا بالوظائف التي اناطها بهم الدستور فان فعلوا كانت القرارات التي يتخذونها بهذا الشأن لغواً للأسباب ذاتها.

وهكذا كان التوكيل او الانتداب الذي جاء به المرسوم المذكور رقم 5742 غير دستوري. ومهما يكن من الامر، فان اهمية هذه المسألة من الوجهة الدستورية لا توجب جعلها مشكلة حكومية او وزارية، ولذلك اتقدم فوراً الى المناقشة في البيان الوزاري.

«البيان الوزاري»

في نفسي نحو زملائي في هذا المجلس كثير من الاحترام. لذلك ارجو ان لا يروا في كلامي تلميحاً سيئاً لست اقصدهم به، من المؤكد اني لن ارتكب هذه الهفوة، هفوة افشاء الطريقة التي اتبعناها نحن الخمسة عشر في اللجنة لدرس البيان الوزاري. ان الذين صدقوا على البيان هم ولا شك مقتنعون بانهم قاموا بواجبهم نحو بلادهم وامتهم. ولكن ليؤذن لي على الاقل ان استخلص من مجموع المناقشات التي دارت في اللجنة امثلة حسنة نافعة لا تسوغ لي حرمان المجلس من حسناتها ومنافعها.

ان الصديق بقضي على ان اصرح وهذا التصريح يشرف ممثلي الامة بأن النواب تعبوا كثيراً وبالدرجة الأولى لحفظ مصالح مناطقهم وبالنتيجة منتخبيهم. كانت هذه المصالح المحلية مهمة في نظرهم جداً الى حد انهم رأوا من الواجب تقديمها على بحث البيان الوزاري من الوجهة العلمية والقانونية والاقتصادية.

وهكذا رأيناهم اثناء البحث في الاصلاح الاداري يبالغون في الاهتمام ليس في النتيجة الاقتصادية والمالية او في زيادة الانتاج في الادارة بل بنوع خاص فيما اذا كانت قرية ما في منطقة سينعم عليها بقائمقامية أو بمديرية مال او بدائرة نفوس.

هذا اهتمام معقول واعتناء مشكور بالمصالح المنوطة بهم يجب علينا ان نسجله لهم. ولكن هنا في هذه الندوة العامة حيث نجتمع كتلة واحدة. علينا ان نتناسى مصالح مناطقنا الخاصة مترفعين عن العوامل الشخصية متجردين عن الغايات الذاتية لبحث البيان الوزاري.

- أولاً -

1 - لا ينكر بل من الامانة ان نقول: ان الحكومة تنوي القيام باصلاحات جلية تقضي بها المصلحة العامة، وان هدفها الوحيد هو راحة ورفاهية الاهلين فهي تقول لنا ان سياستها من الان فصاعداً ستقوم على «التنظيم لاجل العمل، والاقتصاد لاجل الانتاج» هذه هي الصيغة التي تعبر بالاختصار عن روح برنامجها.

لو كانت فاتحة هذا البيان ما عرضناه الان، وخاتمة هذه العبارة البليغة وحدها، لكن اول المحبذين. لكنه لم يكتف بذلك. ان فيه ايضاً برنامج اصلاحات معينة، وتأسيس نظام قضائي جديد وتخويل الحكومة السلطة التشريعية ولو الى حين، وهذه مسائل تحتاج كلها الى بحث دقيق كان على اللجنة ان تهيئه وتسهل السبل للوصول اليه.

وعدا الاصلاحين الاداري والقضائي اللذين يتطلبان درساً خاصاً مفصلاً، يوجد في البيان مسائل عرضت ولم يعرف لها حل كمسألة حصتنا من واردات الجمارك.

ان الحكومة تدعي ظروف استثنائية، وحاجة الى سرعة الانفاذ لذلك فهي تلجأ الى اصول شاذة وتطلب منا حق اصدار المراسيم الاشتراعية.

علينا ان نتساءل بادئ ذي بدء عن صحة وجود هذه الظروف الاستثنائية، وهل تبرر التدابير الخارقة التي تطالب الحكومة بها؟

علينا ان نتساءل هل هناك ازمة، وهل الضنك الاقتصادي يتفاقم لحد يوجب علينا جعل النظام الحاضر مسؤولاً عنه؟

لا نرى ذلك:

ان النظام الجمهوري هو بمأمن من هذه الهجمات؛ وليس بمسؤول الضنك الاقتصادي؟ ليس خاصاً بنا. ولا نغالي اذا قلنا اننا مع حفظ النسبة، اوفر حظاً واحسن حالاً من البلاد المجاورة.

الأنة في خلال السنوات الأخيرة ضعفت الحالة التجارية، الانه افلس بعض التجار عن قصد وسوء نية او عن تأخر عرضي، الانه بانفصالنا عن الدولة العثمانية وتنظيم البلاد بحالتها الحاضرة خسرنا قسماً من مناطق تجارتنا، الاننا نعود تدريجاً الى الحالة الطبيعية وقد حرمانا لذة الارباح الطائلة والسريعة التي تنعمنا بها خلال السنوات التي تلت انتهاء الحرب العامة؟ الاجل هذا وحده ننادي بالويل والثبور؟

إذاً لا يجوز ان نغالي في وصف حالة ليست خاصة بنا، ولا يجوز بالاحرى ان نلقي التبعة على نظام الدولة، فننهم حراجة الموقف ونرى من ذلك مبرراً لتدابير استثنائية ولعملية جراحية خطيرة، ولانقلاب تام، ولتخطيط ما الفناه وما تعودنا ممارسته من الاحكام.

خطأ تسرب الى البيان الوزاري، من شأنه ان يؤثر على الرأي العام، غير ثابت انه لا ينفق على المنفعة العامة الا 850 ألف ليرة من ميزانية قدرها 5 ملايين و 122 ألفاً. ان هذا الزعم يدعو الرأي العام الى الاعتقاد بأن المكلف اللبناني يؤدي اكثر من 4 ملايين ليرة سورية لاعالة جيش من الموظفين ومسودي الأوراق Ronds de cuir وليست الحقيقة كذلك.

يصرف من اصل ميزانيتنا مبلغ ينيف على مليون ونصف مليون ليرة للمنفعة العامة لان المنفعة لا تقوم فقط بتزفيت الطرق، بل بما ينفق على المعاهد والمدارس والمستشفيات والزراعة، هذا اذا استثنينا ما ينفق على المحاكم وقوة البوليس والجنדרمة، اذا لا يعقل ان يقوم العدل، وتسود السكنية اذا كانت المحاكم عاطلة والثكنات خالية هذا عدا ايضاً ما ينفق على مصالح الدولة الاستثمارية كالبرق والبريد والتمغة ومشتري الملح... الخ.

ولنكتف بمثال واحد: فلسطين، وهو قطر يساوي عدد سكانه سكان الجمهورية على وجه التقريب. يوجد في فلسطين اكثر من 3600 موظف، على حين ان عدد موظفينا لا يزيد على 3000 موظف منهم 1600 دركي وشرطي و400 قاض ومساعد.

والآن نتطرق الى بحث البيان نقطة فنقطة لنرى فيما اذا كانت الحكومة اصابت هدفها المزدوج اي الاقتصاد وتحسين الانتاج في الادارة؟

«الادارة العامة»

من الضروري ان نقدم على هذا البحث ملاحظة عامة.

ان تخفيف الوظائف والتوفير في الميزانية من الامور المهمة، ولكنها لا تفي بالمطلوب اذا ان التوفير لا يكون تاماً ومنتجاً الا اذا نشأ عنه تخفيف من اعباء المكلفين، وتعيين الجهات التي تنفق فيها الاموال المقتصة. ولكن هذه الغاية المزدوجة لم تظهر لنا في البيان الوزاري بجلاء ووضوح.

لن ينتج من التنظيم الاداري توفير ما، اذ من المحقق ان ميزانية الادارة العامة ستبقى على ما هي عليه الان، لان مرتبات الوظائف التي يراد الغاؤها او تخفيف عددها ستخصص للوظائف التي يراد ابقاؤها.

هل نحصل على تحسين الانتاج في الادارة؟ ربما

لا ينكر ان البلاد بحاجة الى لامركزية ادارية منظمة، ويخطئ من يحسب اللامركزية خطراً على وحدة البلاد الادارية. بل انها تضمن بالعكس، للبلاد السكنية والطمأنينة، والراحة، اذ يجد الاهلون، كل في منطقته، جميع درجات الحياة الادارية اللازمة لهم قد ذهب الى هذا

الرأي ثقات المؤلفين في التشريع الإداري كهوريو ويرتلبي، ولكنهم متفقون على أن اللامركزية الموزعة بين عدد كبير من الموظفين هي أفضل وأوفى بالغاية المنشودة. لهذا نرى أنه بدلا من تخفيض عدد موظفي الإدارة إلى الحد الذي تطلبه الحكومة يجب استبقاء عدد أكبر ويخصص الأعمال بهم، بحيث لا تكون السلطات محصورة في عدد قليل من الموظفين.

أن التجربة التي عملت هنا، والتي تلمس فرنسا نتائجها الحسنة، نعني جعل السلطة الإدارية على ثلاث درجات، تحملنا على تحقيق نظام لامركزي أوسع نطاقاً.

وأخيراً يجب الملاحظة أنه مهما يكن النظام الإداري المتبع، فلا بد من جعل الموظف المعين على رأس منطقة إدارية، ذا سلطة فعلية على قوى الشرطة والدرك. فهل يمكن ذلك الآن أو في مستقبل قريب؟

هذا غاية ما نتمناه، ولكننا نعلم أن محافظنا اليوم، لا يملك سوى حق الطلب، لأن الدرك ليس مرجعه المحافظ، بل يتلقى الأوامر من قومندان، ففي هذه المناسبة نسجل على الحكومة نياتها الحسنة، وكنا نود لو تتقدم إلينا مع مشروع الإصلاح الإداري بمشروع تنظيم قوى الدرك وربطها مباشرة بوزارة الداخلية التي يصبح لها حينئذ حق التصرف لا حق الطلب.

2 - القضاء

قد يكون هذا هو الإصلاح الذي إبادر إلى تحبيذه فوراً، لولا بعض احتفاظات جوهرية من الواجب عرضها عليكم.

عندنا من المحاكم أكثر مما يلزم، ونحن في بلاد لا تكثر فيها الجرائم، رغم زعم المقتننين، وكذلك وأن كنا وراث الفنيقيين، التجار المتمولين، لسنا مولعين باللجاج والخصام الحقوقي، كما ينعتنا بعضهم عندنا من المحاكم عدد كبير ولكن أكثرها لا عمل لديها راجعوا السجلات والأوراق إذا شئتم، تروا أن بعض المحاكم ليس لديها سوى عشر دعاوى وأن بعضها لديها ثلاثون أو أربعين دعاوى، لكن هذه الدعاوى نفسها تعود كل سنة، وهكذا دواليك، بفضل القضاة أو المتداعين، أو بفضل أولئك وهؤلاء على السواء.

من الستة عشرة محكمة يمكن إلغاء 5 أو 6 محاكم دون أن يمس هذا الإلغاء مصالح الأهاليين يسوء. ولهذا رأت الحكومة ما يراه العقلاء، وهو وجوب إصلاح النظام القضائي. كنا نكتفي باظهار الرضى والارتياح لهذا المشروع والاحتفاظ بحقنا في تقديم الملاحظات التفصيلية على بعض نقاطه في حينها، لو لم تفضل الحكومة حرماننا من واجب الاشتراك معها في درس إصلاحها القضائي.

فاما وقد لا نجد فرصة لذلك فيما بعد، فليؤذن لنا الآن بعرض الملاحظات التالية:

الغاء محكمة التمييز

من الامور البديهية ان محكمة التمييز ليست درجة من درجات المحاكمة، بل هي في الامصار اللاتينية التي نشأت فيها عنصر تنظيم وتوحيد يعهد اليه السهر على حسن تأويل وتنفيذ القوانين. فالغاية منها اذاً ان تقول للقضاة العديدين الذين يفصلون في قضايا متماثلة، باحكام مختلفة، ما هو قانوناً الحكم الصحيح الحق الذي يجب من الان فصاعداً ان يصدر عن المحاكم، الغاية اذن توحيد الاحكام الصادرة عن عدة محاكم استئنافية.

فهل في لبنان عدة محاكم استئنافية؟ في نظامنا القضائي الحاضر، كلا

ولكن النظام الجديد الذي تنوي الحكومة انفاذه سيشتمل فعلاً ان لم يكن اسماً على عدة محاكم استئنافية.

محاكم البداية

ان المحاكم البدائية التي اصبحت في المشروع القضائي الجديد خمساً، تنظر بالدرجة الاخيرة في بعض الاحكام التي يصدرها حكام الصلح الذين وسعت صلاحيتهم. فاحكام المحاكم البدائية التي من هذا القبيل هي اذاً احكام استئنافية. وسينشأ عن هذه الحالة بالطبع اختلاف في تأويل المواد القانونية وفي تنفيذها.

يردون علينا بقولهم ان محكمة الاستئناف تعقد جلسة عامة (اي بجميع غرفها) لتوحيد الاحكام الصادرة من المحاكم البدائية ولكنهم ينسون ان الاحوال التي تعقد من اجلها محكمة الاستئناف جلسة عامة هي معينة ومنصوص عنها في القانون.

ومن جهة ثانية قد يقولون ان القضايا التي تفصل فيها المحاكم البدائية بالدرجة القطعية تأتي الى المحكمة الاستئنافية حيث توجد نظريات تلك المحاكم.

لكنهم ينسون ايضاً ان حكام الصلح ينظرون في قضايا لا يمكن ان تكون من صلاحية محاكم البداية كدعوى وضع اليد وحق المرور وحق السقي والقسمة.. الخ

ان الغاء محكمة التمييز فيما لو نفذ البرنامج الذي تقترحه الحكومة يجعل القاضي الذي يفصل في المسائل المادية، الحكم الفاصل ايضاً في المسائل القانونية، ومهما يكن هذا القاضي واسع الخبرة والاطلاع، فان النظر في تفاصيل القضية لا يمكنه من اعطاء النقاط القانونية ما تستلزمه من العناية والاهتمام. تصوروا هذا القاضي منهمكاً في استجواب المتهم والشهود، وفي وزن الحوادث المادية بمعيارها العادل، وفي تقدير المسؤولية وتطبيق العقوبة، وهو في الوقت نفسه مسؤول عن حسن سير المحاكمة وعن حسن تنفيذ القانون!...

بصرف النظر عن كل الاعتبارات الحقوقية، يجب ان لا ننسى ان للبنان ميزة ثمينة جدير بنا الاحتفاظ بها، وهي ان دولة العلويين تميز احكامها لدى محكمة التمييز اللبنانية فهل من العقل ان نحول انظار هذه الدولة الى محكمة غير محكمتنا؟ هل يحق لنا ان نتنازل عن هذا الامتياز، وان نضيعه؟

ومن جهة ثانية نرى ان يساعد حكام الصلح الذي ستتسع صلاحيتهم فيما بعد، قاضي تحقيق يقوم بوظيفة مستنطق ونائب عام وله رأيه في جميع الدعاوى المبسوطه، اذ بالاكثفاء بحاكم منفرد نعرض الاهلين لنتائج غير مرضية واليكم مثال من ذلك:

لنفرض وقوع حادثة بين شخصين في مدينة بعلبك، ينتميان الى عائلة كريمة ليس لهما سابق قضائي، اختلفا فتشاحنا فتضاربا. يأتي الدركي الجاهل وظيفته أو المتحامل على احدهما فيسوقهما بعد توقيفهما الى مدينة زحلة حيث المستنطق، والمستنطق في مكتبه منهنك في قضية هامة. اذاً عليهما ان ينتظرا، وقد لا يستوجبهما الا في غسق الليل فيرى ان المسألة تافهة لا توجب مسؤولية ولا توقيفاً فيطلق سراحهما. ولكن المذنب وضحيته تحملاً مشقة السفر وبقياً تحت رحمة القضاء من اجل مسألة قد لا يهتم بها الامن العام.

لجنة الاشتراع الاستشارية

نسجل للحكومة هذه الحسنة اذ ان عليها ان نسترشد بذوي الكفايات النيرة لاعداد مشاريعها قبل طرحها على المجلس.

الاحوال الشخصية

ان مشروع تنظيم الاحوال الشخصية سيعرض على المجلس لذلك نرى ان درسه الان سابق لا وانه وعلى كل لا نجد بدأ من تنبيه الحكومة الى اهمية ودقة هذه المسألة التي تستلزم كثيراً من الروية والاناة.

المالية والمساحة

يسرنا مشروع الحكومة فيما يختص بالمالية فهي تمنينا باعادة النظر بمستقبل قريب في نظام اضمن لمصلحة المكلف والخزينة معاً. اما المساحة وهي من افيد المشاريع التي اقدمت عليها الحكومة حتى اليوم فلا شك انها الركن الاساسي الذي يستند اليه الاعتماد الزراعي والمالي. قد يكون من المصلحة العامة اعادة النظر في الشروط الاساسية والمالية لهذا الالتزام ولكن مهما يكن من الامر فامينتنا ان نرى في القريب العاجل اختتام اعمال التحديد والمساحة.

الاشغال العامة والزراعة

من المستحسن جداً ان تكون طرق مواصلاتنا جاهزة، وفقاً لمبادئ الفن الحديثة ولكن الطرقات ولا ينكر ان لها شأنها في عمران البلاد وتشجيع السياحة والاصطياف لا يجب ان نجعلها في المقام الأول من حياتنا العامة اذ علينا ان نبذل شطراً عظيماً من جهودنا لتشجيع الزراعة ايضاً. ولا قيمة لكل ما يبذل من الجهود في هذه السبيل اذا لم نسرع في انفاذ مشروع الري. فعلياً ان نستتير بعلم واختيار الفنيين الذين سبقونا في هذا المضمار.

المعارف

ان الرأي العام تلقى بالارتياح عزم الحكومة على ابقاء التعليم الحكومي، اذ من الجريمة ان تقدم حكومة على اهمال واجبها الاجتماعي بتنقيف عقول الشبيبة. ونرى من الواجب تذكير

الحكومة بان في مصلحة الوحدة اللبنانية وجود معلمين ومربين لبنانيين يتلقون تعليماً متناسقاً. وغاية ما نتمناه ان تنشأ مدرسة معلمين يدعى اليها الاساتذة الاجلاء الذين لا يفتأون منذ عهد بعيد ينعمون علينا بحسنات علمهم واختبارهم.

الصحة والاسعاف العام

هذه ايضاً مسألة كان يخشاها الرأي العام. ترى هل ستكف الحكومة عن اسعاف مرضانا وعن وقاية صحتنا من العلل التي تهدد كياننا، وشرها الملاريا لتلك الحجة الباطلة وهي ان هناك مؤسسات خاصة يمكن بها عجزنا وملفاة تقصيرنا؟

كلا فالحكومة لن تفعل ذلك. ولكنها تنوي الاستغناء عن مستشفياتها حيث يوجد مستشفيات خاصة. هذا خطأ في التقدير اذ لا يخفى ان الرأي العام الاجنبي وبالاخص جمعية الامم تعلق اهمية كبرى على هاتين المسألتين اي المعارف والصحة في البلاد المنتدب عليها وهي لا تفتأ منذ الاحتلال تسأل عن الحالة الصحية وترسل البعثات لهذه الغاية. فهل يجوز ان نسلم مقدرات صحتنا العامة الى المستشفيات الخاصة، ولا ننشئ لانفسنا مستشفيات رسمية؟

تحسين مدينة بيروت

لم يكف الحكومة اهتمامها بمصالح البلاد الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية، فأرادت ايضاً ان يكون لها شأن في الاعمال البلدية وهذه غيرة تشكر عليها، شرط ان لا «يحدرد» المجلس البلدي لتدخل الحكومة في دائرة صلاحيته. ولكن ليهذا روع المجلس البلدي فالحكومة مولعة بالهجر. ألم تسألنا الهجران لمدة ستة اشهر؟

وعلى كل، ان تحسين مدينة بيروت من الامور الواجبة ولكننا نفضل ان تعير الحكومة هذا الامر ما يستحقه من العناية، وان ترشد البلدية الى امر هام، هو انه لا يوجد خريطة عامة للانشاءات الجديدة وغداً تضطر البلدية الى استملاك قد يكلفها اضعاف اضعاف ما قد يكلفها الان. لجعل بيروت مدينة جميلة، ووسطاً من الاوساط الجذابة في شرقي البحر المتوسط، هناك شرط لازم هو ان يعهد بهذا العمل الى اختصاصي في بناء المدن الحديثة. «Urbaniste».

تعيين المختارين

اما ما يختص بتعيين المختارين فان بحث هذه المسألة سابق لاوانه لان الحكومة عازمة على تقديم مشروع بهذا الخصوص.

الان وقد انتهينا من استعراض المسائل التي تناولها البيان الوزاري بقي علينا ان نفكر فيما ذا كان الرجال الذين تولوا الحكم هم موضع الثقة لانفاذ هذه المشاريع.

فهل يداخلكم شك في ذلك؟

ان الشك في ذلك لصعب

لو ان الحكومة لم تفكر في طلب المراسيم التشريعية، لكنا دون صعوبة نمناها ثقتنا لانفاذ مشاريعها، ضمن نطاق القوانين الدستورية، لكن الحكومة رأت ان لا سبيل الى القيام بهذه المهمة الا هذا السبيل. ولقد ادعت وجود ظروف استثنائية تبرر طلبها.

ما هو المرسوم التشريعي؟

المرسوم التشريعي قانون تسنه السلطة الاجرائية دون ان يكون للسلطة التشريعية مباشرة او بالواسطة ادنى دخل في ذلك. هو تحطيم المبادئ الدستورية، وتنازل المجلس عن حقه الاصيلي. هو اقرار من المجلس بعجزه عن القيام بالاصلاح المطلوب. هو عدم ثقة الحكومة بممثلي الامة وليس هذا التعريف من وضعي بل هو من وضع برلماني مشهور.

اجل، ايها السادة، ان البرلمان الافرنسي منح الحكومة في بعض الظروف الخطيرة حق اصدار مراسيم من شأنها تغيير او ابطال احكام القوانين المرعية. لقد كان ذلك في سنتي 1924 و1926. وعلماء القانون الدستوري، وعلى الاخص دوغي ونيزار، وكذلك خطباء الندوتين قد انتقدوا بشدة هذا الطلب الذي تقدمت الحكومة به الى المجلس، فان الميسيو بول بونكور اظهر عدم دستورية هذا التفويض قائلاً: «ان حق التشريع منحصر بمقتضى النصوص الدستورية في المجلس. فالمجلس يخرق المبادئ الدستورية بتحويله الحكومة حق تغيير القوانين بمرسوم».

ولجنة المالية في مجلس الاعيان الفرنسي ردت بلسان مقررهما الميسيو برانجه طلب الحكومة لانها اعتبرته خرقاً للدستور. وقد رأت هذه اللجنة ان المراسيم المطلوبة مهما اطلق عليها من الاسماء، هي تنازل عن السلطة التشريعية لا يجوز ولا يمكن للمجلس ان يرضى به لانه يمكن الحكومة من تغيير القوانين، وبالنتيجة من تبديل البناء الاداري والمالي برمته.

وفي مجلس الاعيان الفرنسي، في جلسة 14 آذار 1924، انتقد الميسيو ده جوفيل ورينو بشدة ان تلجأ الحكومة الى المراسيم الاشتراعية.

كذلك فان هذين القانونين قد سنا في 22 آذار 1924 و3 آب 1926 وصيغتهما لا تختلف عن الصيغة التي اتتنا بها الحكومة الا باحتفاظ واحد هو الرجوع الى المجلس لتصديق المراسيم ضمن مدة معينة.

ان الحكومة، ايها السادة، لم تذكر لنا الظروف الاستثنائية، ولم تفصل لنا ما يدعواها الى التصريح بانه لا يسعها القيام بمشاريعها اللازمة، الا اذا منحت حق التشريع؟

ترى هل تخاف مداخلتنا غير المستحبة ومساومتنا، ومناوراتنا لشل جهودها المشكورة ومنعها من الوصول الى نتيجة مرضية؟

هل تخشى مطالباتنا بثمن للتصويت، لها؟

ام انها على يقين من جمودنا وعدم اكرائنا وترددنا وبطننا في درس القوانين والاقتراع عليها؟

ترى هل اعطيناها دليلاً على عدم تقديرنا للمهمة الملقاة على عاتقنا؟

إذا كان الأمر كذلك - ولكن هذا افتراض مستحيل اردّه فوراً - فاني اصرح دون خوف ان الحكومة على صواب.

ولكن طمنوني ايها السادة، وقولوا لي ان الأمر ليس كذلك قدموا اذاً لهذه الحكومة ما يجب عليكم من المشاركة الرشيدة والصادقة، دون ادنى تحفظ.

قولوا لها انكم لا تردون طلبها بحقوقكم فحسب، بل لانكم لا تريدون ان تطرحوا عن كاهلكم اعباء الواجبات التي يطالبكم بها موكلوكم والبلاد.

ان وكالتكم لا تخولكم حق التوكيل، ولا تحويل مسؤوليتكم الى الغير. امنحوا الحكومة الثقة ولكن شرط ان تعمل الحكومة واياكم في دائرة القانون وفي جو الوفاق وعملاً نافعاً منتجاً.

اشتركوا في هذا العمل، كرسوا له انفسكم وكل قواكم، ولكن لا تفروا من المسؤولية. اناشدكم بالله والوطن ان تبددوا بموقفكم الان وهم الحكومة وقدموا لها البرهان الناصع على انكم تعرفون واجبكم وتريدون القيام به حتى النهاية. وانا على يقين من ان الحكومة لن تخشى بعد ذلك تدخلكم بل تعدل عن رأيها في منع هذا التدخل، لان هذا التدخل سيكون فقط لمصلحة الوطن.

Appendix 5

Vahram Leilekian

Appendix 5.1

Vahram Leilekian – 20 March 1934

Speech by Vahram Leilekian on the issue of the collapse of the East Planet Building (Kawkab Al Sharq) at the Martyrs Square in Beirut. Leilekian demanded that a new legislation be passed for the construction of all public buildings.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1934): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 20 March 1934.

الرئيس - يوجد اقتراح آخر للأستاذ وهرام ليلكيان في موضوع هذه الكارثة سيتلى على حضراتكم.

فتلا السكرتير المعين الاقتراح الآتي:

إلى حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب اللبناني،

حضرة الرئيس،

إن التأثير السيئ الذي أحدثته كارثة ساحة الشهداء أمر طبيعي. ونحن في بيان أسفنا على ضحاياها لا يمكننا إلا أن نعرب عن تعازينا للأسر العديدة التي نكبت بها منتظرين بيان المسؤوليات وتحديداتها أما الواجب الذي يترتب علينا في هذه الحالة فهو قبل كل شيء المحافظة على سكوننا ورباطة جأشنا وأن نمسك أنفسنا عن الانفعال بتأثر الجمهور هذا التأثير الذي يحتمل العذر إنما لا يعذر نواب الأمة عليه. فلا مناقشات هوائية ولا اتهام بلا بينة ولا أحكام تصدر عفوَ الخاطر.

أما مهمتنا إلى أن تصدر نتيجة التحقيق القضائي والفني فهي ذات أهمية وشأن تختص باتخاذ الوسائل التي تمنع تكرار مثل هذه الكارثة التي لا تحسب الأولى من نوعها فقد حفظت سجلات مدينة بيروت كثيرات مثلها وإن كانت أقل منها ضرراً. وإذا تقاعدت الحكومة عن اتخاذ التدابير الواقية سوف لا تكون هذه الكارثة الأخيرة من هذا النوع.

إن سبب الضرر هو إهمال السلطات السابقة السهر على تنظيم أحوال البناء والمراقبة عليها.

في الأقوال الفرنسية المأثورة قولهم: (شرط الحكم هو استدراك ما يمكن وقوعه) وفي مدينة بيروت أبنية جديدة كثيرة لا تتفق مع شروط الفن التي تجب مراعاتها. فمواطنونا يبنون جرياً مع العادة. فصاحب البناء هو نفسه المهندس والرسام يضع نصب عينيه غير غاية واحدة هي التوفير والاقتصاد وربما عهد بعضهم بوظيفة المهندس أو الرسام إلى معلم بناء عادي مجهل

مبادئ الهندسة قد يحاول هو نفسه الاستفادة أيضاً من رخص أدوات البناء الرديئة أو من الشغل الرديء فمن يقدر أن يضمن في هذه الحالة سلامة الأبنية العامة كالمعابد والمسارح ودور السينما والمطاعم والقهواوي إلى آخره وأن تحتوي جميع شروط المتانة والسلامة الواجبتين؟ لذلك كان من المعقول أن تتوقع تكرار أمثال هذه الكارثة ما بقيت حالتنا على ما نحن عليه.

فلكل ما تقدم ذكره يجب أن يشرع حالاً بمراقبة جميع الأبنية وفي مقدمتها الأبنية العامة وفحص حالتها فحصاً فنياً.

أما الأبنية التي يراد الشروع بتشبيدها أو ترميمها وتصليحها وشروط المحافظة عليها فيجب أن يوضع لها مشروع قانون يحتوي على المبادئ الآتية:

أولاً - أن لا يعطى أحد رخصة ببناء إلا إذا قدم خريطة فنية مفصلة لهذا البناء يوقع عليها المهندس المكلف بمراقبته.

ثانياً - المهندس أو الرسام مكلف ومسؤول عن متانة البناء الذي يشاد على مسؤوليته وتحت مراقبته.

ثالثاً - تحدد في هذا المشروع مسؤولية كل من الرسام أو المهندس أو المالك أو المستأجر أو السلطات العامة.

رابعاً - يبين التعويض اما على العمال الذين يذهبون ضحايا الكوارث الحادثة الناتجة عن خلل البناء واما على الأشخاص الذين يصيبهم ضرر الهدم أو أصحاب الاستحقاق وعلى الجملة تبين مسؤولية أصحاب المسؤولية في كل حادث يحدث ويقع فيه الضرر على أشخاص معينين.

فاستناداً إلى كل ما تقدم اطلب إلى هيئتك الموقرة أن تلفت نظر الحكومة إلى ضرورة تأليف لجنة من أصحاب الفن والاختصاصيين تكلف بوضع مشروع قانون للأملاك المبنية أو التي ستبنى تبين فيه جميع المسؤوليات التي يمكن أن تنتج عنها. فالمحافظة على سلامة أفراد الأمة يتوقف على وضع هذا المشروع.

وتفضلوا يا حضرة الرئيس بقبول أصدق عواطف الاحترام.

بيروت في 19 آذار سنة 1934

وهرام ليلكيان

نائب بيروت

Appendix 5.2

Vahram Leilekian – 23 April 1934

A proposal made by Vahram Leilekian on the issue of public works laborers.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1934): 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 23 April 1934.

حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب اللبناني الأفخم

لما كان عدد العمال اللبنانيين العاطلين من الأعمال اليدوية كبيراً في البلاد في هذه الأيام فإني ألفت نظر الحكومة إلى الفقرة الآتية من المادة 59 من الشروط العامة المطبوعة في دفتر الالتزامات الجاري العمل به في مديرية الأشغال العامة وهي:

(يجب أن يكون العمال الذين يشتغلون في الأشغال العامة من اللبنانيين وللإدارة أن تسمح باستخدام عدد من العمال الأجانب في بعض الأشغال الخاصة بشرط أن لا يزيد عددهم عن 10 في المئة).

فإني أسأل الحكومة إفادت نظر مديرية الأشغال العامة للتنبيه على المقاولين بوجوب العمل بهذه الفقرة في الالتزامات التي يأخذونها.

وتفضلوا بقبول أصدق عواطف الاحترام.

بيروت في 23 نيسان سنة 1934

نائب بيروت

الإمضاء: وهرام ليلكيان

Appendix 5.3

Vahram Leilekian - 4 December 1934

A proposal made by Vahram Leilekian during a Budget Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1934): 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 4 December 1934.

إقتراح الأستاذ ليلكيان

حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب الأفخم،

أقدم لحضرتكم الملاحظات الآتية المتعلقة بحالة الطرق العامة في الجمهورية اللبنانية ملفتاً نظر الحكومة إليها وأملأ أن تتخذ الوسائل اللازمة لاستدراك النقاط التي أشير إليها وإجراء التعديلات اللازمة في المخصصات المرصدة لها قبل التصديق على موازنة مديرية الأشغال العامة لسنة 1935.

وهذه هي ملاحظاتي عليها:

أولاً - لا جدال بأن الحكومة اللبنانية بذلت وتبذل منذ عشر سنوات المساعي الكبيرة لإصلاح شبكة الطرق العامة في الجمهورية اللبنانية وقد أنفقت مبالغ طائلة في هذا السبيل. إلا أن هذه الطرق لا تزال ناقصة إما لعدم وجود بروغرام عام لها وإما لأن هذا البروغرام لم ينفذ بتمامه. فلو أراد صاحب كميون يحمل عشرة طونات الذهاب من بيروت إلى طرابلس لما استطاع السير على هذه الطريق بل اضطر لأن يذهب إلى المعلقة - بعلمك حمص ليصل إلى طرابلس. يعني أن يجتاز مسافة 260 كليومتراً بدلاً من أن يسير 80 كليومتراً في الخط المستقيم. فبناء على ما تقدم أرى أنه يجب اتخاذ الوسائل لإصلاح هذا النقص إما دفعة واحدة وإما أجزاء حسب استطاعة الموازنة مع مراعاة أهمية النقط التي تجري فيها الأشغال في تقديم بعضها على بعض.

ثانياً - تضمنت موازنة سنة 1935 المبلغ الآتي للأعمال الآتي بيانها:

ليرة لبنانية سورية

122550 لحدل الطرق حدلاً بسيطاً

68250 لصيانة الطرق ذات المنفعة المحلية

15000 لصيانة الطرق العادية

205800 المجموع

وأرى أن هذه الأموال ستنتفك عبثاً بلا فائدة لأن الحداثة العادية لا تحتل السير أكثر من 12 شهراً وهذا هو رأي مهندسي مديرية الأشغال العامة أنفسهم.

لذلك يجب إما زيادة المخصصات المرصدة لهذه الأشغال لعملها بالإسفلت وإما أن تعمل بهذه القيمة طرق أقل طويلاً من الطرق المقررة بشكل يجعل الطرق أكثر متانة لاحتلال السير عليها.

وتفضلوا يا حضرة الرئيس بقبول أصدق عواطف الاحترام.

بيروت في 3 كانون الأول سنة 1934

نائب بيروت

واهرام ليلكيان

Appendix 5.4

Vahram Leilekian – 10 December 1934

A question posed by Vahram Leilekian to the Government during a Budget Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1934): 6th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 10 December 1934.

حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب المحترم

اتشرف بان اقدم لحضرتكم الملاحظات الآتية والسؤالات المبينة فيها.

(1) اظن انه يوجد قانون في مديرية الداخلية يتعلق بترقية البوليس وارغب ان اعلم لماذا هذا القانون لا يجرى تطبيقه.

(2) هل يوجد قاعدة لمكافئة بعض افراد البوليس وهل لا ترى الحكومة جعل هذه القاعدة رسمية لكي يستفيد منها كل نفر حسب استحقاقه واهليته حيث ارى بعض الاحيان انها كافأت البعض دون غيرهم؟

(3) اذا حدث لبعض انفار البوليس حادث اثناء قيامه بوظيفته ادى لقتله او لتعطيله عن العمل فهل يوجد قانون لتأمين معاشه او لاعطاء معاش لعائلته من بعده؟ وهل لا ترى الحكومة ان هذا القانون واجب ويقضي به العدل؟

وتفضلوا يا حضرة الرئيس بقبول فائق الاحترام

بيروت في 10 كانون الاول سنة 1934

نائب بيروت

الامضاء: وهرام ليلكيان

Appendix 5.5

Vahram Leilekian – 18 December 1934

A request made by Vahram Leilekian to the Government to allocate funds to the sporting clubs during a Budget Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1934): 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 18 December 1934.

الرئيس قدم الاستاذ ليلكيان اقتراحاً يتعلق بمساعدة الحكومة النوادي الرياضية، وقد تلا حضرة امين السر الاستاذ شمعون الاقتراح الآتي:

حضرة رئيس المجلس النيابي المحترم،

بمناسبة درس ميزانية المعارف العامة و الفنون الجميلة وبالنظر لكون الالعاب الرياضية اصبحت في ايماننا هذه فرعاً من تهذيب الناشئة وكانت هذه الالعاب فضلاً عن تهذيبهم وردعهم عن ارتياد باقي الملاهي المضرة تكسبهم قوة وعقلاً لأن العقل الصحيح في الجسم الصحيح ولهذا فإننا نرى الحكومات تساعد نوادي الرياضة مادياً وأدبياً فعليه اقترح على الحكومة تخصيص مبلغ يصرف على تحسين حالة النوادي الرياضية وتشجيعها .

بيروت في 18 كانون الاول سنة 1934

الامضاء: واهرام ليلكيان

نائب بيروت

Appendix 5.6

Vahram Leilekian – 28 January 1935

A proposal made by Vahram Leilekian at a Budget Discussion Meeting concerning state taxes.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1935): 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 28 January 1935.

ان مقصدي من اقتراحي ليس لزيادة حاصلات الحكومة ولا اثقال كاهل الشعب بالضرائب بل ان مبدئي هو المحافظة على المنفعة العامة واستدراك الازمة التي سوف تنتج من زيادة البناءات الجديدة. والاسباب التي دفعتني لذلك هي الاتية:

اولا- منذ سنة 1930 حتى اليوم والاجارات تتساقط تدريجاً.

كل سنة ما يوازي 10 الى 20 في المئة تقريباً فاذا لم تتخذ الاحتياطات اللازمة لتوقيف هذا السقوط المستمر تصبح نكبة عظيمة على عموم الشعب لانه من المعلوم ان الراسمال الذي يصرف على البناء لم يعد يدخل لصاحبه الفائدة التي يتوخاها بل بالعكس فانه يعود عليه بالخسارة المستمرة خصوصاً واننا نعام ان 60 في المئة من بنايات البلد هي مرهونة بفوائد لا يقوم الاجار بتغطيتها ودوام هذا الحال هو الافلاس بعينه. واقتراحي ليس هو الا بداية عمل ليس للحكومة ان تقف عنده فقط بل يلزمها اتخاذ الوسائط الفعالة لاستدراك هذا الامر.

ثانيا- ان الحكومة عندما سنت قانون اعفاء البناء الجديد من الضرائب كانت البلد تعج بالسكان واللاجئين من كل النواحي وبناياتها لم تكن تكفي لاسكانهم اما لان وقد اصبحت البناءات تزيد عن حاجة السكان واغلبها خالية فبسبب الاعفاء زال واصبح مضراً وقد كان على الحكومة ابطال هذا القانون قبل الان.

ثالثا- ان بلادنا هي من طبيعتها فقيرة ومع ذلك فاننا منذ الاحتلال حتى اليوم قد دغنا القسم الكبير من راسمالنا في البناء الذي لم يعد يساوي خمسين بالمئة من اصل قيمته ولم نخصص شيئاً من راسمالنا لمساعدة الاعمال الصناعية الصغيرة Petite industrie ولا للزراعة لان البناء قد منعنا عن ذلك ولهذا فاننا لحد الان اذا كنا بحاجة حتى لمسمار وابرة خياطة نطلبها من الخارج واذا لم يرد لنا طحين من الخارج نكون معرضين للجوع وهذا مع باقي الاسباب المتقدمة مادفعتني لتقديم اقتراحي الذي لا اقصد منه سوى الخير العام فقط.

بيروت في 24 كانون الثاني سنة 1935.

نائب بيروت الامضاء: وهرام ليلىكيان

Appendix 5.7

Vahram Leilekian – 26 November 1935

A proposal made by Vahram Leilekian at a Budget Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1935): 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 26 November 1935.

الرئيس - قدم خمسة عشر نائباً اقتراحاً يتعلق بمساعدة النوادي الرياضية، وسيتلى الاقتراح عليكم.

فتلا السكرتير المعين الاقتراح الآتي وهذا نصه؟

اقتراح

حضرة رئيس المجلس النيابي المحترم،

بتاريخ 18 كانون الأول سنة 1934 قدم حضرة النائب واهرام أفندي ليلكيان اقتراحاً يتضمن طلب مساعدة النوادي الرياضية التي أصبحت بأيامنا هذه عاملاً من عوامل تهذيب الناشئة تمنعهم عن ارتياد الملاهي المضرة وتكسبهم قوة وعقلاً لأن العقل الصحيح في الجسم الصحيح ونؤيد الآن هذا الاقتراح. ثم بمناسبة احتراق قسم من ملعب النهضة التي قامت بأعمال مجيدة وحرز لاعبوها شهرة عظيمة جعلت اسم لبنان محترماً عند الأجانب فإننا نقترح على الحكومة تخصيص مبلغ يعطى للنادي المذكور تعويضاً له عما أصابه من الخسارة بسبب الحريق، ومساعدة وتشجيعاً للقيام بأعماله المشكورة.

بيروت في 22 تشرين الثاني سنة 1935

الامضاءات: إبراهيم حيدر، فريد الخازن، مجيد ارسلان، حكمت جنبلاط، ميشال زكور، نجيب عسيران، واهرام ليلكيان، محمد عبد الرزاق، حميد فرنجية، صبري حمادة، كميل شمعون، الياس السكاف، نجيب حنا ضاهر، محمد أمين قرعون، بهيج الفضل

Appendix 5.8

Vahram Leilekian – 18 December 1935

A proposal made by Vahram Leilekian at a Budget Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1935): 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 18 December 1935.

حضرة رئيس المجلس النيابي الأفخم،

إن الواردات المقيدة في الميزانية عن البنزين تبلغ 360 ألف ليرة سورية وهذا الوارد هو من أعظم الموارد للحكومة وناتج عن وجود ما يزيد عن ستة آلاف سيارة ومع ذلك فإن الحكومة غير باذلة الاهتمام الواجب نحو هذه المادة التي تدر عليها هذه الأموال الوافرة.

فالبنزين عند وصوله من الخارج لا أحد يفحص عياره وعند نقله للبلاد لأجل بيعه ينقل بصورة غير منظمة، وعدم فحصه يعرضه للتلاعب ولا يمكن معرفة فيما إذا كان بقي على حالته الأصلية أم لا.

لهذا فإن وجود قانون مخصوص للبنزين من شأنه أن يؤمن مصالح الخزينة بصورة أكيدة حيث إن مزجه 10%. كان يسبب خسارة للخزينة من 30 إلى 40 ألف ليرة بقطع النظر عما يسببه من الأضرار الجسيمة للمحركات.

ثم إن عدم تنظيم نقل البنزين وبيعه قد يمكن أن يتأتى منه كوارث عظيمة، وإنني لأتعجب كيف لحد الآن لم يحصل إلا بعض حوادث، فهل أن الحكومة تنتظر حصول كارثة عظيمة لسن قانون لهذا الصنف.

لهذا أقترح تأليف لجنة من المتخصصين الكيماويين لوضع مشروع قانون يتضمن الشروط الآتية:

أولاً - مراقبة وفحص البنزين عند وصوله للجمر.

ثانياً - فحصه عند عرضه للبيع لمنع بيع البنزين المغشوش.

ثالثاً - تنظيم نقل البنزين وتجهيز محلات وضعه في المخازن.

بيروت في 18 كانون الأول سنة 1935

نائب بيروت - الإمضاء: وهرام ليلكيان

Appendix 5.9

Vahram Leilekian – 13 May 1936

A Report by the Administrative and Justice Committee on the subject of postponement of the Municipal Elections in Beirut and Tripoli to accommodate an Armenian representative on the Beirut's Municipality Council during a Legislative Meeting, followed by, a speech by Vahram Leilekian on the same subject matter.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1936): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 3rd Parliament held on 13 May 1936.

مرسوم رقم 316

يتعلق بالانتخابات البلدية في بيروت طرابلس الاسكلة

مشروع قانون

المادة الاولى - تؤجل الانتخابات البلدية في بيروت الى الاحد الثالث من شهر ايار سنة 1938 وتنتهي وظيفة البلدية الحالية في 19 ايار سنة 1936 وتعين لجنة بلدية مؤلفة من 16 عضواً بينهم 12 من اللبنانيين واربعة من الاجانب طبقاً لاحكام القرار 3627 المؤرخ في 21 نيسان سنة 1926 ويكون للجنة بلدية بيروت جميع الاختصاصات المعطاة لمجلس بلدية بيروت بمقتضى القرار رقم 2671

المادة الثانية - تؤجل الانتخابات البلدية في مدينتي طرابلس والاسكلة الى الاحد الثالث من شهر ايار سنة 1938 وتنتهي وظيفة اللجنتين الحاليتين في مدينتي طرابلس والاسكلة في 19 ايار سنة 1936 وتعين لجنتان في طرابلس والاسكلة يكون عدد اعضاء كل منهما موازياً لعدد اعضاء اللجنة الحالية

المادة الثالثة - ان مدير الداخلية مكلف بتنفيذ هذا القانون

الاسباب الموجبة

تتقدم الحكومة الى مجلسكم الكريم بهذا المشروع وهي واثقة انكم ترون فيه رأي المجالس السابقة التي سارت سيراً مطرداً على هذه القاعدة منذ سنة 1926 الى اليوم فكانت في كل مرة تقرر تشكيل الهيئة البلدية بطريقة التعيين وغاية الحكومة من هذا التدبير ان تضع مصالح المدينتين في ايدي مستشارين بالديين من خيرة الرجال ساحوا في البلدان الاجنبية واكتسبوا من الخبرة ما يعود عليها بالنفع والجدوى. وهناك فائدة اخرى للتعيين وهي ان الهيئة البلدية

يمكنها ان تضم بين اعضائها اناساً من ذوي الاهلية القضائية والمالية والتجارية بجانب ذوي المقدرة الادارية

والواقع ان فائدة التعيين لم يقتصر ظهورها على مدينتي بيروت وطرابلس بل ظهرت ايضاً في جميع مراكز الاصطيفاء حيث يجلس اعضاء معينون بجانب الاعضاء المنتخبين وحسبنا ان نرسل نظرة الى مصايف عاليه وصوفر وبيت مري وسوق الغرب للوقوف على مفعول التعيين ومبلغه من الفائدة

تقرير

مقرر لجنة الادارة والعدلية على مشروع تأجيل انتخابات بلديات بيروت وطرابلس والاسكلة

اجتمعت لجنة الادارة والعدلية ودققت في مشروع القانون المحال اليها بموجب المرسوم رقم 316 المتعلق بتأجيل الانتخابات البلدية في بيروت وطرابلس ومينا طرابلس وفي اقتراح التعديل المتقدم من نائب بيروت واهرام افندي ليلكيان لجهة اعطاء الطائفة الارمنية حق التمثيل في المجلس البلدي لمدينة بيروت

وقد وافقت اللجنة من جهة على مشروع القانون للأسباب الموجبة المبينة في فذلكة الحكومة ومن جهة ثانية قبلت بالتعديل المقترح معتبرة ان افراد الطائفة الارمنية في بيروت قد بلغوا العدد الكافي الذي يمنحهم حق التمثيل. فرأت ان يضاف عضو على اعضاء المجلس البلدي الحالي يكون من طائفة الارمن الغريغوريين

فيصبح المشروع كما يلي بعد التعديل:

مشروع قانون

المادة الاولى - تؤجل الانتخابات البلدية في بيروت الى الاحد الثالث من شهر ايار سنة 1938 وتنتهي وظيفة البلدية الحالية في 19 ايار سنة 1936

المادة الثانية - تعين لجنة بلدية مؤلفة من 17 عضواً منهم 12 عضو من اللبنانيين واربعة من الاجانب طبقاً للقرار رقم 3627 المؤرخ في 21 نيسان سنة 1926 ومن عضو من الارمن الغريغوريين ويكون للجنة بلدية بيروت جميع الاختصاصات المعطاة لمجلس بلدية بيروت بمقتضى القرار رقم 2671

المادة الثالثة - تؤجل الانتخابات البلدية في مدينتي طرابلس والاسكلة الى الاحد الثالث من شهر ايار سنة 1938 وتنتهي وظيفة اللجنتين الحاليتين في مدينتي طرابلس والاسكلة في 19 ايار سنة 1936 وتعين لجنتان في طرابلس والاسكلة يكون عدد اعضاء كل منها موازياً لاعضاء اللجنة الحالية.

على ان اللجنة تطلب الى المجلس الموقر ان يعهد اليها منذ الان بالبحث بالاتفاق مع الحكومة في وضع مشروع قانون انتخاب يتعلق ببلديات بيروت وطرابلس والاسكلة بدلاً من القانون الحالي بحيث يأتي القانون الجديد حاوياً ما هو اضمن واصح للمصلحة العامة وتطلب اللجنة

ايضاً موافقة المجلس على ضم هذا التقرير الى مشروع القانون الموضوع الان للاقتراح مع الموافقة على هذا التقرير

بيروت في 13 ايار سنة 1936

مقرر اللجنة - كميل شمعون - نائب جبل لبنان

الرئيس - الكلام للاستاذ ليلكيان

لقد لعبت مسألة الانتخاب والتعيين دوراً خطيراً وانقسمت الآراء حولها بين محبذ ومنتقد اما انا فمن مبدئي الانتخاب وحده ولا اظن كما انه لا يعقل ان يكون احد زملائي الكرام على غير هذا المبدأ واذا قبلت بالتأجيل الموقت فالباعث على قبولي اسباب جوهرية وجيهة لقد أشيع وتقول البعض بان الاشخاص الذين رشحوا ذاتهم للعضوية هم غير اهل للوظيفة فجواباً على هذه الاشاعات العارية عن كل صحة اصرح بان الذين رشحوا ذاتهم هم من ذوي المكانة والفضل واحترم كل فرد منهم واشكره على هذه العاطفة الشريفة المقصود فيها خدمة المصلحة العامة ليس الا

اما الاسباب التي نوهت عنها سابقاً فهي من جهة عدم توزيع الكراسي على جميع الطوائف وفقاً للمادة 19 من نظام البلديات لاني ارى بعض الطوائف غير ممثلة. نعم ان في عصرنا الحالي لا يجب ان تستلقت مسألة الطائفية التفاتنا بل يلزمنا حصر البحث في مسألة الاختصاص والصلاحيات فقط ولكن القوانين الحالية عندنا مختصرة جداً وغير مذكور فيها شيء من هذا القبيل ولا يمكننا بالوقت الحاضر الا التقيد بها وعليه فاني ارضى بالتأجيل الموقت لمدة وجيزة على ان يدرس ويوضع قانون مستوف واف بالمرام

نائب بيروت

الامضاء: وهرام ليلكيان

مرسوم رقم 316

المادة الاولى - تؤجل الانتخابات البلدية في بيروت الى الاحد الثالث من شهر ايار سنة 1938 وتنتهي وظيفة البلدية الحالية في 19 ايار سنة 1936

الرئيس - من يوافق على هذه المادة يرفع يده؟

(اكثرية)

صدق المجلس المادة وهذا نص المادة الثانية

المادة الثانية - تعين لجنة بلدية مؤلفة من 17 عضواً منهم 12 عضواً من اللبنانيين واربعة من الاجانب طبقاً للقرار رقم 3627 المؤرخ في 21 نيسان سنة 1926 ومن عضو من

الارمن الغريغوريين ويكون للجنة بلدية بيروت جميع الاختصاصات المعطاة لمجلس بلدية بيروت بمقتضى القرار رقم 6271

الرئيس - ولدي اقتراح من الاستاذ ليلكيان يتعلق بهذه المادة سأتلوه عليكم وهذه صورته

اقتراح

لما كان عدد الطائفة الارمنية في بيروت يبلغ 18 ثمانية عشر الف نسمة ويزيد عن عدد بعض الطوائف الاخرى ذات الحق في التمثيل في المجلس البلدي اطلب تعديل المادة الاولى مشروع القانون الصادر بتاريخ 16 نيسان سنة 1936 بالمرسوم رقم 316 واعطاء الطائفة الارمنية حق التمثيل في المجلس البلدي المقبل

نائب بيروت

الامضاء: وهرام ليلكيان

الذين يوافقون على المادة الثانية يرفعون ايدهم؟

(اكثريه)

صدق المجلس المادة

Appendix 5.10

Vahram Leilekian – 17 December 1937

Speech by Vahram Leilekian during a Committee Election Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1937): 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 17 December 1937.

حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب الأفخم،

أرجو من معاليكم إحالة سؤالي هذا إلى حضرة رئيس مجلس الوزراء للجواب عليه ضمن مدة الخمسة أيام القانونية.

كان هذا المجلس أثناء الجلسة المنعقدة بتاريخ 7 كانون الأول سنة 1936 بناء على الاقتراح المقدم من بعض النواب قرر تخصيص مبلغ ألفين ليرة لبنانية سورية بناء على أن تصرف في سبيل زيادة عدد المعلمين في بعض المدارس منها المدارس الأرمنية في بيروت لأجل تدريس اللغة العربية.

وقد صرفت اعتمادات موازنة عام 1937 دون أن ينفذ قرار المجلس هذا فيما يختص بالمدارس الأرمنية بالرغم من كون الحكومة كانت وافقت على القرار في حينه.

لذلك فإنني أسأل الحكومة عن السبب الذي أدى بها إلى عدم تنفيذ قرار المجلس خصوصاً مع علم الحكومة بما لتعليم اللغة العربية في المدارس الأرمنية من الأهمية من الوجهة الوطنية اللبنانية.

ثم إنني ألفت أنظار الحكومة بصورة خاصة إلى وجوب إيجاد معلمين رسميين في المدارس الأرمنية لأن عدد السكان من الأرمن في برج حمود وبيروت يزيد عن الثلاثين ألفاً دون أن تفكر الحكومة لحد الآن بإنشاء مدرسة رسمية واحدة.

وتفضلوا يا حضرة الرئيس بقبول فائق احترامي.

بيروت في 14 كانون الأول سنة 1937

نائب بيروت

الإمضاء: واهرام ليليكيان

Appendix 5.11

Vahram Leilekian – 24 January 1939

Vahram Leilekian's comments during a Deliberation Meeting on the Ministerial Statement.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1939): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

واهرام ليلكيان - أيها السادة،

هذه هي الوزارة الرابعة التي تتألف من سبعة وزراء لكي تمثل الطوائف اللبنانية جميعها فهل تعتقد الحكومة يا ترى ان الطوائف جميعها ممثلة في هذه الوزارة الحالية؟

إذا كان نعم فأنا مخالف لهذا المبدأ لأن هناك طائفة تسمى الطائفة الأرمنية لم نجد لها ممثلاً منذ ان وجد الدستور.

لهذه الأسباب أرجو ان لا تهضم حقوق الأرمن اللبنانيين وان لا تتخذ الحكومة التوزيع الوزاري كقاعدة او قانون تتمشى عليها دائماً. هذا وأملّي أن لا يؤخذ كلامي بمحمل غير ما أقصده إذ أننا غير متطلبين مقاعد وزارية بل دفاعاً عن مصالح الأرمن اللبنانيين الصميمين.

كميل شمعون - إنني أصادق على ما قاله حضرة الزميل الأستاذ ليلكيان. فالطائفة الأرمنية اللبنانية قد بلغ عددها 55000 نسمة وكما هي ممثلة في المجلس النيابي بنائين كريمين يجب ان تمثل في الوزارة أيضاً بمقعد حكومي فلها ما لسانر اللبنانيين من حقوق وعليها ما عليهم من واجبات. هذا لا يعني بأنني أطلب ان تكون الوزارة من ثمانية وزراء بل في المستقبل ان يكون ممثل الأقليات أرمنياً.

فريد الخازن - نحن نؤيد ما قاله الزميل واهرام ليلكيان.

Appendix 6

Khosrov Tutundjian

Appendix 6.1

Khosrov Tutundjian - 25 February 1938

Speech by Khosrov Tutundjian at a Budget Discussion Meeting. Original speech was in French. Official Records were translated into Arabic.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1938): 9th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 25 February 1938.

خسروف توتونجيان - (ألقى خطاباً بالفرنسية وهذه ترجمته):

أيها السادة،

إن درس المجلس للميزانية يعطي فرصة سانحة لكل نائب بإبداء آرائه السياسية والاجتماعية التي يدين بها في الندوة وخارجها.

فبصفتي ممثلاً لحزب الطاشناق ومن الفئة الاشتراكية الثانية أرى من واجبي أن لا أدع هذه الفرصة تفوت دون أن أبدي برأيي صريحاً بهذه الموازنة التي سوف تقترعون على بنودها بعد هنيهة كما وأنه لي الشرف أن أشارك باسم الأرمن اللبنانيين الأحرار في أعمال السلطة التشريعية في سبيل لبنان والمدافعة عن حقوقه.

وبما أنني عضو في كتلة الاتحاد الوطني سوف أقترح لهذه الميزانية وأقرها بعد أن أبين لكم الأسباب والدوافع التي دعتني لذلك وأعتذر من الزملاء الكرام لكلامي بالفرنسية مع الأمل أن أصل ليوم أحداثكم فيه باللغة القومية - نقد الموازنة - إن النظرة الأولى لهذه الموازنة تدلنا على أوجاع تتألم البلاد منها أولها تدني النقد الذي ذهب بثروة بلاد صغيرة تتطلب الحياة، وكل عمل نقوم به للإصلاح المنشود وتوسيع الأفق السياسي يبقى ناقصاً، ولا يظهر سوى الألم الذي يحز نفوس اللبنانيين واليأس المستحوذ على بلد ناشئ يتطلب الحياة والبقاء مع العلم بكثرة الوظائف التي يئن المكلف منها فالمصارفات بأكثريتها تتفق على دوائر الدولة أما النفقات على المشاريع العامة العمرانية والإنشائية فإنها قليلة جداً لكي تدر الخير على لبنان وتقوي اقتصاديات أهليه إن هذه الموازنة تحفظ حقوق الملاك والمعاملات التجارية والمالية والرساميل الأجنبية، ولا تترك مجالاً للدفاع عن سلامة الأراضي اللبنانية، وإنني لأتساءل في هذه المناسبة ما يحل بنا لو لم يكن هنا جيش إفرنسي يدافع عنا وعن حدود بلادنا وهذا التوزيع الغير عادل للضرائب يجعل الضرائب المباشرة بنسبة 10% من النفقات.

ثم إن كل واحد منا وهو شاعر بالمسؤولية الملقاة على عاتقه لأنه في هذه الندوة يمثل الشعب يتساءل ولا شك عن الذي يتحمل مصارفات هذه الموازنة ومن يقوم بأعباء الضرائب.

فالواردات تقوم على نوعين من الضرائب: مباشرة وغير مباشرة، فالضرائب المباشرة تكون 20% من الغير مباشرة، وهذه الظاهرة لا تمثل الروح الديمقراطية الحرة بل تناقضها لأنها ترينا أن 80% من واردات الدولة تدفعها الطبقة العاملة الفقيرة والبقية أي 20% تقوم بها الطبقة الغنية خصوصاً وأن هذه الروح الغير ديموقراطية تظهر جلياً في عدم وجود الضريبة على الدخل ولا على الإرث، ولهذا السبب نرى أن موازنة الدولة ضعيفة تمكنها من القيام بمشاريع عامة عمرانية، وسياسة اجتماعية عادلة. فالحكومة فكرت ووضعت بعض الضرائب العادلة كالضريبة على الإرث لكي تعطي للموظفين فرق المعيشة، ثم تراجعت عن الاثنين سوية نزولاً على رغبة المجلس إنني أتأسف على عدم الزيادة المشروعة للموظفين نظراً لحالتهم المادية وتدني النقد، كما وأني لا أتأسف على عدم إقرار هذه الضرائب الجديدة لأنها تزيد الضرائب الموضوعة جوراً وظلماً.

وما كنا نتأمله في سبيل البلاد والديموقراطية وفائدة للخزينة هو اقتراح جريء وسياسة مالية قوية مستقلة من روح اجتماعية عادلة، فهل كان بوسع الحكومة الحاضرة هذا العمل الجريء؟ إن ضميري يجب كلا، ولا بوسع حكومة أخرى لأن حالة المجلس لا تسمح للحكومة أن تقوم بهذا العمل، وأزيد على هذا أن المعارضين لهذه الميزانية والذين سوف يحجبون ثقتهم عنها لم يقدموا لنا مشروعاً عمرانياً مفيداً بخلاف الموازنة، واكتفوا بانتقادات قد تكون صحيحة إنما لا تنبئ عن تحسن في الأحوال.

أيها السادة، قد يسألني البعض منكم بعد هذه الانتقادات التي أعدها سطحية، لماذا أنا مستعد للاقتراح بجانب هذه الموازنة، وأنا ألخص لكم الآن الأسباب:

فلو امتنعنا عن التصويت ماذا يحصل، تغيير الحكومة وهل يمكن للحكومة المقبلة أن تضع الميزانية الحالية على الأسس التي نريدها وهل يتبعها الزملاء بذلك، أولاً نكون بهذه الحالة قد زرعنا النظام النيابي وهددنا الدستور الذي قامت البلاد وقعدت لإرجاعه هذا ما لا نوده جميعاً، ولا يمكنني أن أرضى بهدم هذا النظام القائم مع أن له أخطاء عديدة من أزمات مادية ومعنوية، وأملّي بأن تقوم تربية سياسية وزرع الأفكار الديمقراطية في نفوس الشبيبة والناشئة الجديدة لكي نصل يوماً إلى تحسين هذا النظام الذي أنا من أتباعه الحميمين، ويجب أن ننفخ روح واحدة في النشء الطالع لكي نصل إلى وحدة متماسكة الأجزاء، ولهذه الأسباب أتمسك بأهداف النظام الجمهوري الديمقراطي لأنه يفسح المجال للعمل المثمر ويؤكد في بلوغ الحريات ويحفظ سلامة شعار المثلث، الحرية، الاخاء، والعدل وينشئ أحزاب سياسية قائمة على المبادئ وليس على الأشخاص والديانات كما هي الحالة اليوم في هذه البلاد الجميلة.

وفي تطور الأفكار والآراء التي لا تتأخر بجعل الجمهورية اللبنانية حرة وغنية، أستسمح منكم وأسئلتكم أنظار الحكومة على حركة النقابات التي تتألف شيئاً فشيئاً، ومن واجب الحكومة أن تستقبل هذا المبدأ وأن تسير به على طريق اقتصادية وهي تحسين حالة العمل والعمال والموظفين، وهذه هي الوساطة الوحيدة التي يمكننا بها أن ننزع من الجماهير كل شغب شيوعي والنفات بين الطبقات الاجتماعية، وهذه الشيوعية تستغنى فرصة وجود في دست الحكم في الدولة الحليفة فرنسا جبهة شعبية حتى يعتقد عمالها أحراراً في كل ما يخل بالنظام، ومن ثم إن السير بالحركة النقابية للعمال تهدئ كل حركة شغب، وإنني أرجع إلى

روح العدل في الحكومة لدرس الطرق اللازمة الواجب اتخاذها لكي تحسن حالة الموظفين والعمال في الدوائر العامة والخاصة، وتهيئة قانون للعمل كما هي الحالة في البلاد المتقدمة والمتقدمة.

وإن حالة الفلاحين تسترعي اهتمام الدولة وكل قدم نسير به في طريق التحسين والعمل تؤلف تشيئاً للهيئة اللبنانية واعتقاداً في اللبنانيين بلبنانهم المستقبل وبلادهم الحرة. إنني لا أشك في وطنية الذين يتمنون ويطالبون أن نرجع في الحكم إلى نظام لبنان القديم إنما أذكركم أن الحالة السياسية قد تغيرت منذ ذلك والحالة الاجتماعية قد تطورت وأن لبنان اليوم هو غيره بالأمس، ووجودي في هذه الندوة النيابية يبرهن لكم كفاية عن هذا التطور، وكل ما أطلبه هو أن يكون لبنان مستقلاً.

إذن السيادة القومية تتطلب منا جهوداً جبارة لأنها مستهدفة لمصاعب شتى ولكي نقف سداً منيعاً في وجه مصارفات كبيرة باهظة هي فوق وسعنا، وإن البلاد التي استفاقت القومية فيها بعد الحرب الكبرى وحكمت نفسها بنفسها، جربت هذه الآلة الحكومية الضخمة التي يئن منها لبنان، وعليهم فوق ذلك المدافعة عن كيانهم وسلامة أراضيهم بتأليف جيش وطني، وعلى الأقل إن لبنان ولو مؤقتاً ليس بحاجة إلى هذه المصارفات التي لا يتمكن من القيام بها.

والنتيجة، إن لي ملء الأمل لمستقبل هذه البلاد وهذا الشعب اللبناني الفطن الذي عرف في بلاد كثيرة كمصر وبلاد أميركا وغيرها حيث أقام أبناؤه وظهروا وسادوا، هذا الشعب لا يمكنه أن يكون أقل شأناً وعملاً من أبناؤه في المهجر لبناية السيادة القومية والتقدم المستمر في طريق العمران والرفي حيث لا تتأخر جماعة الأرمن اللبنانيين أن يساعدوا بملء إرادتهم.

Appendix 6.2

Khosrov Tutundjian – 10 November 1938

Speech by Khosrov Tutundjian during a Deliberation Meeting of the Ministerial Statement. Original speech was in French.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1938): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 10 November 1938.

خسروف توتنجيان - (صعد المنبر وألقى الخطاب التالي بالفرنسية:)

DISCOURS PRONONGE

à la séance parlementaire du 10/11/1938

par Me. KHOSROV TUTUNDJIAN

Député arménien de Beyrouth

Messieurs,

La Chambre vient d'entendre la déclaration ministérielle du nouveau gouvernement, et nul doute qu'elle ne lui accorde, à une écrasante majorité, sa confiance. Ce n'est cependant, ni pour discuter le programme du gouvernement, ni pour expliquer mon attitude à son égard que je suis monté sur cette chaire.

Membre du groupement parlementaire d'Union Nationale, mon attitude est donc dictée par celle de mon groupe qui est représenté au gouvernement par trois ministres sur cinq, dont le Président du Conseil.

Quant au programme du Cabinet présidé par Abdallah Bey Yafi, je préfère pour tout jugement attendre les résultats de son action. De toute façon, je félicite la jeune équipe gouvernementale de son avènement au pouvoir, sous la présidence de Mr. Abdallah Bey Yaffi, un compagnon de lutte depuis les élections législatives de 1934. Je ne puis qu'assurer à son gouvernement, non seulement ma confiance mais encore mon entier dévouement.

S'il en est ainsi pour ce qui concerne mon attitude vis-à-vis du Gouvernement Yaffi, je ne considère pas moins de mon devoir d'exposer publiquement certains faits qui ont accompagné la dernière crise gouvernementale, ainsi que son difficile dénouement. Ils sont d'importance parce qu'ils montrent certaines habitudes parlementaires que le pays souhaite voir supprimées le plus tôt possible.

La démission du Gouvernement Chéhab

Messieurs, un des premiers points que je voudrais discuter publiquement est la fréquence de chagement de gouvernement, dont ont a tout intérêt d'éviter la répétition. La condition essentielle de toute action gouvernementale est, avant tout, sa stabilité. Or, cette stabilité ne cesse de nous manquer, sans qu'on ait pu donner les motifs, du moins pour ce qui concerne la dernière crise.

On se demande pourquoi le Cabinet de l'Emir Chéhab, auquel la chambre avait, à maintes reprises, accordé sa confiance, est parti au lendemain de la rentrée parlementaire, sans que la chambre lui ait manifesté une hostilité quelconque. Qu'avait fait le gouvernement Chéhab pour ne pas avoir le courage de venir s'expliquer devant la Chambre? Une divergence politique était-elle survenue? Le fait est qu'il est parti sans explication aucune.

En toute logique, le gouvernement Chéhab, constitué sur la base de la collaboration des deux groupements parlementaires, à l'instar du Ministère actuel, auquel la chambre avait maintes fois accordé le vote de confiance, n'avait aucune raison plausible de partir à la dérobée.

Cependant, on sait fort bien que le gouvernement Chéhab dit d'Union, était blessé à mort depuis le mois d'Août dernier par suite de l'avancement d'un haut officier de gendarmerie survenu en bonne et due forme. On sait aussi que l'un des partenaires du dit gouvernement du groupe constitutionnel, réprouvant cet avancement avait ordonné à ses représentants de se retirer du gouvernement, son parti n'y étant pas favorisé par cet avancement. Le ministre des Travaux Publics s'est conformé à cette invitation.

Or, Messieurs, quelle était la portée de cet avancement qui a failli jeter le Pays, durant les vacances parlementaire, dans le chaos de la crise, par le groupe constitutionnel, crise qui ne fut conjurée que par le refus courageux de l'Emir Président et de son collègue Mr. Camille Chamoun, auxquels je tiens à rendre ici publiquement un respectueux hommage.

Cet avancement, était-il fait dans des conditions illégales Personne ne l'a prétendu ainsi jusqu'à ce jour. Risquait-il de mettre en danger l'ordre public? Aucune allégation à ce point de vue. Il favorisait un clan, aux dires des feuilles du groupe constitutionnel au détriment de l'autre. Voilà la triste vérité.

Nul doute que de pareils marchés passés entre les groupements parlementaires, ne font que diminuer, avec leurs auteurs, les institutions du Pays aux yeux de l'opinion publique. Selon toute logique, ou l'Emir Chéhab devait obtempérer, au mois d'Août, à l'ordre de son parti; ou bien il devait continuer à se maintenir au pouvoir au risque de se voir renverser par la Chambre. - En choisissant cette dernière voie, il aurait gagné l'estime du pays qui aurait appris la vérité par une bouche responsable. Au lieu d'affronter la Chambre, l'Emir Chéhab a préféré s'en aller obéissant ainsi aux mêmes considérations personnelles que nous souhaitons voir combattues et dissipées par toute la chambre.

Vous m'excuserez, Messieurs, d'avoir évoqué ces faits. Je n'ai nullement l'envie d'envenimer les discussions là-dessus. Je voudrais simplement voir le gouvernement d'Union de notre éminent ami Abkallah Bey Yafi, solide pour ne pas succomber à de pareilles brèches éventuelles; et le voir aussi s'attaquer courageusement aux réformes promises.

Dénouement de la crise

J'arrive, Messieurs, au dénouement de la dernière crise.

Vous conviendrez tous que l'enfatement du gouvernement qui a suivi la dernière crise a alarmé le pays du fait de sa prolongation. Les amis de la démocratie en furent attristés, avec juste raison. Les mécontents et ils sont nombreux, entre autres les ratés des dernières élections législatives, se donnèrent à cœur joie pour conclure à la carence du parlement et en réclamer la dissolution. Si comme la Chambre Libanaise était faite pour assouvir les haines des uns au détriment des autres. D'autres, tout en se posant défenseurs du régime, jugèrent l'occasion bonne pour porter des attaques, par des voies surnoises, jusqu'à Mr. le Haut-Comet Monsieur le Président de la République, la plus haute Dignité du Pays. Ceci du fait de leur neutralité au cours de la crise précitée. N'aurait-il pas mieux fallu à ces gens-là les en féliciter pour avoir laissé la chambre libre de se débrouiller?

Il n'en est pas moins vrai que la crise faillit jeter un discrédit sur les institutions politiques du pays, non pas à cause de sa prolongation, pas

même par suite des négociations difficiles à aboutir entre les groupements divers de la chambre. Ce qui doit retenir notre attention c'est tout l'objet de ces tractations.

Dans tous les pays à régime démocratique parlementaire, les crises sont naturelles ainsi que les laborieuses négociations pour leur dénouement. Car, un gouvernement d'Union exige une communauté de vue politique entre les groupes collaborant à sa formation. Malheureusement ce ne sont pas des raisons de principe qui attardèrent la solution de la récente crise. Pas même la question de la répartition des portefeuilles ministérielles. Mais l'appartenance des ministres à tel rite, Je reconnais à la rigueur la légitimité de la répartition des portefeuilles, selon l'importance numérique des communautés, mais je ne comprendrai jamais et n'excuserai jamais l'insistance des groupes, au prix de faire prolonger la crise, d'avoir réclamé coûte que coûte que le ministre chiite soit pris de leur propre groupe. J'ai trop d'estime tant pour la communauté chiite que pour ses représentants à la chambre pour vouloir le moins du monde mettre en question leur droit et leur personne. Ce que je dis d'eux, peut se répéter avec d'autres. C'est précisément pour prévenir le retour de pareils procédés que j'en ai parlé, afin d'en dégager une conclusion fort simple et élémentaire. C'est de n'avoir en vue que la chose publique.

Le devoir de la Chambre et du Gouvernement

Messieurs, la situation que nous traversons à tous les points de vue, aussi bien sur le terrain intérieur qu'extérieur. nous impose avant tout un esprit d'absolu désintéressement pour servir l'intérêt public dont nous avons la garde. Au moment, où dans tous les pays à régime totalitaire ou parlementaire, l'union se fait de plus en plus fermée entre les gouvernants et les gouvernés pour mettre en harmonie les intérêts parfois divergeants des différentes classes de la population, afin de renforcer l'Etat nous ne pouvons pas faillir au devoir que la constitution même nous a tracé. C'est de doter le pays des lois garantissant un minimum de vie des classes laborieuses. Faire un budget suivant les principes de justice sociale et assurer la stabilité du gouvernement par notre vote de confiance continu, gardien de la chose publique, *rex publica*, accordons au gouvernement notre appui pour qu'il procède à sa politique de réformes. Retirons lui la confiance seulement au moment où il viendra à manquer à ses engagements. Ne marchandons pas notre voix pour des fins personnelles.

Le gouvernement, ou la jeunesse du Pays est largement représentée, doit rester fidèle aux lignes principales de sa déclaration. J'attends à ce que, à l'instar de tous les pays, qu'ils soient totalitaires ou démocratiques parlementaires, le gouvernement dépose incessamment devant la chambre un projet de loi, régissant les travaux aux fins d'assurer un minimum d'existence aux masses laborieuses citadines et campagnardes. C'est la condition essentielle de tout relèvement intellectuel et matériel du peuple. Une juste répartition des charges fiscales, la tarification des prix des denrées de première nécessité. Un projet de loi sur les loyers sont des mesures qui s'imposent pour combattre la cherté de vie.

Un dernier vu et j'aurai fini.

L'organisation de la démocratie libanaise en partie politiques

Messieurs, j'ai discuté quelques plaies que d'autres pouvaient multiplier et les présenter dans un langage infiniment plus riche et plus saisissant. Pour y remédier il ne suffit pas cependant de prôcher l'esprit de désintéressement et le dévouement à la chose publique. Pour gérer les affaires de l'Etat, il faut un esprit public qui ne peut se développer que dans une démocratie organisée en partis politiques. La seule manière d'arriver à servir la chose publique est de réunir les citoyens libanais autour d'un programme politique et social défini, au-dessus des Intérêts de personnes ou de clans.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que les groupements parlementaires, soit l'Union Nationale, dont je fais partie, soit le Groupe Constitutionnel, ne représentent aucun parti derrière eux. en dehors de la chambre, dans le pays. Les membres de ces deux groupements comptent certainement des amis qui leur sont liés, non pas par une affinité politique quelconque, mais par sympathie personnelle. Voilà le grand mal dont le Liban est condamné à souffrir, soit qu'il est régi par un régime constitutionnel ou par un régime autoritaire quelconque.

L'organisation de la démocratie libanaise en des parties politiques est une mesure d'urgence de salut public. Quiconque désire éviter au pays le retour des anomalies que j'ai en l'honneur d'exposer, d'ailleurs d'une façon fort incomplète, doit en convenir. Les députés siégeant à chambre ont le devoir de prendre eux-mêmes l'initiative d'une pareille entreprise et ce, d'accord avec les éléments sains en dehors de la chambre. Le pays ne manque ni d'hommes ni de foi pour donner corps à de pareilles formations. C'est aussi le meilleur moyen pour resserrer le contact

entre le pays réel et la Chambre. La formation des partis politiques, à l'instar de la grande démocratie Française, notre guide, contribuera à la maturité politique de notre jeune République. Car de cette façon les grands problèmes politiques et sociaux que le pouvoir législatif doit aborder seront au préalable discutés dans le sein même des dites formations d'où par la force des choses les principes et les intérêts publics finiront par emporter et exclure des considérations d'intérêts personnels ou de clans.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que même les pays de régime totalitaire, tels que l'Allemagne, l'Italie et la Russie Soviétique, où les libertés politiques sont supprimées, ce sont les parties qui constituent le support effectif de tout gouvernement où en reste-t-il avec des pays de régime parlementaire ou toute action politique reste inconcevable en dehors des partis politiques.

La démocratie libanaise doit avoir pleine confiance dans ses destinées, tant qu'elle a l'appui de la France. Puisse cet appel, lancé du haut de cette tribune que j'ai l'honneur d'occuper, être entendu par le pays et les vives forces de la nation libanaise, sans considération de la modestie de son auteur. Car l'existence des partis politiques formés suivant des programmes distincts, est la meilleure garantie de toute bonne gestion politique.

Appendix 6.3

Khosrov Tutundjian – 21 December 1938

Question posed by Khosrov Tutundjian to the Government during a Budget Discussion Meeting. Original speech was in French and was translated into Arabic in the Official Minutes.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1938): 9th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 21 December 1938.

خسروف توتنجيان - أريد أن أسأل الحكومة بخصوص الاعتمادات التي تخصص كل سنة لتعليم اللغة العربية في مدارس الأرمن ففي السنة الماضية خصص 1000 ليرة لبنانية لهذه الغاية، ولا أعلم إذا كان المبلغ قد صرف في سبيله أم لا، على كل ألفت نظر الحكومة إلى أن عدد المعلمين قليل، والأرمن خصوصاً لم يأخذوا حتى الآن أدنى مساعدة من الحكومة مع أن عدد التلامذة يفوق 6000 أو 7000 تلميذ، وأربعة معلمين لذلك لا يكفي.

ثم لي ملاحظة أخرى بخصوص الدروس الليلية لتعليم اللغة العربية فكثيرون من جماعة الأرمن الذين يشتغلون طول النهار يودون أن يتلقوا في الليل دروساً في اللغة العربية، وفي هذه المناسبة أشكر في هذه الندوة همة قائمقام الجديدة الذي أنشأ فرعاً ليلياً للدروس العربية.

روكز أبو ناضر - وزير التربية الوطنية - سوف نسعى لزيادة عدد المعلمين في المدارس الأرمنية.

Appendix 6.4

Khosrov Tutundjian – 24 January 1939

Speech by Khosrov Tutundjian during a Discussion on a Ministerial Statement. Original speech was in French.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1939): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 24 January 1939.

خسروف توتنجيان -

Messieurs,

Le 10 Novembre 1938, la Chambre libanaise, par suite de la déclaration ministérielle du cabinet dit d'Union d'Abdallah Yafi, votait à la presque unanimité des voix, sa confiance. Sur 63 députés tous résents, il n'y a eu que deux voix contre, celles de Mrs. Gabriel Khabbaz et Toufik Aouad et deux abstentions, Dr. Avoub Tabet et Mr. Vahram Leilakian. Le succès de notre éminent ami Abdallah Bey tenait du prodige. Aucun de ses prédécesseurs n'avait réussi à réunir une telle majorité.

Aujourd'hui et à deux mois d'intervalle de ce vote de confiance, le cabinet dit d'Union d'Abdallah Yafi est à terre. Un gouvernement constitué sur des bases différentes se présente devant la Chambre, précède à nouveau par le même premier, por solliciter notre confiance. Nul doute que la Chambre ne lui marchande sa confiance, bien entendu à l'exclusion du groupe constitutionnel.

Pour ma part, Messieurs, je vous avoue que je n'en éprouve aucune peine; homme de partie moi- même, j'ai toujours préféré un gouvernement de parti, aux combinaisons, dit d'Union, dans lesquelles la responsabilité des partis s'abrite derrière des paravants jusqu'à s'évanouir complètement. Une franche collaboration des éléments appuyant le cabinet, en face d'une aussi franche opposition. Tel est la système de gouvernement parlementaire ayant fait des preuves dans les vieilles démocraties anglaise et française.

Le deuxième cabinet Abdallah Yafi ne mérite pas le sort qu'échut à son premier gouvernement. D'ailleurs, j'étais plein d'appréhension le 10 Nov. dernier, après la séance de la Chambre, sur la durée du gouvernement

d'Union, eu égard à la presque unanimité de la confiance. Cette unanimité à mes yeux masquait des divergences profondes qui ne tarderaient pas à jaillir à la première occasion. Quelques collègues auxquels je fis part ce jour-là de ma crainte, me répondirent par un petit sourire sur les lèvres. Réponse caractéristique qui ne tarda pas à s'interpréter en actes, voici deux mois après.

Messieurs - Le deuxième cabinet d'Abdallah Bey Yafi, dont nous venons d'entendre la déclaration ministérielle marque de par sa composition, une nouvelle étape dans l'évolution politique de l'actuelle Législature. Il représente un gouvernement de parti majoritaire, à l'exclusion du groupe constitutionnel qui, par la force des choses, rentre dans l'opposition parlementaire. Par conséquent, le cabinet actuel diffère des quatre précédents gouvernements de la présente Législature, formés sous l'étiquette d'Union Nationale.

Cette nouvelle composition gouvernementale, à laquelle, vous comprenez bien, je ne manquerai pas d'apporter ma confiance, nécessite un examen rétrospectif de quelques faits d'hier ainsi qu'un examen de nouveaux devoirs devant lesquels se trouvent exposés aussi bien le gouvernement avec les groupes majoritaires qui l'appuient, ainsi que l'opposition.

Un premier point que je veux aborder et de savoir, comment s'est-il fait qu'après un ministère d'Union de Nov. dernier, s'appuyant sur la presque unanimité de la chambre on puisse en arriver là? On ne peut pas dire que le premier cabinet d'Union Abdallah Yaffi ait succombé à l'usure du temps. Hélas! Non. Ce n'est pas dans l'intervalle de deux mois et demi qu'un gouvernement s'use et s'effrite. Il faut qu'il y ait eu d'autres raisons majeures pour cela. Cette raison n'est que trop connue. Cette union était mal faite, elle n'était pas une entente de principes à appliquer pour la bonne gestion des affaires de la Cité. Elle n'était qu'une entente provisoire pour la répartition des bénéfices du pouvoir. Les divergences qui ont entraîné la démission des deux ministres constitutionnels du cabinet d'Union d'Abdallah Yaffi existaient dès le début de sa constitution. La presse n'avait pas tardé de marquer, à ce moment-là, le conflit entre le Président du Conseil et son ministre des Finances, quant aux budgets des recettes. Le ministre des Finances démissionnaire Hamid Bey Frangié, pour qui j'ai la plus grande estime, ne m'a pas caché le conflit qui le séparait de son président du conseil, dans une conversation que j'eus avec lui. Il a eu la franchise de me l'avouer en ajoutant avec un bon sourire «Au moins, on dira que cette fois-ci les ministres sont en

desaccord pour des questions de principes». J'aurai préféré, pour ma part, que la démission du Cabinet d'Union, dans l'intêt du pays, eut uniquement pour motif cette divergence de vue en dehors des questions d'ordre personnel qui ont hâté le départ des ministres constitutionnels et mirent fin au cabinet dit l'Union.

Ce qui est vrai du cabinet d'Union Yaffi est tout aussi vrai de tous les gouvernements d'Union qui l'ont procédé. Donc, Messieurs, une première conclusion à tirer est pour l'avenir de ne tenter l'union après laborieuses négociations, que sur un programme d'action, après entente préalable sur quelques idées communes directrices, faute de... quoi on s'exposera à de pareils déplorable résultats, jusqu'à mettre en péril le régime. Je ne conteste pas en principe donc, la possibilité et l'utilité de tout gouvernement d'Union, mais il faut qu'un pareil gouvernement s'assigne une tâche spéciale dont elle doit s'acquitter, et il faut qu'il existe une entente complète entre les ministres sur les moyens pour y parvenir. Cette leçon doit servir l'avenir et guider nos actes.

Le second gouvernement d'Abdallah Bey Yafi, n'étant plus, un cabinet d'union, implique une situation nouvelle pour les partis en présence C'est le régime parlementaire en plein dont on essaiera l'exercice, grâce à la Puissance mandataire ayant doté le Pays d'institutions que le préparent à sa maturité politique, conformément à la Charte du Mandat. Rendons, par cette même occasion, nos respectueux hommages à son éminent Représentant, Mr. Gabriel Puaux, le nouveau Haut Commissaire de la République Française, qui a permis à la jeune sœur la République Libanaise de fonctionner librement, au mieux des intérêts publics.

Cette nouvelle situation implique pour le gouvernement et pour la majorité de la chambre qui l'appuie un devoir aigu de responsabilité de ses actes, sous le vigilant contrôle de l'opposition. Le Pays jugera de leurs actes, aussi bien l'opposition que la majorité gouvernementale de la façon dont ils procéderont pour solutionner les problèmes posés.

D'aucuns seront tentés, peut-être, de prétendre qu'un gouvernement de parti, qui ne réalise pas l'union des groupes parlementaires n'aura pas le prestige nécessaire aux yeux du peuple. Rien n'est plus faux. Car ce que intéresse le pays ce sont les actes, les solutions que les autorités apporteront aux maux dont il souffre, tels que la cherté, de vie, une juste répartition des impôts, la cédification du travail, l'intensification de l'agriculture, l'essor des industries locales naissantes, ainsi que la

protection des classes populaires contre l'exploitation frénétique des sociétés concessionnaires étrangères et nationales.

Voilà ce que le Pays réel attend de ses représentants, tant du gouvernement que de l'opposition. Une majorité absolue des voix est suffisante donc pour le gouvernement pour faire œuvre utile et procéder sans retard aux réformes promises.

Les responsabilités étant donc définies, je fais acte de confiance au gouvernement dont la composition m'inspire quelques garanties, par la présence dans son sein, au plus d'Abdallah Bey Yaffi, qui aura les coudes franches pour agir, libéré des entraves de ses ex-collègues constitutionnels, Habib Abi Chahla, Président de notre groupe unioniste, jeune chef énergique rompu aux affaires gouvernementales; Gabriel Khabbaz, le fougueux adversaire des combinaisons d'Union et un talentueux journaliste, ainsi que les autres membres du cabinet, tous de vieux parlementaires et anciens ministres, connaissant bien le fonctionnement de la machine gouvernementale.

Puisse cette expérience réussir au mieux des intérêts du Pays et des institutions démocratiques qui seules sont à même de préparer la maturité de la République Libanaise à son indépendance, sous la protection de la Grande Nation Française.

Appendix 6.5

Khosrov Tutundjian – 13 February 1939

Speech by Khosrov Tutundjian during a Budget Discussion Meeting.
Original speech was in French.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1939): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 13 February 1939.

خسروف توتنجيان -

Messieurs.

Le Budget des Recettes pour l'année 1939, inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la session extraordinaire de la Chambre, nécessite quelques remarques d'ordre général, que je me permets de vous exposer très brièvement:

D'abord la Chambre est saisie d'un projet de Budget des Recettes dont elle avait déjà voté les dépenses. Le gouvernement n'ayant pas été à même de déposer son projet de Budget au complet. C'est une anomalie regrettable et sans justification, qu'on doit passer sur le compte du trop fréquent changement de ministère, dans l'intervalle de ces trois derniers mois. La Chambre se doit pourvoir aux mesures nécessaires pour empêcher le retour à l'avenir.

2) Le projet des Recettes, objet de l'examen de la Chambre, préparé en partie par le gouvernement de l'Emir Khaled Chéhab, a été élaboré et déposé par le premeir Cabinet Yaffi, le Gouvernement, ne posant pas la question de confiance pour son vote par la chambre, semble un peu se désintéresser de son sort. Question de tactique surement. Je ne veux pas entrer dans l'examen des raisons qui ont déterminé cette attitude au gouvernement présidé par le même premier. De toute façon, je crois de mon devoir d'exprimer à ce sujet au moins mon étonnement. Car, la chose me paraît bien bizarre et bien rare dans les annales parlementaires de tous les pays.

3) Le projet déposé auquel ont collaboré des deux ministres constitutionnels sortant du premier Cabinet Yaffi, évalue à la somme de L.L.S. 6.375.000 les rentrées des recettes pour l'année 1939. La

commission des finances tout en critiquant très acerbement certaines modalités des recettes prévues par le projet, n'a pas touché à juste titre d'ailleurs, au chiffre global qui reste intangible, en égard aux dépenses engagées déjà.

4) La divergence de vue entre la Commission des Finances et le gouvernement au sujet du budget des recettes porte sur quelque modifications que le projet prévoit, par rapport aux budgets des années précédentes; tel que la suppression de l'impôt unique sur les terres non bâties, la majoration de 20% sur les frais de justice et l'institution des impôts sur la Radio et les voitures automobiles privées. L'enjeu de la divergence, exprimés en chiffre, est relativement fort modeste. Le projet entend récupérer la somme de 150.000 L.L.S., montant de l'impôt unique sur les terres supprimé, moyennant une modeste majoration sur les frais de justice et l'institution de deux nouveaux impôts susmentionnés, innovations contre lesquelles la commission s'est opposée avec appret, par deux rapports distincts, respectivement signés de Mr. le rapporteur et président, quoique tous les deux versant dans le même sens. Cette attitude de la commission des Finances, à l'encontre du projet déposé denote l'importance qu'on doit reconnaître, non aux chiffres qui sont, bien modestes, mais aux différences des principes qui sont à la base même de la divergence.

5) Le projet du budget des recettes soumis à l'examen de la chambre souffre du même mal commun à tous les budgets antidémocratiques, ou plutôt antipopulaires. Le caractère critique de ce système consiste à faire supporter à la grande masse du peuple, la charge fiscale, moyennant des impôts indirects, au lieu de frapper les bénéficiaires de la fortune, par des impôts directs. La démonstration de l'injustice que j'avance commise au détriment des classes laborieuses nous fournit le projet même dont le 5/6ème, à l'instar des budgets des précédentes années, est couvert par des redevances indirectes et 1/6ème. seulement par des impôts directs. A ce point de vue, une refonte totale du budget des recettes reste toujours à faire. Le premier ministre Yaffi nous avait laissé espérer pour remédier à ce mal, l'institution d'un impôt sur les successions, d'un autre sur les revenus et ainsi de suite. Hélas ·Il n'en est rien.

6) Cependant, le projet du Budget des recettes, contre lequel nous avons entendus des critiques des idées, qui ne doit pas nous échapper. Car les modifications projetées constituent un progrès bien que fort modeste mais réel, dans la voie de la démocratisation des charges de l'état.

La suppression de l'impôt unique sur les terres est une mesure qui favorisera peut-être un bon nombre de grands propriétaires en les exonérant, en attendant la cadastration complète des terres de la République. Mais elle est destinée à décharger les petits cultivateurs et paysans en détresse. Ceux-là même qui constituent l'ossature du Liban. Ce que je trouve encore à relever, c'est que cette mesure dénote chez le gouvernement une politique économique qu'il entend suivre en vue de l'augmentation globale de la production agricole. Je l'en félicite et notamment le Président du Conseil pour cette action de courage en faveur des classes laborieuses de la montagne libanaise. J'aurai voulu voir le gouvernement dans la suite, venir en aide aux petits propriétaires agricoles, par des crédits additionnels, en leur fournissant la semence et autres choses, afin d'assurer l'essor agricole auquel nous tenons tous.

Le nouveau qu'on dénote dans le projet des recettes qui nous est soumis, c'est surtout l'institution des impôts sur la Radio et sur les voitures privées. Monsieur le Président du Conseil, je vous félicite expressément pour votre courage d'avoir entrepris cette innovation. Elle est, au point de vue chiffre, sans grande importance, puisque les deux impôts projetés selon les prévisions de votre projet n'assurent qu'une rentrée relativement modeste. Soit 75.00 LLS par an. Mais ces deux impôts sont caractéristiques de l'esprit démocratique populaire dont vous êtes animé. Car ces impôts envisagés, constituent une tentative timide mais heureuse pour faire payer les bénéficiaires même de la fortune, ceux qui jouissent de la possession des biens qui ne sont pas dans les moyens de tout le monde.

J'ai lu avec attention les critiques, d'ailleurs et le rapporteur de la commission ont élevé contre ces deux projets d'impôts. Malgré tout l'estime que j'ai pour leur connaissance et honorabilité, je déclare publiquement que je n'ai pas été gagné à leur thèse. Les difficultés de tout changement dont ils se montrent méticuleux, ne peuvent nullement empêcher la réforme projetée. Quant aux objections relatives au caractère de première nécessité de la radio et des voitures privées pour le peuple, je dirai que ce raisonnement ne tient pas debout. À supposer même que la radio et les voitures privées fussent indispensables, à la portée de tout le monde. Il n'en est pas que leurs propriétaires soient exonérés d'en payer l'impôt. Il n'y a rien de plus nécessaire à la vie que le sel, et cependant le peuple libanais sans distinction de classe est assujéti à un impôt pour le sel. Alors je ne comprends pas pourquoi, les gens qui sont à même de se payer une radio de 100 à 300 L.L.S. ne pourraient pas

verser l'Etat. Il en est de même pour les propriétaires des voitures privées, sur la base des barèmes établis.

Pour terminer, je félicite le gouvernement et son président. Abdallah Bey Yaffi pour la réforme entreprise, dans l'espoir qu'elle sera une ébauche d'une réforme plus hardie dans le sens d'une refonte totale du budget sur des bases notamment populaire de justice sociale.

Appendix 6.6

Khosrov Tutundjian – 11 May 1939

Speech by Khosrov Tutundjian during a Legislative Meeting. Original speech was in French.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1939): 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 4th Parliament held on 11 May 1939.

Messieurs

La grève des chauffeurs qui dure depuis plus d'une dizaine de jours a créé par ses répercussions sur la vie publique Libanaise une situation telle, sur les inconvénients multiples de laquelle situation nous sommes tous d'accord.

Notre accord est complet aussi pour reconnaître à la grève déclenchée, une portée éminemment politique et sociale, en dehors de l'aspect exclusivement matériel, en fait de réduction du prix de la benzine et du pétrole. Arrêt de tout trafic sur le territoire de la République, paralysie des affaires, stagnation du commerce, et un sentiment d'impuissance des Autorités publiques qui s'empare du peuple.

Je n'ai pas besoin de dire que dans la lutte que le syndicat des chauffeurs a entreprise, pour protester contre l'augmentation du prix de la benzine, nos sympathies vont à l'unanimité de la chambre, aux chauffeurs, qui sont nos frères du même sang.

Car rien, à notre connaissance, ne justifie l'augmentation du prix à laquelle, les compagnies ont procédé, afin de réaliser le plus de bénéfice possible, au dépend du consommateur libanais. Rien d'étonnant cependant, ces sociétés capitalistes qui ont mis la main sur une partie des richesses la plus précieuse dans le monde moderne, sont des sangsues. En dehors de toute considération morale et politique, le profit seul compte à leurs yeux.

Messieurs, deux parties sont en cause, d'une part, les chauffeurs grévistes qui demandent la réduction des prix, d'autre part, les compagnies qui refusent toute réduction, ainsi que le Ministre de l'intérieur nous l'a

déclaré. On doit reconnaître que les chauffeurs se sont montrés bien modérés, en s'appréhendant d'accepter une réduction d'un franc par bidon. Et si, aujourd'hui, la grève dure, la faute en revient à la cupidité rapacière des compagnies. Mais ce n'est pas hélas moyennant des récriminations indignées contre les compagnies qu'on arriverait à résoudre le conflit.

Alors la question qui se pose est de savoir comment résoudre le conflit pour mettre fin à la grève, le gouvernement a déposé un projet de loi tendant à la tarification des prix de transport, afin de faire supporter aux usagers des automobiles l'augmentation du prix de la benzine. Ce projet fait dans l'intérêt des chauffeurs, ne peut être appliqué qu'avec le concours des chauffeurs. Sans ce concours, il est inopérant. Et ce qui est plus, il n'est pas à même de mettre un terme à la grève par le refus des grévistes à reprendre le travail. Comme j'ai déclaré ce matin, à la commission législative, Je voterai le projet quand même, mais j'émets toutes mes réserves quant à l'efficacité de la mesure envisagée.

D'aucuns, Messieurs, dont l'ancien président du Conseil, Béchara bey Khoury, l'éminent chef du groupe constitutionnel de la chambre, proposent, à ce que le gouvernement supporte lui-même cette réduction de cinq piastres de la taxe sur benzine. Autrement dit, ce serait l'état qui ferait les frais de l'opération. Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur ce qu'il y a d'injuste et dangereux si une pareille proposition avait été acceptée. Ainsi la porte serait ouverte devant tous les contribuables à ne pas payer d'impôt moyennant la grève. Alors ou en arriverions-nous? Et comment l'état pourrait assurer son existence? Non, Messieurs, vous ne pouvez pas donner une pareille prime d'encouragement aux chauffeurs nobstant nos plus vives sympathies pour eux; ce serait jeter de discrédit total sur les autorités publiques.

Je conviens que la situation est fort compliquée. Je reconnais aussi que ce ne sont pas les bonnes intentions qui manquent au gouvernement pour mettre fin à la grève. S'il n'a pu rien faire jusqu'à présent, c'est parce que les difficultés se sont relevées insurmontables.

Messieurs, je n'ai pas la prétention d'administrer une ordonnance toute prête pour remédier au mal. Mais reconnaître l'insuffisance des mesures envisagées pour conjurer la crise, cette tâche nous incitera à chercher d'autres solutions en dehors des soucis d'une facile popularité en quête.

Pour que nous puissions arriver à trouver les moyens nécessaires pour résoudre le conflit, il nous faut cependant une conception des choses toute différente de celle qui semble avoir régné relativement à la position de l'Etat, cette organisation de la société de chaque pays, son rôle et les obligations que lui incombent. Je veux dire que le libéralisme tant sur le terrain économique que politique qui faisait de l'Etat spectateur indifférent des luttes de classes est à jamais mort. L'Etat a pour tâche d'assurer l'harmonie générale entre les différentes parties de la société à tous les points de vue. L'amélioration des conditions du travail et de la situation matérielle des travailleurs et de l'ensemble du peuple dont il doit assurer la prospérité est un devoir essentiel pour lui. Muni glaive, il doit s'en servir pour une distribution juste et équitable des richesses et des gains, sans permettre aux uns de se comporter en loups dévorants à l'encontre d'autres. Il doit savoir imposer sa volonté à tous sans distinction.

En l'espèce, l'Etat libanais doit savoir imposer aux parties en litige une solution équitable. Il doit freiner les compagnies pétrolières, directement ou par l'intermédiaire du Haut-Commissariat. Il peut éventuellement réquisitionner toute la benzine et le pétrole que les compagnies possèdent au Liban, ou s'il y a moyen se substituer à elles. Il n'est pas permis aux compagnies pétrolières de rétribuer des employés, directeurs, inspecteurs aux dépens du consommateur libanais à une telle mesure, que ces appointements dépassent la dotation de son président de la République et de ses ministres. Cette iniquité doit prendre fin.

D'autre part, malgré toutes nos vives sympathies pour les chauffeurs, nous devons leur faire comprendre, qu'à eux seuls, ils n'incarnent pas le peuple libanais, pas plus la classe laborieuse exclusive du pays, alors que de part le fait de la grève, se sont avant tout des travailleurs, en plus grand nombre qui souffrent, tels des petits cultivateurs et paysans, des artisans et des ouvriers, dont la vie est grandement affectée. Une partie des classes laborieuses quelle que fut la justesse de ses revendications ne peut pas s'arroger le droit d'agir pour tout le monde et faire des choses dont l'ensemble de la classe laborieuse souffre lourdement. Donc, l'Etat a droit de mettre fin à la grève par tous les moyens dont il dispose, et imposer une solution équitable aux parties, en dehors de la grève et des menaces semblables. Ceci dans l'intérêt même des classes laborieuses. Que la démocratie Française nous serve d'exemple sur ce terrain comme ailleurs.

Qu'on ne m'accuse pas d'autoritarisme. Je n'ai pas brûlé mes dieux de la démocratie sociale sur l'autel de l'opportunisme. Mais à toute situation exceptionnelle, il faut des mesures exceptionnelles. D'ailleurs on fait erreur de prétendre que le démocratisme est exclusif de toute autorité. Le régime démocratique, la France et l'Angleterre ne l'ont que trop prouvé, c'est la participation en masse de citoyens libres à la gestion de l'Etat, avec droit de contrôle sur le gouvernement, et point une anarchie que ses adversaires, se plaisent à l'imaginer. Ceci dit, Messieurs du Gouvernement, vous pouvez prendre telles mesures qui vous semblent bonnes pour résoudre le conflit, même en instituant le service civil obligatoire.

Au moment où deux conceptions politiques s'affrontent à travers le monde, le régime démocratique d'une part, et le régime despotique totalitaire d'autre part, la démocratie libanaise, à l'instar de la grande Démocratie Française doit donner la preuve de sa capacité de résistance à toute épreuve et assurer la gestion des affaires publiques, dans le cadre de ses institutions avec autorité et justice.

Les solutions que vous avez à envisager, Messieurs du Gouvernement, doivent être inspirées de cette conception de votre rôle. La chambre vous a accordé sa confiance à maintes reprises. Elle ne vous sera pas marchandée aujourd'hui. Seulement on attend de vous d'agir et faire acte de gouvernement.

Appendix 7

Dickran Tosbat

Appendix 7.1

Dickran Tosbat – 20 December 1951

Question posed by Dickran Tosbat to the Government on the issue of fatal poisoning of the residents because of imported chemicals during a General Discussion Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1951): 18th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 December 1951.

حضرة رئيس المجلس النيابي المحترم.

أرجو إحالة السؤال التالي إلى الحكومة المحترمة للجواب عليه وفق الأصول.

صدر عن وزارة الصحة بلاغ نظري ولكنه ذو أهمية قصوى هذا نصه:

«نظراً لمعالجة الأشجار المثمرة بالمواد الكيماوية لحمايتها من بعض الأوبئة فإن وزارة الصحة تنبه الأهلى إلى وجوب غسل جميع الأثمار قبل أكلها».

ولكن هذا البلاغ لم يذكر أن حوادث تسمم مميتة قد حصلت بسبب استعمال هذه المادة الكيماوية السامة. إنني أطالب الحكومة:

أولاً - بأن تصدر بسرعة كميات هذه المادة الكيماوية السامة كلها التي تباع بأسماء مختلفة وبأن تمنع استيرادها كما فعلت سوريا.

ثانياً - بأن تذكر الحكومة لنا عدد حوادث التسمم المسجلة في بيروت وصيدا والباروك وفي منطقة عاليه وفي جميع أنحاء لبنان حيث وقف الأطباء حيارى أمام حوادث التسمم الحادة أو الديزانطيريا الحادة أيضاً التي لا يمكن معالجتها بالأساليب الجارية.

ثالثاً - بأن تفيدنا كيف أن مصلحة المراقبة الصيدلية الخاصة التي تعمل بصورة دائمة في خدمة الجمارك قد سمحت بدخول مثل هذه المواد السامة بدون استشارة السلطات المختصة.

رابعاً - بأن تفيدنا كيف ولماذا سمح ببيع مثل هذه المادة السامة جداً من فلاحين ساذجين وأبرياء وتحت أي اسم حصل البيع من هؤلاء الفلاحين.

لقد قيل لنا أن بعض التجار باعوا هذه المادة حاملين الشاري على توقيع بيان بأن «الأخطار التي تنجم عن هذه المادة تقع مسؤوليتها على الشاري».

فكيف يمكن للسلطات أن تسمح بمثل هذا الأسلوب الخطر؟

خامساً - وأخيراً أطلب من الحكومة أن تهتم اهتماماً شديداً بهذه القضية لأن البلاغ الموجز الذي أصدرته وزارة الصحة لا يفيد المستهلكين منه وكان على وزارة الصحة أن تنبه بالتفصيل جميع المستهلكين اللبنانيين بكل الوسائل إلى طرق وكيفية إنقاذهم من الأخطار الناجمة عن التسمم.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام.

12 تموز 1951

نائب المتن ديكران توسباط

Appendix 7.2

Dickran Tosbat – 14 October 1952

Proposed Legislation by Dickran Tosbat during a Legislation Meeting on granting a general amnesty on publication crimes.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 14 October 1952.

مشروع قانون - مستعجل مكرر

لما كانت الصحافة لسان حال الشعب، والمرآة التي تنعكس عليها آماله وأمانيه.

ولما كانت الصحف اللبنانية قد تعرضت في الآونة الأخيرة لهزات عنيفة وخسائر فادحة كادت تقضي على بعضها بالتوقف عن العمل، وذلك بنتيجة أحكام قضائية لم تكن موضع ارتياح الشعب ولا قناعة رجال القانون، لا سيما والاجتهادات التي استند إليها القضاة للحكم على هذه الصحف كانت وما تزال موضع جدل علمي شديد فضلاً عن أنها تفسير لنصوص أضيق من نصوص الدستور اللبناني.

ولما كان قسم من الأحكام التي صدرت لم ينفذ حتى الآن.

ولما كان من واجب هذا المجلس أن يناصر الصحافة في محنتها وأن يمد يد المساعدة كلما خاضت معركة تؤمن ويؤمن المجلس معها بقداستها.

ولما كان من الممكن التعويض جزئياً على هذه الصحف باصدار عفو عام عن جرائم المطبوعات.

لذلك يقترح النواب الموقعون ادناه اقتراح القانون التالي:

اقتراح قانون

مستعجل مكرر

مادة وحيدة - يمنح عفو عام عن جرائم المطبوعات المرتكبة قبل تاريخ هذا القانون ويشمل هذا العفو العقوبات الأصلية والفرعية وتدابير الاحتراز.

دكران توسباط

Appendix 7.3

Dickran Tosbat – 14 October 1952

Letter dated 17 September 1952 demanding the resignation of President Beshara El Khoury, signed by Dickran Tosbat and his Colleagues.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 14 October 1952.

حضرة رئيس مجلس النواب اللبناني المحترم،

تحية واحترام وبعد،

بناء على إرادة الشعب اللبناني ونزولاً عند رغبته الصريحة يتشرف النواب الموقعون ادناه أن يطلبوا منكم بوصفكم رئيس السلطة التشريعية التي تمثل سيادة الشعب أن تنقلوا إلى حضرة الشيخ بشارة الخوري رئيس الجمهورية هذه الرغبة بوجوب استقالته فوراً من منصب الرئاسة.

في 17 أيلول سنة 1952

الإمضاء:

أنور الخطيب بيار إده،

كميل شمعون كمال جنبلاط

غسان تويني دكران توسباط

عبد الله الحاج قبولي الذوق

علي البزي

Appendix 7.4

Dickran Tosbat – 15 October 1953

Proposed Legislation by Dickran Tosbat during a Legislation Meeting concerning the limitation on the height of buildings.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1953): 15th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 15 October 1953.

اقتراح
باحالة مشروع قانون ارتفاع الابنية

للجنة المالية

لما كان قانون ارتفاع الابنية المعروض على المجلس اليوم لم يدرس إلا من قبل لجنة الادارة
والعدلية.

ولما كان المشروع يحدث ضريبة بلدية باهظة لمصلحة البلديات.

وكان يترتب أن تدرس المشروع اللجنة المالية، فإني اقترح احالة المشروع لهذه اللجنة للدرس
وابداء الرأي.

المقترح
ديكران توسباط

Appendix 7.5

Dickran Tosbat – 7 May 1957

Proposed Legislation by Dickran Tosbat during a Legislation Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1957): 12th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 7 May 1957.

اقترح مشروع قانون مقدم من حضرة النائبين المحترمين السيد ديكران توسباط والسيد هاشم الحسيني يتعلق بالمجنومين في لبنان.

يتلى الاقتراح.

اقترح مشروع قانون يتعلق بالمجنومين في لبنان مقدم من حضرة النائبين الاستاذ ديكران توسباط والدكتور هاشم الحسيني

المادة الاولى: كل شخص مصاب بالجذام او يترأى انه مصاب بهذا المرض المعروف باسم "اهنس" يجب ان تحاط السلطات الصحية التابعة للمنطقة الموجود فيها علما بامره، وعلى هذه الاخيرة بدروها ان تبلغ ذلك لوزارة الصحة.

على الطبيب الذي استثبت من المرض ان يعلنه، وفي حالة عدم وجود الطبيب فعلى رب العائلة او الشخص الذي يعنى بالمريض او الذي يقوم بخدمته ان يؤدي هذا الواجب، واذا استثبت من المرض في مستشفى او عيادة او مدرسة او فندق او نزل (بنسيون) او سجن وبصورة عامة في اي مكان رسمي او خاص فالاعلام عن المرض يترتب على المدير في حالة عدم وجود الطبيب.

اذا انتاب التشخيص شيء من الشك فيفصل بهذا الشأن الطبيب الاخصائي الذي تنتدبه وزارة الصحة العامة لهذا الغرض بعد ان يكون قد قام بالفحوص العادية والمجهريّة في المختبرات.

المادة الثانية: المرضى الذين تعتبر علتهم معدية يجب ان يبقوا في المستشفيات المخصصة لهذه الغاية من قبل الدولة.

يعاين الاطباء المنتدبون لهذا الغرض دوريا بناء على تعليمات مديرية الصحة العامة، اما الاشخاص الذين يعيشون الى جانب المرضى فيقدمون تقاريرهم عن حالتهم.

المادة الثالثة: ان المرضى الذين لا تخشى عواهم بعد المعالجة يمكنهم الحصول على شهادة تبيح لهم ترك المستشفى.

تعطى هذه الوثيقة من قبل وزارة الصحة العامة بناء على رأي وافادة رئيس الاطباء في المستشفى الذي يعالج فيه المجنوم وبعد موافقة الطبيب المختص في وزارة الصحة العامة.

الاولاد والمتسولون او الافراد الذين ليس لهم مكان اقامة ثابت وذووا العاهات لا يحق لهم مبارحة المستشفى الا اذا التزم اقارب لهم او اشخاص اخرون عاديون يعتنون باستقبالهم وتعهدها بالعناية بامرهم وبمتابعة مداواتهم طالما انهم لم يبلوا من مرضهم نهائيا.

يمكن للمرضى ان يعالجوا في محل اقامتهم اذا كانت الشروط الصحية المستوفاة تسمح بذلك.

المادة الرابعة: يمكن تكليف المرضى داخل محل استشفائهم وخلال مدة هذا الاستشفاء القيام ببعض الاعمال التي يؤمن اداها بعض الاجور.

المادة الخامسة: يحق للطلاب والتلامذة الذين شهد لهم بعدم العدوى ان يعادوا دراستهم في الكليات او المدارس.

المادة السادسة: ان المريض الذي يبارح المستشفى بعد التحقق من عدم عدواه ملزم باعلام ادارة المستشفى والمركز الصحي في المنطقة التي يقيم فيها بعنوانه.

وعلى ادارة المستشفى احاطة وزارة الصحة العامة علما بخروج المريض واحاطة المركز الصحي في منطقته كذلك.

على المريض بعد تركه المستشفى ان يتقدم الى المركز الصحي الذي يعين له في التواريخ المحددة.

على المريض غير المعدي ان يبلغ مركز منطقته الصحي انتقاله من محل اقامته الاصلي، واذا نقل سكناه نهائيا الى منطقة اخرى فعليه ان يبادر الى تسجيل اسمه في المركز الصحي التابع لها كيما يصار الى جلب ملفه لدوائر هذه الاخيرة.

المادة السابعة: على المراكز الصحية ان تبلغ وزارة الصحة العامة امر تسجيل كل مريض لديها وان تحفظ شارته وان ترسل للوزارة افادة عن نتائج فحوصاته كل ستة اشهر وذلك حتى شفائه التام.

المادة الثامنة: لكل مريض قيد المعالجة الحق في الحصول مجانا على الادوية التي يشير الطبيب المشرف على معالجته بضرورتها، كما يستفيد مجانا من الفحوص البيولوجية والمجهرية.

يمكن اجبار المؤسسات او الهيئات التي تعني بالمجنومين والمعتزف بها من قبل الحكومة بامر كل مريض يخرج من مراكز معالجة الجذام، وتقوم هذه الهيئات بمساعدته وبمعاونته على استعادة نشاطه العملي.

المادة التاسعة: كل مخالفة لهذا القانون يعاقب عليها وفقا لنصوص قانون العقوبات.

المادة العاشرة: تشكل وزارة الصحة العامة لجنة خاصة للجذام وتؤلف هذه اللجنة من اساتذة الامراض الجلدية في الجامعات اللبنانية برئاسة اقدمهم ويشترك في عضوية اللجنة طبيب في الامراض الجلدية منتدب من قبل وزارة الصحة العامة وثلاثة ممثلين عن المؤسسات التي تعنى بالمجذومين والمعترف بها من قبل الحكومة.

تعين وزارة الصحة موظفا خاص للقيام بامانة سر اللجنة.

تقوم اللجنة بدراسة القضايا الطبية والاجتماعية التي تنشأ او تتطلبها مكافحة الجذام.

تلتمس اللجنة بناء لدعوة توجهها الوزارة ويكون اجتماعها قانونيا اذا حضر نصف الاعضاء.

المادة الحادية عشرة: تحدد تفاصيل تطبيق هذا القانون بمرسوم يتخذ في مجلس الوزراء بناء على طلب "واقترح" وزير الصحة العامة.

المادة الثانية عشرة: تلغى جميع القوانين والاحكام المخالفة لهذا القانون او التي تتعارض مع مضمونه.

المادة الثانية عشرة: يعمل بهذا القانون فور نشره.

بيروت في 28 نيسان 1956

الدكتور هاشم الحسيني - ديكران توسباط

الرئيس: يتلى تقرير لجنة الصحة والاسعاف العام مع المشروع المعدل.

فتلى التقرير والمشروع التاليان:

تقرير لجنة الصحة والاسعاف العام على اقتراح مشروع القانون المتعلق بالمجذومين في لبنان

بتاريخ 1956/12/13 عقدت لجنة الصحة والاسعاف العام جلسة برئاسة رئيسها الدكتور هاشم الحسيني درست خلالها اقتراح مشروع القانون المتعلق بالمجذومين في لبنان.

وبعد البحث تبين للجنة ان هذا المشروع من المشاريع الحيوية التي من شأنها مكافحة المرض الديائي الخطير ووضع الاسس للوقاية منه.

وقد وافقت اللجنة بالاجماع على اقتراح مشروع القانون بعد ان عدلته على الشكل التالي:

وهي ترجو المجلس الكريم التصديق عليه كما عدلته.

بيروت في 17 كانون الاول سنة 1956

مقرر لجنة الصحة والاسعاف العام - ديكران توسباط

Appendix 8
Joseph Chader

Appendix 8.1

Joseph Chader – 19 June 1951

Speech by Joseph Chader during a Deliberation Meeting on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi's Government before casting his Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1951): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 19 June 1951.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزيف شادر.

جوزيف شادر - عطوفة الرئيس، حضرات الزملاء الكرام،

كلمة البدء في هذا الموقف، تحية شكر بل عهد ولاء نجدده إلى الشعب اللبناني الأبي، الذي اختارنا، نحن النواب الكتائبين، لنكون في جملة ممثليه تحت هذه القبة، المدافعين عن حقوقه، الساهرين على مصالحه والعاملين على رفع مستواه إلى أكثر ما أمكن من مراتب الازدهار. فإلى هذا الشعب النبيل، بجميع طوائفه وطبقاته، إلى اللبنانيين واللبنانيات، المقيمين والمغتربين، نرسل تلك التحية ونجدد هذا العهد، سائلين الله أن يوفقنا إلى خدمة هذا الوطن بكل ما أوتينا من قوة وغيره واندفاع.

وبعد، فلا بد لي، ونحن مدعوون للاقتراع على الثقة للحكومة الحاضرة، من أن أوضح موقفنا من الحكومات عامة ومن هذه الحكومة بوجه خاص.

لقد مضت علينا خمس عشرة سنة ونحن نعارض أو نؤيد الحكومات من عهد الانتداب إلى عهد الاستقلال على أساس المبادئ لا على أساس الأشخاص والمصالح الشخصية ولم يسبق لنا أن عارضنا أية حكومة منذ جلوسها على الكراسي بل تركنا لهما الوقت الضروري لنعرف خير الأعمال من شر الأفعال.

فنحن نفهم الرسالة النبائية تعاوناً وثيقاً مخلصاً مع السلطة التنفيذية، دون أن ننسى حقنا المقدس، بل واجبنا الأول، باجراء الرقابة الفعلية الصارمة على أعمال الحكومة، حتى إذا لاحظنا عوجاجاً في تصرف الحكام أو تفريطاً من قبلهم بحقوق الأمة، ندنا بهم وطالبنا باسقاطهم.

أما فيما يتعلق بالحكومة الحاضرة فجرياً على عادتنا، منحتها الثقة وفقاً لقرار حزبنا بعد أن أخذنا علماً بمضمون البيان الوزاري وبعد أن أجمع أصدقاء هذه الحكومة وخصومها على تقدير العناصر التي تشترك فيها.

لقد تبين لنا أن البيان الوزاري موافق لكثير من النقاط الواردة في برنامج حزبنا، ونحن نعتبر أن الوعود المقطوعة في هذا البيان، تشكل قسماً من برنامجنا الأدنى الواجب تحقيقه بصورة مستعجلة، لأن الروح العملية التي وضعنا بوحياها منهاجنا العام، حملتنا آنذاك على التفريق بين البرنامج الأدنى المستعجل والبرنامج الأقصى الأساسي، باعتبار أن الأول هو وحده قابل التنفيذ في القريب العاجل ضمن إمكانيات الخزينة اللبنانية، ومن شأنه تمهيد السبيل لتحقيق البرنامج الأقصى الأساسي.

إن برنامجنا الأساسي يسعى إلى تحويل المجتمع اللبناني الحاضر، المرتكز على الفردية الذاتية وعلى الطائفية والاقطاعية والاحتكار والرأسمالية المتطرفة واستغلال القوي للضعيف، إلى مجتمع تقدمي علماني منظم على أساس النقابات المبينة والأحزاب السياسية العقائدية، يحرر الشعب من فئات الاقطاعيين والمستثمرين ويشيد في لبنان الديمقراطية الاجتماعية القومية الصحيحة.

فيانتظار إمكان تحقيق هذا البرنامج الأساسي، نطلب إلى الحكومة أن تعمل على تحقيق البرنامج المستعجل.

وها اني باحث الآن بعض نقاط هذا البرنامج غير الواردة في البيان الوزاري بعد أن بحث بعض النقاط الأخرى رفيقي الأستاذ جان سكاف.

النقطة الأولى الاصلاحات الواجب إجراؤها في الحكومة

كنا نود لو أن رئيس الحكومة لم يثقل كاهله بأي وزارة خصوصاً وأنه يتلقى للأسف تركة مثقلة الكاهل بالأعباء، وهذه القاعدة متبعة في انكلترا، وقد اتبعها في فرنسا الرؤساء فيفياني وبوانكاره ودومرك وفلاندا وشوطان. أما السيد ليون بلوم فقد نصح في تطبيق هذه القاعدة في كتابه «الاصلاح الحكومي» وطبقها على نفسه سنة 1936.

ولجهة عدد الوزراء لقد كنا نود لهذه الوزارة الأولى من الدور التشريعي الحالي أن يكون لكل وزارة وزير لأن التجربة علمتنا أن لا يكن لشخص واحد أن يقوم بأعباء وزارتين أو أكثر، فبالأحرى لأعضاء هذه الحكومة التي ينتظر منها الشعب - بحق - الكثير من الأعمال.

إن أول ما يجدر لفت النظر إليه بصورة خاصة، هو أن من الأسباب الرئيسية التي أدت إلى الفوضى الراهنة عدم وجود طريقة صالحة للعمل الوزاري وادخال جرثومة السياسة في أمور الإدارة.

فلكي يقضى على هذه العلة ويكون للوزراء الوقت الكافي لدرس الاصلاحات التي يطالب بها الشعب لا بد من تخفيض ساعات الاستقبالات التي تهدر في غالب الأحيان من أجل أمور

ثانوية، ومن أن يكون الوزراء، على رأس وزاراتهم، وفي علاقاتهم مع موظفيهم وأصحاب المصالح، لا شيء غير رجال إدارة.

ولكي تنجح الحكومة في مهمتها يقتضي لها الاستقرار ولكي يتم لها ذلك يجب أن تنال ثقة الشعب واحترامه وأن تنتزع ثقة الأكثرية النيابية إن لم يكن أجماعها، بالتححرر من الذهنية القديمة وبالتحلي بنزاهة مطلقة وغيره على المصلحة العامة وحزم بالغ في تطبيق القانون على العموم، على الأقارب والأصدقاء قبل الخصوم.

النقطة الثانية الاصلاحات الواجب اجراؤها في الإدارة

أول هذه الاصلاحات إقرار مشروع نظام الموظفين الذي وضعته منذ ثلاث سنوات نخبة من رجال الإدارة وتحديد ملاك كل وزارة في الدولة بطريقة تحفظ للموظفين حقوقهم بالتعيين على أساس النجاح في الامتحان وبالترقية على أساس الأهلية والاخلاص ويحررهم من مساوئ المحسوبية والمداخلات السياسية. أما الموظفون الطفيلون فعلى الحكومة تطهير الإدارة منهم بأسرع ما يمكن واستعمال الوفرة الذي ينتج من هذا التطهير لتحسين حالة الموظفين الأمناء.

وثاني هذه الاصلاحات توسيع صلاحيات المديرين وأخذ توقيعهم على كل القرارات الوزارية لجعلهم مسؤولين شخصياً عن كل مخالفة للقوانين والأنظمة.

ثالثاً تنظيم دائرة تفتيش ومراقبة في كل وزارة تقضي على كل سوء تصرف وترد الهيبة للإدارة اللبنانية وتحتوي على مكتب للشكاوى معد لاستقبال عرائض أصحاب الشأن والتحقيق فيها بصورة سريعة.

الفئة الثالثة الاصلاحات الواجب اجراؤها في القضاء

كلنا يعلم حالة القضاء ويعلم أن المداخلات التي تشكو منها إنما كانت تأتي في الدرجة الأولى من أكثرية النواب وأعضاء الحكومات. فعلينا إذن أن نمتنع نحن عن هذه المداخلات وأن نترك القضاة يحكمون دون أي ضغط أو تأثير.

ومن جهة ثانية يجب تأمين استقلال القضاء بتنصيب القضاة الصالحين واعطاء الصلاحيات الكاملة لمجلس القضاء الأعلى لبيت في جميع الشؤون القضائية.

ولكي يتمكن القضاء من محاربة موجة الاجرام الطاغية لا بد من استعمال الشدة باستمداد قانون استثنائي يقضي بمضاعفة العقوبات لمرتكبي الجرائم خلال مدة معينة وباعادة النظر في نظام السجون حيث الأشغال الشاقة تقضى في المستشفيات...

النقطة الرابعة المالية

إلى جانب ما أتى البيان الوزاري عن ذكره من هذه الناحية نصر على الأمور الآتية:

- الاستقرار المالي الذي يشجع المشاريع الانشائية.

- التخفيف من الاعتمادات الاضافية التي أساءت استعمالها الحكومات السابقة إلى درجة بالغة.

- الاقتصاد في النفقات والاعتمادات السرية ولهذه الغاية على وزير المالية أن يكون «بخيلاً» وأن يضع نصب عينيه أن لبنان هو بلد فقير وعلى سبيل المثال أذكر السيارات الحكومية التي تكلف الخزينة مليون ليرة تقريباً في السنة. وفي نظرنا أن على الوزراء أن يبدأوا بالمثل الصالح فيتنازلوا عن سياراتهم ويكتفوا بتعويض بسيط لقاء تنقلاتهم. واذكر أيضاً المآذب والحفلات والمؤتمرات والتعويضات ومشترى الأثاث واللوازم، كل هذه الأمور التي لو خفضت إلى حدها الأدنى لأعطت الخزينة وفراً لا يستهان به.

إننا نوافق على تصفية الأعمال الأميرية وبيع بعض أملاك الدولة شرط أن تستخدم أثمانها في انشاء الأبنية في العاصمة والملحقات لمخافر الدرك والمدارس والمحاكم ومراكز البريد والهاتف ومختلف دوائر الدولة وذلك لتشغيل اليد العاملة وتوفير مئات الألوف من الليرات التي تدفع كبدلات ايجار.

فيما يتعلق بالضرائب نصر على انشاء ضريبة تصاعدية على التركات المنقولة وغير المنقولة وعلى الأراضي الزراعية فليس من العدل أن يخلف إنسان مئات الألوف بل الملايين من الليرات دون أن يكون للدولة نصيب منها. ولذلك يقتضي فرض ضريبة عادلة على كل حصة إرثية تتجاوز حداً معيناً وبهذه الطريقة يمكن تغذية صندوق الضمان الاجتماعي مثلاً واستخدام مال الغني لتخفيف بؤس الفقراء.

ويكون الأمر كذلك فيما يتعلق بالأراضي، إذ تفرض الضريبة على المداخل الزراعية الصافية التي تتجاوز حداً معيناً، مع الاعفاء التام للسنوات العشر الأولى تشجيعاً لزراعة الأشجار في البلاد.

النقطة الخامسة التربية الوطنية والشؤون الاجتماعية

إلى معالي الأستاذ اميل لحود نقول انه يتولى مهام وزارتين من أهم وزارات الدولة: التربية الوطنية والشؤون الاجتماعية، فنطلب إليه بالاضافة إلى ما ذكر في البيان أن يرسل إلى الخارج بعثات مختارة من نخبة أبناء المدارس للتخصص في مختلف العلوم والفنون حتى يعودوا وهم على أتم الاستعداد لاستلام أعنة الادارات والأحكام في الوقت المناسب، ونطلب إليه بنوع خاص اجراء المراقبة على التعليم في المدارس من جهة التربية القومية ومن جهة التنقيف الفلسفي كي لا يكون هذا التنقيف مغايراً للتعاليم الأساسية التي تركز عليها الأمة اللبنانية ب الله والوطن والعائلة.

ونطلب إليه أن يسعى لرفع مستوى العلوم وتعديل البرامج المدرسية بتخفيف العلوم النظرية وادخال بعض المواد العملية، خاصة ما يتعلق منها بالتربية (الشخصية والعائلية والاجتماعية والمدنية) نظراً لما لهذه التربية من أهمية في حياة النشء، تفوق بنظرنا أهمية العلم المجرد.

وأخيراً اننا نطلب تحسين حالة المعلمين المادية وزيادة المنح والمخصصات للمدارسة الطائفية التي تستقبل فقراء طوائفها وبذلك تستغني الحكومة عن إنشاء مدارس حكومية جديدة.

وانتقل إلى وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية، هذه الوزارة التي طالما طالب حزبنا بانشائها.

ان عالم اليوم هو عالم اجتماعي ونحن لا نزال في أول الطريق، فعلياً أن نتابع هذه الطريق وأن لا نخطئ المسير. ولذلك لا بد لوزير الشؤون الاجتماعية من أن يضع منهاجاً مستعجلاً يعالج الأزمة الاجتماعية الحاضرة بالوسائل المتوفرة من القوانين الاجتماعية الحالية مع السعي لتقويم ما أعوج منها وإكمال ما نقص وتحقيق ما وعد به.

يلزم أن تصبح النقابات المهنية لولب الحياة الاجتماعية بعد إكمال تنظيمها، وعليه يقتضي بالأخص:

- السعي لإنشاء النقابات للعمال وأصحاب المهن الحرة والحرف والفلاحين وأرباب العمل.

إبعاد السياسات الحزبية والشخصية والحكومية عن النقابات.

يلزم ضمان الحريات النقابية وتطبيق أحكام قانون العمل تطبيقاً فعلياً على العمال وأرباب العمل وحماية اليد العاملة الوطنية من مزاحمة اليد العاملة الأجنبية وتحقيق نظام للضمان الاجتماعي الشامل تعود منافعه تدريجياً على جميع أبناء البلاد ويلقي حمل العبء المالي على عاتق الدولة وكبار أصحاب العمل أكثر منه على عاتق العمال وأصحاب الحرف والمهن الحرة.

النقطة السادسة السياسة الخارجية

ان موقفنا في السياسة الخارجية موافق تماماً لموقف الحكومة فهو مبني على التعاون الوثيق مع الدول العربية الشقيقة على أساس ميثاق هيئة الأمم المتحدة وذلك مع المحافظة على استقلال لبنان بحدوده الحاضرة وسيادته التامة والحيول دون أي تدخل خارجي في شؤوننا وتجنيب البلاد ويلات الحرب.

وأن ننسى لا ننسى بهذه المناسبة اخواننا المغتربين الذين يؤلفون الجناح الآخر من هيكل البناء اللبناني، فإلى هؤلاء الاخوان نكرر التحية ونجدد العهد بأن نكون خير مدافعين عن مصالحهم، ساعين مع الحكومة لتنفيذ أحكام المعاهدات والقوانين والأنظمة المتعلقة بهم.

هذه أهم خطوط المنهاج المستعجل الذي نتمنى على حكومتنا تحقيقه، بالإضافة إلى ما ورد من اصلاحات في البيان الوزاري.

أما ما تبقى من النقاط فإني أمر بها مرأً مذكراً الحكومة بأمرين هامين:

وجوب تحقيق مبدأ التطبيب المجاني بصورة تدريجية وتعزيز الرياضة البدنية تعزيزاً عاماً يتناول الحركات الكشفية وأعمال الأندية الرياضية لتعويد الشباب اللبناني على حياة صحيحة من الوجهتين الصحية والأخلاقية.

على أساس هذا المنهاج الذي أكمله رفيقي جان سكاف نمنح الحكومة الثقة طالبين إليها تحقيق ما وعدت به وما نرتجي منها وبذلك تكون قد خدمت البلاد واستحققت شكر أبنائها.

عاش لبنان.

(تصفيق)

Appendix 8.2

Joseph Chader – 25 July 1951

Speech by Joseph Chader in the Memory of the late Riad El Solh at a Special Meeting of the 7th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1951): 8th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 25 July 1951.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزيف شادر.

جوزيف شادر - يا رياض الصلح!

باسمي واسم الطوائف الأرمنية في لبنان وباسم الحزب الكتائبي الذي احترمت وأحببت، أخاطبك بهذه المناسبة الأليمة لأؤدي واجباً مقدساً تجاهك وأقول كلمة حق مقتضية فيك، وأنت غائب بجسدك عن لبنان ودنيا العرب، بعد أن غدرتك يد غاشمة أثيمة، بعيداً عن ذوك وأصدقائك ومواطنيك.

يا دولة الرئيس،

لقد ابتعدت عنا بغير ارادتك ودخلت في صميم تاريخ لبنان المجيد إلى جانب الأمير فخر الدين والأمير بشير وغيرهما من عظماء هذا الوطن ولكنك ستظل حاضراً بروحك معنا ومع سائر اللبنانيين المخلصين كلما وأينما طرحت على بساط البحث السياسة اللبنانية العليا تذكرنا بتلك السياسة الحكيمة الرشيدة التي اتفقت الكتائب معك على تخطيها منذ سنة 1937 والتي أوضحتها في بيانك الوزاري الأول الشهير إلا وهي استقلال لبنان استقلالاً تاماً ناجزاً مبنياً على وحدة صفوف وقلوب اللبنانيين من جميع الطوائف والطبقات وتعاون لبنان مع البلاد العربية تعاوناً مخلصاً وثيقاً في كافة الميادين.

نعم، يا رياض بك، نحن من الذين وضعوا معك ميثاق الأمة اللبنانية سنة 1943 وميثاق القاهرة سنة 1945 وسنكون لهما أمناء مخلصين مع جميع العناصر الطيبة في هذا البلد، وفي البلاد الشقيقة. وتخليداً لذكراك، نطلب من الحكومة اللبنانية الكريمة ومن الشعب اللبناني النبيل أن يرفع تمثالين لوجهك، الأول في ساحة الشهداء وقد أصبحت من كبارهم، والثاني هنا في بيت الأمة يكتب عليها بأحرف ذهبية واضحة هذه العبارة الصادقة.

«من الأمة اللبنانية الوفية إلى ابنها الكبير الأمين

دولة الرئيس رياض بك الصلح

«الذي عاش للدفاع عن استقلال لبنان ولتوحيد كلمة العرب والذي مات شهيداً في سبيل المحافظة على كيان لبنان العزيز.

عاشت روح رياض الصلح بيننا إلى الأبد وعاش لبنان حراً مستقلاً سيداً كريماً.

Appendix 8.3

Joseph Chader – 20 December 1951

Questions by Joseph Chader to the Government and the relevant responses of the Lebanese Government thereto during a General Discussion Meeting of the 7th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1951): 18th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 December 1951.

لمعالي وزير الاقتصاد الوطني المحترم،

بواسطة عطوفة رئيس مجلس النواب المحترم،

يرزح الشعب اللبناني تحت أعباء الغلاء الثقيلة خصوصاً منذ نشبت الحرب في كوريا إذ بادر المحتكرون والمستثمرون إلى رفع أسعار المواد الغذائية والضرورية لمختلف الفئات والطبقات الفقيرة والمتوسطة.

ولما كانت الحكومة السابقة قد أعادت إنشاء دائرة مكافحة الغلاء في وزارة الاقتصاد، وظل الغلاء مستفحلاً إما لضيق صلاحيات هذه الدائرة أو لضيق نطاق الوسائل المعطاة لها للحد من ارتفاع الأسعار.

ولما كانت قضية مكافحة غلاء المواد الغذائية والضرورية من أهم القضايا الشعبية التي يترتب على معالكم الاهتمام بها بصورة جدية وسريعة.

ولما كانت ثمة عائلات كثيرة من العمال والمستخدمين والموظفين وسواهم قد اختل ميزان حياتها من جراء تفاقم الغلاء.

ولما كان انتشار البطالة التي وعدت الحكومة ونحن بانتظار هذه المكافحة مما يزيد في أعباء هذه الأزمة التي تشكو منها الطبقة المرهقة من الشعب لذلك فإننا نسأل عن التدابير الفعالة التي اتخذتموها أو ستخذونها في القريب العاجل لمكافحة الغلاء، ونعلق على جوابكم أهمية كبرى لمصلحة الشعب اللبناني.

بيروت في 3 تموز

جان إسكاف نائب البقاع

جوزف شادر نائب بيروت

جوزف شادر - تعليقاً على جواب الحكومة على سؤالنا المتعلق بموجة الغلاء أقول إن هذا الجواب غير مقنع وكانت الحكومة قد كلفت دائرة مكافحة الغلاء ونحن نعلم أن هذه الدائرة لا وجود لها لأنها ضعيفة لدرجة أنه ليس بإمكانها مراقبة أقل بائع خبز في هذا البلد.

نحن عندما تقدمنا بسؤالنا عن هذه القضية الحيوية طلبنا من الحكومة أن تبين لنا العلاج الذي ستستعمله لحل هذه المشكلة وطلبنا منها أن تبين لنا سياستها الإنتاجية وكنا نتمنى أن تقول ما هي التدابير التي ستأخذها لمكافحة الغلاء وتخفيض الضرائب ولكن الجواب الذي أتانا منها لم يذكر شيئاً من هذا.

إلى دولة مجلس الوزراء وزير الداخلية وإلى معالي وزير العدلية المحترمين،
بواسطة عطوفة رئيس المجلس النيابي الأكرم،

لنا الشرف أن نوجه إلى حضراتكم السؤال التالي ملتجئين منه الجواب خطياً ضمن مهلة العشرة أيام القانونية ووفقاً لأحكام المادة 167 من النظام الداخلي:

تطغي على البلاد موجة من الإجرام لا تدع يوماً يمر دون وقوع جريمة أو عدة جرائم تقترب في غالب الأحيان من أجل أسباب تافهة وبواسطة أسلحة نارية حربية. هذه الموجة الطاغية التي تسبب كثيراً من الضحايا والأضرار تستحق بلا شك علاجاً سريعاً ملائماً من قبل الوزارتين المختصتين مباشرة: -الداخلية والعدلية.

أما أسباب هذه الحالة فهي في نظرنا الأمور الآتية:

أولاً - حمل الأسلحة الممنوعة من قبل عدد كبير من المواطنين.

ثانياً - انعدام التدابير الاحترازية من جانب وزارة الداخلية (الشرطة، الدرك، الأمن العام).

ثالثاً - فقدان هيبة السلطات الناتج:

1- من التأخر في توقيف المجرمين والتحقيق في قضاياهم والحكم بها.

2- من رافة القضاة الذين يمنحون بسهولة زائدة الأسباب التقديرية المخففة اعتقاداً منهم بأن الرأفة تؤدي إلى إصلاح المجرمين بينما الحقيقة هي العكس.

3- من لين نظام السجون وتنفيذ العقوبات حيث الأشغال الشاقة مثلاً اسم بلا مسمى (خلاًفاً لما هي الحال في مصر مثلاً) ومن عدم إصلاح هذا النظام فيما يتعلق باختلاط المجرمين وإعادة تربيتهم.

4- من الخطوات التي تحصل داخل السجون كالإقامة في المستشفى لمساجين أصحاء وقضاء الليالي خارج السجن...

5- من منح العفو العام بكثرة.

فبالنظر إلى هذه الأسباب (دون الأسباب الأخرى غير المباشرة كالبطالة وعدم كفاية التربية في المدارس والتي هي من اختصاص وزارات أخرى) نود أن نعرف ما هي التدابير الملائمة التي تتوي اتخاذها كل من وزارتي الداخلية والعدلية لمحاربة موجة الإجرام هذه:

1- من الناحية الاحترازية.

2- بعد وقوع الجرائم والحوادث.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام.

بيروت في 19 تموز سنة 1951

نائب البقاع جان اسكاف

نائب بيروت جوزف شادر

الرئيس - ليتلى السؤال المقدم من السيدين جوزف شادر وجان سكاف بشأن تكاثر الحشرات في قرى البقاع وجواب الحكومة عليه.

فتلا الكاتب السؤال والجواب التاليين:

عطوفة رئيس المجلس النيابي المحترم.

نرجو إحالة السؤال التالي إلى معالي وزير الصحة والإسعاف العام للجواب عنه خطياً ضمن المهلة القانونية.

من المعروف أنه نظراً لقلّة الأمطار في هذه السنة جفت الينابيع باكراً مما أدى إلى وجود مستنقعات جديدة في أكثر قرى البقاع وبالتالي إلى تكاثر الحشرات والبعوض.

وقد راجع أهالي بعض هذه القرى وزارة الصحة على عهد الحكومة السابقة كما راجع أحدنا شخصياً بخصوص قرى تربل وبر الياس والمرج وجبل موسى وحوش خالا ورياق وغيرها فوعدت الوزارة المذكورة بشخص كبار موظفيها بأنها ستعتمد إلى رش هذه القرى بمادة د.د.ت. بواسطة جمعية إنعاش القرى بعد أن سلفت إلى هذه الجمعية مبلغ خمسة آلاف ليرة لبنانية لهذه الغاية.

بناءً عليه نرجو الإفادة عن التدابير المتخذة لمكافحة الحشرات. والبعوض في القرى المذكورة وفي مناطق نهر بيروت والدامور والبترون ومراكز الاصطياف وعن موعد تنفيذ التدابير المشار إليها ولا سيما إن كل تأخير في التنفيذ المطلوب يخلق صعوبات جديدة في مكافحة نظراً لاشتداد وطأة الحر وازدياد الحشرات والبعوض كما يخشى معه انتشار الملاريا والأمراض المختلفة التي تشكل خطراً على الصحة العامة.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام.

بيروت في 19 تموز سنة 1951
نائب البقاع جان سكاف
نائب بيروت جوزف شادر

Appendix 8.4

Joseph Chader – 27 December 1951

Speech by Joseph Chader during a Budget Discussion Meeting of the 7th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1951): 20th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 27 December 1951.

الرئيس - الموازنة العامة. الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر بصفته نائباً وليس مقررراً للجنة المالية.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

من درس التقريرين العامين الذين وضعنا بشأن مشروع الموازنة يستخرج بضعة امثولات ونتائج.

سأترك لغيري مهمة النقد لبيان المساوئ والمحسن ولكني سأنظر إلى حالة البلاد الحاضرة وحالة الخزينة لاتقدم من الحكومة ببعض المطالب الاصلاحية الهامة.

1 - من الناحية السياسية العامة

نود أن يظهر من جانب الحكومة اهتمام أكبر بالمصلحة العامة على مجرد ومكافحة للمصالح الخاصة أن يظهر من جانبها الحزم الكامل في تطبيق القانون على الجميع، فلا ضعف ولا محاباة بل مساواة أمام القانون دون تحيز ولا استثناء.

2 - من الناحية الإدارية

بعد التصديق على الملاكات الجديدة وعلى نظام الموظفين الجديد، على الحكومة أن تقوم بعمل كبير ألا وهو إعادة النظر برواتب الموظفين وتعويضاتهم، واختصار جميع الأنظمة الإدارية، اسوة بما عملاً وسيعمل بشأن أصول المحاكمات المدنية، وتعزيز التفتيش في الدولة خصوصاً التفتيش المالي.

3 - من الناحية القضائية

نطلب بالحاح تأمين استقلال القضاء بوضع قانون مناسب يعطي الصلاحية الكاملة إلى مجلس القضاء الأعلى.

4 - من الناحية الضرائبية

نطلب من الحكومة تخفيف العبء الضرائبي البالغ 87 ليرة لبنانية لكل نسمة لا 73 كما ورد في تقرير وزير المالية أي ما يعادل 435 ليرة لكل رب عائلة، أي ليرة ونصف الليرة عن كل يوم عمل. وهذا كما ترون، حمل ثقيل على كاهل المكلف اللبناني.

أما تخفيف هذا العبء فيجب أن يتم أولاً بتخفيض الضرائب غير المباشرة، خاصة رسوم الجمرک عن السلع التي تستهلكها الطبقتان الفقيرة والمتوسطة، وثانياً بزيادة مدخول الضرائب المباشرة بحيث يضبط تحصيل هذه الضرائب فيدفع كل مكلف ما عليه.

وبهذا العمل نكون قد حاربنا غلاء المعيشة واتينا عملاً موقفاً من ناحيتين: نكون قد ساعدنا الطبقات المحرومة على أن تتحمل بأقل صعوبة الأزمة الاقتصادية التي تجتازها البلاد، ونكون قد شجعنا السياحة والاصطياف وفقاً لما ورد في تقرير معالي وزير المالية من أن «لبنان بلد سياحة واصطياف فيجب أن تخفض فيه بقدر الإمكان كلفة الانتاج وأسعار السلع».

5 - وأخيراً من ناحية النفقات

علينا أن نطالب بتخفيض النفقات غير المنتجة وبمكافحة التبذير وإساءة استعمال أموال الدولة خصوصاً فيما يتعلق بالتلزيقات والأشغال العامة، وفي الاستثمارات وتشديد الأبنية.

وفي هذا الصدد نسجل بسرور أن تقرير معالي وزير المالية قد تكلم عن «مراقبة شديدة على الانفاق ووضع حد للإسراف واعتبار كل موظف مسؤولاً ضمن اختصاصه عن تنفيذ بنود الموازنة» وأضاف: «وعزماً عزمياً أكيداً على مراقبة الانفاق بشكل يغبينا ويغنيكم عن الاعتمادات الإضافية التي كانت تجعل الموازنات في السابق لا تعبر إلا عن بعض الحقيقة».

ومن جهة ثانية، إننا نطالب بزيادة النفقات المنتجة قدر الإمكان من الناحيتين الاجتماعية والاقتصادية.

فمن الناحية الاجتماعية، تزداد المساعدة التي تقدمها الحكومة إلى المواطنين المحتاجين.

ومن الناحية الاقتصادية، سواء فيما يتعلق بالموازنة العادية أم الصندوق المستقل الخاص بالمشاريع الانشائية، يجب أن يحصل الانفاق بصورة مدروسة علمياً ومجدية فيساعد على احياء الاقتصاد الوطني وعلى زيادة الانتاج فتخف تكاليف الحاجيات ويقضي نوعاً ما على آفتي البطالة والهجرة.

هذه هي النتائج الكبرى التي نستخلصها من درسنا الموازنة. ولا شك بأن الحكومة توافقنا عليها. فما عليها إذن إلا أن تباشر العمل والتحقيق.

واننا لأعمالها لمرتقبون. (تصفيق)

Appendix 8.5

Joseph Chader – 15 January 1952

Speech by Joseph Chader during a Legislation Meeting on the issue of special purpose companies in Lebanon ("SPV").

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 5th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 15 January 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس زملائي الكرام

لا بد لي من ان اعلن بادىء ذي بدء ما سبق واعلنله مراراً في حزبنا وجرائدنا وما اعلنه رئيسنا الشيخ بيار الجميل في اول اجتماع عقد مع مدير شركة كهرباء بيروت في مكتب الهيئة الوطنية من ان العمل الذي يقوم به هذا المجلس والشعب تجاه الشركات الاجنبية ذوات الامتياز، ليس موجهاً قط ضد اصحاب الرساميل الاجنبية، لاننا من الذين يعتقدون بان لبنان، لكي يقوي استثمار خيراته الطبيعية، هو بحاجة الى الاموال الاجنبية تضاف الى اموال اللبنانيين، المقيمين والمغتربين، لا بل نحن من الذين يطالبون بتشجيع الاجانب على استخدام رساميلهم في المشاريع المنتجة، العائدة بالخير على هذا الوطن العزيز.

غير ان ما ثرنا عليه فيما مضى وما نثور عليه اليوم وغداً هو سوء التصرف الفاضح الذي لا يمكن لاي انسان حسن النية او لاي شعب واع ان يسلم به او يسكت عنه.

سوء التصرف هذا، المستند احياناً الى دفتر الشروط، وحياناً الى طمع الشركات او ارادتها الاستبدادية يجب ان تضع الحكومة له حداً، ولا سيما ان مبدأ اعادة النظر في دفاتر شروط جميع الشركات ذوات الامتياز قد اقر رسمياً في اتفاقية النقد اللبنانية الفرنسية المعقودة سنة 1948، فليطمئن اذن بال اصحاب المصالح، في لبنان وفي الخارج، لبنانيين كانوا ام اجانب، مقيمين ام مغتربين، الى ان اموالهم ليست موضوع محاربة عقائدية او عدوانية. بل ان لبنان، شعباً ومجلساً وحكومة يرحب اجمل ترحيب بكل رأسمال اجنبي يستعمل الخير المتبادل والربح المعقول، دون تطرف او مس كرامة.

اما شركة الكهرباء التي سأخصص لها هذا البحث، فقد بلغ التذمر منها عنان السماء، وكان الشعب حتى الامس كابحاً جماح غضبه، مسيطراً الى حد ما على اعصابه، الى ان عيل صبره بعد ان تمادت الشركة في استغلاله، وها هو اليوم يتحد لمحاربة هذا الاستغلال الجائر، سواء بالاضراب من قبل بعض المعامل او بالمقاطعة من قبل الافراد المستهلكين.

ولا بد لي من الاشارة حالا الى ان استبداد شركة كهرباء بيروت ليس محصوراً بالشعب المستهلك وحده، بل يتعداه الى مستخدمي الشركة نفسها الذين فضلاً عن ضالة رواتبهم يعيشون في جو من الارهاب المستمر مهددين دائماً بشتى العقوبات الديكتاتورية، من غرامات فاحشة الى توقيف موقت عن العمل ثم الى طرد نهائي من الخدمة. ففي اي بلد واي عصر نحن عائشون؟

لقد كان من نتيجة الحملة الشعبية القائمة، ان ارسلت الشركة مديرها للاتصال بممثلي الهيئة الوطنية والكتائب تمهيداً وتسهيلاً لمهمة الحكومة، وبعد اجتماعين طويلين تم الاتفاق فيهما مبدئياً على جميع النقاط الثانوية المطالب بها، رفض مدير الشركة في الاجتماع الاخير البحث في النقطة الهامة من الموضوع وهي قضية الاسعار، قائلاً انه بفضل البحث في هذه النقطة مع الحكومة، بالرغم من افهامنا اياه ان كل اتفاق يحصل لا بد له بالنتيجة من ان يقتصر بموافقة الحكومة.

نعم اننا لا نجهل اسباب هذا التفضيل، ولكن ليفهم مدير شركة كهرباء بيروت انه واهم جداً، لان على رأس الحكومة اللبنانية ووزارة الاشغال العامة ومصلحة مراقبة الشركات اشخاص مقتدرون نزهاء، ولان في لبنان شعباً متحفزاً يعرف ان يدافع عن حقوقه كما فعل سنة 1932 مع هذه الشركة نفسها وسنة 1939 مع زميلتها شركة المياه.

ونحن كممثلين لهذا الشعب، والمدافعين عن مصالحه نقول ان مظالم شركة الكهرباء، يجب ان تتوقف وان تسود علاقاتها مع مستخدميها وعمالها ومع الشعب روح العدالة والانصاف. واليكم كيف تظهر تصرفات الشركة الشاذة من حيث قضية الاسعار والاستغلال المادي للمستهلكين:

اولا - قبل سنة 1947 كان الحد الاعلى لثمن التنوير 17 غرشاً الكيلوات. اما ثمن القوة المحركة فكان يتفق عليه بموجب عقود خاصة يدفع المشترك بموجبها مبلغاً مقطوعاً بقدر بضعة عشرات الليرات ثم يدفع ثمن الكيلوات الواحد ثلاثة غروش تقريباً، اما ثمن الكيلوات المستعمل للزراعة فكان خمسة غروش.

وبعد ذلك التاريخ رفعت الشركة بموافقة الحكومة ودون ادنى مبرر الحد الاعلى الى 21 غرشاً لثمن النور والى 13 غرشاً وربع لثمن القوة المحركة.

ثم في سنة 1949 رفعت الشركة ضمن الحدين الاعليين المذكورين جميع تعريفاتها دون موافقة الحكومة هذه المرة، مبتدعة حياً شيطانية لتطبيق التعرفة الجديدة المرتفعة على اكثرية المستهلكين.

ان رفع الاسعار هذا دون موافقة الحكومة هو مخالف للقانون والاصول المتبعة بهذا الموضوع لان رفع الاسعار حتى ضمن الحد الاعلى المقرر لا يسمح به لشركات ذوات الامتياز الا عند وجود المبررات الكافية وبعد أخذ موافقة الحكومة.

ثانياً - لقد خالفت الشركة دفتر الشروط باعطائها التيار الكهربائي بقوة 80 او 50 فولت بدلاً من 110 وبقطعها التيار عن المستهلكين عدة دقائق واحياناً عدة ساعات وذلك عدة مرات في الشهر او الاسبوع.

فكان ان تكبد المستهلكون من جراء ذلك خسائر جسيمة في المعامل والمستشفيات والفنادق والمنازل. وقد اضطروا للحصول على نور كاف للنظر في مضاعفة عدد اللمبات المستعملة فكانت المقطوعة في نهاية الشهر تتضاعف مما ادخل الى صندوق الشركة ربحاً غير مشروع يقدر بمئات الالوف بل الملايين من الليرات في الاثنتي عشرة سنة الماضية. وبالرغم من كل الاجراءات التي اتخذتها الشركة منذ سنة 1947 لا تزال القوة المولدة والموزعة على المستهلكين غير كافية لسد جميع الاحتياجات بقوة 110 فولت.

ان هذه المخالفة الفادحة وحدها تكفي في بلاد العالم اجمع لفسخ امتياز الشركة او على الاقل لتزليل التعرّفة الى نصفها. اما عندنا فقد اكتفى الشعب بالاحتجاج واكتفت الحكومة بالاصرار على الشركة بتقوية اجهزة توليد الطاقة الكهربائية فلم تزج الشركة نفسها الا ابتداء من سنة 1947.

ثالثاً - عندما رفعت الشركة تعرفتها الاخيرة سنة 1949 ارادت ان تغير العقود الجارية مع المستهلكين فلجأت الى حيل ميكافلية نجحت مع قسم منهم ولم تنجح مع القسم الآخر. فنشأ عن ذلك مخالفة فادحة لدفتر الشروط ولمبدأ المساواة المطلقة بين فئات المستهلكين مما كان ذا اثر في وضعية اصحاب المعامل الصناعية بنوع خاص الذين راحوا يزاحمون بعضهم بعضاً بسبب دفعهم اسعاراً متفاوتة للطاقة الكهربائية.

رابعاً - هناك مخالافات فاضحة اخرى تكسب الشركة مئات الالوف من الليرات سنوياً دون ادنى حق وهي تقع على ثمن الخدمات التي تؤديها الشركة للمستهلكين: اي على ثمن الدروس الاولى والتمديدات {Branchement} وعلى اجرة العدادات الشهرية وعلى ثمن تصليح هذه العدادات او نقلها من اعلى الابنية الى اسفلها وعلى ثمن الصناديق الحافظة لهذه العدادات.

فقد استوفت الشركة من صاحب بناية جديدة بستة مخازن وطابق واحد ذي شقتين مبلغ 476 ليرة لبنانية ثمن التمديدات والصندوق، في حين ان الكلفة الحقيقية لهذه الاشياء لا تجاوز السبعين ليرة، لان البناية لا تبعد عن الخط الرئيسي سوى بضعة امتار.

واليكم ايضاً بين الف من الامثال الاخرى هذا المثل الغريب الذي يهم بلديتنا المسكينة.

بين الشركة والبلدية اتفاق خاص وقع في 11 تموز سنة 1945 لتحديد سعر الكهرباء المستهلكة من قبل وقد اصررت الشركة على ان تذكر فيه انها قبلت باسعار مخفضة بغية المساعدة على تجميل المدينة وازدهارها.

اما هذه الاسعار المخفضة فهي الاتية:

17 غرشاً لكل كيلوات من الـ 14 ألف كيلوات الاولى من الاستهلاك الشهري 8 غروش لكل كيلوات من الـ 22400 كيلوات الثانية و5 غروش عن كل كيلوات من كمية الاستهلاك الزائدة.

في حين ان التعرفة المطبقة آنئذ على الافراد كانت 17 غرشاً عن كل كيلوات من الخمسة عشر كيلوات الاولى و8 غروش عن كل من المئة كيلوات الثانية و5 غروش عن كل كيلوات من الكمية الزائدة فتأملوا...

وقد قع نظرنا على فاتورة رقم 255 تاريخ 17 ايار سنة 1951 صادرة عن الشركة المحترمة باسم بلدية بيروت تطالبها فيها بمبلغ 1136 ليرة وربع لتكريب 4 لمبات مع عواميدها في احد شوارع المدينة وقد بينت الشركة مفردات المبلغ المطلوب وفي جملتها النبذة الاتية:

شريط ملابس Fil isolé, 6 mm 375 metres بسعر 144 غ. المجموع 40 ل حال كون ثمن المتر الواحد من هذا الشريط في السوق يبلغ 40 غرشاً فقط ولا يكلف الشركة سوى 25 غرشاً على الاكثر لانها تستورده بالجملة ومعفاً من الرسوم الجمركية.

خامساً - اما النوع الاخير من المخالفات فهو نوع خفي، طريف يمر تحت ستار الخطأ المادي «البري» ويمتاز به رؤساء الشركة الاذكياء. وقد كنت انا شخصياً من ضحاياه مرتين متواليتين: ففي المرة الاولى - قدمت لي الشركة فاتورة تحمل تاريخ تشرين الثاني 1951 بقيمة 4 ليرات لبنانية ولدى السؤال فهمت من الجابي ان القيمة هي اجرة العداد عن 5 اشهر من تموز الى تشرين الثاني بمعدل 80 غرشاً عن الشهر الواحد. وبما ان الفواتير السابقة كانت تحمل مبلغ 40 غرشاً لا 80، فقد افادني الجابي بان الاجرة تقفز من 40 الى 80 غرشاً اذا لم يسجل العداد اكثر من 20 كيلوات شهرياً.

فعلى افتراض قبولنا بهذه التعريفة الغريبة، فمن اين اتت الشركة بالخمسة شهور بدلا من ثلاثة اشهر الصيف، طالما ان النزول من الجبل كان في 10 تشرين الاول والاستهلاك كان خلال العشرين يوماً الباقية من ذلك الشهر اكثر من 50 كيلوات بحسب ارقام العداد وخلال شهر تشرين الثاني اكثر من 75 كيلوات.

ان مجرد حدوث هذا الخطأ البسيط الذي ترتكبه الشركة «بسذاجة» بالغة يدخل الى صندوقها، اذا حصل مع كافة المشتركين وعددهم ستون ألفاً غير مشروع يقدر بثمانية واربعين ألف ليرة...

وفي المرة الثانية قدمت لي الشركة فاتورة بمبلغ ست عشرة ليرة لبنانية عن استهلاك اربعة اشهر الصيف فاستغربت الامر، وعمدت الى اجراء الحسابات اللازمة فاذا بي اكتشف ان الشركة طبقت الحد الاعلى من التعرفة وهو 21 غرشاً على كامل كمية الاستهلاك. وعندما ارسلت احتجاجاً على هذا الصرف بواسطة جريدة العمل رأيت الشركة ترسل لي كتاب اعتذار وتعيد الفرق المستوفى خطأ البالغ 6 ليرات وبعض الكسور.

فليطلع على هذا وعلى غيره حضرة ممثل الحكومة البلجيكية في لبنان قبل ان يستمع الى اقوال وادعاءات واضاليل شركة كهرباء بيروت، فيعلم عندئذ بكل تأييد ان موقف اللبنانيين تجاه هذه الشركة هو شريف لا غبار عليه لانه موقف الدفاع عن الكرامة والمال وكلاهما عزيز يستحق الدفاع.

اما بعد، فماذا كان موقف حكوماتنا المتعاقبة من هذه الشركة بنوع خاص، ومن الشركات ذوات الامتياز بوجه عام.

انه للأسف موقف يفتح مجال الانتقاد واسعاً، فنحن نسمع بوجود مصلحة لمراقبة هذه الشركات ولكننا لا نرى لاعمالها اثرأ بالرغم من ان على رأسها موظف من المع موظفي هذه الدولة والسبب في ذلك هو ان هذا الرئيس لا يجد الوقت الكافي ولا العدد الكافي من المعاونين الاكفاء لكي تسير اعمال هذه المصلحة على ما هو مطلوب من الدقة والانتظام.

اما الحلول التي نقترحها على الحكومة، بانتظار حصولنا على الادارة الصالحة وعلى الاموال الكافية لتأميم جميع الشركات ذوات الامتياز او بعضها، فهي:

اولا - اعادة النظر بسرعة في دفاتر شروط هذه الشركات ووضع تعرفة لكل فئة من فئات مستهلكي الطاقة الكهربائية بعد اجراء التحقيقات والدروس الدقيقة بواسطة الخبراء المشهود لهم بالمقدرة والنزاهة على ان تكون هذه التعرفة مخفضة للصناعيين والمزارعين مخفضة جداً للعشر كيلوات الاولى التي تستهلك الطبقة الفقيرة شهرياً للتوفير على ان يستوفى الفرق الناتج من ذلك من المشتركين الذين يستعملون الكهرباء للكوي والراديو والبرادات والطباخات والدفايات...

ثانياً - تنظيم مصلحة مراقبة هذه الشركات تنظيماً حسناً كما سبق وبيناه.

ثالثاً - اجراء الرقابة الصارمة والدائمة على اعمال هذه الشركات للتأكد من صحة تطبيق احكام دفاتر الشروط.

رابعاً - اتخاذ التدابير اللازمة والعقوبات الصارمة لدى حصول اي مخالفة او خطأ ترتكبه الشركة وتستفيد منه مادياً.

خامساً - محاسبة الشركات على الاخطاء (كي لا اقول السرقات) التي ارتكبتها حتى اليوم وتخصيص المال المقبوض منها دون حق لانشاء مستشفيات ومستوصفات في بيروت.

اما تصريح رئيس الحكومة في نهاية الجلسة الاخيرة فهو لا شك في محله من حيث المحافظة على تطبيق القانون. ولكن موقف الشعب، هو في محله ايضاً من حيث غضبته على الحالة الجائرة القائمة لا لمصلحته بل لمصلحة من يستثمره ويمتهن كرامته. فلنقم اذن كل جهة بواجبها، الشركة، الحكومة، الشعب، واذا كان من نتيجة ذلك دخول الشيخ بيار الجميل والدكتور محمد خالد الى السجن، فمرحى بهذا السجن، اكليل غار يضفره الشعب الابي المتحفر على جبين ابنائه المخلصين.

(تصنيف)

Appendix 8.6

Joseph Chader – 19 February 1952

Speech by Joseph Chader during a deliberation meeting on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government before casting his vote of confidence.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 2nd Extraordinary of the 7th Parliament held on 19 February 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، زملائي الكرام

واجب علي كئائب كئائبي أن أشرح موقفني من الاقتراح على الثقة وهو الموقف نفسه الذي كان اتخذه رفيقي السيد جان سكاف فيما لو كان حاضراً هذه الجلسة.

طالما ان البيان الوزاري الذي استمعنا إليه لا يتناقض مع برنامج حزبنا فليس لدينا أي مأخذ عليه بحد ذاته.

لكن هل باستطاعة الوزارة الحاضرة، بالرغم من وجود عناصر ممتازة فيها، ان تقوم بتنفيذ قسم منه على الأقل؟

لقد عرفنا بالتجربة ان التقديرات الفورية في هذا الصدد قد تخطئ، كما عرفنا ان فشل الحكومات أحياناً قد لا يكون بسبب الأشخاص الذين في الحكم.

فليس ما يمنع والحالة هذه من ان نعطي اليوم ثقتنا للحكومة لأن الثقة تعني الأمل بالنجاح وكم نحن بحاجة إلى الكثير من هذا الأمل...

ومن جهة ثانية نود ان نبرهن للحكومة الثانية المنبثقة من هذا المجلس كما برهنا من قبل وللحكومة الأولى باننا نريد تشجيعها على إتمام مهمتها الصعبة بتنفيذ الوعود التي قطعها لنا وللبلاذ في هذه الأيام الحرجة التي تجتازها.

وأخيراً يهمننا ان نعلن باننا ننظر إلى النائب كصاحب رسالة وهذه الرسالة هي بالدرجة الأولى تعاون وثيق مخلص مع الحكومة في سبيل المصلحة العامة. وهكذا لو اننا حببنا اليوم الثقة فذلك لم يكن ليمنعنا فيما بعد من ان نشد أزر الحكومة او نجاوبها بحسب ما تقوم به من الأعمال.

ذلك كان موقفنا من الحكومة السابقة التي منحناها الثقة يوم الاقتراع عليها، ثم لم نجارها في بعض المشاريع والمواقف.

لقد حكمت الوزارة السابقة تحت شعار النزاهة فأملنا ان يكون هذا الشعار في ظل الوزارة الحاضرة مقروناً بالحزم وتطبيق القانون والعدالة على الجميع دون اي تطرق حزبي وبالعامل المثمر في كافة الحقول الأخلاقية والاجتماعية والعدلية والإدارية والاقتصادية.

واننا من صميم الفؤاد نتمنى للحكومة أكثر ما يمكن من النجاح لاجتياز هذه الحقبة الخطيرة من حياتنا القومية والاجتماعية بمساعدة جميع المسؤولين المخلصين.

Appendix 8.7

Joseph Chader – 21 February 1952

Speech by Joseph Chader during a legislation meeting concerning the Rental Laws of residential and commercial properties in Lebanon.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 21 February 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، زملائي الكرام، قضية الإيجارات قضية معقدة، وصعبة الحل، لنوعين من الأسباب:

أولاً - لأن المصالح المطروحة على بساط البحث هي متضاربة متناقضة، وثانياً لأنه أصبح من العسير الآن ان نقلب الأنظمة الراهنة رأساً على عقب بعد ان استمرت أكثر من عشر سنوات.

من أجل ذلك رأّت الحكومة ومثلها لجنة الإدارة والعدلية، ان ترفض كثيراً من المقترحات الرامية إلى تبديل أساسي في الوضع القائم، فرضنا مبدأ تخمين العقارات الذي أفلست تجربته في سوريا، ومراكز الاصطيف دون الأماكن الأخرى، كما رفضنا أخيراً مبدأ مصادرة الأبنية الفارغة وتأجيرها بمعرفة لجنة أو قاضي الأمور المستعجلة ومبدأ تحديد البديل بالنسبة إلى فئات المستأجرين (عمال، تجار، أصحاب مهن الخ...) لقد رفضنا جميع هذه المقترحات لأنها من جهة أولى تخلق علاقات جديدة بين أصحاب الشأن ولأنها من جهة ثانية تجر مشاكل ودعاوي يجدر بالمشروع ان يتحاشاها.

فماذا يبقى إذن؟

أما حرية التعاقد، وأما تمديد الإيجارات.

إلى ان الحكومة ولجنة الإدارة والعدلية لم تترددا في اختيار الطريقة الثانية لأن أزمة الإيجارات بالرغم من انخفاض حدتها لا تزال قائمة.

لقد قيل للجنّتنا انه يمكن القيام بخطوة أولى نحو إعادة العلاقات التأجيرية إلى مجراها الطبيعي بإطلاق حرية التأجير لفئة واحدة من عقارات السكن هي التي نسميها العقارات الفخمة {Immeubles de luxe} أي التي تحتوي على الأقل المصعد الكهربائي وحارس البناية والهاتف ووسائل تكييف الهواء أو التدفئة بالماء الساخن، فهذه الفئة من المساكن يمكن عدم رعايتها بالقانون الاستثنائي لثلاثة أسباب:

أولاً - لأن شاغلي هذه الأبنية هم بلا شك من الأغنياء والموسرين فلا حاجة لهم في حماية المشرع.

ثانياً - لأن هذه الأبنية كثيرة التكلفة ويلزمها مصروف مستمر للعناية بها.

ثالثاً - لأن العاصمة والمدن اللبنانية بحاجة إلى مثل هذه الأماكن الفخمة فيقتضي تشجيع أصحابها.

أما نحن فنرى ان هذه الأسباب إذا كانت كافية لإبقاء بدلات إيجار سنة 1951 على حالها دون تخفيض إلا أننا لا نبرر في الوقت الحاضر إعطاء الحرية المطلقة لأصحاب هذه العقارات خوفاً من إساءة استعمال هذه الحرية.

أما وقد تقرر مبدأ التمديد لجميع أنواع العقارات فعلى ان ننظر في كيفية تطبيق هذا المبدأ من حيث قيمة بدلات الإيجار.

وبهذا الصدد يجب النظر إلى فئتين من العقود، العقود السابقة سنة 1940 والعقود اللاحقة لسنة 1948.

فيما يتعلق بالفئة الأولى كان مشروع الحكومة ينص على زيادة قدرها 10 و 15 و 20% للأماكن المعدة للتجارة والصناعة، و 5 نصف 7 و 10 ونصف 12 بالمائة للأماكن الأخرى. فرفضت لجنة الإدارة والعدلية هذه الزيادات بأكثرية الأصوات.

أما رأيي فهو إقرار مبدأ الزيادة وإليك الأسباب:

ان مجموع الزيادات التي لحقت حتى اليوم بالعقود السابقة لسنة 1940 هو:

من 82 إلى 130 بالمائة للأماكن المعدة للتجارة والصناعة.

ومن 45 إلى 80 بالمائة لبيوت السكن. ومن 60 إلى 95 بالمائة للأماكن الأخرى.

فيتضح ان هذه الزيادات لا تزال طفيفة بالنسبة إلى مدخول العقار الطبيعي، وقد تمشى المشرع منذ عشر سنوات على خطة الزيادة التدريجية بصورة لا تنقل كاهل المستأجر وتخفف تدريجياً عن كاهل المؤجر فلا نرى أي موجب لعدم السير على هذه الخطة في سنة 1952 ولكن بمعدلات تختلف عن المعدلات الواردة في مشروع الحكومة وإذا تذرع المستأجرون بالأزمة الاقتصادية وغلا المعيشة، فبإمكان المؤجرين ان يتذرعوا بالأمثل.

أما فئة المستأجرين الصغار أي الذين لم يتجاوز بدل إيجارهم في سنة 1951 المائتين وخمسين ليرة، فهؤلاء يجب إعفاؤهم من الزيادة الجديدة لأن وطأة الغلاء والأزمة الاقتصادية تطالهم بالدرجة الأولى فلا يجوز إرهابهم بعبء جديد لا طاقة لهم عليه.

والملاكون الصغار فماذا تقول بشأنهم؟

ان هؤلاء يستحقون بنظرنا عناية لا تقل عن العناية التي يستحقها المستأجرون الصغار لأنهم ما برحوا منذ عشر سنوات يتحملون وطأة غلاء المعيشة دون ان ينالوا سوى زيادات طفيفة في بدلات الإيجار. ان بين هؤلاء الملاكين كثيرين من الأيتام والأرامل الذين اضطرتهم أزمة العيش إلى بيع ما يملكون من عقار بثمان بخس نظراً لعدة مورد هذا العقار.

وحتى اليوم لم تحن من المشتري أي التفاتة نحو هذه الفئة من الناس، ولكن كيف يمكنه تحسين حالة الملاكين الصغار دون ان يرهق بالفعل نفسه فئة المستأجرين الصغار التي لا بد للمشتري من حمايتها والتي قلنا انه يجب إعفاؤها من كل زيادة؟

ان هذه الصعوبة التي لم يستطع المشروع تذليلها في الماضي ستجد الحل المناسب لها سنة 1952 في قانون الضريبة التصاعدية على الأملاك المبنية. إذ ان هذا القانون سيعفي حتماً من الضريبة، الأملاك التي لا يتجاوز مدخلها السنوي ألف ليرة لبنانية، فيحصل من جراء ذلك للملاك الصغير ربح 12% من قيمة بدلات الإيجار التي يقبضها كما لو أعطي له 12% على إيجار سنة 1951.

ونصل الآن إلى النقطة الثانية من الموضوع وهي تخفيض الإيجارات الجديدة اللاحقة لسنة 1947 أو على الأقل الإيجارات المعقودة خلال سنتي 1949 و1950.

ان مبدأ التخفيض قد رفضته لجنة الإدارة والعدلية بالأكثرية الأصوات فعسى ان يقره المجلس بأكثرية ساحقة لأن في ذلك عدالة يجب تحقيقها.

فالعقود اللاحقة لسنة 1948 لم تكن كما يقول البعض، وليدة حرية التعاقد التي يجب على المشروع احترامها، بل جاءت في أكثر الحالات متأثرة بأزمة الإيجارات التي لا تزال قائمة إلى حد بعيد، وهذه الأزمة نفسها هي التي تحملنا على تمديد عقود الإيجار كافة.

أما الأزمة فلها سببان: قلة وجود الأماكن وشجع المؤجرين. فإذا كان السبب الأول قد زال تقريباً فالسبب الثاني باق على حدته وبه لا تزال الأزمة قائمة. إذاً ماذا ينفع المستأجر إذا كان يرى عدداً كبيراً من الأماكن الشاغرة لكنه لا يستطيع الحصول على واحد منها لأن المالك يطلب عنها بدلاً فاحشاً.

ورب معترض يقول: لماذا تحددون بدلات الإيجار عندما تعطى عشرة أو اثنين عشر بالمئة ولا تحددون معدل الفائدة الذي يصل إلى 15 أو 17 بالمئة مع وجود تأمين في أكثر الأحيان؟ ولماذا لا تدخلون إلا في قضية الإيجارات فبينما تترك المواد الغذائية الأولية، كالخبز واللحم وما شاكل دون أي تدخل أو حماية؟

ان الجواب على الشق الثاني من السؤال هو في غاية السهولة. وهو ان عدم تدخل المشتري في كافة نواحي الحياة لا يمنع على المستأجرين وهم الأكثرية الساحقة من الشعب، الاستفادة من حماية وعدالة جزئيتين.

أما المقابلة بين معدل الفائدة وريع العقارات فلا محل لها لأن القاعدة الرأهنة في كافة الأزمنة والبلدان هي ان يوازي مدخول بدل الإيجار نصف أو ثلثي مدخول القرض بفائدة خصوصاً إذا كان بدون تأمين.

وهكذا نجد انه إذا خفضنا بدلات إيجار سنتي 1949 و 1950 و 1951 التي هي غالباً بنسبة 12 و 14 و 15 بالمئة من ثمن العقار نصل إلى نتيجة أكثر من معقولة بالنسبة إلى معدلات فوائد القروض.

غير ان مبدأ التخفيض الذي نقول به يحتمل استثناءين:

الأول يتعلق بالعقود التي تتجاوز الثلاثة آلاف ليرة لأنها تعود على وجه العموم إلى المستأجرين الأغنياء الذين لا حاجة، لهم في حماية الشارع، والثاني يتعلق بالمنازل الفخمة les Immeubles de luxe مهما يكن بدل إيجارها وذلك للأسباب التي ورد عليها الكلام فيما سبق.

أما معدل التخفيض فأرى ان يحدد بعشرين بالمائة لا بخمسين كما يطالب به المستأجرون.

وهنا لا بد من معترضين يقولون: ان تخفيض الإيجارات الجديدة من شأنه ان يحد من نشاط صناعة البناء. فإلى هؤلاء نقول ان هذه الصناعة لا يجب ان تشجع في سنة 1952 كما كان يحصل في السنين السابقة لأنه إذا عدنا بالذاكرة إلى الفترة الواقعة بين سنة 1933 و 1940 نجد ان عدداً كبيراً من الملاكين كانوا يرهنون عقارهم لإكمال بنائه ثم يتأخرون عن الدفع نظراً لانخفاض بدلات الإيجار، فيباع ذلك العقار بالمزاد العلني بثمن بخس ويبقى صاحبه في كثير من الأحيان ملزماً بقسم من الدين.

واني أرى اليوم ان الوقت قد حان للتخفيف من نشاط صناعة البناء حتى لا تصل الأملاك إلى الحالة المؤسفة التي كانت عليها قبل الحرب. فإذا كان تخفيض بدلات الإيجار يعمل على هذا التخفيف فلنسرع إلى إقراره لأننا بذلك نصيب الهدف مرتين.

بقي علي إيضاح أخير لتحاشي كثير من المناقشات بين ذوي العلاقة ان لزيادات والتخفيضات القانونية لا يجب ان تضاف إلى الزيادات أو التخفيضات التي قد تكون حصلت بالتراضي بين المؤجر والمستأجر فإذا كان هناك مستأجر سابق لسنة 1940 قد رضي بأن يدفع إلى مؤجره بدلاً يعادل أو يفوق المعدل القانوني الجديد فلا يجوز ان تطاله الزيادة القانونية المقترحة وهكذا قل عن المؤجر الذي رضي قبل صدور القانون بتخفيض بدله إلى مستوى المعدل القانوني أو إلى أقل منه.

هذه هي مقترحاتي بصدد مشكلة الإيجارات لسنة 1952، ولا ادعي أنه لن يطالها النقد، لكن ما يجب ملاحظته هو ان كل قانون يتعلق بالإيجارات سيكون ناقصاً وعرضة للانتقاد من هذه الفئة أو من فئات الشعب ولذلك أرى انني، بعد دراسة اعتبرها وجدانية ووضعية قد توصلت إلى مقترحات تحتوي على أقل ما يمكن من العيوب.

وسأعرضها لحضراتكم بالتتابع لدى الاقتراع على كل مادة من مواد مشروع القانون.

Appendix 8.8

Joseph Chader – 8 May 1952

Speech by Joseph Chader during the discussion of the policies in the ministerial statement of the Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 10th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 8 May 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

أما وقد أراد دولة رئيس الحكومة أن يكون هذا اليوم يوم حساب، فليكن له ما أراد، وليسمح لي أن أردد على مسامعه بعض ما يتظلم منه الشعب، وقد عمت الشكوى جميع طبقاته ما عدا ذلك النفر من المستغلين والانتهازيين.

ومما يتظلم الشعب ويشكو؟

لو أردت لمأسية تعداداً لضاق بي المجال، لذلك سأحصر كلامي في ناحيتين هامتين هما الحكم والإدارة تاركاً لرفيقي الأستاذ جان سكاف ولغيرنا من الزملاء مجال الكلام في غيرها من النواحي.

1 - مساوئ الحكم

يشكو الشعب أولاً من فقدان هيبة الحكم، فالقانون لا يطبق غالباً إلا على الضعفاء. أما أولئك المحظوظون، أولئك «الأزلام» الناعمون بالحمايات العالية فالإدارة والقضاء لا يبالونهم في كثير من الحالات مهما عبثوا بحرمان القوانين والأنظمة.

ودولة رئيس الوزراء، عندما كان في صفوف ممثلي الشعب، ألم يكن يشكو من العلة نفسها؟

واليوم، أفلا يعلم دولته أن الأسلحة التي يلقي عليها القبض، يمكن إعادتها لأصحابها بمجرد «ضربة تلفون» وإن بعض المحاضر تنظم ثم تمزق، وإن بعض رجال الأمن يهانون دون أن يعاقب المعتدون ودون أن يستطيع المعتدى عليهم إقامة الشكوى خوفاً على وظيفتهم.

أستطيع دولته أن ينكر أن عدداً كبيراً من نوادي القمار والمحاشش وبيوت الدعارة، تعمل وتستثمر تحت أنف رجال قوى الأمن لأن هذه الأماكن واقعة تحت حماية بعض المتنفذين؟

ومن يجهل «الخوة»، هذه البدعة الطريفة في عالم الضرائب، التي تجعل من بعض الأرصفة والشوارع والساحات مناطق نفوذ وأماكن تجارة لبعض المحميين؟

وماذا نقول عن تلك الاحتكارات، التي يهدد أصحابها بقوة السلاح كل من حدثته نفسه بمزاحمتهم في عمليات نقل البضائع والأشخاص؟

إن ضعف السلطة الحاكمة وفقدان هيبة الحكم قد ساعدا على طغيان موجة الإجرام التي أصبحت ضحاياها لا تحصى، وأصبحت أنواعها ووسائلها لا يطاقها حصر، حتى أننا سمعنا في الآونة الأخيرة باختطاف أحد رجال الدرك...

أما إطلاق النار في بعض المناسبات فلم تتمكن السلطات من منعه، وقد كانت إحدى ضواحي العاصمة مؤخراً مسرحاً لأحد هذه المهرجانات الحربية، وإذا بالحكومة تصدر بلاغاً تقول فيه إن التحقيق الذي جرى قد أثبت أن النيران التي أطلقت لم تكن سوى أسهم نارية...

إن هذا البلاغ قد خطا بنا من لغة «لم سمعنا ولم قشعنا» إلى لغة أكثر بلاغة في الترميز.

ويشكو الشعب ثانياً من الارتجال في الحكم ومن عدم وجود برنامج للعمل الحكومي ومن سوء استعمال وقت الحاكمين، الذي كثيراً ما يهدر في استقبال المحاسيب والأزلام أو في بحث القضايا الثانوية التي يمكن تصريفها بواسطة المرؤوسين.

وأخيراً إن الشعب يشكو من الذهنية السائدة لدى معظم رجال الحكم، القاضية بتقديم المصالح الخاصة على المصلحة العامة وبالضعف تجاه جماعة المتنفذين المستغلين وبلفلفة المسائل وتسويتها، تمشياً على سياسة الإرضاء والاسترضاء بدلاً من تطبيق القانون في كل مناسبة، هذه المساوئ قد أدت إلى كثير من الحالات المؤسفة منها على عهد الحكومة الحاضرة إضراب عمال سكة الحديد وإضراب عمال وعاملات التلفون.

فالحادث الأول كان بإمكان الحكومة تلافيه لو أنها اهتمت للأمر في حينه،

أما الحادث الثاني، فمسؤولية الحكومة فيه أشد وأخطر، لقد نثرت الوعود على عمال وعاملات مصلحة التلفون دون تحقيق إلى أن عيل صبر هؤلاء، فكان أن وقع الإضراب وكان ان عمدت الحكومة إلى القسوة في القمع، فاطلقت العيارات النارية وسالت دماء أولئك الشباب والشابات المطالبين بحقوقهم وفي اليوم التالي طرد منهم عدد كبير.

ليت أن هذه القسوة تطبق على المجرمين وحاملي الأسلحة ومستثمري بيوت القمار وغيرهم من المستحقين، أما أن تقتصر على عمال وعاملات آمنين يطالبون بأجر عادل ونظام معقول، فهذا هو المنطق المعكوس السائد في الحكم.

وفي هذا الحادث تعدت قسوة الشرطة جماعة المضربين إلى بعض الغرباء فكان من بين الضحايا بعض الصحفيين أهينوا وضربوا وسيقوا إلى المخفر كالمجرمين وقطاع الطرق.

إن الشرطة يا دولة رئيس الوزراء وزير الداخلية لا تليق ببلد راق كلبان ومسؤولية هذا الخلل تقع بالدرجة الأولى لا على الشرطيين أنفسهم بل على الحكومات وعلى حكومتك أنت، التي لم تعمل شيئاً لإصلاح هذه الحال.

2 - مساوئ الإدارة

وبعد مساوئ الحكم انتقل إلى مساوئ الإدارة.

لكن بماذا أبتدئ وأين أنتهي، لأن شكوى الشعب هنا بلغت حدّها الأقصى.

فالمعاملات كثيراً ما تنام في الدوائر ولا تستفيق غالباً إلا تحت تأثير ذلك «الكافور السحري» الذي يغني التلميح عنه عن التصريح به. أيجهل دولة رئيس الوزراء أن هناك عدداً كبيراً من الموظفين يحصلون ضعفي أو ثلاثة أضعاف مرتباتهم، وإن بعضهم يعيش عيشة الأثرياء والبعض الآخر قد أقام الدور الشاهقة، بالرغم من أن ليس لهم من مورد ظاهر سوى رواتبهم الضئيلة؟

أيجهل دولته أن في الدوائر والبلديات اختلاسات وتطبيقات ومخالفات وإن ما يسمونه تفتيشاً كثيراً ما لا يحصل وإذا حصل يبقى بلا جدوى.

أنا أعلم أن التفتيش قد تناول أكثر من مئة بلدية على أثر الاتهامات التي وجهت إليها من بعض النواب ومنهم أنا، فما هي التدابير التي اتخذتها وزارة الداخلية، وما هي العقوبات التي أنزلتها بحق المخالفين؟

أما الحديث عن بلدية بيروت الممتازة، فهو حديث ذو شجون.

تفضل يا دولة الرئيس، وقم بزيارة صباحية إلى المسلخ وضواحيه، ثم مر بشوارع العاصمة ما بين المعرض وساحة الشهداء، وبعدها عرّج على بعض شوارع أخرى لا أسميها، ثم قل لنا إذا استطعت المسير دون أن تسد أنفك بمحرمة.

ماذا عملت بصفتك وزير الداخلية، وأنت أحد نواب بيروت، لكي تضع قليلاً من النظافة والترتيب في هذه الأماكن؟

ولماذا لم ترسل مفتشيك إلى دوائر بلدية بيروت وأنت تعلم أنها لم تنعم بزيارتهم منذ سنين؟

لماذا لم تنظفها من جماعة الطفيليين والمختلسين الذين بات أمرهم مشهوراً، ولماذا لم تستعمل القسوة تجاه أولئك الذين لا يستوفون الرسوم من عدد كبير من المكلفين الناعمين بالحماية؟

إن مئات الألوف من الليرات التي خسرتها العاصمة من جراء ذلك في مدة توليك الحكم، كان بالإمكان أن تستعمل لأعمال هامة ومستعجلة يطالب بها النخبون البيروتيون بأعلى صوتهم.

وهناك علة أخرى باتت أشد خطراً على الجسم الإداري مما سبق من علل. تلك علة الموظفين السياسيين الذين جعلوا أنفسهم «أزلاماً» لهذا أو ذاك من المتنفذين، لا لغاية إلا للحصول على

الترقية، أو للاحتماء ضد سلطة القانون عندما يرتكبون المخالفات. هؤلاء الموظفون باتوا يخضعون لحمايتهم أكثر منهم لرؤسائهم، حتى أنهم لا يتورعون عن عرقلة سير العمل في مصالحهم إذا طلب إليهم ذلك.

فبدلاً من تنظيف الدوائر من هذه الفئة المضرة من الموظفين ومن غيرهم من الطفيليين، فوجئنا بتعيينات جديدة من هذا النوع.

ألا تعلم، يا دولة الرئيس، إن الطريقة التي حصلت بها التشكيلات الأخيرة، وهي مخالفة للقوانين المعمول بها، وإنها ضربة معول في أساس التنظيم الإداري الصحيح؟

هذه هي، أيها السادة، بعد المساوى التي ينتقد بها الشعب حكومته.

نعم لا ننكر أن هذه المساوى متأصلة منذ زمن بعيد، وأن في الدوائر والبلديات بعض العناصر الممتازة وأن الحكومة الحاضرة أتت ببعض الأعمال، وإنه يلزم وقت طويل للقيام بكل ما يقتضي من إصلاح. لكن هذا لا يمنع أن الحكومة الحاضرة لم تعمل عملاً جوهرياً لإصلاح الحال وإنها بدلاً من أن تغالب التيار، سارت معه، وفي بعض الأحيان عملت على تقويته.

لذلك راح الشعب وبعض نوابه كما راح الحزب الذي انتمى إليه يتساءلون، هل بإمكان هذه الحكومة أن تقوم بالإصلاح الذي وعدت به في بيانها الوزاري والذي انتظره الناس منها؟

هل بإمكانها أن تضع منهاجاً وتنفذه، وأن تغير الذهنية السائدة وأساليب العمل المتبعة وأن تقضي على الحزبية في نفوس بعض الموظفين ورجال قوى الأمن وأن تطبق القانون على الجميع بحزم وعدالة؟

هل بإمكانها أن تقضي على المساوى والعلل الطاغية على دوائر الدولة والبلديات، وأن تضرب بالسوط على رأس كل من يسيء التصرف مهما كانت حمايته عالية؟

وهل بإمكانها أن تفلح في الحقول الأخرى منها الاقتصاد والقضاء وغيرهما، فتعيد إلى الحكم هيئته المفقودة، وتعيد إلى هذا الشعب الثقة والأمل اللذين كاد يفقدهما في هذه الحكومة وفي كل حكومة تتألف على الوجه الذي اعتدنا أن نراه منذ زمن في تأليف الحكومات؟

بكل أسف نرى ونعلن من جهتنا أن الحكومة الحاضرة قد أخفقت وستخفق في مهمتها، بالرغم من إعجابنا الصادق بالبعض من أفرادها.

Appendix 8.9

Joseph Chader – 9 October 1952

Speech by Joseph Chader during the discussion on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Khaled Chehab before casting a vote of confidence.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 4th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 9 October 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، أيها السادة،

ها نحن أمام أول حكومة تألفت بعد الحوادث الأخيرة، وهي تمثل أماننا طالبة منحها الثقة وسلطة التشريع في بعض الأمور.

فهل يقتضي علينا إجابتها إلى ما تطلب؟.

لقد كانت الجبهة الشعبية، المؤلفة من الكتائب والهيئة الوطنية والمؤتمر الوطني في جملة الذين قالوا بتأليف حكومة من خارج المجلس لإجراء الإصلاح والتطهير المطالب بهما من الشعب، بواسطة المراسيم الاشتراعية، فلا بد لنا إذن من أن نسلم مبدئياً بمطلب الحكومة كما أننا سمنحها الثقة على هذا الأساس نظراً للصفات التي يتحلّى بها أعضاؤها وللبرنامج الذي تضمنه بيانها الوزاري.

غير أن لنا بهذا الشأن ملاحظتين أساسيتين:

الملاحظة الأولى هي أن البرامج وحدها لا تكفي بل يجب أن يتبعها عمل وتنفيذ.

وكم كنا نتمنى لو أن الحكومة الحاضرة بدأت عملها الإصلاح والتطهيري منذ أول يوم اسندت فيه إليها مهام الحكم عن طريق القرارات الوزارية وقرارات مجلس الوزراء. ولو فعلت لكانت حصلت على ثقة الشعب قبل أن تحصل على ثقة النواب.

والملاحظة الثانية هي أن البرامج لا تفيد شيئاً إن لم يرافقها ذهنية صحيحة وأساليب صالحة في العمل. والانقلاب الذي بدأه الشعب في هذه الناحية يجب أن تتممه الحكومة.

فالذهنية التي يجب أن تعود نفوس الحكام (والنواب أيضاً) هي ذهنية رجال الدولة ذوي النظر البعيد الثاقب الذين لا يحلون مشكلة إلا على ضوء المصلحة العامة والذين يؤمنون إيماناً صادقاً بقدسية الحريات العامة وقدسية القوانين والأنظمة التي يجب أن تطبق على جميع

الناس دون استثناء حتى على الأهل والأخصاء، وعلى جميع القضايا الكبيرة والصغيرة ابتداء من أنظمة الصيد والسير كما أعلنه حضرة رئيس الجمهورية.

فمن الآن وصاعداً لا محل للتراخي والحزبية والمحسوبية واللفافات وسياسة الإرضاء والإسترضاء.

كما أنه يجب بنوع خاص تطبيق القانون بشدة على الأحزاب المنحلة التي تبدي في هذه الأيام نشاطاً معادياً للوطن والكيان متلقية التعليمات والإعانات من الخارج.

هذا من حيث ذهنية الحاكمين وتطبيق القانون.

أما من حيث أساليب العمل فالحاجة ماسة إلى قلب هذه الأساليب رأساً إلى عقب، وجعلها تتصف بالدقة والرصانة والمعرفة الفنية بمبدأ تفضيل الأهم على المهم.

فالحفلات والاستقبالات يجب أن تختصر إلى حدها الأدنى ليتمكن المسؤولون من الإهتمام بالقضايا الهامة مستعينين بأراء الفنيين الاختصاصيين كلما كان الأمر يتعلق بمسألة يعود حلها إلى ذوي الاختصاص.

أما فيما يتعلق بالبرنامج الذي يؤدي تطبيقه إلى إدخال الإصلاح لا سيما في الاقتصاد والقضاء والإدارة، فإن الواجب يقضي علينا بأن نكمل برنامج الحكومة ببرنامج الكتائب المفصل الذي سنرفعه إلى الحكومة بصورة رسمية والذي سنتبناه بلا ريب.

لقد وضع هذا البرنامج بعد تفهم خصائص الوضع اللبناني الحاضرة تفهماً علمياً وبعد تحليل علل هذا الوضع وعلة هذه العلل إلا وهي فقر الاكثرية الساحقة من اللبنانيين العاطلين من العمل والعمال والفلاحين وصغار الموظفين والمستخدمين واكثرية أصحاب الحرف والمهن الحرة.

إن حالة الفقر هذه مع كل ما يتبعها من جهل وقذارة ومرض وعيوب أخلاقية أهمها (الخمول والخنوع والخوف والرزيلة) هي دون شك علة العلل في الوضع اللبناني الحالي، المبني عليه الاقطاعية والاتجار بالطائفية والراسمالية المستغلة فالعمل الإصلاحية الأساسي الصحيح، المجدي، هو إذاً الذي يقضي أولاً على الفقر.

وإن أفضل وسيلة القضاء على الفقر هي التي تؤمن زيادة الانتاج والدخل القومي وأن الطريقة المثلى لتأمين هذه الزيادة هي طريقة التصميم الشامل المبني على دروس واحصاءات جديدة.

ولا بد من أن يشمل هذا التصميم جميع العوامل التي تتضافر لتكوين حماية الأمة. وهي أربعة:

- العامل الانساني والأهم فيه التربية على أنواعها.
- والعامل الطبيعي وأهمه عندنا المياه.
- والعامل القانوني، أي المتعلق بالتنظيمات.
- والعامل الفني أي التكنيكي.

وبتطبيق هذا التصميم سنة بعد سنة يمكننا تحسين حالة الفرد اللبناني تدريجياً من الوجهتين المادية والمعنوية وإجراء الإصلاحات الاجتماعية الأخرى التي ترمي إلى جعل الشعب اللبناني من أرقى شعوب العالم، كيف لا ومؤهلات هذا الشعب وموارده العديدة تعدّه لبناء مجتمع أمثل.

وهكذا ترى أن مهمة الحاكم هي جسيمة وصعبة. فالإصلاحات التي يجب إدخالها على الأوضاع والذهنية والأساليب هي في درجة من العمق بحيث يمكن تسمية العمل الإصلاحي المنشود، « عملاً ثورياً ».

إن الاستقامة والكفاءة والجرأة التي يتحلّى بها رئيس وأعضاء الحكومة الحاضرة تسمح لنا بأن نتأمل لهم قسطاً كبيراً من النجاح في مهمتهم.

وغني عن القول أن الجرأة هي ما يلزمهم بنوع خاص في الظروف الحاضرة. كما أن وضعيتهم كوزراء من خارج المجلس تؤهلهم أكثر من سواهم ليعملوا بحزم وشدة.

ولكي يتيسر لهم العمل بسرعة سمنحهم سلطة التشريع موضحين أنه فيما يتعلق بقانون الانتخاب يجب تصغير الدائرة إلى مرشحين أو ثلاثة على الأكثر ريثما يتسنى اعتماد الدائرة الفردية.

وأخيراً لا بد لنا من القول أننا سنواصل منح الحكومة الثقة ومساعدتها في مهمتها طالما هي مستمرة على القيام بالعمل الإصلاحي المرجو منها.

أما إذا ضعفت لا سمح الله أو تباطأت أو خرجت عن الطريق السوي، فأنا سنحاربها بكل قوانا.

وخلاصة القول إننا نريد حكومة تحكم بحزم وعدل وتكمل الانقلاب الذي بدأه الشعب وذلك بأن تحقق بأسرع ما يمكن التطهير والإصلاح المنتظرين بذهنية وأساليب جديدة.

هذا هو رجاءنا الحار ورجاء كل اللبنانيين المخلصين من غير فئات المستفيدين والمستثمرين.

Appendix 8.10

Joseph Chader - 20 November 1952

A statement by Joseph Chader concerning the Legislative Election Laws during a general discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 20 November 1952.

الرئيس - الكلمة للسيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - أريد أن أبحث النقطة الدستورية التي تهمنا من جهة المبدأ والقانون. فمن جهة الشكل لا يجوز للنواب مناقشة الحكومة في مواضيع أعطوها على أساسها سلطة استصدار مراسيم اشتراعية أما بما يتعلق بالأساس فنحن مع الحكومة ونهنتها بهذا العمل الجريء باستصدار المرسوم رقم 6 الذي وضع حداً للفوضى والتزمر فما زال الشعب والكتائب يتذمران ويطلبان الإصلاح. فنحن نشكر الحكومة ونطلب منها أن تعتبر هذا العمل مرحلة أولى. ولكن المرسوم ناقص من بعض النواحي.

- 1 - كنت أتمنى لو أن قانون الانتخاب الجديد قضى بإلغاء الطائفية.
- 2 - يجب أن تعطى المرأة حقوقها كاملة.
- 3 - أن يجعل سن الناخب 18 سنة بدلاً من 21 سنة ما دام سن الرشد في لبنان هو 18.
- 4 - يجب أن تؤمن سرية الاقتراع.
- 5 - أن يحدد القانون نفقات المرشح.
- 6 - أن لا ينتخب إلا من يكون حاملاً بطاقة انتخابية.
- 7 - أن يعطى لهيئة قضائية حق البت بالاعتراضات التي تقدم قبل وبأثناء الانتخاب.

نرجو من الحكومة أن تتدارك هذه النواقص عن طريق إصدار مرسوم اشتراعي لاحق.

Appendix 8.11

Joseph Chader – 18 December 1952

Proposal by Joseph Chader and his colleagues to abolish the system of religious denomination in Lebanon during a Legislative Meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1952): 16th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 18 December 1952.

الاقتراح المتعلق بإلغاء الطائفية والمقدم من السادة: جوزف شادر، جان سكاف، ألبير الحاج.

فتلا الكاتب الاقتراح التالي:

اقتراح

نقترح بمناسبة بحث الاقتراحات المتعلقة بإلغاء الطائفية توصية الحكومة أن تعمل ليس فقط إلغائها من قانون الانتخابات بل إلى إقرار قانون مدني واحد لسائر اللبنانيين على اختلاف طوائفهم وإلغاء قوانين الأحوال الشخصية والمحاكم الشرعية والمذهبية لكل الطوائف.

جوزف شادر جان سكاف. ألبير الحاج

Appendix 8.12

Joseph Chader – 12 May 1953

Speech by Joseph Chader during the Deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Saeb Salam's Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1953): 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 7th Parliament held on 12 May 1953.

جوزف شادر - سيدي الرئيس، ايها السادة،

ان الثقة الحقيقية التي تنالها الحكومة- أي حكومة- هي تلك التي تأتي اليها عفواً بفضل موافقها الحازمة، وتجردها في ممارسة الحكم واعمالها المتواصلة في سبيل المصلحة العامة.

اما الاقتراع على الثقة فقد اصبح في نظر الشعب مجرد معاملة شكلية يقوم بها النواب تطبيقاً لاحكام الدستور.

اذن ان اول المهام الواقة امام وجه الحكومة الجديدة، هي اعادة الثقة الى نفوس الشعب ليمنحها الشعب بدوره ثقته الحقيقية.

ومن كل قلبي اتمنى لهذه الحكومة النجاح في مهمتها الصعبة، معلناً اني والحزب الذي انتمي اليه سنؤازرها بما في الوسع، لاننا اعتبرنا في الماضي ونعتبر اليوم مهمتنا تعاوناً مخلصاً شريفاً مع كل حكومة ترغب في خدمة البلاد وتدل بشائرها على انها خليفة بهذه الخدمة.

ولكي استعرض معكم شروط النجاح، اسمحوا لي ان اتكلم بلسان من يسمونه "رجل الشارع" والذي هو ذلك اللبناني المقيم الذي يشتغل يومه ليعيش غده باطمئنان. وذلك اللبناني المغترب الذي يراقب من اقاصي هجرته احوال بلاده الام بشيء من الشغف وكثير من القلق.

ان رجل الشارع هذا ينتظر من الحكومة الجديدة عملاً يكون من الاهمية بحيث يستطيع ان يسميه عملاً "تورياً".

ينتظر منها في بادئ الامر ان تثبت وجودها كحكومة حازمة في المدن والقرى والساكن فتضع حداً لسياسة الضعف والاسترسال والدلع والفوضى. فتعيد للشرطي والدركي ورجال الامن مهامتهم بعد ان تكون قد اصلحت ما في داخل البيت أي بعد ان تكون اعادت النظر في تربية هؤلاء وعلمتهم ان يعرفوا واجباتهم قبل ان يمارسوا حقوقهم.

ينتظر منها، تطبيق القوانين والانظمة على الجميع ولا سيما القوانين المتعلقة بالاثراء غير المشروع والاحزاب المنحلة وبيوت القمار والنوادي السرية وما شابهها.

ينتظر ان يرى الشرطي والدركي يقومان بواجباتهم بأدب وحزم وينظمان المحاضر بحق كل من يخالف انظمة السير، او يحمل سلاحاً ممنوعاً، او يطلق النار في الفضاء ينظماتها بحق كل من يتعاطى التهريب او الصيد بالديناميت او الشحاذة للمتاجرة. بحق الذين يرمون الاقذار في الشوارع او يملأون الارصفة ببسطات غير مرخص بها، او يتعلقون بحافلات الترام او يبيعون الخبز بأسعار مرتفعة، بحق اصحاب المطاعم والصيديات والملاحم والافران وصالونات الحلاقة الذين لا يتقيدون بأبسط قواعد النظافة والوقاية الصحية.

ان رجل الشارع يريد بدرجة ثانية ان يرى في مقاعد الحكم رجال دولة لا رجال سياسة. رجال يؤمنون بأن عليهم رسالة نبيلة قائمة بالاحترام المطلق لاستقلال لبنان وسيادته وللحريات العامة خاصة حرية الانتخاب، رجالاً لا يتوخون من اعمالهم الكبيرة والصغيرة سوى المصلحة العامة، نابذين المصالح الشخصية والوساطة والسياسات الحقيرة والنكيات، ومنصرفين الى اعمالهم بجد ودقة وجراة وإخلاص.

وبهذه المناسبة نطلب من الحكومة ان تقوم بتحقيق دقيق حول التهمة الخطيرة التي وجهها احد المرشحين عند انسحابه من الانتخاب الفرعي في كسروان حتى اذا كانت التهمة صحيحة نال المتهمون العقوبة التي يستحقونها.

ويريد رجل الشارع ادارة وقضاء خليقين بهذا الاسم.

وليس الامر محالاً اذا عمد الحاكمون الى تطبيق الوسائل المؤدية الى ذلك بارادة حسنة.

واليكم احدى هذه الوسائل:

يبعث كل وزير بمذكرة الى موظفي وزارته يطلب فيها اليهم ان يتقدموا بشكاويهم خطياً في مهلة ثلاثة ايام.

ثم تعرض هذه الشكاوي على الرؤساء بالتسلسل ليعطوا فيها رأيهم بتجرد مع تهديد المتحيزين او المتحاملين منهم بالعقوبات التأديبية.

وبالوقت نفسه يبعث الوزير بتنبيه يبلغه رسمياً الى كل موظف يمنع فيه الوساطات منعاً باتاً وعلى الوزير ان يطبق فعلاً العقوبات التأديبية بحق المخالفين ثم ان ينكب بجد واهتمام على دراسة ملف كل موظف وعلى الاستعلام عن حقيقة وضعه بشتى الوسائل، فينصف المغبونين ويوصل كل صاحب حق حقه.

وعليه ايضاً بنوع خاص ان يظهر ادارته من العناصر الفاسدة والعديمة الكفاءة وان يضع حدا لبعض الحالات الشاذة التي فاحت روائعها بالامس. وللقيام بهذا العمل يقتضي ان يضع مجلس الوزراء بعد الدرس الدقيق قواعد معينة يصار الى تطبيقها حرفياً دون أي استثناء. وهكذا متى تم تدبير حال الموظفين يعمد الوزير الى اعادة النظر في تنظيم وزارته واقترح التغييرات التي يراها ضرورية. وعليه اخيراً ان يعيد النظر في كافة الانظمة والتعاميم المعمول بها في وزارته بغية تسهيلها وجمعها. اما من حيث الفضاء فعلى وزير العدل بعد

ان يقوم باجراء التطهير الضروري، ان يعمل كل ما في الوسع للوصول الى غايتين رئيسيتين:

تأمين العدالة على الوجه الاكثر كمالات بأقل ما يمكن من الوقت والنفقات والقضاء على موجة الاجرام وسوء النية وروح المشاحنة والشائعات.

ومن اجل ذلك يقتضي ادخال كثير من الاصلاحات على القوانين المعمول بها لا سيما المتعلقة بأصول المحاكمات والتنفيذ والتنظيم القضائي فضلاً عن التعديلات اللازمة في عدد القضاة وشخصياتهم.

الى جانب هذه الاصلاحات يريد رجل الشارع ان يرى المسؤولين يعترفون بوجود ازمة اقتصادية واجتماعية حادة هي التي تستثير صراخ اهالي بيروت وطرابلس وصيدا، ويعمدون جدياً الى التفتيش عن افضل الحلول للخلاص منها.

لقد سئم رجل الشارع الحلول المرتجلة والناقصة واصبح يعلم ان الازمة الطاغية لا تحل الا بمقتضى تصاميم شاملة توضع بعد درس المشاكل بمختلف معطياتها من قبل اختصاصيين فنيين وبحسب منهج عام موحد.

وعندما تؤخذ المقررات يجب السهر على تنفيذها ايضاً بواسطة الخبراء والاختصاصيين تلافياً للخطأ ولا سيما عندما يكون المقصود بتلك المقررات مشاريع عامة كبرى تكلف عشرات الملايين من الليرات كمشاريع الماء والكهرباء.

وان وجب التنبيه الى شيء فالى ناحية هامة من العمل اليومي هي التفتيش. فالتفتيش يجب ان يتقوى مادياً ومعنوياً وذلك باعطاء امتيازات خاصة للمفتشين سواء من حيث توسيع صلاحياتهم او من حيث تحسين حالتهم المادية اسوة بالقضاة.

ان المفتش هو من اهم دعائم صرحي الادارة والقضاء فهو لهما كما ضابط الجيش للامن الخارجي ومفوض الشرطة او ضابط الدرك للامن الداخلي، بل هو اكثر من ذلك لان عليه ان يفتش قوى الامن نفسها.

هذه هي اهم نقاط البرنامج الذي يصبو الى تحقيقه رجل الشارع. ولا ريب ان بعضها وارد في البيان الوزاري. فاذا حققت الحكومة هذه النقاط كان لها ان تتال باستمرار ثقة جميع النواب الموالين والمعارضين وان تنعم بثقة الشعب الذي لن يرضن عليها عندئذ بكل مساعدة لا سيما تلك التي تأتي على مهاجريننا عندما يوظفون رساميلهم الضخمة في ارض الوطن، اما اذا تنكرت الحكومة لهذه الاعمال -لا سمح الله- فاني سأسحب بلا شك الثقة منها وهي ثقة الحزب الذي امثله وبالوقت نفسه ثقة من اسميناه رجل الشارع والذي ما هو غير الشعب اللبناني المقيم والمغترب.

Appendix 8.13

Joseph Chader – 3 September 1953

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1953): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 3 September 1953.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس، أيها السادة:

نواجه اليوم أول حكومة لأول مجلس نيابي، يأتي بعد الحدث المعروف بالانقلاب.

فالمفروض في هذه الحكومة ان تطلب إلينا الثقة على أساس الرغبات الشعبية التي أدت إلى الحدث المذكور وفي مقدمتها التطهير والاصلاح في كافة الحقول.

ولكي نعرف إذا كان بإمكانها تحقيق تلك الرغبات أو على الأقل قسم هام منها، يحسن بنا أن نشير أولاً إلى العلل العميقة التي طالما شكونا وجودها لدى الحكومات السابقة.

وهذا العلل يمكن حصرها بثلاث:

الأولى - ذهنية أكثرية الحاكمين يكونها ذهنية رجال سياسة وحزبية متطرفة لا رجال دولة عصريين. ومن هنا دخول السياسة - هذا المكروب الفتاك - إلى الدوائر والمحاكم وما يتبع ذلك من مساعدات غير قانونية ونكابات وانتقامات، وتعيين محاسيب وضعف هائل تجاه بعض الفئات (كالنواب والعلماء الانتخابيين وبعض النقابات).

والثانية - هي فقدان المنهج الاصلاحى العام لدى تلك الحكومات وفقدان الاستقلال الاداري والمالي لدى أجهزة التنفيذ العائد للمشاريع الانشائية الكبرى.

أما الثالثة فهي فقدان الاساليب العلمية في أعمال الحاكمين، فردية كانت أم مشتركة.

هذه العلل الثلاث، كانت تقصر عمر الحكومات، وبالإضافة إلى الازمة الاقتصادية المتصاعدة أدت إلى تفاقم الحال وحصول المأساة التي نشكو منها اليوم ايما شكوى.

فماذا نقول في حكومتنا الحاضرة؟

مع كل الاحترام الذي نكنه إلى حضرة رئيسها وأعضائها، نرى، أنا والحزب الذي أمثله، (وكم أتمنى لو تكون نظرتنا خاطئة) ان الحكومة المشكلة على هذا الوجه لن تنجح في مهمتها

الصعبة، بالرغم من بعض الأعمال التي حققتها والتي ستحققها ومن البيان الوزاري الرصين الذي تلي علينا ومن رغبة الحكومة الأكيدة في عمل الخير.

وما الأيام التي مرت عليها في الحكم سوى قرينة قوية، ان لم تكن دليلاً قاطعاً، على أنها ليست الحكومة المنتظرة، القادرة على أحداث الثورة المرجو في الأوضاع ولا سيما في الأخلاق والذهنية وأساليب العمل.

وقد كان من شروط نجاحها أن تكون أكثر عدداً وأكثر انسجاماً، وان تقوم منذ يوم تألفها بشتى الأعمال الحازمة التي من شأنها اكسابها ثقة الشعب قبل ثقة النواب.

فلو انها كفت يد بعض الموظفين الذين اساءوا استعمال وظيفتهم أو استغلوا للثراء، على حساب الشعب.

ولو انها أمرت بتفتيش مختلف الدوائر الحكومية والقضائية وعاقبت المخالفين وهم عديدون.

ولو أنها قامت بحملة شديدة لمكافحة الارباح الفاحشة في العاصمة وقرى الاصطياف مع محاكمة المتهمين بسرعة.

ولو انها طبقت القوانين على الجميع دون استثناء ومنعت الحزبية الهوجاء أن تعمل عملها الهدام.

ولو انها اتخذت التدابير المشددة للمحافظة على الامن وعلى أرواح الناس خصوصاً تجاه السائقين.

ولو انها طبقت القانون على الاحزاب المنحلة خصوصاً لمنع الاجتماعات العلنية التي عقدها أحد هذه الاحزاب.

ولو انها حققت قليلاً من النظام والترتيب في مدننا خصوصاً في العاصمة.

ولو انها وضعت طريقة جديدة للعمل لكل وزير ولمجلس الوزراء.

ولو انها فعلت كل هذا أو قسمياً منه، لكانت أعطتنا أحسن بيان وزاري ونالت كما قلنا ثقة الشعب فضلاً عن ثقة النواب.

أما البيان الذي تلاه علينا حضرة رئيس مجلس الوزراء فانه مدروس درساً علمياً وهو دون ريب أفضل بيان وزاري وضع لغاية اليوم في لبنان ونحن جد مسرورين للسياسة الاقتصادية التي رسمها وللمشاريع العمرانية التي تبناها ومنها مشروع الليطاني وهو الجزء الأول من التصميم الشامل للمياه اللبنانية.

فمع اقرارنا بحسنات هذا البيان لا يسعنا إلا أن نأخذ عليه بعض النواقص الهامة المتعلقة بالمشاكل المستعصية التي يئن منها الشعب وفي مقدمتها الامن والعدل والغلاء والازمة الاقتصادية.

فمن جهة الامن لا تعدنا الحكومة بالتطهير المنشود في دوائر قوى الامن ولا سيما العليا منها، وانشاء مدرسة لرجال الشرطة والدرك، واخضاعهم عملياً إلى نظام تأديبي صارم ومن جهة العدل لا تعدنا، إلى جانب التطهير، باستقلال القضاء استقلالاً فعلياً تاماً وبزيادة عدد القضاة وتسهيل قواعد أصول المحاكمات واخضاع رجال العدل من قضاة ومساعين وخبراء ووكلاء تفليسة إلى انضباط حازم.

ومن جهة الغلاء تعدنا الحكومة بتخفيض بعض الرسوم والضرائب وتخفيض بعض الاسعار منها أسعار النقل والسيكارة والادوية ولكن لم تعدنا باتخاذ بعض التدابير الاساسية كتعزيز دائرة حماية المستهلك وتشجيع تعاونيات المستهلكين وإنشاء المساكن الشعبية والتطبيب المجاني.

ومن جهة الازمة الاقتصادية التي كادت تصبح كارثة وطنية لا نرى الحكومة تعطينا كل الحلول الناجعة للقضاء عليها فهي تهمل حماية اليد العاملة والتجارة الوطنية من مزاحمة الاجانب وإيجاد الاسواق الخارجية لمنتجاتنا الزراعية والصناعية وإنشاء بنك مركزي لضبط وتسهيل اعمال الكريدي والتخفيف من السيطرة الأجنبية على هذه الأعمال وبالتالي على اقتصاديات البلاد. وما أزمة الكريدي الحالية إلا دليل واضح على مدى الضرر الذي يمكن أن يلحق بالتجار والصناعيين عندما يكون مصيرهم مربوطاً بالمصارف الأجنبية وعندما لا يكون لدى لبنان بنك مركزي يمول بأموال الخزينة وبودائع الشعب. وهي لا تعد بالاستقلال الاداري والمالي للأجهزة الحكومية التي ستنفذ المشاريع الانشائية الكبرى وهذا الاستقلال هو من شروط نجاح العمل الاساسية.

وأخيراً لا بد لي من الإشارة إلى أن البيان الوزاري لا يتضمن الحلول المناسبة لقضية الادارة والموظفين وهي من أخطر القضايا في لبنان.

فهو لا يعد بالتطهير الجريء اللازم وبزيادة الرواتب، وبتغطية ديون الموظفين العالقين في مخالب المرابين، وبتعزيز هيئات التفتيش باصلاح الاعوجاج الاداري وبانضباط الموظفين كما انه لا يرتئي أي حل لقضية الموظفين الفانضين الذين أصبح وجودهم في الدوائر سبباً لعرقلة الأعمال لا لتسهيلها وسبباً مباشراً لعدم تحسين حالة الموظفين الضروريين فضلاً عن انه كالسرطان ينهش أكثر فأكثر ميزانية الدولة. وفي نظرنا يمكن حل هذه المعضلة على الوجه التالي:

صرف الذين يمكن صرفهم بسهولة كالمطعون في نزاهتهم وكفاءتهم والذين بلغوا السن القانونية والذين لهم من مواردهم الخاصة ما يغنيهم عن الوظيفة. ثم احالة الباقين إلى الاستيداع بنصف راتب لمدة لا تزيد عن الثلاث سنوات يجدون خلالها عملاً آخر بفضل المشاريع الانشائية المنتظرة.

تلك هي مأخذنا على البيان الوزاري وعلى الحكومة الحاضرة. ومعارضتنا لها، كما هو واضح، ليست معارضة سلبية لاننا ندل على الداء والدواء في آن واحد.

وأقصى أمانينا أن تتبنى الحكومة اقتراحاتنا فنكون أول من يشد أزرها لأن غايتنا الأولى والاخيرة هي أن نرى بلادنا بحكومة صالحة أي بحكومة قوية وجريئة تبني لنا دولة عصرية

وتكون قادرة وحدها على حل مختلف الأزمات التي نعانيها والتي باتت تهدد كيان هذا الوطن العزيز.

Appendix 8.14

Joseph Chader – 16 February 1954

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Abdullah El Yafi.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1954): 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 16 February 1954.

جوزف شادر - فرصة سعيدة أتاحها الزميل إميل البستاني لفحص ضميرنا نحن النواب وأنتم الوزراء.

عندما تشكلت هذه الحكومة طلبنا منها وهي وعدتنا بأن تكون حكومة انقلاب، حكومة انطلاق، حكومة لها عقلية الانقلاب، عقلية ثورة، لتحسن الحال وتصلح الحالة التي كانت البلاد تشكو منها. قمرى الأيام ونحن اليوم نفحص الضمير لنحكم لهذا الحكومة أم عليها. وهذا الفحص يجب أن يكون منصفاً للحكومة، وهذا واجب علينا فنقول : أن الحكم عبارة عن قضية امن ، وقضية إدارة ، وعدلية واقتصاد.

فإذا رجعنا إلى هذه الأمور ودققنا فيها فماذا نرى؟ ترى بكل أسف أن الحكومة قد فشلت بالاجمال في مهمتها، فمن جهة كانت البلاد تشكو من تدخلات في الدرك والشرط ومن عدم تنفيذ المذكرات القضائية، والبلاد تشكو من الدعارة السرية وتشكو من نشاط الأحزاب المنحلة وتشكو من قلة هيبة الحكم، ونحن الآن وبعد انقضاء ستة أشهر لا نرى أن الحالة قد تحسنت كثيراً أو قليلاً . فموجة الاجرام بعدها كما كانت، القمار بعده كما كان والتأخير في تنفيذ المذكرات ونشاط الأحزاب المنحلة على حاله.

وإذا صح ما قيل اليوم من أن الاعتداء الذي حصل على قاضي كبير البارحة ناجم عن أحزاب منحلة فنطلب من الحكومة أن تعتبر نفسها كما نعتبرها المسؤولة عن هذا الاعتداء، لأن الأفراد المعتدين كانوا في نشاطهم المستمر ، وكانوا يهيئون هذا الاعتداء والحكومة لم تعمل شيئاً ضدهم. هذا لجهة الأمن، وأضيف عليها قضية واحدة وهي أن هناك أربعين(40) مسجوناً أخذوا تقارير طبية باعتبارهم مجانين ووضعوا في العصفورية وبعضهم يسرح ويمرح وواحد منهم ارتكب جنائية السلب والنهب على طريق عاليه. هذا الحادث فهمته اليوم من فم شخص مسؤول، فالتقارير إذا كاذبة ومنذ ستة أشهر حتى اليوم أسأل الحكومة إذا هي دقت أو حققت مع أحد من هؤلاء الأطباء الذين أعطوا هذه الشهادات بعلم من الحكومة والإدارة. فقد أصبح في أيامنا هذه من السهل البسير أن ننال التقارير الطبية الكاذبة من الأطباء وغير الأطباء والمختير ولا عقوبة واحدة في أحد من المخالفين.

هذا هو النقص في الإدارة فالإدارة اللبنانية مشكلة هي من أهم المشاكل وأصعبها، فماذا فعلتم لحل هذه المشكلة. من هذه المشاكل التأخير الهائل في إجراء معاملات الناس، يأتي صاحب العلاقة ويقدم استدعاء فيقول له الموظف أنت بحاجة إلى نائب يقدم لك الاستدعاء، وأصبحنا عنده كالعناتين أو السماسة لملاحقة معاملات الناس، فلو أن الإدارة كانت حسنة وتؤمن مصالح العباد لما راجعناك وراجعنا الموظفين والمدراء في الدولة. بل كان أصلح أن أخذ هؤلاء حقهم ببدهم دون تأجيل قضية الإدارة هي قضية ملاكات في لبنان وكما ذكر الزملاء فإن الملاكات ضخمة فماذا عملتم لتخفيف هذا العبء عن المكلف اللبناني الذي سيدفع 68 مليون ليرة رواتب للموظفين قولوا ماذا عملتم؟ لقد أبقيت الحالة على ما هي عليه تماماً بل إنكم زدت في بعض الوظائف.

مشكلة الإدارة هي أكثر من قضية تطهير للماضي، هي تحسين للحالة الحاضرة وذلك بواسطة التفتيش. أنا أقول وأجزم انه إذا أعطينا الصلاحيات اللازمة للمفتشين وسمحنا لهم بتفتيش الدوائر وتنظيم التقارير وخاصة أن يعاقب من يجب معاقبته.

أنا متأكد أنه في برهة ثلاثة أشهر يكون عندنا إذ ذاك إدارة أحسن بكثير مما هي عليه اليوم. التفتيش بيانات وتحقيقات أجيبوني عما آلت إليه هذه التحقيقات؟

كنا طلبنا كل ذلك منكم فلم نقل شيئاً من ذلك ونحن نعلم أن العقوبات لم تفرض على المخالفين والمتأخرين عن الدوام الذين يأتون إلى الدوائر في الساعة العاشرة أو الساعة العاشرة والنصف ويخرجون منها في الساعة الواحدة والذين يؤخرون المعاملات في الأدرج. نحن نعلم أن الإدارة ورؤساءها في لبنان لم يطبقوا القانون الموجود بحق هؤلاء. لذلك قلنا إن إدارتنا كانت فاسدة ولا تزال فاسدة لأنه لم يجر التطهير ولم يطبق القانون على الموظفين العديدين منذ ستة أشهر بواسطة التفتيش.

العدلية ماذا نقول فيها؟ بكل إنصاف نحن المحامين نعرف العدلية منذ خمس وعشرين سنة ويمكننا القول أن الحالة في العدلية لا تزال سيئة كما كانت قبل ستة أشهر فالجلسات التي يدعى إليها أصحاب الدعاوي والخبراء والشهود لا تفتح إلا في الساعة العاشرة والعاشرة والنصف والدعوى التي يجب أن تنتهي في ستة أشهر تدون سنة أو سنة نصفاً وهذه المجادلات بين الوزير ومجلس القضاء الأعلى التي ((شرشحت)) القضاء اللبناني لم نر شيئاً مما يتعلق بتحسين حالة العدلية، لا سيما في ضبط الجلسات وتفهم القرارات في أوقاتها. تصوروا انه يعين موعد تفهم قرار بعد شهر أو شهر ونصف وعندما يحين ذلك الموعد يؤجل وعندها تنسرب المخاوف من المداخلات ومن نتائج الحكم.

إذن في الحقل القضائي أيضاً لم نر تحسناً ملموساً مع أنه كان من السهل جداً أن ننظم المحاكم وأعمالها ونجبر القضاة أن يتقيدوا بالجلسات بأوقاتها وأن لا يتأخروا بفصل الدعاوي وذلك بواسطة شئ بسيط هو التفتيش، وأنا أطلب ماذا كانت النتائج للتقارير التي قدمها المفتش العام في العدلية لا تأخذ الأمور نصابها إلا بالشدة وهذه الشدة التي لم تستعملوها هي التي أدت بلبنان إلى هذه النتيجة.

نصل إلى القسم الأخير وهو الاقتصاد. ماذا حققنا فيه منذ ستة أشهر حتى الآن. قبل كل شيء لم يكن لدى وزارة الاقتصاد الوطني سياسة اقتصادية قال الزميل أديب الفرزلي إن سياسة الوزارة فشلت، قلت له لا لم تفشل بل الوزارة هي التي فشلت لأنه لم يكن لديها سياسة اقتصادية مرسومة.

يقولون استناداً للمفاوضات مع سوريا ليس بإمكان وضع هذه السياسة قبل إنهاء هذه المفاوضات. كان علينا أن نضع هذه السياسة كما وضعت سوريا سياستها الاقتصادية منذ زمن بعيد وهي تطبيقها بالرغم من إجراء المفاوضات معنا فلا شيء كان يمنعنا من رسم خطتنا الاقتصادية لنا بانتظار المفاوضات التي ستدور أشهراً وربما سنوات ولا تنتهي إلى شيء، ونحن نخسر الملايين كل شهر لأننا لم نرسم هذه السياسة الاقتصادية بانتظار نتيجة المفاوضات مع سوريا...

ومن جهة الاقتصاد أيضاً يجب أن نعلن بأننا نود أن نقول الحكومة نجحت في بعض المشاريع مثلاً مشروع إعفاء الشركات من الضريبة ومنها بعض المشاريع التي لا تزال قيد الدرس، ولكن ما نأخذه على هذه الحكومة هو عدم وجود منهاج عام تطبقه حسب إمكانيات الخزينة لنعرف ما هي هذه الإمكانيات فنصنع منهاج الاقتصادي الإنشائي وننفذه على مراحل فيأتي وزير الزراعة ببعض المشاريع وكذلك وزير الاقتصاد ولكن هذا عمل جزئي ربما يضر بالمصلحة العامة لأن المشاريع ليست مدروسة بصورة شاملة ولا منسجمة لتأمين الفائدة الهامة للبلاد.

من هذه الجهة يمكن القول أن الحكومة لم تعمل عملاً مفيداً للبلاد والنتيجة التي أريد أن أصل إليها هي أننا نحن النواب لا نريد أن نطلب من الحكومة أن تذهب عن الكراسي لنحل محلها ثم نحن مخلصون مثلكم ولكن ونحن في هذه الأزمة التي يدفع ثمنها الشعب، نريد بالتعاون معكم أن نجد الحلول الملائمة لهذه المؤسفة. إنكم مخلصون وفعلتم ما فعلتم ولا أحد يشك في حسن نواياكم ولكن بصورة إجمالية لا يمكنكم ولا يمكننا أن نقول أنكم نجحتم في مهمتكم ولو عدتم إلى ضمائركم لكنتم معنا ومع هذا الشعب، إذ بالرغم من كل الدروس والاستعدادات الحسنة لا يمكن للحكومة أن تقول أنها نجحت.

إذن تعالوا نبحث في أسباب الفشل – طالما الإخلاص رائدنا جميعاً – لنزيل هذه الأسباب مرة واحدة. تعالوا قبل أن نهدم لبنني بناءً صالحاً، تعالوا لنأتي بحكومة قوية منسجمة حازمة بمقدورها أن تنفذ برنامجاً معيناً ومتفقاً عليه سلفاً وتخلص هذه البلاد من تلك الحالة السيئة.

Appendix 8.15

Joseph Chader – 5 March 1954

Before casting his vote of no-confidence, Joseph Chader delivered a speech and criticized Premier Yafi's way of forming the ensuing governments.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1954): 6th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 5 March 1954.

جوزف شادر

نحن ياسيدي نواب الأمة الذين يمثلون الشعب، نريد أن نكون منطقيين مع أنفسنا في هذه الندوة وأن نقوم بواجبنا الوطني وأن نتساءل هل يمكننا أن نعطي الثقة أم لا .

إذا رجعنا إلى ما قلنا في جلسة 11 شباط سنة 1954 حيث قال هنا ستة عشر نائباً وعارضوا الحكومة وأعمالها ونتيجة هذه الأعمال مما أدى إلى تقديم استقالة الحكومة إلى رئيس البلاد ورفضها وقبولها. إذا رجعنا إلى هذه الاستشارات وتساءلنا كيف انتهت وكانت البلاد تشكو من أزمة وزارية حادة أو بالأحرى من أزمة حكم في البلاد لابد لنا أن نقول أن حل الأزمة لم يكن موفقاً منذ عام 1943 والبلاد تشكو مرضاً في أزمت وزارية كل ستة أشهر ، وهذا المرض في تشكيل الحكومات طالما أن الوزارة تأتي إلى المجلس وبعد ستة أشهر تسقط ويأتي غيرها وتنتال ثقته.

إذا يوجد أزمة حكم في تشكيل الوزارات طالما أن الأزمة تذهب وتأتي كل ستة أشهر. كنا نأمل من حضرة رئيس الحكومة أن يعالج الأمور بصورة صحيحة إلا أنه إزاء بعض الصعوبات تراجع فكانت النتيجة ناقصة.

أسباباً فضل الحكومات السابقة وهذه الأزمات المتكررة وتعود إلى تشكيل الوزارة.

فعدد الوزارات حينما يكون ثلاث عشر هذا عدا عن الرئاسة فلا يمكن لرئيس الوزارة أن يشكل وزارة صحيحة تضم أقل من عشرة وزراء على الأقل لأن الشعب والنواب يطلبون منهم عملاً، وهذا العمل شاق جداً إذا رغبوا في أن يحسنوا الحال ويقوموا كل اعوجاج في وزارتهم ، ويقدموا برامج جديدة، فتوزيع الحقائق على هذا الشكل وإعطاء كل وزير وزارتين يجعله يستحيل عليه القيام بمهام الوزارتين معاً. وقد قلنا سابقاً أن المدراء يشكون - والمعاملات تتأخر في الدوائر.

هذا أيها السادة عن عدد الوزراء وتوزيع الحقائق أما عن الأشخاص ، فكلنا يعلم أن البلاد تريد حزمة قوية منسجمة تأتي لتعيد الهيبة على أساس تقديم برامج وطرق عمل متفق عليها.

في البلاد أحزاب وهيئات لها وزنها وكان الأمل ان تمثل الوزارة لتقوم بالأعمال المطلوبة ولكن الوزارة مع احترامنا لشخصياتها، أتت مع الأسف مؤلفة من أشخاص مستقلين لا يمثلون أي حزب . فمثلاً في سوريا عندما شكلت الوزارة الأخيرة رأينا انه قد تمثل فيها حزبان كبيران بحيث أتى بينهم ثمانية وزراء ينتمون إلى الحزبين الكبيرين وأربعة من المستقلين.

ففي لبنان وزارة لا تمثل الأحزاب وهذا ضعف يقودها إلى الفشل كما في السابق . والعمل الثاني الذي يمكننا أن نأخذه على الوزارة هو عدم قيامها بالأعمال من اللحظة الأولى التي تشكلت فيها وكان الأجدى أن تقوم فوراً بالتدابير المستعجلة التي تحتاج إليها البلاد من تعديل للقوانين في المحاكم ، لماذا تثبت وجودها تجاه الشعب في الدوائر، ليعطي الشعب ثقته في المجلس؟

وأنتني أبقى كما كنت منطبقاً مع نفسي وأعلن أنني أحجب الثقة عن الحكومة.

Appendix 8.16

Joseph Chader – 28 September 1954

Joseph Chader's speech at the Parliament before casting his vote of no confidence to Sami El Solh's Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1954): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 28 September 1954.

الرئيس – الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم السيد جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر – حضرة الرئيس المحترم، أنا أيضاً سأحضر كلامي في البيان الوزاري، ولسنا في معرض انتقاد السياسة العامة للحكومة وأنا أيضاً كالزميل السيد بشير الأعور لا أعطي أهمية كبيرة للوعود الكثيرة التي تعطيها الحكومة في البيان الوزاري عادة ، لأن جميع الحكومات منذ سنة 1936 حتى الآن تأخذ الثقة وأكثرها تسقط بعد ستة أشهر.

إنّ المهم ليس معرفة ما ورد في البيان الوزاري . المهم أيها السادة أن نعرف ما إذا كانت الحكومة تشكلت بشكل تستطيع أن تعمل به وعندها نمنحها الثقة.

أيها السادة : إن تشكيل الحكومة جرى في مدة قصيرة جداً خلافاً للحكومة التي كان ينوي تشكيلها السيد عبد الله اليافي ، وبقيت مدة طويلة دون تشكيل خلافاً للمصلحة العامة ، كما وأن هذه شكلت بسرعة كلية خلافاً للمصلحة العامة أيضاً.

وأريد أن أذكر قضية هامة جداً لم يأت على ذكرها أحد من الزملاء تتعلق بشرف وكرامة حضرات النواب، ألا وهي عدم أخذ رأي النواب واستشاراتهم في تشكيل الحكومة الذي جري في مدة قصيرة وبسرعة فائقة . إن الحكم البرلماني يفرض على رئيس الحكومة أن يستشير النواب في أمر تشكيل الحكومة وما كان من دولة الرئيس إلا أن جلس في قصر بيت الدين وشكل حكومته الحاضرة في وقت قصير جداً ومن جهة ثانية نأخذ على الحكومة عدم توزيع الحقائق توزيعاً صحيحاً فالاختصاصي بالزراعة أعطى وزارة التربية والاختصاصي في التربية أعطى غيرها .

والشيء الأهم هو عدم وجود برنامج مدروس للحكومة . يقولون إن هذا البيان يشكل برنامجاً للحكومة. إن هذا البيان غير مدروس الدرس العلمي الصحيح واليكم البرهان:

تقولون إنكم تريدون بناء خمس مدن للعمال وتعميم الضمان الصحي، وبناء المساكن الشعبية إلى غير ذلك من المشاريع الضخمة.

إن هذه المشاريع تكلف عشرات الملايين من الليرات من أين تأتون بالمال ؟ وأنتم تقولون، هذا ما يؤلمني، تقولون عن الموازنة هذا المقطع الصغير : (أما مشروع الموازنة لعام 1955 فقد أحيل إلى مجلسكم في الموعد القانوني ، ونحن نأمل أن يناقشها المجلس ويقرها في مطلع العام القادم، حتى يتسنى للحكومة تنفيذ المشاريع الملحوظة فيها)

إذن همكم الوحيد أن تحول الموازنة في الوقت المعين فقط ، واهتمامكم لم يقصد قضية المهل. قد أعطيتكم الأهمية لأمر واحد ، وحافظتم أيها السادة: على إرسال الموازنة في وقتها المعين ، ولكنكم لم تهتموا في أمر ما بلغت إليه الموازنة هذا العام. لقد كانت الموازنة سنة 1953 – 12 مليوناً وفي عام 1954 – 125 مليوناً وستبلغ هذا العام 171 مليوناً فألي أين نحن سائرون ؟ لماذا لم توفرنا من باب الموظفين.

هذه المشاريع التي تذكرون : الضمان الصحي ومدن العمال الخ ...

يحتاج تنفيذها إلى أكثر من عشرة ملايين ليرة في السنة . فمن أين تأتون بالمال وقد بلغت ميزانية هذا العام 135 مليوناً ؟ لقد دفعنا 23 مليون ليرة ثمن شركة الكهرباء. لذلك فإني أكرر القول بأن ببيانكم غير مدروس . نعم لم تدرسوا الناحية المالية وهي الأهم ، أنه لا يمكنكم تنفيذ أي مشروع إلا بالمال وهذه هي الناحية كانت من جملة أسباب فشل الحكومات السابقة فأنتم مع الأسف الشديد ستقتلون في مهمتكم بالرغم من بعض الأعمال التي ستحققونها نحن كنا ننتظر والشعب معنا ، بفارغ الصبر أن تأتي حكومة تمثل الشعب ورغباته.

رئيس الوزراء مقاطعاً – أي شعب تمثل أنت ؟ أتمثل كل الشعب ؟

شادر – نعم أتمثل الشعب الذي انتخبني

رئيس الوزراء – أنت تمثل ألفين صوت فقط

رئيس المجلس – كل نائب يمثل الشعب اللبناني بأجمعه

جوزيف شادر متابعاً – أقول إن الأسباب التي جرت الحكومة السابقة للفشل هي نفسها ستحلمكم على الفشل بالإضافة إلى الأسباب التالية:

أولاً : عدم تطبيق أسلوب جديد في الحكم لم تطبقوا (المكتب يقرأ من عنوانه) إلا الأسلوب القديم الذي سبب فشل الحكومات السابقة. والأسلوب الجديد بسيط يتخلص في أن تعينوا ساعات لاستقبال الناس وإلا أضعتم الوقت سدى.

ثانياً : عدم تغيير عقلية الحكام القائمين لجهة المساومة والمسايرة وعدم تقديس القانون وتطبيقه على الجميع لم نر ذلك منذ أسبوعين عندما أطلق الرصاص ابتهاجاً وخلافاً للقانون لا في بيروت ولا في طرابلس. تقولون إننا نجري التحقيقات : هذه مطلق ومجرد عبارة ونحن نعلم أن التحقيقات عندما لا تتخذ الحكومة التدابير السريعة لإتمامها لا تعطي نتيجة هل أحلتهم مطلقي الرصاص ابتهاجاً إلى المحاكم العسكرية؟

إنني أختصر وأقول : إننا كنا نريد حكومة قوية كم هي عدد العقوبات التي اتخذتموها ضد الموظفين المتغيبين عن العمل ؟ أنا أذهب كل يوم تقريباً إلى بعض الدوائر في الساعة التاسعة والعاشره فلا أري موظفاً في مكتبه.

جوزف شادر متابعاً – وإنني أعلن ختاماً أنني سأحجب الثقة عن الحكومة.

Appendix 8.17

Joseph Chader – 14 May 1955

Speech by Joseph Chader on the government's foreign policy during a general discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1955): 9th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 May 1955.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم، حضرات الزملاء المحترمين،

نشكر أندونيسيا التي أتاحت لنا الفرصة، بعد مدة طويلة لكي نبحث هنا في المجلس، سياستنا الخارجية بحثاً مستقيماً.

ونشكرها خصوصاً بعد أن أرسل جلالة الملك السعودي إلى فخامة رئيس جمهوريتنا تلك الرسالة التي نشرت في بعض الصحف والتي تضمنت بعض التنبيهات وأكثر من التنبيهات، لنبحث سياستنا الخارجية بصورة واضحة هنا في المجلس ولنخرج من هنا بقرار يكون في مصلحة لبنان ومصلحة البلاد العربية.

أيها السادة، إن الحالة التي وصل إليها لبنان والبلاد العربية أصبحت حالة لا تطاق، حتى أن بين البلدان غير العربية وبين البلاد الشقيقة حالة يمكن وصفها بأنها حالة حرب باردة، حالة إذاعات وجرائد واتهامات، وتكذيبات الخ. هذه الحالة ليست طبيعية، ولا نقبل بها نحن في لبنان ولا يمكن أن يقبل بها أي عربي، فمن أقدم واجباتنا أن نتحرى سبب هذه الخلافات ونصل إلى حل مرض، لأن النتيجة، إذا لم نضع حداً لهذه الحالة الشاذة، مصير مظلّم، ونفسخ في صفوف البلاد العربية، وسلام على الجامعة العربية، وانتصار لإسرائيل.

هذا هو المصير إذا لم ندرس الوضع بكل صراحة وبأعصاب هادئة لنصل إلى الحل المنشود.

فالسؤال الأول الجوهري الأساسي هو: هل يوجد سبب أساسي جوهري للخلاف بين البلاد العربية؟ وهل يوجد سبب لهذه الحالة غير الطبيعية؟

الجواب - كلا!

لا يوجد أي خلاف جوهري وإليك الدليل.

نحن كلنا، أيها السادة، الدول العربية السبع ضد إسرائيل. ومن جهة ثانية جميع الدول العربية مع الغرب أو تميل إليه، فقد تعافت مصر مع بريطانيا وقبلت بروجع القوات البريطانية إلى قاعدة السويس في حالة الاعتداء على إحدى الدول العربية أو تركيا. وهذا يعني أن مصر مع

الغرب. والعراق وقع الحلف التركي العراقي وهو مرتبط بانكلترا، وكذلك الأردن والمملكة العربية السعودية مرتبطة مع أميركا، وقد سلمتها مطار الظهران. ونحن في لبنان وسوريا، يعرف الجميع أن ميلنا غربي.

لذلك، بين دول عربية مرتبطة مع الغرب وأخرى تميل إليه يمكن القول إن الهدف واحد بين الدول العربية وبوجود هذا الاتفاق في الجوهر ينفي سبب الخلاف الأساسي بين الدول العربية.

وطالما هذا هو الواقع لماذا إذن هذا الخلاف؟ ولم كل هذه التهم ضد لبنان؟ فماذا كان موقف لبنان في هذه الأونة الأخيرة؟ وماذا كانت سياسته الخارجية؟ إن موقف لبنان هو من أجمل وأنبّل المواقف، موقف يتفق ورسالته التقليدية. فقد لعب دور الوسيط لخير العرب لأنه رأى أن الانشقاق واقع حتماً بين العرب، ولأنه شعر بأن الجامعة العربية أوشكت أن تنهار، ومن أجل ذلك تدخل في الأمر وطلب إلى الشقيقة سوريا أن تتريث قبل التوقيع على الاتفاق الثلاثي، هل في عمله هذا جناية؟ إنني أعتبره أحسن عمل جاء لمصلحة البلاد العربية. إذ لو لم يطلب لبنان من سوريا التريث والانتظار، ولو أن سوريا وقعت الاتفاق الثلاثي كما وقع العراق الحلف التركي العراقي لأصبحت البلاد العربية منشقة تماماً على بعضها وأصبحت الجامعة العربية لا وجود لها.

لذلك فإن لبنان أحسن صنعاً عندما طلب من الشقيقة سوريا التريث وعدم توقيع الحلف الثلاثي هكذا كان موقف لبنان أيها السادة، ولا أعتقد أنه كان غير ذلك.

إن موقف لبنان وحكومته في هذا المعنى كان مطابقاً تماماً لتوجيهات المجلس واللجنة الخارجية. وكنا جميعنا متفقين على السياسة الخارجية التي كان على الحكومة أن تتبعها.

أما هذه السياسة فهي معلومة وكلنا متفقون على خطوطها الكبرى وهي:

أولاً - إن لبنان هو ضد الاتفاق التركي العراقي لا يريد دخوله لعدة أسباب. إلا أن لبنان اعتبر أن من حق العراق أن يوقع هذا الحلف لوضعيته الخاصة وبالنظر لنص الفقرة الثانية من المادة التاسعة من ميثاق القاهرة. وقد كان العراق حراً في إجراء ما يناسبه كما أن وضعية مصر أجبرتها، عندما وقعت اتفاقية الجلاء عن السويس، أن ترتبط مع بريطانيا دون أن تأخذ رأي الدول العربية. وكما فعلت المملكة العربية السعودية أيضاً مع أميركا. فكل بلد ذو وضعية خاصة يحق له بموجب ميثاق القاهرة أن يرتبط باتفاقات يعتبرها من مصلحة بلاده.

نحن في لبنان، لسنا ضد الحلف التركي العراقي ولكننا، كما صرح دولة الرئيس الصلح، ضد الحلف الثلاثي بصيغته وشكله الحاضرين، ولأنه موجه ضد العراق. فسياستنا التي ارتضيها مجتمعين، هي سياسة توحيد كلمة العرب. إننا نحب كل اتفاق يحصل بين البلاد العربية من أجل توحيد الكلمة تجاه الغرب والشرق وضد إسرائيل. هذ هذا ممكن أيها السادة؟ نعم، لأنه كما سبق وقلت لا يوجد سبب أساسي جوهري للخلاف بين البلاد العربية. إنما الصعوبة هي في تطبيق هذه المبادئ وإنجاح هذه السياسة، وهنا تتمركز الصعوبة في الوقت الحاضر والأزمة السياسية بين البلاد العربية.

فالواجب يحتم علينا الآن أن نعمل بصورة عملية واضحة على:

أولاً - كما قال دولة الرئيس اليافي، الواجب الأول يقع على الحكومة اللبنانية، ويجب عملها أن تطلب إلى البلاد العربية وتسعى من أجل هدنة بين هذه البلاد ومنع محطات الإذاعة والصحف، من التصريحات ومن التهجم، ووضع حد لجميع الأعمال والأقوال التي تعكر الجو. ويجب علينا أيضاً أن نعمل ما بوسعنا على تهدئة الخواطر، ونطلب فترة استراحة ليستعيد كل منا هدوء أعصابه وندرس الموقف بكل هدوء وروية.

ثانياً - وبعد هذه المرحلة يجب أن يجتمع مجلس جامعة الدول العربية ويدرس مشروع حلف عربي جديد تحضره دبلوماسية الحكومة يتخذ أساساً للدرس في جلسات مجلس الجامعة العربية، يكون بدلاً من الحلف الثلاثي الحاضر، ويكون لجميع العرب بما فيهم العراق ويجب وضعه بطريقة مدروسة بعد أن يكون واضعوا المشروع قد أخذوا بعين الاعتبار الوضعية الخاصة لكل من العراق ومصر والمملكة العربية السعودية.

تضع حكومتنا هذا المشروع وتدعو مجلس الجامعة للانعقاد، ودرس المشروع كأساس لاتفاق واجب بين البلاد العربية. وبهذه الطريقة نكون قد وضعنا حداً لهذه الأزمة المؤسفة الموجودة الآن بين البلاد العربية.

وهناك تدبير خاص، هو التدبير الواجب اتخاذه بمناسبة الرسالة الشفوية من جلالة الملك سعود إلى فخامة رئيس الجمهورية. وإني ألوم الحكومة على عدم إرسالها جواباً لهذه الرسالة حتى اليوم.

رئيس الحكومة (مقاطعاً) - أرسلنا الجواب منذ زمن وقد وصل.

جوزف شادر (متابعاً) - على كل حال، الموضوع، في الأساس خطير، ونريد أن نعرف ما هي التدابير التي اتخذتها الحكومة للإجابة على هذه الرسالة الخطيرة؟ نحن نريد أن تكون علاقاتنا مع المملكة العربية السعودية علاقة متينة ومبنية على الصدق وال صداقة. نريد أن نعلم طريقة الرد على الرسالة. لقد قلت في اللجنة الخارجية إن على الحكومة أن ترسل موقفاً خاصاً، له وزنه، إلى المملكة العربية السعودية مع ملف هذه القضية. إذ لا يجب أن نكتفي بالقول لجلالته أن التهم غير صحيحة بل يجب أن نذهب إليه ونقدم له البراهين والأدلة الخطية التي تثبت لجلالته إن موقف لبنان كان موقفاً شريفاً ولخير العرب أجمعين، وأنه حتى الآن قد تمشى على سياسة الحياد، فهي سياسة مفيدة له ولجميع الدول العربية.

وإني أنتظر الاطلاع على ما فعلته الحكومة بهذا الخصوص وأعلق أهمية كبرى على هذا الأمر.

Appendix 8.18

Joseph Chader – 14 July 1955

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberation on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's 21st Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1955): 4th Meeting of the 1s Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 14 July 1955.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم، زملائي الكرام، المعارضة ضرورية جداً في النظام البرلماني ولولا المعارضة لما كنا تمتعنا بالخطاب القيم الذي ألقاه معالي وزير الخارجية. المعارضة الشريفة، قلت، إنها ضرورية أعني بها تلك التي لا تهدف إلا خدمة المصلحة العامة، تلك هي المعارضة بناءة لأنها تعطي حيوية للمجلس ولأن المرء مهما كان كاملاً يظل عرضة للخطأ. ومن الجدل تنتج الحقيقة كما يقولون بالفرنسية.

لذلك نحن كنا معارضين وسنظل معارضين معارضة بناءة شريفة، لا تنتظر إلا لخير المجموع في هذا البلد. نعم نحن نعتبر إن الحكومة الجديدة ليست مسؤولة دستورياً عن أعمال الحكومة السابقة. وأنا لن أذكر شيئاً عن أعمال الحكومة الماضية بل أكتفي بما قاله الزملاء بهذا الصدد ولكن سناقشها على أساس البيان الجديد والأعمال التي قامت بها منذ نهار الأحد الماضي لأرى ما إذا كان بالإمكان ومن الواجب أن أمنح هذه الحكومة المحترمة الثقة للماضي والمستقبل.

أيها السادة، نحن الآن في تموز سنة 1955 أي بعد ثلاث سنوات من انقلاب سنة 1952. هذا الانقلاب هل تذكرونه أيها السادة؟

لقد دخل في التاريخ دون أن تنفذ أهدافه، إنني أسأل كل واحد منكم والشعب يسمع ما نقول، هل أن التاريخ طوى هذا الانقلاب أم أنه لا يزال حقيقة يجب أن ينفذ اليوم أو غداً.

نحن أمام بعض أطوار هذا الانقلاب التاريخي الذي وضعنا كل الآمال في سبيل تحقيق أهدافه. نحن اليوم أمام حكومة مؤلفة من السادة الصلح وفرنجية وإده وغيرهم من الأبطال الذين شاركوا في إجراء الانقلاب وعلى رأس الحكومة فخامة رئيس الجمهورية الأستاذ كميل شمعون الذي كان هنا في هذا المجلس يصرخ ويطالب بالإصلاح والتطهير وبوضع حد للفساد.

لذلك أيها السادة، وبما أن الحكومة تضم من تضمنه من أبطال الانقلاب وأصدقائه، فإنه يحق لنا أن نطالبها بالكثير الكثير ولكن البيان الوزاري خيب آمالنا، لقد خابت آمالنا بأبطال الانقلاب

الذين وضعوا البيان وأتوا إلى المجلس في تموز سنة 1955 بعد الانقلاب بثلاث سنوات،
وإليك الدليل القاطع:

في السياسة الخارجية:

اكتفى البيان بذكر العلاقات مع الدول العربية ووصفها بأنها سيئة الآن وبأن على لبنان أن يلعب دوره النبيل فيصفي الجو. فكل ما قيل في البيان عن العلاقات مع الدول العربية لا سيما عن علاقات لبنان مع سوريا جاء تحفة رائعة بالشكل ولكنه ناقص في جوهر الموضوع. لأن العلاقات بين الدول العربية وخصوصاً بين لبنان وسوريا ما هي إلا فرع من أصل.

ولا يجب أن ننسى الأصل عندما نتحدث عن الفرع. نحن لا نزال نذكر ما دار من أبحاث في اللجنة الخارجية عن أهمية قضية الأحلاف وكان يرأسها إذ ذاك معالي وزير الخارجية الآن، ولكن البيان الوزاري لم يتعرض لها البتة. هل تريد الحكومة الأحلاف أم لا؟ وبأي شروط؟ وهل هي على الحياد بالنسبة للشرق والغرب؟ لا نعرف شيئاً عن ذلك.

هذا هو البيان الوزاري لحكومة جديدة قوية فيها من أقوى العناصر، وفيها رئيس اللجنة الخارجية السابق ومع ذلك لا يتعرض لقضية الأحلاف بكلمة. إن في ذلك نقصاً لا يمكن قبوله.

في الحقل الداخلي:

لم يتعرض البيان لقضية هامة تتعلق بالأمن الداخلي ولها تأثير على علاقتنا مع الشقيقة سوريا إلا وهي قضية الحزب القومي السوري، هذا الحزب المنحل مع الحزب الشيوعي.

طلبت سوريا تسليم بعض المجرمين الذين التجأوا إلى لبنان والحكومة اللبنانية لم تجب طلبها. وهذا سبب من الأسباب التي زادت في خلافنا مع سوريا. فإما أن تكون سوريا محقة في طلبها بموجب الاتفاقية القضائية بينها وبيننا فننفيذ طلبها وأما أن تكون غير محقة فنقول لها ذلك.

لقد انتظرنا طويلاً وصبرنا على ما حصل. وقد قرأنا في الصحف أن الحكومة تلاحق الحزب الشيوعي ولكنها لم تحرك ساكناً لملاحقة الحزب القومي السوري الحزب الخائن الذي يعمل ضد كيان لبنان والذي يمتن كرامة الحكومة والشعب على صفحات جرائده والنشرات التي يوزعها.

هناك قضية أخرى كنت أود لو أتى البيان الوزاري على ذكرها، عانيت بها قضية الحشيش والدنداشة.

قررتم اعتماد مائة ألف ليرة في مجلس الوزراء لاتلاف الحشيش، واتلافه مرتبط بقضية الدنداشة والجعافرة والأمن والكرامة الوطنية، وذلك لأن الدنداشة عندما يحكمون بالإعدام، وعندما يوجد عندنا سلطة ترخص لهم بحمل السلاح والتجول به، طبعاً لا يعود بإمكانكم أن

تذكروا هذه القضية العويصة التي لم يتمكن من حلها حتى اليوم لا الأتراك ولا الافرنسيون ولا العهد الحالي.

فلو كنتم درستهم هذه القضية درساً جدياً لكنتم قررتم فتح اعتماد ثلاثة ملايين ليرة لشق الطرقات إلى جرود الدنادشة وفتحتم لهم المدارس وأستمتم المستشفيات ليتمكن هؤلاء الدنادشة من العيش. حتى الآن لم يتمكنوا من فهم قضية الدنادشة والهرمل التي هي دملة خبيثة في جسم هذا البلد. نعم لم تدرسوها حتى الآن على الصعيد الاجتماعي رغم أننا لفتنا نظر الحكومات إلى ذلك مراراً، وطلبنا فتح اعتمادات مالية لإقرار مشاريع إنشائية لبعض المناطق المحرومة ولكن البيان لم يأت إلا على ذكر مشروع مائي يرمي إلى الري، ومشروع ثان لإقامة أبنية لدوائر الدولة ومشروع ثالث لفتح طريق جديدة بين العاصمة وضهر البيدر.

في الحقل الاقتصادي

نرى أ البيان الوزاري عندما يتكلم عن الاقتصاد يضع الكليشيات المعلومة: العناية بالسياحة والاصطياف والاشتاء وتشجيع الصناعات الوطنية وحمايتها، وكان يجب أن تقولوا لنا كيف يمكنكم حماية الصناعات الوطنية وبأية شروط؟ لقد كانت حمايتها حتى الآن تقوم على كواهل الشعب والمستهلك.

يجب حماية الصناعات الوطنية القابلة للحياة والتي بإمكانها مزاحمة الصناعات الأجنبية بجودة موادها ورخص أسعارها.

في غلاء المعيشة

هذا الغلاء الذي يفتك بالأكثرية الساحقة من اللبنانيين والذي هو سبب الإضرابات التي شهدها لبنان وسبب مشاكل كثيرة يعانيتها الشعب، لم تكلفوا أنفسهم مشقة ذكر الطرق والوسائل التي ستكافحونه بها. كان الواجب أن تقولوا بأنكم ستخفزون الأسعار الباهظة وتحدون من الأرباح الفاحشة التي يجمعها التجار والصناعيون لتصبح رواتب الموظفين وأجور العمال كافية. وإني أنبهكم بأنكم إذا لم تهتموا بقضية الغلاء فستضعون أنفسكم أمام سلسلة مطالبات بزيادة الرواتب والمعاشات لا نهاية لها.

والبيان أيضاً لم يأت على ذكر المشكلة الاجتماعية كأنه لا يوجد في هذا البلد وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية. أين عود الحكومة فيما يتعلق بالضمان الاجتماعي، وأين وعودها بالضمان الصحي على الأقل، وأين وعودها بتجميد أرباح اليانصيب لإنشاء المأوى والملاجئ اللازمة للعجزة والفقراء في بيروت؟ أنت وحدك يا دولة الرئيس مسؤول عن إيجاد مأوى للشخاضين والعجز في هذا البلد.

أما في الحقل المالي

فقد أخذني العجب، وأقول هذا بكل إخلاص، عندما قرأنا ما جاء في البيان حول الإصلاح المالي. فقد ورد فيه أن الحكومة ستعيد النظر بالضرائب ولكنها لم تقل كيف يتم ذلك. فهل تريد زيادة الضرائب أم تخفيضها.

وتقول الحكومة أيضاً بأنها ستدرس الموازنة وتقدمها إلى المجلس في الموعد القانوني. إن الحكومة السابقة يا معالي وزير المالية، قدمت الموازنة في موعدها القانوني أيضاً لسنة 1955 وشكرناها يومئذ على عملها ولكن هذا شيء قليل من الكثير المطلوب وأنت تعلم أن الموازنة يجب أن تتضمن إصلاحات أساسية لا شكلية. ويجب أن تحل القضايا المالية الهامة التي تهم الموازنة والبلاد، كقضية الملاكات مثلاً، فإذا لم تحلها أنت فسوف نكون مرغمين أنت ونحن والمجلس على تخصيص ثمانين مليون ليرة لرواتب الموظفين في سنة 1956 وهذا أمر لا تريده أنت ولا نحن نريده، ولم يرد في البيان أي وعد من الحكومات بشأن هذه القضية الحساسة.

نطلب التخفيض في الاعتمادات المخصصة للنفقات غير المجدية ونطلب تخفيض عدد الموظفين بصرفهم من الخدمة على شرط أن يعطوا نصف راتب لمدة ثلاث سنوات. وكان بوجدنا أن لا نطلب صرفهم وحرمانهم من رواتبهم في هذه الأزمة الخانقة لولا معرفتنا بأن حالة الخزينة لم تعد تتحمل أكثر من ذلك.

تقولون في البيان أن إصلاح الإدارة لا يقوم على سن القوانين فحسب بل إنكم ستعززون التنفيذ. هذا جميل، ولكنكم تقولون بصورة غير مباشرة بأنكم ستصرفون من الخدمة بغية إصلاح الإدارة، فكيف يمكنكم ذلك وموعد مهلة الصرف والإصلاح التي حددت حتى 15 تموز قد انتهى أجلها منذ سقوط الوزارة السابقة وتشكيل الوزارة الحالية. لن تتمكنوا إذن من صرف موظف واحد وهذا هو الأمر الواقع. وبهذه المناسبة يلذ لي أن أردد كلمة النائب الظريف الزميل مارون كنعان عندما قال: «إن أكبر راس في هذه الدولة لا يمكنه أن يشيل أصغر حاجب».

على كل حال سوف نرى في مشروع الموازنة المقبل ما هي الاعتمادات المخصصة للموظفين، والاعتمادات المخصصة للنفقات الغير مجدية، ونقابل بين نسبتها ونسبة الاعتمادات المخصصة للنفقات المجدية.

أيها السادة، قلت في بدء كلمتي إنني لن أحاسب الحكومة الحاضرة على الأعمال التي قامت بها الحكومة السابقة لأن الحكومة الحاضرة تعتبر نفسها غير مسؤولة من أعمال سبقت تشكيل الوزارة. ولكنني أحاسبها على البيان وعلى أعمالها منذ تشكيلها. يقول المثل العامي: «لو بدها تشتي غيمت» وإليك الدليل:

يقال إن مظاهرات جرت بمناسبة استقبال أحد الوزراء، وأن الحكومة قالت بأنها ستمنع المظاهرة. ثم جرى الاستقبال والتظاهر. أنا لا أقول بأنه كان على الحكومة أن تمنع التجمع، إلا إذا ثبت أن في التجمع ما يهدد الأمن. فبدلاً من أن تتخذ الحكومة تدابير ليجري الاستقبال بدون خلل بالأمن، نراها تتخذ تدبيراً بمنع التجمع والتظاهر، وبدلاً من أن تنفذ كلمتها وتصون هيبة الحكم التي فقدت كنا نأمل من الحكومة الجديدة أن ترجع هيبة الحكم إلى الشعب الذي لا يطالب إلا بتطبيق القانون على الجميع أقول وجدناها تستسلم للأمر الواقع ولا تتخذ أي تدبير يصون هيبة الحكم.

هذه أول ظاهرة دلت على أن الحكومة لم تقم بواجبها عند أول فرصة سنحت لكي تبرهن أنها حكومة قادرة على صيانة الأمن وعلى فرض الاحترام لأوامرها.

والقضية الثانية التي فوجئنا بها في الثلاثة أيام الأخيرة هي قضية الكهرباء وتعرفتها التي زيدت بنسبة كبيرة دون علم المجلس وربما دون علم الحكومة الجديدة. على كل حال علمنا بأن الحكومة الجديدة أقرت مرسوم الزيادة الذي له مفعول رجعي يعود إلى آذار الماضي.

وزير المالية مقاطعاً - لم ندرس هذه القضية في مجلس الوزراء بعد.

جوزف شادر متابعاً - إذن أرجو منك يا حضرة الوزير أن تكون منطقياً مع نفسك وأطلب إليك إرجاع المرسوم (لأنه أصبح نافذاً وله مفعول رجعي) إلى المجلس ليتسنى له درسه واتخاذ قرار بشأنه.

وأنت يا حضرة وزير الأشغال العامة تعلم جيداً أن المجلس قرر بالاتفاق معك بوصفك وزيراً للأشغال العامة أن لا تبت الحكومة بقضية الكهرباء قبل درسها في المجلس، وبصورة خاصة، قبل درسها في اللجنة المالية، لأن القضية تتعلق بملايين الليرات التي نود أن نحافظ عليها مثلك أو ربما أكثر منك.

لم نقل بأننا لا نقبل بالزيادة أو بمبدأ الزيادة ولكن نريد أن يقتنع الشعب أن الزيادة ضرورية لتأمين سياسة الكهرباء بصورة صحيحة في هذا البلد، ونريد أن يقتنع الشعب أيضاً بأن الإدارة التي تتعهد مصلحة الكهرباء هي إدارة جيدة وصالحة، هذه الإدارة التي تكلفنا الملايين، مع العلم أنه لا يوجد على رأسها أو بين أعضائها اختصاصيون بشؤون الكهرباء، ومع العلم أيضاً بأن ثلاثة من أعضائها استقالوا ولم يعين خلف لهم.

إن القضية هامة جداً وموضوع الكهرباء موضوع حساس له تأثير مباشر على المنازل وعلى المصانع والصناعات، ويجب أن يدرس جيداً في المجلس لنرى من هو المسؤول عن الخسائر التي تكبدتها البلاد. ونحن معك إذا لزمتم الزيادة.

وبالنتيجة نرى، ونحن في تموز سنة 1955 وبعد ثلاث سنوات من الانقلاب، أنه لم يحصل أي إصلاح بعد ولا تزال البلاد تعاني أزمة أخلاقية.

فبالدرجة الأولى، نطلب منكم أن تحلوا الأزمات وتعيدوا الثقة إلى النفوس، وأنتم يا دولة الرئيس قادرون على ذلك فبقليل من العمل والجهد والنزاهة والاحترام والترفع عن كل ما هو حزبي، تتمكنون من العمل والإصلاح والتطهير، وتتمكنون من تشغيل العاطلين عن العمل وتدبير أسواق لمنتجات الفلاحين والمزارعين وتحقيق الطمأنينة لجميع الذين لهم علاقة بالدوائر الحكومية ولجميع المتقاضين.

وعندئذ لا تستحقون ثقتنا فسحب بل تستحقون أن تقام لكم التماثيل في الساحات العامة وتدخلوا في التاريخ، إذ تكونون قد خدمتم قضية البلاد بكل جرأة ونزاهة وإخلاص.

Appendix 8.19

Joseph Chader – 4 October 1955

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberation of the ministerial statement of P.M. Rasheed Karami's 22nd Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1955): 1st Meeting of the 4th Cycle of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 October 1955.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم، منذ عام 1951 وأنا نائب في هذه الندوة وأحضر جلسات الثقة كما تسمى، فأشعر بأن هذه القاعدة الدستورية الواجب تطبيقها تخسر من معناها وقوتها أكثر فأكثر حتى باتت وكأنها قاعدة شكلية لا أكثر ولا أقل، لأن الثقة تعطى أو تحجب لبعض الأسباب الشخصية ونلاحظ أن كل حكومة شكلت بعد سنة 1943 نالت الثقة ولكنها لم تعيش أكثر من ثمانية أشهر كمعدل ومع أنها أتت ببيانات وزارية جميلة جداً، فيها الوعود الخالصة، وقد رأى الشعب بكل أسف ومرارة، بل أقول بيأس، رأى هذه البرامج التي تحضر في برهة ثلاثة أيام وتدون في البيان لا تنفذ أو لا ينفذ منها إلا القسم الضئيل؛ لذلك أنا سأعالج القضية الحساسة الجوهرية وهي قضية فشل الحكم منذ سنة 1943. لم نر الحكومات التي تقدمت ببيانات وزارية جميلة تعيش أكثر من ثمانية أو عشرة أشهر رغم نيلها الثقة بأكثرية ساحقة مع العلم بأن هذا من دواعي عدم الاستقرار وهو كارثة؟ ذلك أن ما من حكومة يمكنها أن تحكم أكثر من ثمانية أشهر. ماذا تريدون أكثر من المثل التالي: إن موازنة سنة 1956 حضرت من قبل ثلاث وزارات أو بالأحرى ثلاثة وزراء مال، واليوم يأتي حضرة وزير المالية ويقول بأنها حضرت من قبل سلفه ويقدمها كما هي بغية السرعة في ذلك وتطبيقاً لنص الدستور.

نحن نعتبر أن أصول تشكيل الوزارة كان خاطئاً وأن دول الرئيس قال لي إن المستقبل أمامه، وإنه إذا لم يتمكن من تشكيل وزارة قوية يعتذر. لقد كنا نريد حقاً أن تشكل وزارة قوية تأتي بعناصر قوية لتحكم بموجب برنامج معين مدروس. نعم كنا نريد أن تأتي بعناصر قوية وهنا أقول بأنني أحترم كل أعضائها ومنهم الجميلان، المير جميل الذي عرفناه من خلال الأمور المالية والجميل الثاني الذي عرفناه في الأمور الوطنية والجهاد الوطني كرفيق وغيرهما من الأشخاص. أنا لا أعترض على الأشخاص بل على الأسلوب الخاطيء الذي أغفل التأليف للوزارة استناداً إلى برنامج سابق محضر ومتفق عليه، ودون أن يكون تفاهم بين عناصر هذه الوزارة لكي يكون العمل اجتماعياً لا فردياً. وقد رأينا الأستاذ كاظم الخليل جالساً في مقاعد النواب. هذا هو الواقع، وكذلك ما رأيناه أيها السادة أيضاً فيما يتعلق بتوزيع الحقائق

غير موفق كما قال بعض زملاء. نحن سنحجب الثقة لأن الأصول التي اتبعت كانت غير صحيحة إذ اقتدت «بالروتين» السابق هذا بالرغم من إيماننا بأن الوزارة وعلى رأسها دولة الرئيس كرامي ستقوم ببعض الأعمال وأنها ستفشل في أكثر أعمالها لأن أساس تشكيلها كان فاسداً هذا فيما يتعلق بتشكيل الوزارة.

أما السبب الثاني ففي ما أراه في البيان الوزاري، هذا البيان الذي حوى على وعود خلاية وعلى بعض نقاط معينة مثلاً: سياسة وزارة التربية، ووزارة الصحة. أقول إن هذا البيان جاء خلواً من عدة أمور جوهرية، أذكر منها ما يتعلق بالمشكلة الإدارية التي هي من أهم المشاكل التي يعانيتها هذا البلد، والتي لم نر أن الحكومة عازمة على حلها لأن البيان لم يأت على ذكر أي تدبير نفهم منه أن الحكومة عازمة على حل هذه المشكلة بالطرق الفلانية، ثم الشدة في تطبيق القانون منذ اليوم الأول لهذه الوزارة لم نشعر بها أيضاً.

تقولون أيها السادة بأنكم ستعززون التفتيش، فلماذا لم تعاقبوا الموظفين الذين تغيبوا أو آخروا المعاملات منذ أول يوم لوزارتكم، حتى يشعر الناس بأن الحكومة قامت بواجبها وأنها تريد أن تحكم.

أما فيما يتعلق باقتصاديات البلاد فإن الحكومة ذكرت بأنها تريد أن تحيي الصناعة وأن تشجع السياحة والاصطياف إلى آخر ما هنالك.

هنالك أمر هام جداً ألا وهو غلاء المعيشة، إن من أهم الأسباب التي نشكو منها في هذا البلد هو غلاء المعيشة، ماذا قلتم عنه في بيانكم؟ لم تقولوا شيئاً. هذا الغلاء الذي سبب إضرابات لأن رواتب العمال والموظفين غير كافية، فلم تقولوا شيئاً بخصوصه.

أما فيما يتعلق بالعدلية وأمرها صار معروفاً عند الجميع، نحن أيها السادة، مر علينا عدة وزارات وكل وزير كان يعدنا بالإصلاح القضائي، واذكر من جملة ما أذكر حضرة الوزير الأستاذ أعور ومن بعده الحلوث المر واليوم صديقنا فؤاد غصن، وجميع هؤلاء رغم وعودهم بالإصلاح لم يتوصلوا حتى اليوم لتنفيذ هذه الوعود. وقد جاء البيان الوزاري اليوم يقول بأن الحكومة ستتعاون مع مجلس القضاء الأعلى لإصلاح القضاء.

أيها السادة: أريد أن أقول كلمة للمرة الأولى بهذا الخصوص هي أنني أوليت هذا الموضوع كل الاهتمام وأعرفه كمحام وكنايب، فأقول ما قاله الزميل الأستاذ إميل البستاني وكذلك الزميل جان حرب: لا تتكلموا على مجلس القضاء الأعلى لأنني أنا شخصياً اتصلت بأعضائه وأعطيتهم جميع الضمانات وطلبت منهم الحد الأدنى للإصلاح فلم يفعلوا. وأقولها اليوم بأن مجلس القضاء لم يصلح القضاء. واليوم، وبعد أن أقرت لجنة المالية بإجماع أصواتها بقبول كل تضحية مالية لإصلاح القضاء بشرط واحد وهو أن يقوم مجلس القضاء بواجبه واستعمال صلاحياته للإصلاح، بعد هذا القرار، أيها السادة، تبين بصورة أكيدة أن هذا المجلس لم يقم بواجباته ولم يصلح القضاء. وقلنا لهم بأن مهمتكم سهلة والظرف يساعدكم ولا تحتاجون لصرف أكثر من عشرة إلى خمسة عشر قاضياً بين أصيل ومتمرن، لأن الصعوبة في إيجاد الخلف يضطركم للحد من الصرف. والقضاء بحاجة ماسة إلى قضاة جدد صالحين وهو بحاجة إلى أكثر من خمسة وعشرين قاضياً ومع ذلك قلنا لهم قوموا بقسط من واجبكم

واصرفوا حوالى عشرة قضاة بين أصيل ومتمرن. ورغم ذلك كله تبين أن المجلس لم يصرف أحداً من الخدمة.

أما فيما يتعلق بوزارة الأشغال العامة فقد قرأت في البيان أن الحكومة مستعدة للقيام ببعض المشاريع الإنشائية من شق طرق وجر مياه وكهرباء وجميع هذه الأمور ضرورية ونشكر الحكومة عليها. إلا أن الأمر الهام الجوهرى الذي خفي على هذه الحكومة هو أن هذه الإدارة المسؤولة عن تنفيذ هذه المشاريع غير صالحة لتنفيذها، ولهذا لم تأت الحكومة وتقول لنا بأنها عازمة على إصلاح هذه الإدارة لأن تنفيذ هذه المشاريع يحتاج إلى السرعة والدقة في العمل. نحن في هذا البلد نعيش وكأننا في عملية تسير بسرعة عشرة كيلومترات في الساعة، وهذه هي الجناية بحق الشعب، فلماذا لم تشق الطرقات في المناطق التي اعتبرناها محرومة، ولم تبين فيها مستشفيات؟ نحن نواب الأمة، نشعر بالمسؤولية كما تشعر بها الحكومة، ونحن نريد الإصلاح المستعجل ونريد فيما يتعلق بهذه المشاريع العمرانية والإنشائية أن تكون عامة في جميع المناطق، لا سيما المناطق المحرومة لأن من حقها أن تنال قسطها، ولأن الإصلاح والعمران حق مقدس لجميع المناطق، لا أفضلية لمنطقة على أخرى فنريد الطرق والماء والكهرباء والمستشفيات أن تعم جميع المناطق اللبنانية حتى تشعر هذه المناطق، لا سيما المحرومة منها بأنها لبنانية حقاً وفعلاً.

لذلك أقول بأن البيان الوزاري أحسن القول عندما وعد بتنفيذ هذه المشاريع الضرورية، ولكن الخطأ الأساسي الذي تحملنا نتائجه منذ القديم هو هذه الإدارة التي تتولى تنفيذ هذه المشاريع، والحكومة لم تقل بأنها ستقوم بتنفيذ هذه الأمور بواسطة إدارة جديدة صالحة حتى يكون تنفيذ هذه المشاريع عاماً لجميع المناطق اللبنانية.

أيها السادة، أما فيما يتعلق بالسياسة المالية التي رسمتها الحكومة في بيانها فإنني مع الموافقة على جميع بنودها أود أن ألفت النظر وخصوصاً نظر معالي الصديق وزير المالية، إلى نقطة هامة، وردت في البيان الوزاري وهي بأن الحكومة ستعتمد على تعديل الموازنة أثناء درسها في اللجنة المالية، إن هذا القول خاطيء وناقص لأنكم تعلمون بأن اللجنة المالية لا يوجد لديها الوقت الكافي لذلك. والبند الثاني من الموازنة المتعلق بالموظفين لا يمكن للجنة المالية أن تحذف منه قرشاً واحداً إذا لم يكن هنالك قانون سابق. هذا فيما يتعلق بالنفقات غير المجدية، وأرى أنه يجب أن تهينوا منذ اليوم قوانينكم الواجبة لذلك.

Appendix 8.20

Joseph Chader – 29 March 1956

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberation of the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Abdallah El Yafi's 23rd Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1956): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 29 March 1956.

جوزيف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم، ايها الزملاء نحن في نهاية اذار سنة 1956 أي بعد انقلاب ايلول سنة 1952 باربع سنوات وكأنا بهذا البيان بعيون جدا عن هذا الانقلاب وكان هذه الحكومة وهذا المجلس قد نسيها الى الابد.

ايها السادة، كنا بعد الازمات التي اجتازتها البلاد، وهي ازمات جوهريّة تمس بالاساس الكيان والنظام كما قيل، كنا نامل من الرئيس اليافي اكثر بكثير مما فعل، كنا نامل منه ان ياتي الى هذا المجلس والى البلاد التي تنتظر هذا الامر بفارغ الصبر، بحكومة قوية متجانسة ذات برنامج صريح واضح مدروس مسبقا ومتفق عليه بينه وبين الوزراء ليكون عمله مجديا وليتركز على كراسي الحكم مدة طويلة لا اشهرا معدودة كما حصل لحكومات سابقة، ولكنه خيب امالنا في هذا الموضوع الجوهري وجاء تاليف الحكومة بطريقة سماها الزميل احمد الاسعد بالطريقة الروتينية.

لا دخل للاشخاص ايها السادة بما اقول، ان الاشخاص الذين كونوا هذه الوزارة، ولنا فيهم اصدقاء ولنا فيهم من نحترمه لنزاهته ومقدرته، انما الذي اقله ان تشكيل هذه الوزارة فاسد من الاساس وتنبثق منه اسباب عدم البقاء مدة طويلة، مما يجبرنا ان نحجب الثقة عن هذه الوزارة لاننا كما قلنا نريد حكومة قوية تستمر في الحكم عدة شهور وعدة سنوات، اذ ان من اسباب ازمة الحكم في هذا البلد عدم الاستقرار كما قلت، لان جميع الحكومات التي تعاقبت في البلاد منذ انشاء الجمهورية لم تعمر اكثر من ثمانية اشهر، وهذا عمر قصير جدا للحكومات لانه ليس بامكان اية حكومة ان تعمل ما يطلب منها بمدة ستة او ثمانية او عشرة اشهر، اما فيما يتعلق بعدد الوزراء فقد قلنا، والتجربة اثبتت صحة ذلك، ان عدد الوزراء العشرة غير كاف، لانه من المعلوم لدى الرئيس اليافي، ولدى الوزراء السابقين والحاضرين، ان الوزير لا يمكنه القيام بمهمته على الوجه الاكمل الا عندما يكون على راس وزارة واحدة، وعندما يعطى الوزير وزارتين تشل الاعمال وتتأخر المصالح فتكون النتيجة ناقصة وضد مصلحة الشعب والمصلحة العامة، اقول ذلك وانا ارى في هذه الوزارة اكثر مما راينا في وزارات سابقة، ارى وزارة الاقتصاد الوطني ووزارة التربية الوطنية وهما وزارتان كبيرتان لوزير واحد، وكذلك اعطيت وزارة الخارجية ووزارة العدلية لوزير واحد، ونحن

في هذه الاونة تعاني ازمة في الخارج من جراء السياسة الخارجية وازمة في الداخل من جراء قضية القضاء.

قلت اننا كنا نامل من دولة الرئيس اليافي ان ياتي بوزارة اقوى وببرنامج متفق عليه، فقد تمرس دولة اليافي بالحكم، وكان نائب اكثر من عشرين سنة وكان يقود المعارضة في هذا المجلس في الاونة الاخيرة، فكان الاخرى به ان ياتي بوزارة اقوى من التي بها وببرنامج اوضح ومدرّوس ليكون عمله مفيدا ونتائجه اكثر افادة.

هذا العمل الروتيني كان غير مامول من دولة عبد الله اليافي الذي كان عليه، كما في بريطانيا عندما تدعى المعارضة الى الحكم، كان عليها ان يعد العدة لهذه المهمة الخطيرة في هذه الاونة الحرجة.

انتقل بعد هذا الانتقاد لطريقة تشكيل الوزارة الى انتقاد البيان الوزاري.

ففي السياسة الخارجية، ايها السادة، قال دولة اليافي ان الخطوط الرئيسية للسياسة الخارجية العربية هي عدم الانضمام الى ميثاق بغداد وعدم الدخول في احلاف اجنبية، وتحقيق اهداف ميثاق جامعة الدول العربية ومعاهدة الدفاع المشترك والتعاون الاقتصادي الخ..

ان هذا البرنامج غير كاف وغير واضح ونحن لن نقبل به لان الرئيس اليافي لم يقل لنا بصراحة ان لبنان في وضعه الحاضر هو على الحياد.

ان راي هذا المجلس ان يكون على الحياد التام تجاه جميع الجهات العربية، فنحن مع دولة اليافي عندما يقول لا نريد الانضمام الى ميثاق بغداد، وكنا نريد منه ان يقول ايضا بعدم الانضمام الى الحلف الثلاثي.

اما عدم الدخول في احلاف اجنبية، وقد وردت العبارة بصورة مطلقة، فنحن لسنا ضد الاحلاف الاجنبية بهذا الشكل، وبصورة مطلقة لان من مصلحة لبنان ان يؤمن على استقلاله وحدوده، واني اسال دولة اليافي على من يعتمد ليؤمن هذا الاستقلال وهذه الحدود؟ هل على الجامعة العربية والدفاع المشترك فقط؟

ليجب على هذا السؤال، نحن كبدا صغير بامكاننا، اذا كانت مصلحتنا تقضي بذلك، ان نتحالف مع اية دولة اجنبية شرط ان تحافظ على حقوقنا واستقلالنا وتساعدنا على حل قضية فلسطين.

نحن من مصلحتنا ان نكون مع الاحلاف شرط تاييد مصلحتنا بصورة جازمة.

يستفاد من البيان ان الحكومة هي ضد جميع الاحلاف، هذه عبارة لا يمكن قبولها في بيان وزاري.

وعلاقتنا مع سوريا، ايها السادة، اتى البيان وردد ما قيل في السابق في عبارات حلوة، وتغنى ببعض العبارات التي تعودناها والتي منذ سنة 1950 لم تات بفائدة لهذا البلد بل بالعكس اتت بفائدة للبلد السوري وجاءت مضرة للبلد اللبناني، نحن كنا نريد ايها السادة من دولة اليافي ان يقول لنا بان سياسة لبنان الاقتصادية مع سوريا ستكون لبنانية صرفة اذا اصرت سوريا

على سياستها الاقتصادية الصرفة أي انه اذا فشلت المفاوضات مع سوريا، فقد حان الوقت ان يكون للبنان سياسة اقتصادية صرفة، كما تطبق في سوريا سياسة اقتصادية صرفة لمصلحتها.

اما بخصوص السياسة الداخلية فقد جاء البيان مبهما وغير واضح وناقصا في امور ثلاثة جوهرية: امور الادارة وامور القضاء، والمشاريع الانشائية والمائية في هذا البلد.

ففي امور الادارة، نحن ايها السادة بعد الانقلاب، وبعد ان اتت الحكومات السابقة على مرحلتين بمراسيم اشتراعية، لا نزال نعاني ازمة القضاء وازمة الادارة، والبيان الوزاري يكتفي بالقول: ان الحكومة " تنوي اصلاح الادارة وتطهيرها وذلك بقوانين ستتقدم بها اليكم وهي ترغب بالتعاون مع مجلسكم وترجو موازنته الوثيقة "، هذه عبارة غير كافية وناقصة ايضا، لا يجوز ان تأتي من قبل الحكومة في هذه الايام وبعد ان مر على البلاد اكثر من ثلاث سنوات، والحكومة تدرس قضية الادارة والقضاء ولم تضع لها العلاج الشافي بعد، اين هي اسس هذا الاصلاح الذي تريده؟ وهل انتم منسجمون مع بعضكم البعض لاتخاذ الخطى اللازمة لهذا الاصلاح؟ كلا ! كنا ننتظر من حكومة اليافي، وقد اتت بعد مرور ثلاث سنوات على وجود هذه الازمة في البلاد، ان تخبرنا عن التدابير التي ستخذها لنرى ما اذا كانت هذه التدابير تستحق التصديق من قبلنا ام لا؟

اما فيما يتعلق بالشؤون المالية، وهي هامة جدا، فان البيان الوزاري اتى خلوا من هذه الامور، وهي التي تتعلق بملاكات الدولة ورواتب الموظفين وباسس موازنة الدولة، وقد عرفنا كلنا في هذا المجلس كم هي بالية وفاسدة اسس موازنة الدولة في هذا البلد، وكنا ننتظر ان يأتي البيان باسس جديدة لموازنة الدولة، وبتدابير جازمة جريئة لحل هذه المعضلة، لقد جاء فيه فقط ان الحكومة ستفرض ضرائب استثنائية يشترك بالمساهمة فيها اللبنانيون لتخفيف وطأة نكبة الزلزال التي حصلت بالبلاد.

هذه هي بادرة الحكومة الجديدة: تريد ان تنشئ ضرائب جديدة، نحن لا نوافق على ضرائب جديدة، فالخزينة ليست بحاجة لضرائب جديدة لتقوم بواجبها، فعلى وزارة المالية ان تعرف كيف تستوفي كافة الضرائب وتراقب النفقات وتقض منها لتصرف على المشاريع الانشائية متحملة اعباء نكبة الزلزال دونما حاجة لضرائب جديدة تفرض على الغني والفقير على السواء.

لجميع هذه الاسباب الشكلية والجوهرية اعتذر من الحكومة ومن الاصدقاء الذين لنا فيها، ان اقول لهم بصراحة انني مضطر على حجب الثقة عنهم.

Appendix 8.21

Joseph Chader – 27 November 1956

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberation of the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's 25th Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1956): 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 27 November 1956.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم، أيها الزملاء الكرام.

لقد تشكلت هذه الحكومة في ظرف دقيق عصيب اي في ظرف استثنائي، وللظروف الاستثنائية احكام استثنائية لذلك فنحن في هذا المجلس نقبل بتشكيل هذه الوزارة المحترمة بعددها القليل، ولو كنا في كل مرة نطالب بوزارة كبيرة العدد وبوزارة اكثريتها من خارج المجلس، لان الظرف او الوضع الحالي حتم تشكيلها على هذا الوجه، واني للمرة الاولى امنح الحكومة ثقة املأ ان تنجح في مهمتها الشاقة.

اما هذه المهمة الشاقة فاني احصرها في امرين هامين وللمرة الاولى، لن اتكلم لا عن الموازنة ولا عن الادارة واصلاحها ولا عن القضاء والمدارس ولا عن اقتصاديات البلاد، بل سأحصر كلمتي في موضوعين فقط طالبا من الحكومة ان تهتم بهما بالدرجة الاولى. وهذان الموضوعان هما: قضية الامن والسياسة الخارجية.

قضية الامن:

لقد عاشت البلاد في المدة الاخيرة زمناً اسود في حياتها القومية. ونحن الذين نؤمن بوجود الله، خلافاً للزعيم الذي تكلم عنه الاستاذ جنبلاط هذا الصباح، ونشكر الله الذي ساعد هذه الحكومة على مجابهة الموقف بجرأة وحزم ونسأله تعالى ان يوفقها في عملها لكي تضع حداً لفتنة كان البعض يريد ان يقع لبنان فيها. وهذا البعض أيها السادة كان معظمه من الاجانب كما قال البيان الرسمي. وهنا لا بد لي من ان اطلب الى الحكومة ان تضرب بيد من حديد على هذه الايدي الاجنبية التي اندست بين صفوفنا والتي ارادت ان تشعل نار الفتنة واثارة الحرب الاهلية. ولكن الله شاء ان يحفظ لبنان ففضح أمر هؤلاء ووضعت الحكومة يدها على الاسلحة والذخائر فحالت دون اتمام عملهم الاجرامي.

اما اللبنانيون الذين سايروا الاجانب في هذا العمل، هم والحمد لله، قلة من المتهوسين الجهلة، وسوف يعودون الى الحظيرة اللبنانية وسوف يغفر لهم ونتسامح معهم لان التسامح هو ميزتنا في هذا البلد ولانهم لا يعلمون ماذا يفعلون ولانهم عملوا دون ان يعلموا ان عملهم أضر بلبنان وبالبلاد العربية.

فلماذا تقوم في لبنان مثل هذه الاعمال؟ وكيف وجدت هذه النوايا السيئة وهذه التدخلات الاجنبية بين صفوف الشعب المسالم الذي اراد الحياة مطمئناً لمصيره منذ ميثاق سنة 1943، ومن قبله، عندما كنا نحارب الانتداب؟ لقد اردنا ان يكون هذا الميثاق الوطني شرعة مقدسة لكل اللبنانيين وهذا الميثاق يقضي بالعدل والمساواة في الداخل ويقضي بالتعاون مع الدول العربية.

لقد طبقنا ونطبق هذا الميثاق في الداخل والخارج. ونحن هنا وفي الخارج، نريد تطبيق مبدأ المساواة واعطاء الحق لمن حرم منه.

الا فليعلم الجميع ان الوطن هو لجميع ابنائه دون تفريق ولا تمييز.

في السياسة الخارجية:

لا اوافق على قول حضرة الدكتور عبد الله اليافي هذا الصباح بان بعض الناس يقولون ان لبنان يصرح ولا يعمل. هذه تهمة باطلة. ان لبنان، منذ عام 1943، ولا سيما منذ دخوله في عضوية الجامعة العربية، كان ولا يزال حتى اليوم في الصف الاول دفاعاً عن المصلحة العربية، ولو انهم سمعوا كلمة لبنان لما وجدنا انفسنا في هذه الحالة.

لقد طالب لبنان بان تكون الجامعة العربية اداة عمل فعالة، اداة عمل ثقافي واجتماعي، اكثر مما هو عمل سياسي وعسكري. طالب لبنان بان تكون الجامعة اداة عمل اقتصادي نبني عليه الامة ومستقبل الامة وقوة الامة.

وهنا لا بد من ان اردد ما قاله مرة عبد الرحمن عزام: «اذا جمعنا اصفاراً تكون النتيجة صفراً واذا جمعنا واحداً تكون النتيجة كبيرة».

ولبنان هو الذي طالب برفع الحواجز الجمركية والغاء جوازات السفر بين الدول العربية، وكان في المحنة الاخيرة اول من استنكر العدوان الغاشم على مصر واول من ارسل المساعدة المادية للمكوبين في مصر.

وعندما يقال ان لبنان كان يجب ان يقطع العلاقات لاطهار استيائه واستنكاره، فالجواب بسيط، لقد اظهر هذا الاستنكار بصورة اجماعية وايد مصر بكل معنى الكلمة وقال انه سيشرف امضاءه وانه سيكون في الطليعة ليقوم بكل الالتزامات وذلك بالاتفاق مع مصر والدول العربية الاخرى.

على كل ان قضية قطع العلاقات مع بريطانيا وفرنسا كانت قضية علمنا الان تفاصيلها من الزميل الاستاذ عبد الله اليافي والتي كانت سبب استقالته واستقالة زميله الاستاذ صائب سلام، الا انه علمنا ان هذا الرأي كان رأي الاقلية في الحكومة وفي المجلس كما اعتقد، لذلك لم تبرز هذه الفكرة الى الوجود. ونحن لا نلوم الاستاذ عبد الله اليافي على هذه الفكرة لان هذا مبداء وهو حر في اعتقاده وكما قلت، لا نلومه بل بالعكس نحن نهنته لانه قدم استقالته على اساس نقطة مبدئية، وكان يعتقد ان هذا العمل هو لصالح لبنان والدول العربية. انما ليسمح لي الزميل الاستاذ عبد الله اليافي وهو الذي تكلم اكثر من ساعة ليفسر لنا الموقف، اي موقفه

الخاص من قضية قطع العلاقات والاستقالة، ليسمح لنا ان نقول له ان كل ما قاله تقريباً محق فيه ما عدا نقطة واحدة، هي موقفه بعد صدور بيان مؤتمر الملوك والرؤساء واجتماعه ببعض الفئات التي تبين انها تنوي النوايا السيئة للبنان والبلاد العربية.

على كل أيها السادة، نحن في كل ما يتعلق بقضية الامن نطلب من الحكومة ان تضع حداً لهذه الحالة القلقة وان تطبق القانون بشدة لمنع تكرار هذه الحوادث المؤلمة.

أما من جهة السياسة الخارجية، فنحن جداً مسرورون لوجود الدكتور شارل مالك في هذا الظرف وفي هذه الوزارة، ونحن جداً مسرورون لاننا نعلم ما هي صفات الاستاذ شارل مالك وما هي مكانته في العالم باجمعه ولا سيما في اميركا، وفي هذا الظرف، أيها السادة نأمل من الدكتور شارل مالك ان يسعى سعيًا حثيثاً وان يستعمل كل ما في امكانه لخدمة لبنان والدول العربية وعندئذ نكون قد خدمنا القضية لا قولاً بل فعلاً، ونكون قد خدمناها خدمة جلى ونكون قد خلصنا البلاد وربما العالم من حرب لا يمكن ان تكون لا سمح الله الا حرب فناء.

لذلك انا ممن يطلبون من الاستاذ شارل مالك ان يزور العواصم العربية وان يذهب لاميركا، وهو الذي ملك قلوب مئة وستين مليون اميركي على رأسهم الرئيس ايزنهاور وهو يعلم حق العلم مشكلة الشرق الادنى وقضية اسرائيل وقضية مصر، ليذهب الى اميركا وليفهم أصحابنا الاميركيين والامم المتحدة ماهية هذه المشاكل والحل الواجب اعطاؤه لهذه المشاكل، وبهذه الطريقة نكون قد أمانا السلم في هذه المنطقة ونكون قد أكملنا المسير في طريقنا الى رفع مستوى الشعب بطمأنينة وحرية واستقلال.

Appendix 8.22

Joseph Chader - 4 April 1957

Joseph Chader's speech on Prime Minister Sami El Solh's Government's foreign policy on 4 April 1957.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1957): 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 8th Parliament held on 4 April 1957.

لرئيس: الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الاستاذ جوزف شادر

جوزف شادر: حضرة الرئيس المحترم، ايها الزملاء الكرام،

هنيئاً للبنان بهذا البيان الرائع الذي اوضح السياسة الخارجية بكل جرأة وصراحة، وكما قيل، انها سياسة اتبعتها لبنان منذ زمن بعيد، منذ فجر الاستقلال. وما جاء هذا البيان الا بايضاح لهذه السياسة .

لا اريد ان اكرر ما قاله الزملاء لتبرير اتخاذ هذه السياسة، انما اريد ان ابحت نقطتين فقط وهما: محاربة الشيوعية الدولية، والمساعدة الاميركية .

نحن ايها السادة نفرق بين الشيوعية كمذهب فلسفي وسياسي واقتصادي واجتماعي وبين الشيوعية الدولية، وهي خطة سياسية رسمتها الحكومات الشيوعية ما عدا يوغسلافيا وربما بولونيا مؤخراً، للسيطرة على العالم اجمع. نحن لا نحارب الشيوعية كمذهب ولبنان بلد الحريات، تبسط فيه جميع الآراء بكل حرية. وانما نحن ضد الشيوعية الدولية لان هدفها كما قلت، هو السيطرة على العالم وفرض الديكتاتورية البروليتارية. وان لبنان لم يناهض الشيوعية الدولية ويحاربها الا لانها تسعى الى محوه من الوجود كدولة مستقلة تدين بالله وبالحرية وبالنظام الديمقراطي .

واليكم البرهان على ان الشيوعية الدولية تهدف الى السيطرة على العالم :

من الناحية العقائدية، كلنا نعلم ان الماركسية كما اوضحها ماركس وانجلز ولينين وستالين تهدف الى هذه السيطرة ولا تقبل بالقوميات ولا بالجنسيات ولا بالدول المستقلة كدول مستقلة. وقد صرح مؤخراً رئيس حكومة هنغاريا للصهاينة السوفيات: ان الشيوعية القومية لا وجود لها، ولا يوجد الا الشيوعية الدولية. وهذا الكلام يعني انه لا توجد شيوعية مجرية ولا شيوعية بولونية ولا شيوعية يوغسلافية ولا شيوعية روسية، بل ان هناك شيوعية دولية تربط البلاد الشيوعية بوحدة متراسية .

ومن الناحية العملية الواقعية ماذا نرى؟ نرى بان ليتوانيا واستونيا ضمتا الى الاتحاد السوفيات دون اخذ رأيهما، وان الجيش الروسي بقي في بولونيا والباينا بعد الحرب واجرى انتخابات

اعطت الفوز للاقليّة الشيوعية التي فرضت الديكتاتورية على الشعب في تصنيع البلاد وعقد الاتفاقات مع الاتحاد السوفياتي لمصلحة هذا الاخير. وبعد مرور اكثر من عشر سنوات على هذا النظام، رأى العمال المجريون، مثلاً، انهم بحاجة الى المأكل والملبس فطالبوا بحقوقهم فكان الجواب المدافع الروسية تقتل الرجال والنساء والاطفال والعجز .

ان الشيوعية الدولية تعمل في كل بلد وفي لبنان ايضا على الهدم وتقوية التفريق الطبقي والتحريض على الاضرابات في الشارع. فهي لا تعمل مشاريع بناءة فلا تفتح طريقا ولا تبني مستشفى او مأوى .

نرى ايضا ان الشيوعية الدولية باعت السلاح الى بعض الدول العربية وقد اظهرت الدعاية الشيوعية ان عملها هذا كان عملا عظيما، في حين ان هذا العمل كان من وحي اسرائيل وبالاتفاق معها لاهداف معينة كما ظهر ذلك من تقرير لاحدى السفارات الاوروبية في القدس .

فالهدف الاول هو اظهار البلاد العربية بمظهر البلاد التي تتسلح لتمحو اسرائيل من الوجود .

والهدف الثاني هو ارسال خبراء روس ظاهرا، ولكنهم عسكريون سرا الى البلاد العربية .

والهدف الثالث هو اضعاف اقتصاديات البلاد العربية لان ثمن الاسلحة مهما كان رخيصا يشكل حملا ثقيلا على موازنة الدول العربية. والانكى من ذلك ان هذا السلاح سيبقى دون استعمال لان ما من دولة تستطيع ان تستعمل هذا السلاح، والقوة في ايماننا هذه، هي بوجود الامم المتحدة، واميركا بنوع خاص وما الحوادث الاخيرة، اي الاعتداء على مصر وما رافقه، الا دليلا قاطعا على عدم جدوى استعمال السلاح .

وبالاختصار نحن ضد الشيوعية الدولية لانها لا تخدم استقلالنا بل انها تريد فرض النظام الديكتاتوري الشيوعي علينا .

المساعدة الاميركية: لقد قبلنا المساعدة الاميركية في الماضي ونقلها اليوم لانها مساعدة غير مشروطة ولانها تساعد على المحافظة على استقلال لبنان وتساعدنا على رفع مستوى الشعب وتساعدنا على محاربة الفقر والجهل والمرض، ولانها مساعدة مجانية تعطى لنا مقابل شيء واحد - وهو ما نريده بكل قوا - محاربة الشيوعية الدولية .

ان هذه المساعدة مفيدة جدا، واقول اكثر من ذلك بانها ضرورية لنا لاني اعلم منذ الآن ان مشروع موازنة سنة 1958 لن نتمكن من موازنته الا بالمساعدة الاميركية، لان موازنة 1958 ستبلغ اكثر من مائة وتسعين مليونا ذلك ان الحكومة ستقرر زيادة رواتب الموظفين مما سيفضي الى زيادة المصاريف اثني عشر مليونا، وهذا الرقم هو غير مفيد الآن في موازنة هذه السنة. وقد بذلنا جهد كبيرا حتى تمكنا من موازنة موازنتنا الاخيرة، واصر على القول باننا لن نتمكن من ايجاد التوازن في ميزانية 1958 الا بزيادة عائدات البترول والمساعدة الاميركية .

نرى ان اميركا تساعدنا وستساعد البلاد الافريقية المستقلة وقد قرأت اليوم في جرائد الصباح ان الرئيس ايزنهاور يطلب اعتماد قدره اربعة مليارات و400 مليون دولار لمساعدة مراكش وتونس والحبشة وليبيا والسودان وغانا .

لماذا هذه المساعدة؟ ولماذا لا نرى الشيوعية الدولية تساعدنا؟ وذلك لان هدفها هو ابقاء البلاد في حالة الفوضى والجهل والمرض والفقرن لانها لا تريد ان تتحرر البلاد ولانها تريد ان تمشي سياستها لتهديم استقلال كل البلاد .

نحن هنا اذن تجاه امرين، تجاه مشروع الرئيس ايزنهاور وتجاه التكتيك الشيوعي، ونحن بكل ضمير مرتاح ودون ان نحارب المذهب الشيوعي نختار مشروع الرئيس ايزنهاور ونحارب التكتيك الشيوعي الهدام .

ولي كلمة اخرى اريد ان اوجهها بكل اخلاص الى الزميل الدكتور عبدالله اليافي وهي بأنك اذا كنت تعتقد انك اشطر مع اصدقائك من الشيوعية الدولية فأنت على خطأ وانت تلعب بالنار وستقع في الفخ انت وكل حكومة عربية تريد ان تمشي على السياسة التي تدين بها.

Appendix 8.23

Joseph Chader – 29 August 1957

Speech by Joseph Chader during the deliberation of the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Sami El Solh's 26th Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1957): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 29 August 1957.

جوزف شادر: زملائي الكرام، قبل إبداء رأيي في تشكيل هذه الوزارة الأولى المنبثقة من هذا المجلس الجديد، عليّ أن أبدي بعض الملاحظات الهامة حول البيان الوزاري، وملاحظاتي هذه تتناول ناحيتين هما: السياسة الخارجية والسياسة الداخلية.

أما في السياسة الخارجية، فنحن مع الحكومة، فيما يتعلق بسياساتها التي رسمتها في بيانها الوزاري، وبكل ما وعدت به من سعي لتحسين علاقاتنا مع البلاد العربية الشقيقة ولا سيما مع سوريا، وذلك نظراً لما وصلت إليه هذه العلاقات من حالة سيئة وشاذة. نحن معها في هذا المضمار ونطلب منها بإصرار أن تفي بالوعد التي قطعتها على نفسها في البيان الوزاري.

ولكني لم أر في البيان أية إشارة إلى ناحيتين هامتين:

الأولى: الحالة الداخلية في البلاد.

الثانية: علاقتنا مع الصديقة أمريكا.

فمن الناحية الداخلية لا أقول كما قال البعض إن البلاد أصبحت منقسمة إلى معسكرين بل أقول إن هنالك فئتين في البلاد، فئة مع الحكومة في سياساتها الخارجية والفئة الثانية هي ضد هذه السياسة.

ونظراً لكون هذه الفئة الثانية بأكثريتها من طائفة معينة أرى أن في الأمر بعض الخطورة وبالتالي، فإنه يجب على كل مخلص أن يسعى لإزالة هذه الحالة، كما أن على الحكومة أن تسعى بكل الوسائل الممكنة، كالإذاعة والصحف وغيرها، لإيجاد تفاهم بين جميع الفئات وذلك ببث دعاية صحيحة للسياسة الخارجية التي تتبعها، وأن تحاول إقناع الجميع بأن هذه السياسة هي سياسة حكيمة ورشيدة وصالحة للبلاد، وما حوادث سوريا إلا دليلاً جديداً على صحة هذه السياسة. ولإقناع الفئة التي لم تقتنع بعد بصواب هذه السياسة يجب على الحكومة أن تأخذ من الولايات المتحدة المساعدات المادية الكافية، والمساعدات السياسية لحل قضية

فلسطين حلاً عادلاً وهذا هو بيت القصيد للفئة المذكورة التي تقول في أن صداقتنا لأمريكا لا تجدي نفعاً إلا بحل قضية فلسطين الحل العادل.

وأما المساعدات المادية فإذا أخذنا عشرة ملايين دولار وبعض المساعدات العسكرية وإذا كنا سنأخذ في العام الحاضر مبلغ عشرة ملايين دولار أو أكثر فهذه المساعدات كلها أقولها بصراحة مساعدات ضئيلة جداً أولاً بالنسبة لما تعطيه الولايات المتحدة لإسرائيل وثانياً بالنسبة لما نحتاج إليه لمحاربة الشيوعية الدولية فعلاً لا قولاً لأنه لا يمكننا محاولة الشيوعية إلا بتحسين حالة الشعب ورفع مستوى جميع فئات هذا الشعب اللبناني لتتمكن أولاً من محاربة البطالة وهي متفشية في البلاد ولأنه في كل يوم يراجعنا الشباب ويطلبون منا أعمالاً ولا نتمكن من تحقيق ذلك على الحكومة إذن، ولبنان له الفضل بأن يقبل الأول بمشروع الرئيس ايزنهاور أقول يجب على وزير الخارجية وهو صديق الرئيس ايزنهاور أن يطلب منه ما يمكن أن نطلبه من الولايات المتحدة لقاء اتفاقنا معها من المساعدات المادية الكافية لمحاربة الشيوعية الدولية ولحل قضية فلسطين وهي بيت القصيد.

وأما فيما يتعلق بالسياسة الداخلية، فملاحظاتي العامة على البيان الوزاري تنحصر في عدة نقاط أهمها، أولاً: عدم وجود إصلاحات ومشاريع معينة في البيان الوزاري لأن البيان ذكر بعض المشاريع بصورة مبهمة وكنت أتمنى أن يقول إنه مثلاً في وزارة الأشغال العامة سنقوم الحكومة بكذا وكذا مشاريع، إلى آخر وزارات الدولة. وأتوقف بنوع خاص عند المطالبة بإصلاح الإدارة والمحاكم وهذا هو الأمر الأهم أعني به إصلاح الإدارة والمحاكم. هذا الأمر الذي طالما سعيانا لأن نصل إلى نتيجة بخصوصه دون أن يبلغ غايتنا المتوخاة وأقول إن مجلس الأربعة والأربعين إذا حق له أن يسمى نفسه بمجلس المشاريع الإنشائية فإنه لم يعمل شيئاً في سبيل إصلاح الإدارة والمحاكم بالرغم من جميع محاولتنا، وأتى البيان الوزاري الآن يقول إن الحكومة سيكون رائدها وهدفها الأول المحافظة على الأمن وقطع دابر الشقاوة وحماية الأرواح إلخ...

ثم يقول البيان: «وستقوم الحكومة بتنظيم الجهاز الإداري تنظيمًا عاماً شاملاً إلخ» كنت أفضل أن تأتي الحكومة وتقول أريد أن أحدد ملاكات الدولة تحديداً نهائياً وأن أعين قضية الرواتب بصورة نهائية، وأن أختصر الأنظمة الداخلية في جميع الوزارات لأنها أنظمة بالية وتسبب التأخير في مصالح الناس، كنت أفضل أن تأتي الحكومة وتقول إنني فرضت كذا عقوبات على الموظفين الذين لا يحافظون على الدوام، أي إننا كنا نفضل أن نعطينا الحكومة إيضاحات عن المشاريع والإصلاحات التي تنوي عملها لا أن تأتي بهذه العبارات المبهمة.

أما فيما يتعلق بالموازنة فأرى في البيان الوزاري ما يلي: إنه كان بود الحكومة أن تتولى إعداد مشروع الموازنة للعام المقبل بالأساليب العلمية الحديثة لتتعدى بالموازنة مادة الرقم الحسابي إلى مفهومها الحقيقي كمنهاج سياسي للهيئة الحاكمة. أما وقد وجدت نفسها أمام عناصر مشروع تكاد تكون مكتملة فإنها سوف تعتمد إلى عصر النفقات غير المجدية وتعزيز ما كان منها ذا صفة إنمائية إنتاجية مراعاة منها لمدى التطور الاجتماعي والاقتصادي في البلاد أمله أن لا يحول ذلك دون تقديم المشروع في الموعد الدستوري» هنا استعملت الحكومة عبارة غامضة وعامة، وهنا أيضاً كنت أفضل من حضرة وزير المال أن يعطينا أساس الموازنة الجديدة للعام المقبل أو الأعوام المقبلة، وإننا نفضل أن تأتي الموازنة حتى لو كانت

متأخرة للمجلس وتأتي كاملة ومبنية على أسس صحيحة لا أن تكون صورة طبق الأصل عن الموازنات السابقة الفاسدة لأن مشروع الموازنة الذي يأتي إلى المجلس في الخامس من كانون أول لا يدرس في اللجنة المالية إلا في كانون الثاني، إذن الأفضل أن نأخذ وقتاً كافياً وأن تعطينا الحكومة موازنة صحيحة لا موازنة فاسدة، سيما وأن مشروع الموازنة كما يرد إلى اللجنة المالية لا يمكن لها أن تحذف منه قرشاً واحداً فيما يتعلق بالتعويضات والمعاشات، وإنه غداً سيرسل إلينا حضرة وزير المال موازنة بمئة مليون ليرة رواتب وتعويضات واللجنة المالية ليس بإمكانها أن تحذف منها قرشاً واحداً (لأن هذه المبالغ مخصصة للتعويضات وللرواتب) إلا بعد أن تكون معدلة بقانون خاص، لذلك أرجو من حضرة وزير المال بالنسبة للسنة المقبلة أي سنة 1958 أن يأتينا بموازنة صحيحة وأطلب منك ذلك يا معالي الوزير، رغم الوقت الذي سيستنفده إعداد هذه الموازنة اعداداً علمياً، لأنه أفضل لنا أن نتأخر بعض الوقت، وأن تكون لنا موازنة صحيحة.

ثم لم يأت البيان الوزاري على ذكر نقطة هامة جداً بالنسبة للشعب وبالنسبة لخطر التضخم المالي، أي قضية غلاء المعيشة فهي قضية حساسة للغاية لأنه ليس بمقصور معظم أفراد الشعب أن يكتفوا بما يربحون لينفقوا على عيالهم نظراً لغلاء المعيشة، وهذا مهم أيضاً من ناحية خطر التضخم المالي لأن غلاء المعيشة يؤدي بنا حتماً إلى زيادة الأجور وهذه الزيادة كلفت الخزينة مؤخراً للموظفين أربعة عشر مليون ليرة وستتبعها زيادات أخرى في الشركات، وهذه الزيادات تؤدي إلى غلاء معيشة جديد فإذا لم تحاربوه فسنضطر إلى إقرار زيادات أخرى وهناك المصيبة لأن خطر التضخم المالي سيصبح حقيقة.

أما فيما يتعلق بالمشاريع الإنشائية، فكنت أفضل أن تقول الحكومة إننا سنلغي وزارة التصميم العام وأن تقول إننا سننشئ مجلساً للاقتصاد والإنماء كما هي الحال في مصر وسوريا والعراق.

وبعد هذه الملاحظات العامة أبدي رأيي في تشكيل هذه الوزارة، عندما بدأت الاستشارات أعطى كل واحد منا رأيه وأعتقد أن رأي الأكثرية كان لوزارة قوية عدد أفرادها يفوق العشرة توزع الحفائب فيها توزيعاً صحيحاً لتأتي هذه الوزارة وتتمكن من القيام بمهمتها الشاقة نظراً لحالة الإدارة والمحاكم والحالة الداخلية، لأننا نعتبر أن على كل وزير يأتي لهذه الوزارة، عدا عن أشغاله وأعماله في مجلس الوزراء، أن يصلح ما يجب إصلاحه في وزارته من أنظمة داخلية ومن مراقبة شديدة على المعاملات، كل ذلك يفرض أن يقوم به الوزير وليس بإمكانه أن يقوم بهذه الأعمال إذا أخذ على عاتقه أكثر من وزارة واحدة. كنا نريد أن تأتي الوزارة قوية وب عقلية جديدة وتحكم البلاد وتفرض هيبة الحكم منذ اللحظة الأولى من تأليفها، فيشعر الناس بذلك، ولكننا لم نجد من كل هذا شيئاً واحداً، فالموظفون يأتون لمكاتبهم ولا يأتون في ساعة الدوام ويؤخرون المعاملات كما في السابق، والإهمال قائم في جميع نواحي نشاط الدولة تشكو منه دوماً ولا سيما في قضية الأمن والقمار والسلاح الممنوع إلخ... كل هذا يمنعنا من إعطاء الثقة لهذه الحكومة بالرغم من صداقتنا لأفرادها وعلى رأسهم دولة رئيس الحكومة. على أن معارضتنا في المستقبل كما كانت في الماضي ستكون معارضة بناءة أي أننا سننقد الأعمال غير الصالحة ونبدي العلاج اللازم، وسنكون دائماً مع الحكومة

في الأعمال الصالحة، وسنساعدنا على قدر المستطاع، وأملنا كبير بأن لا تخيب آمالنا وأن
تقوم بواجباتها خير القيام لمصلحة هذا الشعب ولازدهاره.

Appendix 8.24

Joseph Chader - 12 November 1958

Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberation on the issue of granting extraordinary powers to Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's Government to issue legislative decrees for six months.

Official Minutes (1958): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 12 November 1958.

جوزف شادر - عطوفة الرئيس المحترم، زملائي الكرام.

ان الحالات الاستثنائية تتطلب احكاما خاصة، ونحن، مع الاسف، في حالة غير عادية، متأثرة من الحوادث الدامية الاخيرة، التي اثرت على وضع الخزينة واقتصاديات البلاد تأثيرا بالغا ووضعت الحكام تجاه مشاكل تتعلق بسلامة البلاد وامن الاهلين.

يضاف الى ذلك حالة الادارة والقضاء التي شكونا منها في الماضي والتي اصبحت اكثر تعقيدا بعد الازمة الاخيرة.

من هذا الوضع الشاذ انبثقت فكرة منح السلطات التشريعية للحكومة الحاضرة.

ان هذا التدبير، الذي يشكل في الواقع تنازلا مؤقتا من قبل هذا المجلس عن صلاحياته التشريعية جائز في العرف الدستوري الجمهوري متى كانت البلاد تحتاز ظروف استثنائية كالتي نعيشها فعلا.

ولذلك لا نرى مجالا للمجادلة بصدد مبدأ اعطاء الحكومة السلطة التشريعية لمدة معينة.

اما البحث فممكن لجهة مدى تطبيق هذا المبدأ وشروطه.

وهنا اسمحوا لي ان اطيل عليكم الشرح نظرا لاهمية الموضوع من الناحية القانونية الدستورية.

لقد اتاحت الفرصة للمجلس السابق وللحكومة القائمة آنذاك، درس هذه المشكلة قبل وبعد صدور المراسيم الاشتراعية المعدلة للمراسيم الصادرة سنة 1953، على اثر انقلاب ايلول 952 وقد دونت محاضر جلسات المجلس اقوال النواب وتقرير «اللجنة التساعية» ورد الحكومة عليها في الصفحات 1550 وما يليها من محاضر جلسات 1954/1953 وفي الصفحات 815 وما يليها من محاضر جلسات 1955/1954.

وها نحن في المجلس الحاضر، نعود مضطرين الى معالجة هذا الموضوع بعد مرور اربع سنوات على المناقشة الاولى.

لقد اوضح تقرير اللجنة التساعية المشار اليها ان رجال الفقه الدستوري اتفقوا فيما بينهم على نقطة واحدة هي ان السلطة التشريعية التي تمنح الى الحكومات هي سلطة استثنائية تعطى في بعض الظروف الاستثنائية فيجب ان تحدد ثم تفسر بطريق الحصر والتضييق لا بطريق التوسيع او التشبيه. الا انهم اختلفوا على الشروط والحدود التي يتوجب على السلطات التشريعية ان لا تتجاوزها في اعطائها مثل هذه الصلاحيات للحكومة. وقد قامت على اساس هذا الخلاف ثلاث نظريات، الاولى ضيقة والثانية متوسطة والثالثة واسعة، واذا حللنا الاخيرة وهي نظرية العلامة "دوغي" DUGUIT نرى انها تعد بحق اكثر النظريات الدستورية مرونة لانها تأخذ بعين الاعتبار الواقع وتطور التاريخ الدستوري فهي تجيز المراسيم التشريعية في الظروف الاستثنائية ولكن على شرطين:

الاول - ان لا تكون المواد المرخص للسلطة التنفيذية التشريع فيها مواد دستورية كتابة او عرفا ويضيق الاستاذ «دوغي» نطاق العرف الدستوري فيحصره فقط في انشاء العقوبات والحد من الحرية الشخصية او التعرض لنظام التملك.

الثاني - ان تكون الصلاحية الممنوحة خاصة ومحدودة في موضوعها وفي مدة تطبيقها.

اما الحكومة فقد اجابت على هذا التقرير بقولها ان نظريات العلماء شيء والواقع البرلماني شيء اخر وان سلطة اصدار المراسيم الاشتراعية اعطيت غير مرة في فرنسا ولبنان بالمواضيع التي يقول العلماء انه لا يجوز ان تعطى بها.

وفي فرنسا، بالرغم من نص صريح ورد في المادة 13 من الدستور الصادر سنة 1946 يقول بان المجلس الوطني وحده يسن القوانين ولا يحق له تفويض هذا الحق، اعطيت صلاحية المراسيم الاشتراعية الى الحكومة عدة مرات وذلك بصورة شاملة غير محدودة في مواضيعها.

اما في لبنان فقد تخلى المجلس عن سلطته ثلاث مرات.

المرّة الاولى - في 17 كانون الاول سنة 1929 عندما فوض المجلس حكومة الرحو اميل اده لمدة تنتهي في اول تموز سنة 1930 باجراء كل الغاء او ادغام في الوظائف والمعاهد والدوائر حتى ولو كانت هذه التدابير تقضي بتغييرات في المؤسسات والصيغ والمعاملات المحدودة بقوانين او بالغاء اعتمادات مالية او بنقلها.

والمرّة الثانية - بموجب قانون 15 تشرين الاول سنة 1952 الذي منح حكومة الامير خالد شهاب لمدة ستة اشهر حق التشريع في المواضيع التالية:

قانون الانتخابات النيابية، قانون البلديات قانون المطبوعات، تنظيم دوائر الدولة والملاكات، التنظيم القضائي، المحاسبة العامة، ديوان المحاسبة انشاء مجلس تصميم وانماء اقتصادي، قوانين الاستيراد والتصدير، الاثراء غير المشروع، قانون الطوارئ.

والمرة الاخيرة - منحت حكومة سامي بك الصلح، سلطة تعديل المراسيم الاشتراعية التي اصدرتها حكومة الامير خالد شهاب وذلك بموجب قانون 18 تشرين الاول سنة 1954 ولمدة ثلاثة اشهر.

وفيما يتعلق بالموازنة فان المجلس السابق اجاز الحكومة نشرها بمرسوم، كما عدلتها لجنة المالية، وذلك مرتين، الاولى بالقانون الصادر في 953/10/29 لموازنة سنة 1953 والثانية بالقانون الصادر في 1957/2/4 لموازنة سنة 1957.

من هذا الشرح يتبين ان المجلس الوطني في فرنسا والمجلس النيابي في لبنان قد توسعا كثيرا في منح السلطة التشريعية للحكومة تحت ضغط الظروف الاستثنائية وبغية الوصول بسرعة الى الاصلاح المنشود في حقلي الامن والسلامة العامة وفي شتى الميادين الادارية والقضائية والمالية والاقتصادية.

هذا هو الواقع وعلى ضوءه نبدي رأينا بالمشروع الذي تقدمت به الحكومة.

لقد حوى مشروع القانون مواضيع عامة وغير محدودة تتعلق:

- بالامن العام والسلامة العامة.

- بالتشريع المالي والاقتصادي.

- بالتنظيم القضائي وتنظيم مجلس الشورى والمحكمة الادارية الخاصة.

- بالتنظيم الاداري بما فيه المصالح ذات الاستقلال المالي والاداري والصناديق المستقلة ونظام

الموظفين- بموازنة سنة 1959 وبالاعتمادات اللازمة للقانون.

وقد جاء بعض هذه المواضيع دون ادنى ايضاح في الاسباب الموجبة بينما بينت هذه الاسباب بعض المبادئ التي تريد ان تطبقها الحكومة للمواضيع الاخرى.

فلا بد لنا، والحالة هذه، من ان نبدي الايضاحات والملاحظات الهامة التالية:

اولا - من المعلوم والمفهوم ان السلطات الاستثنائية ستعطى للحكومة القائمة الان والمائلة امام هذا المجلس برئيسها واعضائها الثلاثة، تلك الحكومة التي نالت الثقة من المجلس والتي توحى الثقة باشخاصها لاستصدار المراسيم الاشتراعية المطلوبة. وبعبارة اخرى ان السلطات الاشتراعية المطلوبة ستمنح كما يقال باللاتينية *Intuitu Persona* اي بالاستناد الى شخصية رئيس واعضاء الحكومة الحاضرة فينتج من ذلك ان حق استصدار المراسيم الاشتراعية يلغى اذا طرأ اي تغيير في تشكيل الحكومة الحاضرة باستقالة احد الوزراء مثلا، اما اذا حصل توسيع في الوزارة الحالية فان الرجوع الى المجلس ضروري لاختذ الثقة وسلطة التشريع مجددا، وذلك حسب التقاليد الدستورية المتعارف عليها.

ثانيا - لجهة عرض المراسيم الاشتراعية على المجلس نطلب من الحكومة ان تعرضها تباعا عند صدورها دون ان تنتظر نهاية مهلة الستة اشهر المعطاة لها لاستصدار جميع المراسيم الاشتراعية.

ثالثا - فيما يتعلق بالتشريع المالي نريد من الحكومة المحترمة ان تصرح على محضر الجلسة بانها لن تغير سياسة النقد المتبعة وبانها لن تعقد اي قرض ولن تحدث اية ضريبة جديدة وبأن الغاية من التعديلات الممكن ادخالها على النظام الضرائبي الحالي ستكون تأمين عدالة اوسع واشمل في توزيع الاعباء الضرائبية على مختلف فئات المكلفين وذلك ضمن اطار نظام ضرائبي خفيف الوطأة، لان مصلحة البلاد والخزينة في آن واحد تفرض علينا الابتعاد عن الضرائب الثقيلة التي تأتي بنتائج اقتصادية ومالية معاكسة للمطلوب.

Appendix 8.25

Joseph Chader. .22 December 1959

Speech by Joseph Chader at a general discussion meeting concerning abolishing the religious denominations in Lebanon.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1959): 12th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 22 December 1959.

جوزف شادر - عطوفة الرئيس المحترم،

لا بد بعد صدور المراسيم الاشتراعية والتشكيلات الإدارية من أن نحاسب الحكومة على ما فعلته، وإنني أشكر دولة الرئيس كرامة على قبوله بهذا البحث وهذا التدقيق بالأعمال فقد أظهر بذلك روحاً ديموقراطية برلمانية.

إنني أفهم مبعث الانتقادات من بعض الزملاء وقد جاءت كأنها ثورة بعد التشكيلات الأخيرة. لقد صدرت التشكيلات الأولى ولم تفعل في نفوسهم ما فعلته التشكيلات الثانية.

وأفهم بنوع خاص احتجاج بعض الزملاء من طائفة معينة على هضم حقوق طائفتهم في التشكيلات الأخيرة وقد كنت أول المحتجين على ذلك لأننا نريد، قبل أبناء تلك الطائفة، أن تسود العدالة والمساواة بين جميع أبناء هذا البلد. نريد ذلك مخلصين، إيماناً منا أن هذه العدالة هي من الأسس التي يركز عليها هذا الوطن العزيز. إننا نريد تحقيق هذه العدالة بالأعمال وليس بالوعود والكلام.

هنا أذكر حضرات الزملاء الكرام بنقطة هامة كان المجلس السابق قد وافقني عليها وأرجو من المجلس الحاضر ومن الحكومة أن يوافقاني عليها أيضاً.

إن في هذا البلد مناطق محرومة من حقوقها وقد عددنا هذه الحقوق وبينناها في الموازنات السابقة وخصصنا لها الاعتمادات اللازمة تعويضاً عن الأضرار التي لحقت بها في الماضي وأملنا أن لا تنسى الحكومة هذا واجب التفريق في المعاملة بين هذه المناطق المحرومة والمناطق الأخرى فالعدالة تتحقق باعطاء المناطق المحرومة أكثر من غيرها.

أما فيما يختص بقضية الإصلاح فمن الانصاف أن لا ننظر اليوم إلى التشكيلات الأخيرة فقط بل إلى العمل بكامله وأنا بروح الانصاف أقر وأعترف بما لهذه الحكومة ولسابقتها من فضل على تحسين الحال في البلاد وبنوع خاص على تحسين حالة الإدارة من جهة النصوص لأن المراسيم الاشتراعية أنشأت مجلس الخدمة المدنية وعززت هيئة التفتيش المركزي وينتظر أن تؤدي هاتان المصلحتان خدمات جلى في حقل الإدارة وعلينا أن نعطيها الوقت الكافي.

وفي المراسيم الاشتراعية نقطة إصلاحية هامة ألا وهي فرض المباراة بل بدلاً من الامتحان لأن الامتحان كان مع الأسف الشديد سبباً لتعيين المحاسيب بدلاً من الاكتفاء وذلك لأنه كان باستطاعة الحكومة أن تعين مثلاً العاشر من بين الناجحين وتهمل شأن الذي يأتي الأول في الامتحان في حين أن القاعدة في المباراة هي تعيين الأول ثم الثاني مع مراعاة الطائفية وبهذه الطريقة نؤمن وصول أصحاب الكفاءات إلى الوظيفة مراعين حقوق الطوائف.

ومراعاة حقوق الطوائف هو أمر دستوري يجب أن ننتبه إليه كل الانتباه لأننا شننا أم أبينا لبنانا الحاضر مبني على هذه القاعدة لتأمين التوازن فيه ويجب أن نطبق هذه القاعدة في كل صغيرة أو كبيرة لكي نؤمن العدالة التي هي أساس الملك في العالم وفي لبنان بنوع خاص.

أما بشأن التشكيلات الأخيرة فيجب الاعتراف بأن لها حسنات وسيئات، فالسيئة الكبرى هي في هضم حقوق طائفة معينة ولهذا فإننا نطلب بإلحاح من الحكومة أن تحفظ حقوق هذه الطائفة والطوائف الأخرى عند الاقتضاء في التعيينات والتشكيلات المقبلة أما حسنات هذه التشكيلات فهي أنها أتت بعيدة عن روح الانتقام الذي كان يريده البعض فيها.

أما بشأن إلغاء الطائفية وقد طالب البعض بإلغائها فنقول إننا مع الإلغاء ولكن نريد إلغائها من النفوس قبل إلغائها من النصوص، إذ ما الفائدة من إلغائها في النصوص إذا ظلت معششة في النفوس لأن إلغائها في النصوص فقط سيجر علينا متاعب ومشاكل أكثر من متاعب ومشاكل اليوم وليست الطائفية بحد ذاتها سبب تلك المتاعب والمشاكل بل السبب هو عدم تطبيق القاعدة الطائفية كما يجب فلو أن كل طائفة أخذت حقها كاملاً لما كنا سمعنا هذه الصرخة في المجلس وفي الرأي العام.

لذلك فنحن نريد إلغاء الطائفية بتطبيق العدالة على جميع اللبنانيين فبتحقيق العدالة والمساواة نكون قد ساعدنا على إلغائها تدريجياً من النفوس: نلغيها أولاً بالعدالة الاجتماعية والإدارية واعطاء المناطق المحرومة حقوقها ونلغيه ثانياً بإيصال أصحاب الكفاءات إلى الوظائف ونلغيها أيضاً من النفوس بتحقيق المشاريع الإنشائية أي بتوفير الماء والكهرباء والعلم والمستشفيات والطرق والهاتف إلى جميع اللبنانيين ونلغيها ثالثاً بتحسين حالة الإدارة عندما يأخذ المواطن حقه، الغني والفقير الجبلي والساحلي، دون أن يضطر إلى مراجعة أصحاب النفوذ وزعماء طائفته لينال حقه بواسطتهم وبالاختصار أقول يا دولة الرئيس، بعد أن بينا حسنات وسيئات التشكيلات الأخيرة وبعد أن طلبنا منكم إزالة هذه السيئات عن الطائفة التي تشكو منها وذلك في المستقبل القريب، نطلب منكم أن تهتموا بتأمين الإدارة الحسنة، وباعتقادي أنها أمر سهل جداً، فما عليكم إلا أن تعززوا التفطيش والتفتيش على التفطيش وأن تفرضوا العقوبات على كل مخالف كبيراً كان أم صغيراً وأن تمنحوا المكافآت للمستحقين وبصورة عملية أقدم لكم هذا الاقتراح البسيط وهو: أن تطلبوا من كل وزير وأن يطلب كل وزير من كل مدير عام في وزارته أن يقدموا لكم لائحة أسبوعية بالعقوبات المفروضة على الموظفين المخالفين وبالمكافآت الممنوحة للمستحقين منهم.

فإن طبقتم هذه الطريقة فأنا كفيل بأنها تعطي نتيجة حسنة جداً وفي وقت قصير، لأنني قد اختبرتها شخصياً عندما طبقتها في وزارة التصميم وقد ظهرت النتيجة الحسنة التي كنت

أتوخاها بظرف أربع وعشرين ساعة إذ أن فرض خمس عقوبات خفيفة كان كافياً لأن يجعل إدارة وزارة التصميم إدارة مثالية.

وختاماً أطلب من الحكومة ومن المجلس تعاوناً وثيقاً لنكمل العمل الذي قمنا به حتى اليوم والذي لا يزال الشعب يطالب بإكماله بالبحاح.

Appendix 8.26

Joseph Chader – 2 May 1961

Question by Joseph Chader to the government during a general discussion meeting concerning the purchase of gold by the Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1961): 11th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 2 May 1961.

جوزف شادر - عطوفة الرئيس،

عندما طلبت الكلام كنت أريد أن أجيب عن السؤال الذي طرحه الزميل الأستاذ ريمون اده بخصوص شراء الذهب. أما وقد أراد بعض الزملاء أن يتطرق إلى بعض المواضيع الأخرى فأني سأجيب على بعض النقاط تاركاً لزميلي الأستاذ لويس أبو شرف أن يجيب على بعض النقاط الأخرى. أما فيما يتعلق بقضية شراء الذهب فإن وقائع هذه القضية معروفة وتتلخص بهذه العبارة: إن مؤسسة الاصدار أي بنك سوريا ولبنان اشترى خلال شهر تشرين الثاني وخلال كانون الأول من سنة 1960 كمية من الذهب تبلغ خمسة عشر طناً ونيّف وذلك من الأسواق الحرة فأتى سؤال الأستاذ ريمون اده إلى الحكومة يقول: قرأت في الصحف أن مؤسسة الاصدار اشترت كمية من الذهب بمبلغ كذا، لذلك أود أن أسأل معالي وزير المالية أولاً:

- 1 - ما وزن كمية الذهب المشتراة؟
- 2 - ما هو سعر الأوقية سيف بيروت على أساس الدولار؟
- 3 - من أي مركز جرى الشراء؟

وقد أتى جواب الحكومة على هذه الأسئلة تماماً فيما يتعلق بالسعر والوزن والمركز، والآن جاء يقول باستجوابه لماذا اشترت الحكومة كمية الذهب من الأسواق الحرة بدلاً من الفيدرال ريزرف بنك. لماذا تحملت الخزينة خسارة قدرها هو بأكثر من مليون ليرة. هذا هو السؤال الجديد الذي طرحه اليوم وهو يناقض ما قاله في سؤاله تحت إمضائه والذي وجهه إلى الحكومة إذ ورد فيه صراحة: قرأت في الصحف أن مؤسسة تعلم أن المال الاصدار قد اشترت مؤخراً كمية من الذهب. وعندما تقول يا حضرة الزميل إن مؤسسة الاصدار قد اشترت كمية من الذهب عليك أن تعلم أن المال دفع من مؤسسة الاصدار لا من الخزينة اللبنانية. وإنه إذا كان هناك من خسارة فالحسارة تقع على مؤسسة الاصدار لا على الخزينة اللبنانية. فلا يجوز اللعب على الكلام. كيف تقول أنت أن مؤسسة الاصدار اشترت والآن جئت تقول إن الحكومة اشترت والحكومة خسرت والخزينة خسرت، كلا ثم كلا. يجب أن

تعلم الحقيقة قبل غيرك وأن يعلمها الجميع. لا دخل للحكومة ولا للخزينة قد بشراء كمية الذهب، فلم تدفع الخزينة بارة الفرد. أما مؤسسة الاصدار فهي التي تشتري وهي التي تدفع وهي التي تتسلم. لذلك فإن هذه القضية التي أثرتها وأردت أن تعطيها هالة وأن تزيد حولها الشكوك فإنها بسيطة جداً وهي في مصلحة البلد ولمصلحة الخزينة إذا كنت تفهم مصلحة الخزينة أنها لمصلحة البلد أيها السادة لأن النقد في لبنان عنصر أساسي للاقتصاد اللبناني يجب أن يدعم بأكثر كمية ممكنة من الذهب. لذلك بادرت مؤسسة الاصدار بإرشاد الحكومة، لأن سياسة النقد توجهها الحكومة، وبالاتفاق مع الحكومة اشترت مؤسسة الاصدار هذه الكمية من الذهب لتزيد تغطية الذهب وحسناً فعلت لأن تغطية الذهب اليوم تبلغ اثنتين وتسعين ونصف بالمئة 92.5 بالمئة من النقد المتداول وهذا أمر هام جداً ومفيد جداً للاقتصاد في البلد. أما مشتري الذهب من السوق الحرة بدلاً من فيدرال ريزرف بنك فهذا الشراء يهم مؤسسة الاصدار أولاً ولا يهم سواها. لأن المال قد دفع من مؤسسة الاصدار، من مالها الخاص، وهي تعرف مصلحتها أكثر من الأستاذ ريمون اده وأكثر من الأستاذ رفيق نجبا. نعم إن مؤسسة الاصدار التي اشترت الذهب واشترته لمصلحتها الخاصة ولحسابها الخاص. أما القول بأن الخسارة تقع على الخزينة فهذا خطأ جسيم، واعتقد أن الزميل ريمون اده ليس جاداً بمثل هذه العبارة عندما تفضل بمثل هذه العبارة. وعندما رمى الحكومة بمثل هذه التهمة، والبرهان على ذلك، عندما يشتري التاجر اليوم بعشرة قروش ويحتفظ بالبضاعة فإذا زاد السعر أو نقص لا يمكننا أن نقول إن هنالك خسارة أو ربح إلا بعد أن نصفي هذه البضاعة. والتصفية وحدها هي التي تمكنك من معرفة ما إذا كان خسارة أو ربح، أما اليوم فهل بإمكانك أن تقول بأن الذهب لن يرتفع سعره غداً. يمكنك أن تقول ذلك لأنه في الغد يصفى الحساب واليوم لا يمكنك تصفيته. تصفية الحساب تكون عند تصفية البضاعة، واليوم على كل حال إذا كان هنالك من خسارة أو ربح فلا علاقة للخزينة بها وهذا هو المهم، وليس للخزينة دخل بالموضوع لأنه يجب أن تعلم وهذا أمر بديهي أن كمية الذهب الموجودة في البنك هي لتغطية النقد اللبناني فهي ضمانات للنقد اللبناني والضمانة هي ملك للبنك الذي سلف البنك نوت اللبناني للشعب اللبناني، وإذا هبط سعر هذه الضمانة تكون الخسارة على صاحبها وليس عليك أنت أو على الخزينة. نحن بدنا أوراق نقدية لبنانية تبلغ كميتها اليوم أربع مائة وواحد وثلاثين مليون ليرة لبنانية، لقاء ذلك أو تغطية لذلك لدينا التغطية بالعملة الذهبية، والتغطية بالعملة الذهبية هي ضمانات النقد اللبناني. عندما نطلب إعادة المال من البنك في نهاية الامتياز عليه أن يقدم لنا مقابل الأربع مائة وواحد وثلاثين مليون ليرة لبنانية. فكمية الذهب هي كرهن، كتأمين، كضمانة لدى البنك، وهي ملك للبنك وليس ملكك، ثانياً أنه عندما يشتري لحسابه هو ويزيد الضمانة فإنما يعمل لمصلحته وحسابه هو وليس لحساب الخزينة لذلك إذا حلت خسارة في المستقبل على هذه الكمية المشتراة فهي تكون على حساب البنك لا على حساب الخزينة لذلك فالأمر بديهي يجب عليك أن تفهمه ولا يجوز أن تتكلم عن هذه العملية دون أن تفهمها.

اعادة سحب لقد جاء يا عطوفة الرئيس على لسان أحد الزملاء أن الضرائب المستوفاة من المناطق المتخلفة هي أكثر من المبالغ التي تنفق فيها. نريد بهذه المناسبة أن نعلن حقيقة وسياسة، والسياسة هي سياسة الحكومة والحكومات السابقة وهي سياسة حكيمة نريد أن تنمشی عليها كل الحكومات.

أما الحقيقة فهي عكس ما جاء على لسان الزميل الكريم من أن المناطق المتخلفة تدفع ضرائب أكثر من المبالغ التي تنفق عليها. الحقيقة هي بالعكس إذ ينفق على المناطق المتخلفة أكثر من مجموع الضرائب التي تدفعها، وهذا ما نريده نحن، نريد أن تساعد المناطق المتخلفة كما حصل ذلك في الماضي، وأنت تعلم يا أخي جان حرب كيف أننا منذ أكثر من ست سنوات في هذا المجلس وفي اللجنة المالية، أقرينا مبدأ مساعدة المناطق المحرومة. وأعطينا لها اعتمادات إضافية أكثر من التي كانت معطاة لسواها وذلك تطبيقاً للمبدأ القائل إن العدالة يجب أن تطبق في لبنان على جميع اللبنانيين وعلى جميع المناطق اللبنانية، ومفهومنا بالعدالة هو أن تعطى المناطق المتخلفة أكثر من حقها حتى تتساوى تدريجياً مع المناطق الأخرى. وهذه هي السياسة التي تمسنا عليها في الماضي وتتمشى عليها الحكومة الآن، ونريد أن تتمشى عليها جميع الحكومات في هذا البلد لأن العدل أساس الملك، ونريد العدل لجميع اللبنانيين ولجميع المناطق ويجب أن يكون مفهومنا للعدالة بأن تعطى للعدالة مفعولاً رجعيّاً بحيث نعطي اليوم للمناطق المتخلفة أكثر من نصيبها العادي لتتساوى كما قلت تدريجياً مع المناطق الأخرى.

وكلمة أخرى تعليقاً على ما جاء على لسان أحد الزملاء وهو الأستاذ شفيق مرتضى فيما يتعلق بالعدالة أيضاً ليس من جهة المنافع فحسب، بل من جهة الوظائف أيضاً، نحن نريد أيضاً أن تطبق المادة 95 من الدستور اللبناني وهي تحفظ حقوق جميع الطوائف مع مراعاة الكفاءة، وهذا أمر هام أيضاً نريد من الحكومة أن تتمشى عليه كما كان في السابق بل أكثر من السابق بغية انصاف جميع الطوائف.

Appendix 8.27

Joseph Chader - 5 July 1962

Speech by Joseph Chader during the discussion of a proposed draft Rental Law.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1962): 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 5 July 1962.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الاستاذ جوزف شادر.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس، حضرات الزملاء،

ان الاستاذ محسن سليم على حق حين يقول انه صوت على مبدأ التخفيض. كما أن الأستاذ محمود عمار على حق أيضاً عندما تلا نص المحضر القائل بأن الأستاذ محسن سليم صوت ضد مبدأ التخفيض، وتعليل ذلك أن المحضر خاطيء. انني أذكر تماماً بأننا عندما صوتنا على مبدأ التخفيض كنا أربعة ضد ستة ومن جملة الاربعة كان الأستاذ محسن سليم. إذا فالأستاذ محسن على حق. والأستاذ عمار على حق عندما يستند إلى المحضر. والحق كل الحق على من وضع المحضر.

زملائي الكرام.

لا تستغربوا لهجة بعض الزملاء في هذا الموضوع، موضوع قانون الايجارات بحيث انه أصعب وأعقد قانون يمكن أن يمر في هذا المجلس وفي مجالس العالم، لأنه كناية عن مصالح متشابكة متضاربة، والحالات الخاصة فيه متعددة للغاية، لذلك يجب علينا أن ندرسه بكل روية وامعان.

أيها السادة، لقد قيل، أن أزمة الايجارات في هذا البلد بدأت سنة 1940 أثناء الحرب الكونية الثانية. والمشتزع اللبناني عالج هذا الموضوع بطريقة لم تكن ناجحة، ومصيبتنا ناتجة من هذه الطريقة. فلو أن الحكومات السابقة وهذا المجلس الكريم موافقاً على انشاء مساكن شعبية قبل عشر سنوات أو خمس عشرة سنة لما كنا وصلنا إلى النقطة التي وصلنا إليها الآن.

الطريقة التي عولجت بها مشكلة الايجارات كانت مبنية على مبدئين. المبدأ الأول هو تمديد الايجارات مع زيادة البدلات أو عدم زيادتها. وتخفيض بدلات الايجارات المعقودة بعد سنة 1943 بموجب القانون الأول الذي صدر سنة 1942. والمبدأ الثاني هو تحرير الايجارات تدريجياً، جزئياً أو كلياً. فالتحرير الكلي حصل للإبنية الفخمة، ونرى الابنية الفخمة تزداد في هذا البلد ازدياداً لا لزوم له، فزال أزمة الابنية الفخمة. ومن المعلوم أن الابنية الفخمة

تستأجرها الطبقة الميسورة. وهذا التحرير الذي حصل كان ناقصاً ولا نزال حتى اليوم نحاول معالجة أزمة الايجارات للطبقة المتوسطة والفقيرة. ويجب علينا ايجاد حلول لهذه الأزمة بالنسبة لهذه الطبقة الأخيرة. وهذا ما تقوم به الحكومة ونقوم به نحن في لجنة الادارة والعدلية عندما قررنا ثلاثة مبادئ: أولاً، مبدأ المساكن الشعبية، ليتمكن الفقير والمتوسط الحال من ايجاد سكن له ببديل مخفض أو أن يشتري مسكناً له بالتقسيط لمدة عشر سنوات أو لمدة اثنتي عشرة سنة، لقاء مبلغ زهيد. لأن الحسابات التي أجريناها مع أهل الخبرة أفادت بأنه بالإمكان انشاء مسكن للطبقات الفقيرة بستة آلاف ليرة، يكون مؤلفاً من غرفتين وحمام ومنافع في بناية مجهزة بمصاعد. وتدفع الاقساط في مدة عشر سنوات أي بمعدل ستمائة ليرة كل سنة أو ما يعادل بدل الايجار الذي يدفعه الآن هذا الفقير لغرفة واحدة في بيروت والضواحي إذاً، بإمكاننا أن نبني هذه المساكن الشعبية ونبيعها من الفقير بستة آلاف ليرة يدفعها أقساطاً وكل قسط خمسون ليرة شهرياً. وبعد عشر سنوات يصبح مالكا للشقة أو للطابق الذي يسكنه هو وعائلته.

هذا هو الحل الجذري الأول الذي اعتمدته اللجنة. ونحن نهنيء الحكومة التي قدمت للمجلس مشروع المساكن الشعبية وهو الآن مدرج في جدول أعمال الدورة، وكما قال الاستاذ محمود عمار، يجب علينا أن نصوت على مشروع المساكن الشعبية قبل قانون الايجارات لأنه هو الذي سيحل الأزمة من أساسها.

والمبدأ الثاني الذي اعتمدناه لحل الأزمة نهائياً هو مشروع القانون الذي قدمه الاستاذ محسن سليم والذي يتعلق بالملكية التجارية، وقد أقرت هذا المشروع لجنة الادارة والعدلية بالاجماع دون أي تعديل لأنه مشروع مدروس، وقد تبنته الحكومة. وإننا نطلب من الحكومة أن تدرجه في جدول الأعمال لكي ندرسه ونقره في هذه الدورة.

والمبدأ الثالث هو تنظيم ملكية الطوابق والشقق في البناية الواحدة وهو الاقتراح الذي تقدمت به مع الزميل منير أبي فاضل والذي تبنته أيضاً الحكومة المحترمة. فنطلب منها أن تدرج هذا المشروع أيضاً في جدول أعمال الدورة الاستثنائية لنتمكن من درسه والتصويت عليه. وبهذه الطريقة، وللمرة الأولى في تاريخ هذا البلد، منذ سنة 1940، نكون قد أوجدنا حلاً لمشكلة الايجارات بصورة معقولة وجذرية، وهو بالمساكن الشعبية، أو بقانون الملكية التجارية، أو بمشروع تنظيم ملكية الشقق والطوابق ليتمكن الفقير والمتوسط الحال الذي لا يستطيع شراء الأرض لاقامة سكنه عليها، أن يشتري طابقاً أو شقة ويسكنها مع عائلته.

أما فيما يتعلق بالفترة الانتقالية، إذ أنه لا بد من فترة انتقالية للوصول إلى ما نريده جميعاً، أي الفترة اللازمة لانشاء المساكن الشعبية، فقد رنا المدة لخمس سنوات فماداً يمكننا أن نفعل أثناء هذه الفترة بما يتعلق بالاييجارات القديمة؟ لأن الايجارات الجديدة حررتها تماماً في مشروع القانون، أما الايجارات القديمة فيجب أن نضع لها العلاج الموافق. وهنا اختلفت الآراء في لجنة الادارة والعدلية، فمن الزملاء من قال بوجوب تخفيض الايجارات الجديدة، ومنهم من طالب بزيادة الايجارات القديمة، ومنهم من قال بالزيادة والتخفيض، ومنهم من قال لا زيادة ولا تخفيض ولا بد من القول هنا بأن الاستاذ محسن سليم كان من القائلين بالتخفيض وعدم الزيادة. وقلت أنا بوجوب الزيادة والتخفيض، وعلى كل حال فالكلمة الأخيرة

هي لهذا المجلس. ولكل نائب، بصرف النظر عن موقفه في لجنة الادارة والعدلية بأن يصوت بملء حريته وبموجب اقتناعه.

أنا كنت في اللجنة من أنصار مبدأ الزيادة والتخفيض. لأنه من العدل أن نزيد الايجارات القديمة، وعندى درس قمت به حول جميع الزيادات التي قررها هذا المجلس منذ سنة 1940 حتى اليوم. وأعلموا جيداً أن بدلات ايجار بيوت السكن التي كانت، في الاساس، مئة ليرة، أصبحت اليوم مئة وسبعين ليرة بعد ضم جميع الزيادات التي قررت. فالزيادات المقررة من سنة 1940 إلى سنة 1961 هي الآتية:

بيوت السكن التي كان ايجارها بالاساس مئة ليرة، أصبح اليوم 240، أي بزيادة مئة وأربعين بالمئة. والتي كان أساس ايجارها 300 ليرة أصبح 788 ليرة أي بزيادة 163 بالمئة. والتي كان أساس ايجارها 600 ليرة أصبح 1736 ليرة أي بزيادة 190 بالمئة تقريباً. أما المحلات التجارية فالزيادة التي طرأت على ايجاراتها هي أكثر، فالمحل الذي كان بدل ايجاره بالاساس مئة ليرة أصبح 315 ليرة أي بزيادة 215 بالمئة فقط. والذي كان أساس ايجاره 300 ليرة أصبح 1112 ليرة أي بزيادة 271 بالمئة. والذي كان أساس ايجاره 600 ليرة وألف ليرة أصبح 2539 ليرة أي بزيادة 323 بالمئة نسبة لاييجارات سنة 1939

وبعبارة أخرى، ان زيادة البدلات تتراوح بين 140 بالمئة لبيوت السكن والمحلات التجارية. في حين أن أكلاف المعيشة قد زادت خمسة أضعاف وربما عشرة أضعاف. وزيادة الرواتب التي يتقاضاها الموظف والمستخدم والعامل بلغت عشرة أضعاف ما كانت عليه سنة 1939.

لذلك أقول أن زيادة بدلات الايجارات المقررة لغاية سنة 1961 هي غير كافية، وبالإمكان أن نقرر الآن زيادة أخرى للسنوات الخمس المقبلة كما فعلت الحكومة تماماً.

أما إذا كان هناك غبن فاحش لحق ببعض المستأجرين، وأنا أعلم أن هناك فئة من مستأجري المحلات التجارية مغبونون، لأن بدلات ايجارات محلاتهم بعد الزيادة المقررة أصبحت بدلات فاحشة لأسباب خاصة فقد وضعنا في قانون سنة 1956 وفي القانون الحالي نصاً يجيز لهؤلاء المستأجرين أن يراجعوا المحاكم ويطلبوا التخمين العادل لبدلات محلاتهم التجارية. وأعلم، كما صرح الأستاذ محسن سليم في لجنة الادارة والعدلية، انه أقام عدة دعاوى أمام المحاكم لتخفيض بعض الايجارات كاييجارات بعض المحلات في سوق سرسق مثلاً. لأن ايجارات هذه المحلات أصبحت فاحشة بحكم القانون.

لذلك، فعندما نقر الزيادات الجديدة، ونضع مثل هذا النص، يكون حق جميع المستأجرين محفوظاً، لأن المستأجر الذي يعتبر أن ايجاره أصبح فاحشاً وغير عادل أي نسبته أصبحت أكثر من ستة بالمئة من قيمة البناء، فما عليه، بموجب المادة الخاصة التي وضعناها في القانون، إلا أن يراجع المحاكم ويطلب تخفيض الايجار ليصبح ايجاراً عادلاً.

أما في باقي الحالات، وهي متعددة، وهي الاكثرية الساحقة، فإن البدلات المقررة لغاية سنة 1961 كانت أقل من البدلات العادلة ويجب زيادتها كما اقترحت ذلك الحكومة وكما أقترحه أنا الآن.

وفيما يتعلق بالتخفيض أيها السادة، يجب أن نقره لأن البدلات الجديدة هي بدلات فاحشة، وقد تتناول الفئات المتوسطة والفقيرة. وعندما نقر مبدأ التخفيض من سنة 1948 إلى سنة 1956، لا شيء يمنع، بل من الواجب أن نتابع اجتهاد المشرع اللبناني الذي أقر الزيادة من جهة والتخفيض من جهة ثانية، فنخفض بدلات الإيجار المعقودة بعد كانون الأول سنة 1956 بمعدل 10 و 15 و 20 بالمئة حسب تاريخ انشاء البناء.

فيجب إذن، أن نتمشى على السياسة القديمة ونطبق في هذه الفترة الانتقالية مبدأ الزيادة ومبدأ التخفيض.

وبهذه الطريقة نكون قد حللنا هذه المشكلة العويصة بواسطة الحلول الثلاثة: مشروع المساكن الشعبية، تنظيم الملكية التجارية، وتنظيم ملكية الطوابق في البناية المتعددة الطوابق.

Appendix 8.28

Joseph Chader – 27 June 1963

Speech by Joseph Chader at the discussion of the policies of the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1963): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 27 June 1963.

جوزف شادر - حضرة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لماذا سنولي نحن، نواب حزب الكتائب، الحكومة الثقة.

من حق الشعب ان يعرف الأسباب بالتفصيل فيحكم لنا أو علينا.

عودة الى الوراء، يا سادة، وتعود الى اذهانكم تلك الاصوات المرتفعة بالتذمر والشكوى من عدم الاستقرار الوزاري، ومن قاعدة «قم لاقعد مكانك» القاضية بأن لا يطول عمر أي وزارة أكثر من سنة.

أجل لطالما تألمنا وتآلم الشعب معنا، من تلك الذهنية السائدة، المستسلمة لسياسات شخصية واقليمية ضيقة، التي كانت تهدر الوقت في أحداث الازمات واسقاط الحكومات، دون اعارة كبير اهتمام للمشاريع المنتظرة في الادراج، ولا الى آمال الشعب المتعطشة الى التحقيق، فما تلبث ان تصفع بخيبة مريرة وبيانات وزارية تبقى في معظمها حبراً على ورق.

اما في هذا العهد فقد جاءت الحكومة الحاضرة حاملة برنامجاً اصلاحياً حافلاً وملفلاً ضخماً من المشاريع، مقروناً ببرنامجاً اثارته في بادئ الامر ابتسام الكثيرين، وما عثمت ان أصبحت نقطة الثقل في صفحة الحساب المفتوحة لها اليوم في هذا المجلس.

أجل، لنحاسب الحكومة، انما بكل جرأة وصراحة وانصاف، ولنترك التفاصيل جانباً، أولاً لضيق المجال، وثانياً لأن البحث بالتفاصيل يؤدي الى جدل بيزنطي وينسينا الجوهر.

أما هذا الجوهر، فهو، بالنسبة لنا وللشعب سياسة سليمة في الخارج، ووحدية وطنية وامن واقتصاد واجتماع وادارة وقضاء، في الداخل.

فمن حيث السياسة الخارجية نحن نرى ان سياسة الحياد التي اتبعتها الحكومة الحاضرة كانت حكيمة وناجحة جداً وان الاحداث التي جرت وتجري حولنا تحمل جميع المنصفين وغير المتطرفين، على امتداح هذه السياسة، التي بفضلها ننعم بهذا الاستقرار الذي أصبح موضوع اعجاب الكثيرين.

اما من حيث السياسة الداخلية، فهنا مجال لشيء من التفصيل.

ان قضية الامن قد حلتها الحكومة بشكل مرض اجمالاً بدليل الاحصاءات المتعلقة بتنفيذ مذكرات التوقيف إذ بلغت نسبة هذا التنفيذ خلال شهر أيار الماضي مئة بالمئة وهذا لعمرى فتح في موضوع الامن في لبنان. ولا يسعني في هذا الصدد الا أن أنوه بالجهود الجبارة التي قامت بها، ولا تزال، مديرية الامن العام لاحصاء ما يقارب الاربعمئة الف أجنبي في لبنان ودرس أوضاعهم ولضبط الدخول الى البلاد والخروج منها والاقامة فيها وهذا أيضاً فتح عظيم في شؤون الامن الداخلي والخارجي.

اما القضايا الاقتصادية فقد عالجتها الحكومة بصورة فعالة موفقة باقرار جميع الخبراء.

فسياسة النقد المتبعة كانت سليمة للغاية وقد اهتمت الحكومة بانشاء المصرف المركزي الوطني ليحل محل مؤسسة الاصدار في أول نيسان 964 فلزمت البناء المخصص لهذا المصرف واعدت مشروعاً يتعلق بالنقد اللبناني وينظم اعمال البنك المركزي ومهنة الصيرفة وقد باشرت لجنة المالية درس هذا المشروع الهام. ومن جهة اخرى فان الدروس قائمة على قدم وساق لتأسيس بنك الانماء الوطني الذي سيسد ثغرة في حقل التسليف ويؤدي خدمات جلى للاقتصاد اللبناني.

وسياسة الانفاق كانت ممتازة لا سيما في وزارة الاشغال العامة والنقل وقد ساعدت كثيراً على التخفيف من قلة سيولة النقد التي شكت منها اسواقنا خلال سنة 961. أما المشاريع التي وضعتها هذه الحكومة بالذات أو التي تابعت تنفيذها بمهمة لم نعهد لها في الماضي فبيان الحكومة التي تلي علينا بليغ بشأنها ويثبت ان هذه الحكومة تستحق فعلاً لقب حكومة عمل.

ان هذه الاشغال تدخل في نطاق الاعمال التأسيسية واعمال التجهيز الأولي المطلوبة من كل حكومة عصرية.

والحق يقال ان الحكومة الحاضرة تقوم بهذا الواجب خير قيام، ان لجهة المبالغ المصروفة التي فاقت كثيراً كل رقم سابق، وان لجهة شمول الاشغال جميع المناطق اللبنانية ولا سيما المتخلفة منها.

وبمناسبة الكلام على المشاريع الانشائية لا بد لنا من ذكر الاتفاقيين المعقودين مع شركة نفط العراق وشركة التابليين والذين ادبا الى قبض 88 مليون ليرة خصصت بكاملها للمشاريع الانشائية والى زيادة العائدات السنوية من 5 ملايين الى 26 مليون ليرة في السنة.

وفي الحقل التشريعي المتعلق بالموازنة والضرائب، فقد قامت الدوائر المختصة في وزارة المال بنشاط كبير لتحضير مشاريع قوانين تتعلق بضريبة الاملاك المبنية وبقانون المحاسبة العمومية وبقانون ضريبة الدخل وبقانون رسم الطوابع الخ.. فالمشروع الاول صدقه المجلس ووضع موضع التنفيذ اعتباراً من السنة الجارية والمشروع الثاني هو قيد الدرس في لجنة المالية والمشاريع الأخرى هي بطريقها الى مجلس الوزراء ومن ثم الى المجلس.

وفي الحقل الزراعي نذكر بنوع خاص مشروع استصلاح الاراضي المعروف بالمشروع الاخضر الذي ينتظر تصديق المجلس بعد ان اقرته اللجان المختصة كما نذكر قانون 21 آب سنة 962 الذي وسع صلاحيات وامكانات مكتب الفاكهة وسمح له بتأسيس شركات مختلطة لشراء وحفظ وتصدير الفاكهة اللبنانية ونقلها بالبواخر المبردة ونذكر أيضاً قرار الحكومة المتعلق بشراء موسم القمح بأسعار مشجعة للفلاح والمزارع وهذا عمل هام للغاية من الناحيتين الاقتصادية والاجتماعية.

اما من ناحية السياحة فللمرة الأولى تولي الحكومة هذا الموضوع الجوهري الاهتمام الجدي اذ الفت المجلس الوطني للسياحة واعطته شكل الجمعية ذات المنفعة العامة ليكون حراً مبدئياً بتصرفاته الادارية والمالية وقد باشرت هذه المؤسسة تنفيذ مهامها بعد ان وضع تحت تصرفها ما يقارب الثلاثة ملايين ليرة للسنة الجارية وهناك أيضاً القانون الذي أجاز للحكومة ان تكفل قرصاً قدره 5 ملايين ليرة يخصص للمشاريع الفندقية.

واخيراً نذكر المساعي التي قامت بها الحكومة لدرس موضوع التعاقد مع السوق الاوروبية المشتركة ولتحسين وضعنا السياسي والاقتصادي والثقافي مع بلاد افريقيا الواسعة والغنية ولا يخفى ما لهذه البلاد من أهمية بالنسبة لمغربينا ولأصحاب المشاريع والفنيين اللبنانيين.

ومن الناحية الاجتماعية يكفي الحكومة الحاضرة ان تكون قد استصدرت قانون المساكن الشعبية وعينت مجلس الاسكان الذي باشر عمله ووضعت مشروع قانون الامان الاجتماعي ومشروع قانون العقود الجماعية، فضلاً عما تقوم به بعثة ايرفد ومصلحة الانعاش الاجتماعي من دروس واعمال تدريبية تستهدف تحسين حالة الارياف والمناطق النائية.

وفيما يختص بالبلديات فقد صدر مؤخراً قانون جديد لها كما انشيء مجلس لتنفيذ المشاريع الكبرى في مدينة بيروت وقد وضعت الحكومة مشروع قانون للرسوم البلدية بغية زيادة واردات البلديات.

ومن جهة الادارة والموظفين فقد تابعت الحكومة أعمال الاصلاح الاداري بتثبيت القسم الأكبر من الموقتين والمياومين والمتعاقدين وهي ساعية الآن لتوسيع ملاكات الدولة حسب الحاجة لتثبيت الباقين منهم ولاملاء المراكز الشاغرة. ولتحسين حالة الموظف المادية وضعت الحكومة مشروع قانون يقضي بانشاء تعاونية عامة لموظفي الدولة وهو قيد الدرس الآن في لجنة المالية.

وأخيراً فيما يختص بالقضاء فقد استصدرت الحكومة قوانين تقضي بمنح زيادة محسوسة على رواتب القضاة وتوسيع ملاكهم وبتعيين قضاة جدد ومساعدين قضائيين، ومن شأن هذه التدابير تحسين أوضاع المحاكم اللبنانية.

من هذا العرض السريع الناقص - الذي لا يحتوى على شيء من نشاط عدة وزارات، منها وزارات التربية والصحة والتصميم والانباء - يظهر جلياً أن الحكومة لم تقصر بواجباتها، بل قامت بمجموعة ضخمة من الاعمال مستنيرة بمبادئ سليمة وجوهرية: مبدأ العدل والمساواة بين المواطنين تعزيزاً للوحدة الوطنية، ومبدأ الازدهار الاقتصادي المبني على نظام الاقتصاد الحر الذي يساعد على تطبيق العدالة الاجتماعية تدريجياً بين مختلف فئات

الشعب. اما تخفيف الفرق بين الغني والفقير وتوزيع الثروة الوطنية بصورة ملائمة فهذا الأمر يشكل أيضاً هدفاً من أهداف الحكومة الحاضرة. ولكن الوصول اليه يحتاج وقتاً طويلاً وقد خف الفرق المذكور بارتفاع مستوى الطبقات الدنيا ارتفاعاً مستمراً منذ سنة 1951 ليومنا هذا.

هل يستفاد من كلامي هذا ان الحالة هي على أحسن ما يرام - كلا اننا لا نزال نشكو من عيوب ونواقص في الادارات والمحاكم وهذا أمر طبيعي طالما أن الداء مزمن وكانت معالجته في الماضي ارتجالية أو سطحية الى أن اتى العهد الحاضر واجرى اصلاحاً جذرياً اعطى بعض النتائج لغاية اليوم ويعطي نتائج أهم سنة بعد سنة بفضل المؤسساتين الجديدين، مجلس الخدمة المدنية والتفتيش المركزي، فضلاً عن هيئة التفتيش القضائي.

وفي هذا المجال لا بد من بحث قضيتين هامتين هما قضية التجانس بين الوزراء وقضية البطء في الأعمال.

- ان التجانس التام بين اعضاء الحكومة، سواء كانت من الفئة الحاكمة اليوم أم من الفئة المعارضة، غير ممكن في الوقت الحاضر ولمدة طويلة، طالما ان التطاحن لا يزال مستمراً بين الفئتين الكبيرتين في هذا البلد والفتتان يجب أن تتمثلاً في الحكم. وفي داخل الحكومة تعالج القضايا المختلف عليها وتحل بالتي هي أحسن وقد قيل ان لبنان بلد النسبية والتسويات شرط عدم مس الجواهر.

- أما مشكلة البطء الملحوظة في الدوائر والمحاكم، فلها أسباب عديدة، منها انها ملازمة للحكم الجمهوري البرلماني كما لاحظته المفكرون منذ زمن بعيد، قبل مونتسكيو وبعده. ومنها طبيعة القوانين والانظمة والجهاز البشري.

أما البطء في اعمال مجالسنا النيابية فسيببه تغيب أكثرية النواب عن جلسات اللجان وجلسات المجلس.

ولكن المادة 58 من الدستور استدركت هذا الامر للمشاريع المرسلة بصفة المعجل.

لقد سبق لهذا المجلس ان انتقد الحكومة السابقة والحكومة الحاضرة عندما ارادنا اساءة استعمال هذا الحق الدستوري وقد وصلنا بالواقع الى شبه اتفاق مع الحكومة يقضي بعدم نشر المشاريع المعجلة بمراسيم الا عند الضرورة القصوى.

وبهذه الطريقة نكون قد امانا المصلحتين، مصلحة الحكومة التي تريد أن تنفذ بسرعة ومصلحة المجلس الذي أعطي الوقت الكافي لدرس واقرار المشاريع المعجلة.

وخلاصة القول هي أن الحكومة الحاضرة، وقد قامت اجمالاً بأعمال جبارة مسيرة بمباديء تقدمية وبذهنية عصرية، تستحق فعلاً الثقة لتتابع عملها المجدي الشريف.

أما المعارضة فلها طبعاً المآخذ على الحكومة طالما ان الكمال لله وحده ولكن المهم في الموضوع ان تبرهن لنا وللشعب أنها لا تريد اسقاط الحكومة للجلوس فقط على الكراسي

محلها بل لتشكل وزارة تعمل أكثر واحسن مما فعلت الحكومة الحاضرة. فهل التشكيلة
المرتقبة قادرة على ذلك.

بكل اخلاص وموضوعية وجزم نجيب كلا ولذلك نمنج هذه الحكومة الثقة ونتابع تعاوننا معها
بروح ايجابية بناءة.

Appendix 8.29

Joseph Chader - 26 May 1964

Joseph Chader's speech against amending Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution for the re-election of President Fouad Chehab.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1964): 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 26 May 1964.

جوزف شادر - عطوفة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام.

لا بد لحزب الكتائب اللبنانية من أن يقول كلمته الصريحة في موضوع التمني بتعديل بعض مواد الدستور.

وموقف الحزب من قضية تعديل أحكام الدستور - أياً كانت - معروف لدى الجميع منذ نيف وسبع وعشرين سنة.

لقد كنا ولا نزال ندين بمبدأ عدم تعديل الدستور لأسباب عديدة، منها عامة تنطبق على جميع البلدان، ومنها خاصة مردها وضع لبنان الفريد.

فالاستقرار في القوانين العادية، وبالأحرى بدستور البلاد، أمر ضروري ومجدي، أكثر من الاستقرار الاقتصادي والمالي والاجتماعي، وكم من بلد شكّا من فتح باب التعديلات الدستورية فيه، خلافاً للبلدان التي حافظت على دستورها فأفادت من هذا الاستقرار إفادة جلى.

أما بالنسبة للبنان، المبني على قاعدة التوازن الدقيقة الحساسة، فالاستقرار الدستوري فيه، مقروناً بقدسية الميثاق الوطني، أمر هام للغاية، لأنه مرتبط بمصلحة البلاد العليا.

وقد أثبتت الأيام منذ سنة 1943 صحة نظريتنا القائلة بعدم مس الدستور ولا الميثاق الوطني، باعتبارهما من قدسيات لبنان.

إلا أن موقفنا من تعديل الدستور هو موقف مبدئي وموضوعي فلا دخل لشخص فخامة رئيس الجمهورية به على الإطلاق.

ومن أحق منا - ولا سيما من رئيسنا الشيخ بيار الجميل الذي تشرف بمعاونة فخامته دون انقطاع في جميع الحكومات السابقة طيلة خمس سنوات ونصف، بتقديم واجب الاحترام لشخصه النبيل، ولشخصيته الفذة، وواجب التقدير للسياسة الداخلية والخارجية الممتازة التي رسمها، والتي أمنت للبلاد حالة استقرار وازدهار نحسد عليها، وواجب الوفاء للخدمات الجلى التي أداها للبنان منذ توليه قيادة الجيش وسدة الرئاسة الأولى.

ونحن نعتقد بأن أفضل تكريم لفخامته، إذا أصر على عدم قبول التجديد، هو في أداء واجبين خطيرين ملقيين على عاتقنا، نحن نواب الأمة بالدرجة الأولى، وهما:

- الأول: انتقاء رئيس جمهورية يتحلى بصفات الرئيس شهاب العالية، ويطبق سياسته الحكيمة المبنية على الوحدة الوطنية، والعدالة الاجتماعية، ويكمل تنفيذ مناهجه الإنشائية والتجهيزية والتربوية، فيجعل من لبنان دولة عصرية مثالية، ومن اللبنانيين أمة متراسة تتمسك باستقلال لبنان وسيادته وكرامته وعزته، تمسك المرء بعينه وروحه.

- الواجب الثاني: مساندة هذا الرئيس ومساعدته بكل اخلاص وتجرد ليتمكن من القيام بمهامه الشاقة على أكمل وجه خلال الست سنوات المقبلة.

وكم نحن بحاجة ماسة إلى كل ذلك لترسيخ روح المحبة والتسامح واحترام النظام في قلوب اللبنانيين، ولإكمال الإصلاح الإداري على الأسس التي وضعها الرئيس شهاب، وتعزيز الازدهار الاقتصادي، وتعميم العدالة الاجتماعية في بلد الحريات والمروآت.

عاش لبنان

Appendix 8.30

Joseph Chader – 12 August 1965

Speech by Joseph Chader at the discussion of the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's 37th Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1965): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 12 August 1965.

جوزف شادر: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

سيعطي نواب حزب الكتائب الثقة للحكومة المحترمة لسببين، السبب الأول لأنها ليست حكومة تحدّ وقتال وحرب وكنا على ما يعلم الجميع قد توسطنا لقيام حكومة ائتلافية تضم خبرة عناصر هذا المجلس. وجميع هذه العناصر خيرة، ولكن عدد الوزراء محدود فتشكل الحكومة من بعض هذه العناصر الخيرة من جميع الفئات، ولكن هذه المساعي لم تكال بالنجاح. فشكل دولة الرئيس المكلف هذه الحكومة من خارج المجلس. فوق اختياره على شخصيات ممتازة توحى بالثقة لنا وللشعب وبعد تشكيل الحكومة الحاضرة، تشاور الزملاء فيما بينهم وقرروا جميعاً عدم خلق جو مضطرب في داخل المجلس. وقرر البعض مساندة هذه الحكومة لتسهيل مهامها الشاقة، وقرر البعض معارضتها معارضة بناءة.

أما السبب الثاني فهو ما تضمن البيان الوزاري من مبادئ أساسية ندين بها نحن في هذا المجلس وفي هذا البلد. ونحن على ثقة بأن هذه الحكومة ستتمكن من تنفيذ بعض ما وعدت به في البيان الوزاري. وفيما يتعلق بهذا البيان لنا ملاحظات هامة على الكثير مما ورد فيه من مشاريع ومناهج. فالأفضل أن نواجه أصحاب المعالي الوزراء المعنيين بمكاتبتهم وتداول معهم فيما يتعلق بهذه الملاحظات التي لا تستهدف طبعاً إلا المصلحة العامة. وبعد هذه الاجتماعات الخاصة، يتقدم الوزراء بمشاريع قوانين فتأتي إلى هذا المجلس ويطلع عليها الشعب وحضرات النواب. ولكن هنالك بعض الملاحظات التي لا بد من إبدائها منذ الآن. لقد حوى البيان الوزاري في نهايته هذه العبارة المتعلقة بالمغتربين: - كما أن حكومتنا ستوالي العمل المنظم لتوثيق الصلات بين شطري لبنان المقيم والمغترب وتشجيع الجامعة اللبنانية في العالم، وتعلمون أيها السادة أنه منذ بضعة أيام عقدت الجامعة اللبنانية في العالم بمعاونة وزارة الخارجية وبمساعدة نقابتي المحامين في بيروت وطرابلس وجمعية الصناعيين مؤتمرين: الأول للمحامين والثاني لرجال الأعمال وقد كانت حقاً جميع الدروس والأبحاث أثناء هذين المؤتمرين هامة جداً وانتهى المؤتمر بتقديم مقترحات إلى وزارة الخارجية. فمنذ الآن أرجو معالي وزير الخارجية أن يعير هذه التوصيات الاهتمام الكافي لأنها حقاً فيها مصلحة عظيمة للبنان المقيم ولبنان المغترب. والملاحظة الثانية الهامة تتعلق بقضية غلاء المعيشة وقد ذكر البيان الوزاري أن وزارة الاقتصاد ستعالج قضية ارتفاع كلفة المعيشة

بطريقة تتفق مع اقتصادنا الحر الذي هو ضرورة للبنان. نحن نشكر معالي الوزير والحكومة على هذه العبارة الواردة في البيان الوزاري.

وفيما يتعلق بقضية ارتفاع كلفة المعيشة بالذات، ونلفت نظر الحكومة عامة وبنوع خاص معالي وزير الاقتصاد بأن هذه القضية خطيرة جداً لأن ارتفاع الأسعار سنة بعد سنة يؤدي إلى زيادة الأجور ورواتب الموظفين، وهذه الزيادة تؤدي إلى ارتفاع الأسعار ثانية، وهناك تدخل فيما يسمونه بالحلقة الجهنمية، وهذا ما يعلمه وزير الاقتصاد جيداً وهو الاقتصاد الشهير.

فالواقع يلاحظ أننا اضطررنا إلى زيادة الرواتب للموظفين، وللمستخدمين والعمال، كل أربع سنوات، فالزيادة قررت سنة 1957 وزيادة أخرى قررت سنة 1961 وأخيراً قررنا نحن زيادة في أول عام 1965، وهذه الزيادة كلفت الخزينة عشرين مليون ليرة تقريباً لموظفي الدولة فقط، فإذا لم نحارب غلاء المعيشة وارتفاع الأسعار بصورة جدية بحيث نمنع هذا الارتفاع، ولو بنسبة اثنين بالمئة فقط سنوياً، سوف نضطر بعد أربع سنوات إلى قبول زيادة ثمانية بالمئة، كما قررنا مؤخراً للمستخدمين والعمال في سنة 1965، وإذا طبقنا هذه الزيادة على موظفي الدولة أقول منذ الآن إن هذه الزيادة ستكلف الخزينة لا أقل من ثلاثين مليون ليرة، زيادة نفقة دائمة ستزيد مع الوقت وتشكل عبئاً ثقيلاً على الخزينة.

لذلك ولمنع جميع هذه المحاذير الناتجة من ارتفاع الأسعار أنبع الحكومة وبنوع خاص معالي وزير الاقتصاد الوطني إلى هذه القضية ليعمل كل ما في وسعه لخفض كلفة هذه المعيشة، ومحاربة غلاء المعيشة أيها السادة، لا تكون فقط بمكافحة ارتفاع الأسعار الغير المشروع. المحاربة المجدية أكثر من ذلك هي في الإسراع في تطبيق قانون المساكن الشعبية ليتسنى للطبقة الفقيرة أن تستأجر، أو أن تشتري، بالتقسيم مسكناً لعائلاتها فتوفر خمسين أو ستين أو سبعين ليرة شهرياً مما تدفعه الآن، ومكافحة غلاء المعيشة يتم أيضاً بتعميم المدارس الابتدائية المجانية.

ونحن نعلم أن الحكومة جاهدة في هذا المجال، وهناك قانون تعاونية الموظفين التي خصصنا لها في الموازنة ستة أو سبعة ملايين ليرة ولأن لم يستفد أي موظف من هذه التعاونية فيجب أن تطبق أحكام هذه التعاونية لاسيما لصغار الموظفين ليمكنوا من تسديد بعض حاجاتهم، ومحاربة غلاء المعيشة يتم أيضاً بتشجيع إنشاء التعاونيات الاستهلاكية، وأيضاً، وهنا أطلب من معالي وزير العدلية الانتباه، ويتم أيضاً بمحاربة الربا الفاحش المنصوص عنه في قانون العقوبات، وجميعنا يعلم أن مئات وآلاف الموظفين والمستخدمين والعمال استدانوا المئات والآلاف من الليرات من بعض المرابين ويدفعون عشرة بالمئة شهرياً لهؤلاء الأشخاص المجرمين، ولم نلاحظ لغاية اليوم من النيابة العامة تحركاً لإقامة الدعاوى الجزائية بحق هؤلاء المرابين. والملاحظة الأخيرة فيما يتعلق بالبيان الوزاري، ملاحظة تتعلق بالإصلاح القضائي والإداري، لقد حوى البيان الوزاري وعداً بتنفيذ القانون الذي صدقناه والقوانين الذي سنصدقها ونحن بالرغم من فشل محاولات الإصلاح التي تمت في هذا البلد سنة 1932 وسنة 1953 وسنة 1959، نأمل أن تأتي عملية الإصلاح على يد هذه الحكومة المحترمة الإصلاح الشامل والتطهير الكامل غير منقوصة وأن تتناول التدابير بحق كبار الموظفين

والقضاة قبل صغارهم ولنا ملء الثقة بضمير الذين سيقومون بهذا العمل إلهام سواء أكان في مجلس الخدمة المدنية أو التفتيش المركزي أو في مجلس الوزراء وعلى رأسه فخامة رئيس الجمهورية، إلا أن هذا التطهير للإصلاح، غير كاف كتدبير وهناك تدابير أخرى نلفت النظر إليها، وهي هامة أيضاً كعملية التطهير والإصلاح.

هنالك قضايا تبسيط المعاملات، وكلنا يعلم كم تكلف المعاملة من شقاء وزيارات للدوائر حتى تنتهي، وهنالك أيضاً قضية تخفيض عدد الدوائر والمصالح المستقلة والمؤسسات العامة ودمجها مع بعضها البعض، وهنالك قضية تحسين أوضاع الموظفين لاسيما الصغار منهم بتطبيق قانون التعاونية العامة كما ذكرت آنفاً هذا بما يتعلق بالمناهج الوارد في البيان الوزاري.

أما فيما يتعلق بقضية هامة جداً أتى البيان على ذكرها وقد قلت في بادئ كلامي أننا سنعطي الثقة للحكومة لأنها ضمنّت بيانها بعض المبادئ الهامة التي تدين بها، وبالواقع فقد تضمن البيان أن الحكومة تعلن عن إيمانها المطلق بالديمقراطية وبالنظام البرلماني الأصل الذي هو الركيزة والمنطلق لجميع مقومات الحياة الوطنية والإنسانية الكريمة في لبنان، نحن مع الحكومة في هذا الإعلان. الديمقراطية أيها السادة، أو بالأحرى النظام البرلماني الأصل قبلما أتكلم بالديمقراطية، النظام البرلماني الأصل الذي ورد ذكره في هذا البيان، هو ما أردناه ونريده جميعاً في هذا المجلس، وهذا النظام يتميز بالدرجة الأولى بعدم تطبيق المادة - 58 من الدستور إلا في الحالات الاستثنائية، وقد سرنا أن نلاحظ بأنه منذ عشرة أشهر لم يرد إلى هذا المجلس مشروع واحد بصفة المعجل، حتى إن مشاريع القوانين الأخيرة المتعلقة بالإصلاح وردت جميعها إلى هذا المجلس بالصفة العادية، ونحن نهني الحكومة السابقة على هذا العمل ونشكرها لأن هذه الطريقة على ما لاحظنا، دبت الهمة في نفوس أكثرية النواب، فاندفعوا لدرس مشاريع القوانين وتمحيصها في اللجان واندفعوا لحضور جلسات المجلس وإقرار القوانين أكثر من ذي قبل، فكانت النتيجة عظيمة لأن التشريع أصبح أفضل ولأن النظام البرلماني عزز في هذا البلد ذلك النظام الذي نتمسك به، لأنه أفضل نظام يتوافق ووضع لبنان ومصالحه، شرط أن تنفذ أحكام الدستور بنصها وروحها من قبل جميع السلطات.

أما فيما يتعلق بالديمقراطية التي تكلم عنها زميلنا كمال بك جنبلاط هذا الصباح نقول أولاً: إنها حكم الشعب بواسطة ممثليه الشرعيين، أي بواسطة نوابه المنتخبين بموجب انتخابات حرة ونزيهة. وهذا الشكل من الحكم هو، في لبنان، النظام البرلماني المنصوص عليه في دستورنا. انتخابات حرة ونزيهة، أي انتخابات بعيدة كل البعد عن الضغط من أية جهة أنت، وعن المساومات المالية وشراء الأصوات.

وثانياً: الديمقراطية هي حكم ممثلي الشعب لمصلحة الشعب بجميع فئاته، ولاسيما الكادحين والمعوزين ولجميع مناطق البلاد لاسيما المناطق المتخلفة.

كيف طبقت الديمقراطية في لبنان؟

نحن في هذا البلد ننعم بجوهر الديمقراطية، أي بالحريات على أنواعها وعلى أوسع مدى. والحرية هي أعظم نعمة منحها الخالق للإنسان. إلا أننا لا نزال، في حياتنا الديمقراطية، في

أول عهدنا، والديمقراطية تتطلب تربية شخصية ومدنية ووطنية عميقة. وتتطلب كما قال - مونتسكيو - الكثير من الفضائل عند الحكام والرعية على حد سواء. وبما أن تربيتنا الديمقراطية ناقصة إجمالاً، من كبيرنا إلى صغيرنا، لذلك نرى ما نراه في القضاء والدوائر الرسمية والشركات والصحافة إلى آخره، من فساد وتلاعب وسوء تصرف وتطاول. هذا الفساد، أيها السادة، موجود ليس فقط في الدوائر الرسمية، بل موجود أيضاً في القطاع الخاص. والفساد موجود في جميع بلدان العالم ولكن بدرجات متفاوتة، وهو موجود أيضاً في البلاد التي تطبق الأنظمة الاشتراكية أو الشيوعية ولو أخفت الدولة والصحافة فيها معالم الفساد والفضائح.

نحن طالبنا، ونطالب اليوم، وسنطالب دوماً بمحاربة الفساد على أنواعه. إن القول بأن هذا الفساد هو نتيجة النظام الاقتصادي المتبع في لبنان هو قول خاطئ وفيه تجن على النظام المذكور. لأنه يجب التفريق بين النظام أي نظام، وبين سوء الاستعمال في تطبيق هذا النظام. إن سوء الاستعمال، كما قلت، موجود، وسوء التصرف أيضاً والاستغلال، فيجب محاربتهم ومكافحتهم بشتى الوسائل.

وأصل من مقدمتي هذه النتيجة تطبيق النظام الاقتصادي الحر في لبنان لنتساءل فيما إذا كانت هذه النتيجة حسنة أم لا. والشجرة تعرف من ثمارها، فلنر ماذا كانت هذه الثمار منذ عام 1950 أو 1951. وإليك بعض الأرقام:

من الناحية المالية - النقد المتداول كان يبلغ 208 ملايين ليرة سنة 1951 وارتفع إلى 563 مليون ليرة في 31 تموز سنة 1965. واردة الموازنة كانت تبلغ 105 ملايين ليرة سنة 1951 فبلغت سنة 1964 460 مليون ليرة في الموازنة العامة. يضاف إليها 23 مليون ليرة رسوم تعمير فيكون المجموع 483 مليون ليرة.

أما النقد اللبناني فهو يحتل اليوم المركز الثالث في العالم أجمع. فهو يأتي بعد الفرنك السويسري والديوتش مارك الألماني الغربي وذلك بفضل المعاهدة التي وقعها لبنان في 24 كانون الثاني سنة 1948 مع دولة فرنسا والتي أمنت استقلال النقد اللبناني عن الفرنك الإفريقي. وكانت هذه الاتفاقية سبباً رئيسياً لازدهار الاقتصادي في لبنان لما للنقد أهمية الاقتصاد الوطني. وهنا علينا أن نترحم على الذين وضعوا ووسعوا هذه الاتفاقية، ودافعوا عنها، بالرغم من كل التهويل الذي حصل في حينه، حول هذه الاتفاقية. عينت المرحوم بشارة الخوري والمرحوم رياض الصلح والمرحوم ميشال شبحا، وشفى الله الشخصية اللبنانية الرابعة التي ساهمت في وضع وتوقيع هذه الاتفاقية، معالي الأستاذ حميد فرنجية.

وفيما يتعلق بالدخل القومي - وهذا يهم الشعب مباشرة لقد ارتفع معدل الدخل القومي في لبنان من 550 ليرة سنة 1951 إلى 1200 ليرة سنة 1964. وهناك أرقام تتعلق بحسابات الإذخار في المصارف. بلغت هذه الأرقام 571 مليون ليرة في نيسان سنة 1964، 912 مليون ليرة في شباط سنة 1965، فضلاً عن 646 مليون ليرة

قيمة تبادل الشيكات، و 653 مليون ليرة الحسابات الجارية و 357 مليون ليرة، الودائع لاستحقاق معين. فيكون المجموع 2.562.000.000 / ليرة.

ومن الناحية العمرانية والإنتاجية ورفع المستوى العام إن رخص البناء في مدينة بيروت أعطيت لـ 230 ألف متر مربع سنة 1951 ولـ 770 ألف متر مربع سنة 1963، و 731 ألف متر مربع سنة 1964 .

التوظيفات في الصناعة الوطنية - بلغت 750 مليون ليرة في نهاية 1964 . وكانت 138 مليون ليرة فقط سنة 1951 .

إنتاج التراب: كان يبلغ 325 ألف طن سنة 1954 فبلغ 890 ألف طن سنة 1963.

عدد المسافرين في مطار بيروت - كان تسعين ألف سنة 1951 ، فبلغ مليون ومئة ألف سنة 1964 .

عدد سيارات السياحة - كان سنة 1951 عشرة آلاف سيارة فبلغ في 30 حزيران 1965 ، 103 آلاف سيارة.

تأسيس الشركات المغلقة في لبنان - 98 شركة أسست في 1963 برأسمال 198 مليون ليرة. و 113 شركة خلال سنة 1964 برأسمال قدره 212 مليون ليرة.

هذه بعض نتائج تطبيق نظام الاقتصاد الحر في لبنان. وقد وصلنا إلى هذه النتائج بالرغم من الفوضى والفساد وسوء التصرف في القطاعين العام والخاص، وبالرغم من أزمات حرب كوريا وقاتل السويس وحوادث 1958 ، وبالرغم من الخسائر الهامة التي منى بها بعض المواطنين في بورصة نيويورك وفي مصر والعراق وسوريا، وبالرغم من المضايقات والمعاكسات التي حصلت من قبل بعض البلدان المجاورة لتجارتنا الخارجية وللترانزيت، ولمنع شراء البضائع في المنطقة الحرة في بيروت. ولمنع السياح والزوار والمصطافين من القدوم إلى لبنان، إلخ.. وبالرغم من عدم الحصول على مساعدات أجنبية تذكر. وبالرغم من استيعاب 150 ألف لاجئ يعملون في لبنان، ومنتني ألف سوري وغير سوري يعملون أيضاً في لبنان.

وفي حقل التعمير والإنشاء - لقد تمكنت الدولة من صرف مئات الملايين من الليرات على المشاريع الإنشائية تدريجياً. من طرقات وأوتوسترادات ومطارات ومشاريع مائية وكهربائية وهاتف وأبنية حكومية ومدارس ومستشفيات.

أما في الحقل الاجتماعي الصرف - فإن الحكومات الرأسمالية كما يسمونها البعض والمجلس النيابي اللبناني أقر القوانين التالية لتحسين الوضع الاجتماعي للعمال والمستخدمين وللطبقات الكادحة خلال العشر سنوات الأخيرة.

- قانون مصلحة الإنعاش الاجتماعي،
- إنشاء مراكز للتدريب المهني،
- قانون المساكن الشعبية،
- قانون تصفية الخلافات بين أصحاب العمل والعمال،
- إنشاء المديرية العامة للشباب والرياضة،
- قانون العقود الجماعية،
- المشروع الأخضر،

وأخيراً قانون الضمان الاجتماعي، هذا القانون الذي يعتبر خطوة جريئة وهامة لتحسين أوضاع المستخدمين والعمال في التجارة والصناعة، وفي المرحلة الأولى، وتحسين أوضاع العمال الزراعيين، في المرحلة الثانية، التي تبدأ في مدى سنتين بعد المرحلة الأولى. ولا نزال، أيها السادة، في منتصف الطريق. والأمل كبير، وكبير جداً، بأننا سنكمل بإذن الله الثورة البيضاء التي قمنا بها لغاية اليوم، تلك الثورة التي سنحققها تدريجياً وبأقرب وقت لصالح جميع المواطنين دون استثناء، ولأسيما الكادحين والمعوزين منهم. وبذلك نكون، بعونه تعالى، قد قهرنا الفقر والمرض والجهل، بالرغم من ضالة موارد لبنان الطبيعية، خلال فترة غير طويلة من الزمن، ونكون قد قمنا بهذا العمل الجبار دون كبت الحريات العامة ودون اللجوء إلى أساليب الاغتصاب والتشريد والقتل المتبعة في كل بلد سلك طريق الثورة الحمراء.

- تصفيق -

Appendix 8.31

Joseph Chader - 18 November 1965

Joseph Chader's speech during the deliberations on the LP 272 million development projects.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1965): 9th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 18 November 1965.

جوزف شادر - دولة الرئيس،

ان هذا المشروع اخذ دوراً خاصاً في هذا المجلس، وقد اعيد الى اللجان منذ يومين ليدرس مجدداً، والسبب في ذلك هو ان الحكومة عندما ارسلت هذا المشروع الى المجلس وهو مشروع ضخم قيمته 272 مليون ليرة من اصل مليار وثمانين مليون ليرة، لم ترفقه الا بنصف صفحة كأسباب موجبة تبين أهمية هذا المشروع ومحتوياته بالنسبة للنواب وللشعب ولجميع المناطق اللبنانية، فمن هنا كان هذا السيل من الاسئلة على الحكومة وعلى هذا المشروع والمطالبة بدراسة مجدداً في اللجان. والبارحة عندما عرضنا اللجنة وقف وزير التربية الوطنية، وأعطى ايضاحات وافية على هذا المشروع مع وزير التصميم العام ومع مدير المشاريع الانشائية والكهربائية، عندها اطمأن البال نوعاً ما وصوت نواب اللجان على هذا المشروع مع ابداء تمنيات للحكومة وهي هامة جداً، لان هذا المشروع هو جزء من مشروع هام للخطة الخمسية وقيمه مليار وثمانين مليون ليرة، وهذا المشروع يؤثر بعض النقاط الهامة الحيوية الجوهرية لمستقبل هذا البلد، ان كان من جهة الازدهار، او من جهة تضخم الخطر المالي، هذه الامور كلها كان من حقنا نحن النواب ومن واجبنا ان نلفت النظر اليها وان نطرح الاسئلة ونأخذ الاجوبة عليها فكانت الاجوبة مرضية نوعاً ما، الا انها كانت جزئية من قبل الذين مثلوا الحكومة في جلسة البارحة فكان المجلس اذا على حق في طلب اعادة المشروع الى اللجان المختصة لدراسة وخاصة لطلب الايضاحات من الحكومة، تلك الايضاحات التي لم ترد مع الاسباب الموجبة لهذا المشروع، كلنا ايها السادة كما قال الزملاء مع المشاريع الانشائية ونحن مع الحكومة ونهنتها للقيام بهذا العمل بتحضير المشاريع والخطة الخمسية او غير الخمسية لنكمل المشاريع الانشائية والتجهيزية الضرورية للبلاد، الا اننا نريد ان نلفت نظر الحكومة الكريمة الى ان هذا المشروع وتنفيذه ومنافعه للبلد مرتبط بشيء اسمه الاصلاح الاداري من جهة التطهير، لان هذا المبلغ الضخم وقيمه 272 مليون ليرة سينفق خلال هذه السنوات وستتبعه مبالغ ضخمة اخرى ستبلغ اكثر من مليار ليرة في هذه السنوات الخمس فقط، هذا الاتفاق يجب ان يسبقه التطهير في الادارة، الاصلاح الاداري كما تريدونه انتم، وكما نريد نحن النواب، وقد نالت هذه الحكومة الثقة من هذا المجلس على اساس الاصلاح القضائي والاداري الذي نصر على ان يتم بوجهه الاكمل بأسرع وقت ممكن.

وفيما يتعلق بتنفيذ هذا المشروع بالذات، هنالك ايضاً نقطة هامة جداً عدا عن النقطة العامة المتعلقة بالاصلاح الاداري، وهي الجهاز الخاص الذي سينفذ هذه المشاريع المعروف اليوم باسم مجلس تنفيذ المشاريع الانشائية، هذا المجلس لقد تثبت لنا لغاية اليوم يا دولة الرئيس انه يقيم بمهمته كما يجب، وكما نحن كنا ننتظر منه، هذا المجلس بتكوينه لم يعط الافادة المرجوة منه، وقد بينت الايام ان هذا التكوين الخاطيء سبب تأخيراً في الاعمال، وسبب اضراراً للخزينة. هذا التكوين الناقص والغير الصحيح في الاساس من جهة الرأس، اعطيت له اعتمادات بقيمة عشرة ملايين ليرة في السنة الاولى وعشرين مليون ليرة في السنة الثانية والان يصرف من خمسين الى سبعين مليون ليرة بنفس الملاك الاداري والفني، واقول بأقل من الملاك الذي كان منذ سنة او سنتين، وهذا ما يسبب اضراراً للخزينة ويسبب ايضاً دعاوي على هذا المجلس وعلى الدولة، لانه ليس بإمكان اي ادارة ان تقوم بتنفيذ مشاريع قيمتها من خمسين الى سبعين مليون ليرة في جهاز اقل ما كان، عندما كان يصرف هذا المجلس عشرة او عشرين مليون ليرة .

اما المشاريع الداخلة بمشروع الـ 272 مليون ليرة فاننا نحن نوافق عليها تماماً وحسناً فعلت الحكومة باختيار هذه المشاريع واعطائها الاولوية في التنفيذ أي عندما جزأت خطة التنمية واخذت منها هذه المشاريع .

اما نحن فننظر المشروع كمشروع واحد لخمس سنوات او اكثر كما سأذكر بعد هينهة، ونطلب من الحكومة فيما يتعلق بالمشاريع الباقية ان تأخذ بعين الاعتبار ليس فقط رأي النواب كما قيل ان النواب يعرفون مناطقهم بقدر ما يعرفه اهل الخبرة واهل الاختصاص ورجال الادارة، بل ان تأخذ ايضاً رأي الهيئات الاقتصادية والنقابات المهنية، لان التخطيط يوضع في جميع البلدان بصورة ديمقراطية اي انه قبل وضع التخطيط تستشار الهيئات ذات الاختصاص التي لها مصلحة في اقرار هذا التخطيط والتي يمكن ان تبدي رأيها السديد فيما يتعلق ببعض المشاريع التي يجهلها اهل الاختصاص او يجهلون بعض نواحيها العملية، وهذه طريقة ديمقراطية يجب ان نتبعها وان نباشر باتباعها، لاننا اليوم لا نطبق هذه القاعدة وهي قاعدة سليمة جداً ومتبعة في جميع البلدان الديمقراطية، وعند وضع المشاريع الباقية يجب كما قيل ان نأخذ بعين الاعتبار حاجات المناطق اللبنانية، الا اننا نحن نطالب بان تعطى الافضلية للمناطق المحرومة، ونحن في هذا المجلس من سنة 1955 خصصنا اعتمادات اضافية للمناطق المحرومة وقد ذكرناها في الموازنة، وهي منطقة عكار، منطقة الضنية، منطقة جبيل، منطقة البترون، منطقة اقليم الخروب، منطقة الجنوب، منطقة راشيا، ومنطقة بعلبك الهرمل، هذه المناطق كلها ذكرناها في الموازنة منذ سنة 1955 وسميناها يوم ذاك المناطق المحرومة واليوم نسميها المناطق المتخلفة، يجب اعطاء الافضلية لهذه المناطق المتخلفة .

ويجب يا دولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء اعطاء الترتيب كما حصل في هذه الخطة والتي لم تفسر بالمقدمة لنعلم ماذا كانت الاهداف للمخطط الذي وضعته الحكومة، فالمخطط دائماً له اهداف يرمي الوصول الى بعض النتائج، مثلاً يقول المخطط ان الصناعة اريد ان اعززها فيزيد الانتاج الصناعي عشرة او خمسة عشر بالمئة خلال السنوات الخمس وكذلك الانتاج الزراعي يزيد كذا.. الخ.. هذا الترتيب في الشماريع نحن نقول فيه انه بعد مياه الري ومياه

الشفة يجب ان نعطي الافضلية للتعليم، فالتعليم ناقص في هذا البلد وخاصة من جهة التعليم التقني والمهني، يجب ان تعلم ان الولايات المتحدة اليوم بعد الدروس والاحصاءات التي وضعتها، برهنت هذه الدروس وهذه الاحصاءات ان افعل توظيف مالي هو توظيف للعنصر البشري من ناحية التعليم، فنحن نريد ان تكون هذه الخطة منتجة والمشاريع الانتاجية، ليس فقط المشاريع الاقتصادية من ماء وكهرباء فقط، بل نحن نقول اكثر من ذلك ان الانتاجية تكون بالدرجة الاولى بالتعليم لا سيما التقني والمهني، فعند درس المشاريع الجديدة نطلب منكم انتأخذوا بعين الاعتبار المشاريع المتعددة القديمة التي نفذت والتي لم تنفذ بكاملها، نحن نطلب دمج جميع المشاريع لان الادارة غرقت فيها واصبحنا لا نعلم بدايتها من نهايتها والتشابك الموجود بينها وبين اعتماداتها، لذلك نقترح على الحكومة الكريمة ان تدمج جميع هذه المشاريع وان تأتي بهذا المشروع الجديد بمليار ليرة واكثر، وتقول جميع المشاريع الانشائية القديمة الغيت وادمجت بهذا المشروع الجديد .

اما فيما يتعلق بالمشاريع الاخرى، فهناك نقطة هامة جداً يا دولة الرئيس اريد ان الفت نظركم اليها بوصفكم وزيراً للمالية، هنالك مشاريع لم تدرس بعد، نقترح لحظ الاعتمادات اللازمة لدرس هذه المشاريع لاجراء الاستملاكات المتعلقة بهذه المشاريع لتقوم بهذه الدروس وبهذه الاستملاكات باسرع وقت ممكن، لان كل تأخير في اجراء هذه الاستملاكات سيكلف الخزينة عشرات الملايين من الليرات زيادة. والنقطة الاخيرة التي اريد ان الفت النظر اليها هي قضية خطر التضخم المالي، خطر التضخم المالي يجب ان ننتبه اليه بكل جدية، لان التضخم المالي كما تعلمون هو كالسرطان في الجسم الاقتصادي اللبناني، ونحن نعاني الزيادات في الاسعار سنوياً. مما يجعل النقابات والموظفين يطالبون بزيادة الرواتب، وعندما نقر هذه الزيادات نكون قد سببنا ارتفاعاً جديداً في الاسعار وربما طلبات جديدة في زيادة الاجور فندخل في الحلقة التي يسمونها الحلقة الجهنمية وتكون كارثة للخزينة اللبنانية وللبلاد .

لذلك الفت النظر الى هذا الامر الهام، اذ يجب درسه بكل دقة، ونحن ايها السادة سنواجه هذا الخطر كما واجهته ايطاليا وفرنسا واسبانيا، لان السياحة ازدادت في تلك البلاد وادت الى ارتفاع الاسعار، السياحة لها حسناتها ولها سيئاتها. وسيئاتها هي ارتفاع الاسعار بالذي تزيد في هالسياحة، لذلك نحن عندما نقر هذه الخطة سننقف خلال السنوات الخمس ثلاثة مليارات وثلاثماية وثلاثة واربعين مليون ليرة اي بمعدل ستماية وسبعين مليون ليرة في السنة على موازنتنا العادية وغير العادية، انا اقول انه ربما يكون هنالك من خطر ان يحصل التضخم المالي، وان نفع في اضرار جسيمة ليس بامكان الخزينة ان تتحملها. فانا قترع بدل أنضع خطة خمسية نضع خطة سبعية اي لسبع سنوات او اذا تمكنا من ان نجتمع المشاريع القديمة كلها ربما اضطررنا ان نضع خطة لمدة عشر سنوات، بهذه الطريقة نكون قد ارحنا الخزينة ولا نحتاج الى قروض لتنفيذ الخطة السبعية او العشرية، وعلى كل فيما يتعلق بالواردات في الصفحة الاخيرة من الكتيب الاخضر ولم اسميه انا الاسود في الصفحة الاخيرة منه يتبين ان الواردات المقدره من قبل الوزارة للسنوات الخمس بلغت ثلاثة مليارات وثلاثماية وتسعة وخمسين مليون ليرة. اي اكثر بستة عشر مليون من النفقات، وهذا ما يسمح لي ان اقول ان هذه التقديرات بما يتعلق بالواردات صحيحة، والخوف ان تكون تقديرات النفقات خاطئة، اما اذا اعتمدنا هذه الارقام فيما يتعلق بالواردات، فنقول لا لزوم للمئة واحد وثمانين مليون ليرة المسجلة هنا كسلفات من الخزينة للوصول الى المليار وثمانين مليون ليرة، لا لزوم لهذه

السلفات بموجب هذا التقدير ولا لزوم للسلفات قطعياً يا دولة الرئيس ويا وزير المالية لانك تعلم اكثر من سواك ان سياسة السلفات التي اتبعت لغاية اليوم كانت سياسة خاطئة من الناحية المالية الصرفة .

لذلك اطلب منكم الا تلاحظوا في الخطة الخمسية او السبعية او العشرية اي غرض سلفة من الخزينة لتنفيذ المشاريع .

Appendix 8.32

Joseph Chader – 9 January 1967

Speech by Joseph Chader at a legislation meeting discussing the bankruptcy of Bank Intra.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (91967): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 9 January 1967

جوزف شادر: دولة الرئيس.

يوم مشؤوم وقع في لبنان هو يوم 14 تشرين الأول سنة 1966. بنك انترا توقف عن الدفع في هذا اليوم وفجئ الرأي العام بهذه الكارثة التي ظهرت فيما بعد أنها أكبر مما كنا نتصور في اليوم الأول. وقعت الكارثة وقامت الحكومة بقسط من واجبها وقام أيضاً هذا المجلس والمحاكم اللبنانية بما يتوجب عليها عمله لتخفيف الأضرار على الأثر.

لقضية انترا عدة نواح، وعدة وجوه، الوجه الأول الوجه الاجتماعي، فقد عالجته الحكومة وهذا المجلس بالتصديق على قانون يحيز للحكومة أن تدفع إلى صغار المودعين خمسين مليون ليرة، وكان للأزمة أيضاً وجه اقتصادي عالجناه بإصدار القانون الذي أجاز للبنك المركزي أن يؤمن السيولة لمصارف لبنان. وهنا نحن أمام القانون الثالث الذي يراد به عدم إشهار إفلاس بنك انترا وإيجاد طريقة لتعويم هذا البنك إذا أمكن أو تصفيته بموجب أحكام هذا القانون بدلاً من أحكام قانون التجارة العادي.

السؤال الأول الذي يجب أن نطرحه على أنفسنا وعلى ضماننا كما قال دولة صائب بك هو، هل يجب علينا أن نصدق هذا القانون أو أن نرفضه؟ هل من مصلحة البلد أن يصار إلى إشهار إفلاس بنك انترا أو لا؟

هذا هو السؤال الدقيق الواجب أن نطرحه علينا، وعليه نجيب.

قضية بنك انترا ليست كسائر القضايا الإفلاسية التي حصلت في لبنان لبعض الأفراد أو الشركات وحتى المصارف وقد مر علينا عدة إفلاسات منها إفلاسات مصارف ولم يكن لها هذا التأثير الاقتصادي أو المعنوي في هذا البلد وفي الخارج إلا أن قضية بنك انترا هي خاصة وهي القضية لها وجوه عديدة كما قلت، فالوجه الاقتصادي الأهم هو أن لا نجعل هذا البنك بين أيدي السنديك كما ينص عليه قانون التجارة، فتصفي موجودات هذا البنك بثلاث أو ربع قيمتها كما نعلم جميعاً، فتقع الخسارة الكبيرة وتقدر بمئات الملايين من الليرات على

المودعين والدائنين صغارهم وكبارهم. وهذا ما يؤثر على معنويات هذا البلد وعلى مستقبل المصارف اللبنانية في هذا البلد لأنه عندما يكون المودع أودع مئة مليون ليرة في بنك لبناني وقبض ثلاثين أو أربعين بالمئة فقط لن تبقى له ثقة في أن يودع أمواله مجدداً في مصارف لبنان.

وهناك أيضاً كما نعلم جميعاً، قضية الديون الهامة التي لهذا المصرف على تجار وشركات ومستشفيات ومدارس في لبنان. فإذا حصل الإفلاس، على السنديك أن يباشر بتحصيل هذه الأموال وبإمكانه أن يعطي بعض المهل للمدينين إلا أن هذه المهل تكون حتماً غير كافية لأداء هذه الديون دون أن يحصل هزة وخضة وإفلاسات أخرى في هذا البلد نتيجة لهذه الملاحظات.

وهناك ثالثاً، كما نعلم، الأسهم التي هي الآن لدى البنك، بنك انترا، والتي تخص عدة شركات وطنية محترمة في هذا البلد. هذه الأسهم عندما يصار إلى تصفيتها بالمزاد العلني حسب ما ينص عليه القانون، تتدنى قيمتها وتحصل كواثر أخرى لتلك الشركات أصحاب هذه الأسهم.

وهناك أيضاً وأخيراً، وضع خاص لبنك انترا وهو وجود عدة فروع لها في الخارج، وهذه الفروع لها قيمتها بحد ذاتها وبالإجازات التي حصل عليها بنك انترا عندما تمكن من تأسيس هذه الفروع في عدة عواصم عالمية. عندما يشهر إفلاس هذا البنك تذهب قيمة هذه الفروع وتقع الخسارة الكبيرة بالمؤسسة، فنكون نحن رجال القانون قد سببنا الخسارة لأصحاب ديون بنك انترا.

لذلك نعتبر نحن أن الحكومة حسناً فعلت بتقديمها هذا المشروع إلى المجلس للسعي لعدم إشهار إفلاس بنك انترا، وهنا يجب القول أن هذا القانون لا دخل فيه بالملاحظات القضائية سواء كانت تجارية أو جزائية هي مستقلة تماماً عما نفعله نحن وعما يمكن أن نشترعه كسلطة تشريعية لها الحق بالتشريع بموجب أحكام الدستور. ولغاية اليوم أتت محكمة التجارة وهي مستقلة تماماً عن أفعال وأعمال هذا المجلس أو أفعال وأعمال الحكومة، وأشهرت إفلاس بنك انترا وحسناً فعلت، فأثبتت أنها مستقلة ولا تتأثر بشيء مما يجرى في الحكومة أو في مجلس النواب. وهناك طرق مراجعة يمكن لأصحاب الشأن أن يستعملوها، هناك الاستئناف، يمكن أن يستأنفوا هذا الحكم وهم أحرار بذلك ونحن أحرار أيضاً في إصدار التشريع الموافق للمصلحة العامة كما نفهمه.

وهناك أيضاً الملاحظات الجزائية، تلك الملاحظات التي باشرت فيها المحاكم والنيابة العامة والمحقق والتي يجب أن تنتهي كما يقتضيه القانون بكل سرعة وبكل شدة بحق كل مسؤول في هذا البنك أو خارج هذا البنك يتبين أنه مرتكب جرمًا يجب أن يعاقب عليه.

إذاً، نحن أمام هذا القانون ونحن نقول بأنه من واجبنا لمصلحة هذا البلد أن نصدق عليه كي نعطي الفرصة للذين سيتولون إدارة هذا البنك لأن يسعوا ويعوموا هذا البنك إذا أمكن. نعطي هذا الحق للقيمين الجدد على البنك حتى لا تقع الكارثة كما بينت ذلك في أول حديث.

قال دولة صائب بك "إن هذا القانون يكرس سابقة خطيرة". من الناحية المبدئية الصرف معه تمام الحق، ولكن نظراً لوضع هذا البنك وللنتائج التي بينتها فيما إذا أشهر إفلاسه، نحن نقول: إن هذا القانون هو ضروري الآن لأنه يمنع هذا الضرر ولأن القوانين الحالية تبين أنها ناقصة في هذا الخصوص. لدينا الآن أيها السادة قانون تجارة منذ سنة 1942 وقد كلفت الحكومة لجنة برئاسة الأستاذ صفا لتدرس التعديلات الواجب إدخالها على هذا القانون، فقدمت تقريرها قبل وقوع كارثة انترا بسنة أشهر. وإذا رجعت يا دولة الرئيس التقرير الذي قدمته هذه اللجنة والاقتراحات التي قد اقترحتها، نرى أنها ناقصة جداً بعد الذي حصل في 14 تشرين الأول سنة 1966، وتبين لك أن هذه الاقتراحات غير كافية وغير كاملة لأن قضية انترا أظهرت لنا أشياء جديدة لم تكن بالحسبان فيما مضى.

لذلك، نحن أمام تشريع جديد، وهذا التشريع الأول يجب أن نعتبره ناقصاً وهذا أول قانون يجب أن نصدره في هذا الموضوع. لكن نطلب من الحكومة، وبنوع خاص من معالي وزير العدلية أن يعدنا بأنه سيتقدم من هذا المجلس بطرف شهرين أو ثلاثة أشهر على الأثر بقانون لاحق يكمل هذا القانون الناقص وبإمكانه أن يستأنس بالقانون الفرنسي الذي صدر في تموز سنة 1966 أي منذ ستة أشهر الذي نظم على أسس جديدة تأسيس وإدارة جميع الشركات بما فيه المصارف. هذا الوعد نريده من معالي الوزير وبإمكاننا أن نستفيد من هذا القانون الذي درس عدة سنوات.

وكلمة أخيرة تتعلق بالناحية المهنية والأخلاقية في هذا الموضوع. وأريد أن أوجه كلامي بنوع خاص إلى معالي فيليب بلك تقلاً الذي هو الآن حاضر بيننا والذي نحترمه ولنا كل الثقة وضميره ليقوم بهذه المهمة الشاقة الملقة على عاتقه أحسن قيام.

منذ ثلاثة سنوات وأكثر ونحن نلفت الأنظار إلى أوضاع المصارف في لبنان. المصارف التي ازدهرت ازدهاراً غريباً في العشر سنوات الأخيرة حتى وصلت إلى أن يستفيد لبنان من مركز مالي أصبح به الثالث أو الرابع في العالم. إلا أن المراقبة على هذه المصارف لم تكن كافية وهذه المصارف استعملت الحرية المعطاة لها بأعمالها وارتكبت التجاوزات والشواذات وكان تصرفها في بعض الأحيان تصرفاً غير قانوني أو غير موافق للأصول المصرفية السليمة، وكنا قد بينا بعض مدراء هذه المصارف يرتكبون الجرائم ويقبضون السمسات والبعض منهم صرف من وظيفته لارتكابه هذه المخالفة وأخذ رخصة من الحكومة بتأسيس مصرف جديد.

هذه الوضعية الأخلاقية يجب أن نضع لها حداً بإجراء، ليس فقط مراقبة من البنك المركزي على تصرفات المصارف بل أيضاً باتخاذ كل التدابير من قبل المسؤولين في كل مصرف تجاه المودعين أو غير المودعين المفوضين بالإمضاء ليمنعوا هذه التصرفات السيئة ويشيعوا الثقة بالمصارف الموجودة في لبنان وبنوع خاص المصارف اللبنانية.

ولإعادة الثقة إلى النفوس يجب إجراء هذه المراقبة الشديدة من قبل مصرف لبنان ونحن نعلم أن هذا المصرف الذي قام بواجباته منذ سنتين فقط تقريباً غير مجهز لإجراء هذه المراقبة كما يجب. فنطلب من حاكم المصرف أن يعمل في كل ما في وسعه لتعديل ملاكاته ولإيجاد هذا الجهاز جهاز المراقبة الذي نطلبه منه وأن يجري المراقبة على جميع مصارف لبنان.

ولإعادة الثقة أيها السادة إلى النفوس يجب أيضاً كما قلت - وهنا أوجه كلامي لمعالي وزير العدلية - أن تقوم المحاكم بكامل واجبتها بهذا الظرف وبهذه القضية بالذات ليعلم الجميع هنا في لبنان وفي الخارج أن في لبنان قضاة وقضاة.

ولإعادة الثقة أخيراً، على الحكومة أن تسرع بإرسال مشروع قانون ضمان الودائع في المصارف ومشاريع أخرى هي قيد الدرس الآن، فيجب إرسالها بسرعة إلى هذا المجلس للتصديق عليها وللوصول إلى الغاية التي من أجلها وضعت وهي إعادة الثقة إلى المصارف اللبنانية وإلى نفوس جميع اللبنانيين.

وأخيراً، فيما يتعلق بالقانون بالذات، فمع إقرارنا وقبولنا مبدأه، لنا عدة ملاحظات وعدة تعديلات سنقدمها إلى المجلس في جينيه.

Appendix 9

Khatchig Babikian

Appendix 9.1

Khatchig Babikian – 19 January 1960

Speech by Katchig Babikian at a budget discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1960): 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 19 January 1960.

خاتشيك بابكيان - عطوفة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

رأيت، بمناسبة إقرار هذه الموازنة، أن أبدي بعض الملاحظات المقترضة، ان لجهة كيفية تحضير الموازنة أم لجهة كيفية إقرارها، إذ ربما كان في هذه الملاحظات ما يوفر بعض التحسين لموازنات السنوات المقبلة ويوفر على الدوائر المالية بعض المشاق.

أما فيما يتعلق بتحضير الموازنة، فأقول: لا يخفى على أحد أن مشروع الموازنة الحاضرة وضع في المدة الواقعة بين آذار وحزيران من عام 1959، ولا يخفى عن أحد، أن حالة الجهاز الإداري، بعد التشكيلات والتنظيمات الأخيرة، قد تبدلت كثيراً منذ ذلك التاريخ، وأصبحت الموازنة الحالية لا تنطبق بتاتاً على واقع الإدارة اللبنانية كما هو الآن. وإذا تصفحتم الموازنة تجدون أن أغلب البنود الملحوظة لا تنطبق على المديريات الحالية وليس في ذلك لوم على الحكومة، بل انه أمر واقع، وعلى المجلس تصحيح هذا الوضع عندما يقر الموازنة.

أما فيما يتعلق بتحضير الموازنة في المستقبل فلي كلمة بهذا الشأن: إننا نرى أن البلدان التي تشبه أوضاعها المالية إلى حد ما، أوضاعنا المالية اعتمدت في تحضير موازنتها أسساً غير الأسس المتبعة عندنا. إننا نحضر الموازنة ثم نهتم بعدئذ بقضية التناسق.

في فرنسا مثلاً توجد لجنة تدعى لجنة الموازنة، ومهمتها ليست مهمة إدارية بحث بل لها مهمة توجيهية في النواحي الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والمالية والإدارية. وهي تتألف من رئيس ديوان المحاسبة ومن ممثلين عن مختلف الهيئات الاقتصادية والنقابات، فلا تحصر هذه اللجنة عملها في الناحية المالية في تحضير الموازنة بل تأخذ بعين الاعتبار الحالات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية. فتجعل من الموازنة آلة متحركة تتطور مع تطور البلاد.

إنني أرجو الحكومة أن تأخذ هذه الملاحظة بعين الاعتبار فتشكل لجنة من هذا النوع تشرف على تحضير الموازنة في المستقبل.

ولي ملاحظة تتعلق بتحضير الموازنة في المجلس. إن المجلس، كهيئة عامة يناقش الموازنة، وكلنا يعلم أن لجنة المالية والموازنة التي يرأسها حضرة الأستاذ جوزف شادر عن جدارة ولباقة هي وحدها التي تتعمق في درس الموازنة.

وهنا أرجو اللجنة وحضرة رئيسها بصورة خاصة أن يجعل درس الموازنة في اللجنة مشتركاً بينها وبين سائر لجان المجلس.

إن درس الموازنة هو أهم عمل يقوم به المجلس، ولكن نرى مع الأسف، أنها تدرس في لجنة المالية من الوجهة المالية فقط. ولكن طالما أن الموازنة تتصل اتصالاً وثيقاً بجميع نواحي النشاط الوطني فيقتضي أن لا تدرس الأوضاع المتعلقة بمختلف الوزارات إلا بعد دعوة ممثلين عن تلك الوزارات إلى حضور جلسات اللجنة أو اللجان.

هذا فيما يتعلق بتحضير الموازنة، أما فيما يتعلق بإقرارها فإننا سنحصر اهتمامنا، في الجلسات المقبلة في إقرار الموازنة. وقد قلت، إن الموازنة، بالنسبة للظروف التي خاضتها البلاد أفضت إلى تغيير في وضع الإدارة، فهي بالتالي لا تنطبق تماماً على حالة الإدارة المالية، وسوف يجابه المجلس صعوبات بعد إقرارها، وكما سبق للزميل الأستاذ بستاني وقال إن المجلس سوف يجابه طلبات نقل اعتمادات من باب إلى باب ومن بند إلى بند. وعلى سبيل المثال أقول: إن نصف المديریات والمصالح في الدولة قد تغير وانتقل من وزارة إلى أخرى. فهل يعقل أن لا يأتي منفذ الموازنة بطلب نقل الاعتمادات، وهل سيقضي المجلس السنة بطولها في هذه الشكليات؟

أرجو الحكومة أن تدرس هذا الأمر، وقد رأيت أنها وضعت في المادة الرابعة من قانون الموازنة نصاً يجيز للوزراء أن ينقلوا بموجب مرسوم، اعتمادات من بند إلى بند ومن فقرة إلى فقرة.

يقتضي أن تدرس الحكومة هذا الأمر ضمن نطاق الدستور والقوانين المرعية فلا يتم نقل اعتماد بدون قانون، وأن تأخذ بعين الاعتبار قانون المحاسبة العمومية، وأن تجد حلاً عاماً لهذه المعضلة حتى لا يكون جدول أعمال المجلس طيلة أيام السنة حافلاً بما لا يفيد.

كما اني آمل أن يقر المجلس الموازنة بسرعة لأنها مطابقة، بالأساس، للموازنات السابقة وخالية من التطور الإنشائي والحيوي، لأن المشاريع الإنشائية تدخل في موازنة الأشغال الإنشائية وفي مشروع الخمس سنوات الذي ننتظر تحقيقه بفارغ الصبر.

أما الموازنة الحالية فيقتضي التصويت عليها في القريب العاجل، فهي أقرب إلى أن تكون مجرد موازنة إدارية.

Appendix 9.2

Khatchig Babikian – 18 January 1962

Speech by Katchig Babikian at a budget discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1962): 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 18 January 1962.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان.

خاتشيك بابكيان - عطوفة الرئيس، سادتي الكرام.

ما كنت من طالبي الكلام لولا أنني استمعت صبيحة هذا النهار، وفي الجلسة التي سبقت هذه الجلسة، إلى ملاحظات الزملاء الكرام وكلها ملاحظات قيمة منبثقة عن روح بناءة، وما كنت لأتكلم لولا أن المناقشة أوشكت أن تنتهي. فأرجو، ونحن نقفل باب المناقشة في الموازنة بصورة عامة، أن نعود إلى قراره أنفسنا، ونتساءل عن مجمل ما قيل في هذه الموازنة. ونسأل سؤالاً قد يبدو غريباً هل نحن جادون فيما نطلب من الحكومة؟

هناك من شكّا، وهو على حق، بأن هذه الموازنة، مفقود منها ما كان يميننا به معالي الشيخ موريس الجميل، من ميزات الانطلاق والتحريك والديناميكية والتجدد.

وثمة من شكّا أيضاً، وهو على حق، من أن هذه الموازنة، لا تحقق للبلاد ما يصبو إليه في الحقل الاجتماعي، والركب الحضاري، ولكن أعود وأسأل. هل نحن جادون فيما نطلب ونقول؟

أيها السادة، يجب أن نعود إلى ما هو أثبت من الطلبات، وإلى ما هو أدل من الوعود التي نقطعها على أنفسنا حكومة ومجلساً أمام الشعب. يجب أن نعود إلى الأرقام. فإذا راجعنا مشروع قانون قطع الحساب لموازنة سنة 1960 يتبين لنا أن مجموع الواردات الحاصلة سنة 1962 بلغت 452 مليون ليرة لبنانية مع المأخوذ من الاحتياط. أما النفقات المصروفة فلم تبلغ سوى 243 مليون ليرة لبنانية، أي أن هذا المجلس أجاز للحكومة صرف ما ينفق عن الأربعمئة مليون ليرة لبنانية بما فيه الموازنة الأساسية والاعتمادات الإضافية المقررة، فلم تتمكن الحكومة من صرف سوى وخمسين بالمئة من هذه المبالغ. أما الباقي فقد بقي في خزينة الدولة. وهنا بيت القصيد.

نحن نأمل أن يكتب لهذه الحكومة، وقد اخترناها وأوليناها ثققتنا، نأمل أن يكتب لها البقاء سنة وستين، ولكن، لن تتمكن هذه الحكومة ولا سواها من الحكومات من القيام باعباء الموازنات، وطبعاً لا تتمكن من القيام بتنفيذ تلك الموازنات المثالية التي طالب بها الزميل الأستاذ اميل البستاني مثلاً، وقد طالب بأن يصرف في ابواب الموازنة ثلث الدخل القومي أي ما يقارب

ثمانئة مليون ليرة، فإذا كانت هذه الحكومة والجهاز الذي يرافقها ليس بإمكانه ان ينفق اربعمئة مليون ليرة فلا اجد كيف يمكن لنفس الجهاز ان ينفق اضعاف هذا المبلغ.

في فرنسا، يا دولة الرئيس، بين الحرب العالمية الاولى والثانية، توالى على البلاد ما بنوف على الأربعين حكومة في ظرف عشرين سنة، ولكن الأوضاع الاقتصادية والمالية بقيت سليمة، ليس بفضل الحكومات، إنما بفضل الإدارة التي قوامها من كبار الموظفين وكبار القضاة والعسكريين. فطالما أنه ليس في لبنان، المسعى والمجهود الكافي لتحسين أوضاع الإدارة اللبنانية، وطالما أننا لا نولي الإصلاح الإداري العناية الكافية التي يستحقها، يستحيل على أية حكومة، مهما كانت مقدرة رجالها أن تقوم بأعباء الموازنات.

أستحلفك يا دولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء، بأن تعنتي بناحية الإصلاح الإداري التي حرمت أنا شرف توليها، لأننا سنعود في السنة المقبلة ونحن كما كنا إن لم نعر هذه الناحية من نواحي السياسة اللبنانية حق قدرها من العناية والاهتمام.

يا دولة الرئيس، إنني أتوجه إليك، لأنك أبليت بلاء حسناً في المرحلة الأولى التي وضعت فيها الإصلاح الإداري على أسس متينة. وقد عملت بما وجهت نحوه ممن خطط هذا الإصلاح الإداري وحسناً فعلت، ولكن لا يكفي أن ننشئ الأجهزة لحماية الموظف ضد المؤثرات السياسية، علينا أن نطبق، في القطاع العام، تلك الأساليب التي طبقها اللبناني في القطاع الخاص. علينا أن نعتمد على الأساليب الحديثة في تنظيم العمل الذي جعل لبنان في طليعة الأمم في الشرق والغرب من حيث مجهوده الشخصي في الصناعة والتجارة. علينا أن ندخل هذه الأساليب وهذه الأصول في القطاع العام، في الإدارة العامة. لقد أنهينا مرحلة إبعاد السياسة، نوعاً ما، عن الإدارة، ولكن، أين نحن من تحقيق اللامركزية؟ تلك اللامركزية الواسعة التي كانت هدفاً أساسياً للإصلاح الإداري والتي كانت البلاد ترجو من ورائه إيصال نعم الدولة إلى الدساكر في أقصى حدود البلاد. أين نحن من هذه اللامركزية؟ وأين نحن من التقارير العديدة المتعددة التي وضعت لتحسين أوضاع الإدارة والتي لغاية الآن، مع الأسف، لم تنفذ؟

إنني أحببت أن أشدد على هذه الناحية لأن على الإصلاح الإداري يتوقف شيء قد يكون أهم من كل هذا، وهو إيمان الموظف اللبناني في أن هذه البلاد قابلة للتقدم. لقد جاءت، في لبنان، كل حركة سياسية باسم الإصلاح، ولكن مرت السنين وهبت الأرياح وبقيت حالة الموظف هي هي، أما هذا العهد الذي فيه ولأول مرة، وضع الإصلاح على أسس علمية مدروسة، لا يجب أن ييأس من نعمة الموظف اللبناني. هذا الموظف، الذي يقول البعض ان عقيلته لا تزال بالية، وأنا أقول لكم إن هذا الموظف مفطور على الذكاء، هذا الموظف واع تماماً لمصالحه، فلما كان تعيينه، وكان صرفه، وكان تربيته مرتبط بهذا وذاك من الزعماء، كان الموظف، بطبيعة الحال، مستزلاً. أما اليوم وقد أنشئت جميع الأجهزة اللازمة لكي يعين الموظف على أساس الكفاءة والمقدرة فقد أصبح الموظف مستقلاً بعمله، ولكن هذا لا يكفي، فالموظف يعيش في جو من العمل، يختلف في بعض الإدارات، فإما أنه يعمل في دائرة هي صورة مصغرة عن الفوضى القائمة في بعض الإدارات فتكون نتيجة عمله الفوضى وعدم الإنتاج، وإما أنه يعمل في دائرة رصينة منظمة فيؤدي للإدارة أحسن النتائج.

وكي لا يخيب أمل الموظف، يقتضي على الحكومات أن تسرع في ما بدأت به من أعمال خيرة في هذا الحقل. وإنني أرجو من دولة الرئيس أن يعير هذا الموضوع اهتمامه الشخصي لأنه هو الذي رافق هذه القضية منذ بدايتها.

Appendix 9.3

Khatchig Babikian – 7 January 1963

Speech by Katchig Babikian at a budget discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1963): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 7 January 1963.

خاتشيك بابكيان: عطوفة الرئيس،

شكراً للزميل الاستاذ نسيم مجدلاني لما ذكره فقط في الشق الاول من حديثه وكأنه مهد لكلمتي هذه وكنت يا دولة الرئيس أليت على نفسي أن أتحدث عن موضوع لم ينله أحد في أثناء المناقشة العامة للموازنة، والموضوع يعبره مع ذلك أعلام المال والاقتصاد في البلدان الراقية أهمية كبرى، وهو، ما هو تأثير الموازنة على تركيب الثروة الوطنية في عام 1963، ماذا تكون تأثيرات الموازنة وتنفيذها على تركيب الثروة الوطنية في لبنان.

الموازنة أيها السادة بنظر الجميع أو بنظر البعض حجة للنقد أو الثناء، فرصة إما للتهجم على الحكومة والنيل من بعض أعضائها أو فرصة أيضاً يستسيغها البعض للإطراء بالاعمال الحكومية وإظهار محاسنها، ولكن الموازنة أداة حرمان، والموازنة أداة سخاء.

الموازنة أداة حرمان، الموازنة ضرائب، رسوم، عوائد الموازنة بنظر العامل والمستخدم هي محسومات في آخر الشهر من معاشه أو راتبه، وبنظر التاجر ورب الصناعة هي الجابي الذي يحضر في نهاية السنة ويقتطع من أرباحه، الموازنة صندوق يشارك المواطنين في أرباحهم ويقفر من يصيب من المواطنين.

ولكن كما تفضلت أيها الزميل الكريم، الموازنة أيضاً أداة سخاء، الموازنة في باب النفقات باب رزق للمواطنين، الموازنة رواتب وأجور ومعاشات، الموازنة مشاريع عمرانية كبيرة، ماء، كهرباء، طرق، موانئ مطارات، مرافئ بحيرات، غدا ضمان اجتماعي، وإذاك تصبح الموازنة أداة اسعاد فتسعد وتعني الفئات التي تفيد منها.

فالموازنة إذاً أيها السادة أخذ وعطاء، غرم وغنم، حرمان وسخاء، فيجدر بنا أن نتساءل: هذا المشروع الذي بين أيدينا اليوم والذي يقضي بحركة مالية سوف تبلغ سنة 1963 زهاء 840/ مليون ليرة بين واردات ونفقات 420/ مليون ليرة واردات و 420 مليون نفقات، هذه الموازنة ماذا يكون تأثيرها على الثروة الوطنية في لبنان.

فعندما تجبي الدولة ضرائبها إذا كانت تأخذها من فئات وجهات معينة ثم تنفق على الجهات نفسها، نقول عند ذاك بأن الموازنة لا تأثير لها بتاتاً على تركيب الثروة الوطنية، والثروة تبقى في نهاية 1963 كما كانت في أولها.

أما وهذا واقع الحال في موازنتنا، إذا كانت الموازنة تأخذ وتجبي من جهات ثم تنفق على جهات أخرى، فنقول عند ذاك ان الموازنة تساهم مساهمة كبيرة في تكييف الثروة الوطنية وتعديل أركانها.

فاسمحوا لي بطرفة عين أن ننظر أولاً إلى موارد الموازنة، من أين تغذي الدولة صناديقها. من المعلوم أيها السادة ان الضرائب والعائدات أهم ما فيها ضرائب مباشرة وضرائب غير مباشرة. ثم واردات الدولة، إما من أملاكها أو من مصادرها الخاصة. فالضرائب المباشرة، دون أن ندخل في أي تفصيل، من ذا الذي يدفعها.

ضريبة الاملاك المبنية، ضريبة الدخل، ضريبة الانتقال، ورسوم الطابع والتسجيل على الاعمال وعلى العقود. هذه الضريبة يمكن القول ان الذي يدفعها إنما هي الفئات الميسورة، تدفعها الطبقات الميسورة ولا يصيب منها إلا النذر اليسير في الطبقات الفقيرة.

أما الضرائب غير المباشرة، ويبلغ مجموعها في لبنان 188 مليوناً فيمكن القول ان المواطنين جميعاً يدفعونها بالتساوي، ولكن هذه المساواة تخالف تماماً مبدأ المساواة الصحيحة كما عرفها مثلاً كبار الفلاسفة «أرسطو» وهو يقول: المساواة أن تعالج بغير المساواة أموراً غير مساوية. وهذه الضرائب، ولئن كان الوضع الضرائبي في لبنان يحتملها حالياً علينا بالنظر لسهولة تحصيلها، يجب أن يكون من رنامج الحكومة ومن صميم برنامجها أن تخفف وطأتها شيئاً فشيئاً عن الشعب.

الخلاصة أيها السادة، 420 مليون ليرة لبنانية تستوفيها الدولة سنة 1963 بمقدار الثلث من مداخيل العمل والثلثين من مداخيل رأس مالية أو من مال الدولة الاحتياطي نفسه، فهذا المال أين ينفق ومن يستفيد من هذا الصرف.

نأتي بايجاز كلي إلى باب النفقات المقسم إلى أربعة أقسام:

- قسم الرواتب والاجور وهو يبلغ 173 مليون ليرة، هذه صرفيات نفقات تذهب كلها لتنفيذ مداخيل العمل، ونعني بالعمل هنا العمل على مفهومه الاوسع عمل الوزير عمل المدير عمل الموظف عمل العامل عمل الطبيب عمل المهندس أو سواه.

- الباب الثاني، النفقات الادارية ويبلغ 50 مليوناً. وهنا تصرف الدولة على أنواع من المداخيل فينفد منها مداخيل العمل إذا صرفت مثلاً في صيانة البنايات، يفيد منها أصحاب الاملاك إذا صرفت بدلات أجور، ويفيد منها التاجر إذا ما اشترت لوازم وسواها. إنما يمكن القول بأن هنا أيضاً مداخيل العمل هي التي تستفيد من هذا الصرف.

أما القسم الثالث المتعلق بالنفقات الاجتماعية والثقافية البالغ 23 مليون فهو بكامله يذهب، ولا شك، إلى الطبقات الفقيرة غير الميسورة، وإذا ان شاء الله، تفضل هذا المجلس وأقر في هذه السنة مشروع الضمان الاجتماعي، عند ذاك تزيد النسبة بكثير لأن الدولة على الأرجح تشترك في هذا المشروع بنسبة 15 إلى 16 مليون ليرة.

أخيراً، القسم الأخير من النفقات، ما ينفق على نفقات التجهيز والانشاء 149 مليوناً سنة 1963. هذه النفقات معظمها تذهب إلى الملتزمين المتعاقدين مع الدولة وهم بعد أن يقتسموا شيئاً منها بمثابة أرباح يوزعونها بدورهم معاشات وأجور ورواتب إلى عمالهم وعمالهم.

ويمكن بالاجمال القول أيها السادة ان الصرف يفيد عن طريق الدولة وأكثر ما يفيد منه الطبقات الكادحة أو مداخل العمل وهي من الوجهة الاجتماعية أقرب المداخل إلى العدالة من جملة المداخل.

ويستخلص من هذا ان الموازنة في الوجهة الاجتماعية أداة فعالة لتسوية أوضاع المواطنين، ومن هنا تبرز ضرورة قصوى: هي أن الموازنة يجب أن تنفذ بكاملها، يجب أن تنفذ الموازنة بكاملها، فإذا سمحت أيها السادة فلنبحث وإياكم بكلمة موجزة في أسباب عدم تنفيذ الموازنة.

سادتي، لقد عاب بعض الزملاء الامر على الحكومة، ولو جاريت عاطفتي لما كان، ربما، جوابي نافعاً، فأريد أن نأخذ من غيرنا أمثلاً ونقول أولاً بأن الذين يعيرون على الحكومة عدم تنفيذ الموازنة كانوا بدورهم في الحكومات السابقة ولكنني لا أرى في احصاءات المالية أية موازنة تنفذت بكاملها.

ثم أيها السادة أمامنا مثل هام جداً، فرنسا بين الحربين العالميتين الاولى والثانية توالى عليها بطرف عشرين سنة أربعون حكومة، وهذا عنوان عدم الاستقرار الحكومي، ولكن الموازنات كانت تنفذ والامور كانت حسنة من الوجهة المالية والاقتصادية لأن في فرنسا ادارة قوية متينة الاركان، لها تقاليد قديمة ولها اساليب حديثة، فالسبب أيها السادة إذا ليست الحكومة المحترمة، سبب عدم التنفيذ يعود إلى الادارة، فعيناً أيها السادة ندور في هذا المجلس ونضع أصبعنا على غير موطن الداء، علينا ان نكشف الداء لنصف العلاج.

أما البحث عن الادارة فطويل ولا يتسع لنطاق هذه الجلسة ولكن إذا أعزتموني شيئاً من انتباهكم أقول أمرين لا ثالث لهما، بمناسبة تنفيذ الموازنة. فأمر للادارة وأمر على الادارة. نسجل للادارة، واستبراء لدمتها، ان السلطات العامة بمناسبة تنفيذ الموازنة تتقل كاهل الادارة وتضع على عاتقها في بحر السنة اعباء غير يسيرة عن طريق الاعتمادات الاضافية.

سنة 1961 كانت ارقام الموازنة 273/ مليون أما الاعتمادات الاضافية والاعتمادات المدورة من السنين السابقة فكانت 206 ملايين. فماذا يحصل.

يحصل أن كل منا يعيب على الادارة بأنها لا تنفذ الموازنة الا بنسبة 50 أو 60 أو 65 بالمئة وعلى هذا المقدار يجب أن نقول: ان موازنة سنة 1961 لم يصرف منها إذا إلا 150 أو 160 مليون ولكن من العودة إلى قانون قطع الحساب يتبين بأن الصرف، وأرقام الموازنة 273 مليون، بلغ 369 مليون ليرة لبنانية في سنة 1961. الصرف الفعلي ولما كان هذا هو

الامر المستمر في الموازنات السابقة، يمكنني بإذنكم أن استخلص، ان سنة 1963 ستصرف الدولة على الأرجح ما يتجاوز الـ 400 مليون ليرة، ولكن ليس من أصل اعتمادات مصدرها موازنة سنة 1963 إنما من اعتمادات مدورة واعتمادات اضافية سوف نصوت وياكم عليها.

صرف 400 مليون ليرة لبنانية أيها السادة ليس بالامر الهين.

سنة 1945 كانت موازنة الدولة 42 مليون ليرة وكان عدد الموظفين في لبنان زهاء 4000 موظفاً. اليوم أيها الزميل الكريم الموازنة 420 مليون أي عشرة أضعاف، أما عدد الموظفين فيقارب الـ 17 أو 18 ألف موظف، فإذا لا بأس في هذا الصرف ولكن يعني ذلك بأن كل شيء على أحسن ما يرام في الإدارة قلت انني سأذكر ختاماً لكلامي شيئاً عن الإدارة.

الإدارة أيها السادة، إذا أردت ان تكون الجهاز الفعال في التقدم والرقي في لبنان، لا بد لها ان تغير أساليبها، تحسن أولاً من أساليبها الفنية ومن ثم من أساليبها المعنوية، أساليبها الفنية أيها السادة، على الإدارة ان تفيد مما حققه لبنان في القطاع الخاص، ان تفيد من استعمال الطرق الحديثة في فن الإدارة، وهذا ما يسعى الإصلاح الإداري جاهداً لتحقيقه. ولكن سوف نتفق وياكم على أن لا اصلاح ولا قوة ولا حول يمكن أن يبذل شيئاً إذا كانت الإدارة لم تبدل ولم تحسن من أساليبها المعنوية.

أيها السادة، المراسيم الاشتراعية أعطت الموظفين حماية وأريد أن أقول عصمة تجاه الجميع، تجاه جميع المداخلات خارجية كانت أم داخلية، والمجلس الكريم جاء سنة 1961 بناء لاقتراح الحكومة التي كنت اتشرف بأن أكون عضواً فيها وقرر هذا المجلس الكريم تحسين أوضاع الموظفين أيضاً وزادت معاشاتهم، ولكن في المراسيم الاشتراعية يقابل كل ذلك مسؤوليات جسام.

لأن المراسيم الاشتراعية كانت خاتمة وفاتحة، كانت خاتمة عهد وفاتحة عهد جديد، كانت خاتمة النظرية القائلة بأن الموظف يمارس سلطة عامة، وفاتحة عهد يقول بأن الموظف مولج بخدمة عامة. فهذه النظرية التي تبدلت في أوروبا منذ سنة 1920 فاستبدل مركز العميد هوريو بسواه من أعلام الإدارة، هذه النظرية حققتها المراسيم أو ارادت أن تحققها في لبنان في سن التشريع الجديد في القوانين الإدارية، فمعنويات الإدارة، يجب أن يفهم الموظفون أن الخدمة هي رسالة والخدمة هي خدمة المواطن المتواضع البسيط الذي تعوزه الخبرة قبل خدمة المواطن الفطن الذي كيفما كان الامر يقضي أعماله ثم يتهيأ له بأن كل شيء على أحسن ما يرام في لبنان.

يجب أن يفهم الموظف بأن الضمانات التي أعطيت له هي لقاء مسؤوليات جسام القيت على عاتقه. وإذا توصلنا ان شاء الله في سنة 1963 إلى تحقيق شيء من هذا، وإذا أخذ الموظف يتفهم قيمة رسالته عندها ينشئ تيارات من المودة والتعاون بين الإدارة والشعب، وهذا هو مفتاح السر، وهذا هو مفتاح الرقي والتقدم في جميع أمورنا.

لا تقدم ولا رقي دون التعاون بين الحاكم والمحكوم، عند ذاك أيها السادة ننظر إلى شؤوننا غير النظرة التي ننظر إليها عادة اليوم ونعالج أمورنا على غير الطريقة التي نعالجها اليوم،

وإذا بنهر بيروت مثلاً، وإذا بنهر بيروت لا يعود مركزاً لللاوساخ وقد يتحول إلى خط ملاحية، خط ملاحية داخلية تمخره وسائل النقل الحديثة، وإذا بقصر الاونسكو يتحول إلى مركز ثقافي كبير تأوى إليه المؤتمرات الدولية ونحقق للبنان ما يصبو إليه كل منا ويطلبه له من تقدم، من افلاح في أعماله، ومن اسعاد لكل بنيه.

Appendix 9.4

Khatchig Babikian - 8 December 1964

Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of P.M. Hussein El Oweini' Government, before casting a vote of no confidence.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1964): 8th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 8 December 1964.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان.

خاتشيك بابكيان - دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

كنت أود وزملائي في الكتلة التي أنتمي إليها، أن يكون جو هذه الجلسة جو سرور ابتهاج، جو فرح وصفاء، في وحدة وطنية شاملة يشد فيها اللبنانيون على اختلاف كتلهم وأحزابهم وعلى تنوع طوائفهم ومناطقهم، أزر حكومتهم ويقفون صفاً واحداً إلى جانبها. هذا هو الشعار الذي نريد. إنما كم كان الحزن شديداً والأسف كبير خاصة حزني أنا، وحزن الزملاء الذين شدتنا إليهم في الآونة الأخيرة وفي كل المناسبات المواقف الوطنية الحاسمة، ولقد حزن جميع أعضاء هذا المجلس الكريم الذين تعودوا أن يروا بنا عنصراً من عناصر الانضباطية، وعاملاً من عوامل الوطنية الشاملة، عندما لمسوا أن فئة محترمة من اللبنانيين وهي من أعز فئات هذا الشعب غائبة اليوم عن جو الاتحاد الذي أريد أن يخلق حول هذه الحكومة، «وكم كان يسرنا هذا».

دولة الرئيس،

في هذا البلد اليوم فئة - من اللبنانيين محترمة الجانب عدداً وروحاً وإخلاصاً ووطنية، كنيبة النفس، تشعر بطعنة نجلاء في صميم وطنيتها، في صميم إخلاصها لهذا البلد، فئة اشتهرت بتمسكها بالحرية، ولبنان موطن الحريات فئة اشتهرت ببذلها في سبيل عقيدتها وإيمانها، ولبنان موطن العقائد والإيمان. فئة لا يمكن أن تكون غائبة عن جو الوحدة الوطنية، في أي مناسبة من مناسبات التعبير الوطني الشامل، لكننا أنتم يا دولة الرئيس لم تأخذوا بهذه الفكرة، ولا أقول تتركتم لها. لذلك يوسفني أن أعلق بإسمي وباسم زملائي في الكتلة التي ننتمي إليها أننا نمتنع عن إعطاء الثقة لحكومتم رغم ما لنا فيها من أصدقاء أعزاء، ورغم ما تضم من رجال نغزهم ونجلهم، أملين أن يسوى في القريب العاجل ما أهمل أمره اليوم، تحقيقاً لتلك الوحدة الوطنية الشاملة التي كما قيل: لا تتحقق ولا تقوم إلا بالمساوات بين جميع أبناء الوطن الواحد.

Appendix 9.5

Khatchig Babikian - 20 December 1966

Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Rasheed Karami on 20 December 1966.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1966): 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 20 December 1966.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان.

خاتشيك بابكيان - دولة الرئيس، أيها السادة،

إذا رأيتُمونا نطلب الكلام اليوم فلأننا ولزملائنا في الكتلة التي ننتمي إليها نعتبر أن الظروف السياسي يتعدى شكليات جلسات الثقة العادية، فنعطي ثقة لحكومة تليها حكومة مع كل تمنياتي لهذه الحكومة بالبقاء، نعطيها إلى حكومة تليها.

دولة الرئيس، أيها السادة،

سمعنا بيان رئيس الحكومة ونحن معجبون بما ورد فيه من مخططات واسعة وبرامج أكيدة لدفع عجلة الحكم في سبيل الإنماء والتطوير، وحقاً يقال إن دولة الرئيس رشيد كرامي سيد من ديج البيانات وعبر عن رغبات الشعب وأحكم فصول مثل هذه الإذاعات.

أما التشكيلة الوزارية التي أمامنا، فمما لا شك فيه بما تضم من شخصيات مخلصه ورجالات بلغ كل منهم القمة في ميدان اختصاصه، أقول إنها ولا شك وأعبر بذلك عن رأيي ورأي زملائي في الكتلة، حرية بالثقة ولو أن الموضوع اختصر اليوم على قضية عاطفية لاقتصر قولنا، أن في البيان الوزاري أو في التشكيلة الوزارية أنها خير بيان لخير حكومة، ولكن أيها السادة، الواجب ينفذ إلى ما هو أبعد من العاطفة، الواجب يحتم علينا أن نتباحث والحكومة ليس فقط في عرض نوايا طيبة ممتازة ظاهرة، ولا أخلص من هكذا بيان، بل نتباحث وإياها في طرق العمل، في الوسائل التي تعتمدها في تنفيذ ما تقول، في الحلول التي تعدها لمعالجة ما ستعرض إليه وما تعرض إليه كل من سبقها في الحكم فيما هي تنفذ ما تهدف إليه، ونهدف إليه، وهدفت إليه كل حكومة سبقتها. وهل لي أن أذكر أيها الزملاء الكرام أن ما من بيان وزاري في الماضي، إلا وتضمن المطالبة والدعوة لنفس التعليم المجاني الإلزامي، ومع ذلك نرى أن ما يقارب الثمانمئة ألف تلميذ لا يزالون دون ماوى ولا مدرسة؟ ولا بيان وزاري منذ 1957 ألا وتضمن الدعوة لنفس المشكل الذي نحن فيه، وخصص لبناء مجموعات سكنية كبيرة للشعب ومع ذلك لم نر إلى اليوم إنشاء مجموعة سكنية واحدة من المساكن الشعبية، وهل لي أن أذكر صديقي العزيز إذا سمح في ذلك معالي وزير الصحة أننا سمعنا كثيراً عن

التعبئة العامة في وزارة الصحة لتأمين الدواء الرخيص بمتناول الفقير ومع ذلك ما زالت اللجان تدارس الموضوع منذ سنة 1961 ولم نر تنفيذاً، والأمر على هذا النحو فيما يتعلق بإنشاء الهالات، الأسواق الشعبية الكبرى التي كنا عن طريقها ننوي إنزال أسعار القوت والغذاء، حيث يجتمع البائع والمشتري مباشرة بدون واسطة، والقول ذاته فيما يتعلق ببناء الإهراءات لأجل إنزال أسعار الرغيف، فلم نر منذ ذلك التاريخ مع الأسف شيئاً إلى اليوم، ولو أن هذا المجلس حاسب الحكومات على النوايا لأكدت لكم أن حكومة واحدة لما سقطت في هذا المجلس منذ يوم الاستقلال، ولكن الحساب على الأعمال وما يتحقق منها.

فدعونا أيها السادة، بما نكن لدولة الأستاذ رشيد كرامي من احترام ومحبة صادقة ولهذه الحكومة، وما نأمل صادقين من عمل مستمر، لأن بقاء الحكومة هو الإطار الذي من ضمنه تنفذ الأعمال إلى الوجود واستقرار الحكم هو الإطار الإلزامي لكل عمل بناء، دعونا نتباحث وإياكم في تلك الأجهزة التي ستولونها غداً أمر التنفيذ، وإذا بكم تجتمعون غداً في مجلس الوزراء وتتخذون القرارات العديدة العقيمة الفائدة، ولكنكم تفيقون بعد أيام أو أسابيع أو أشهر، ولا ترون تنفيذاً، أنتم أيها السادة على رأس هرم مكلف بالتنفيذ، أنتم مسؤولون، ليس فقط عما هو مباشرة تحت يديكم. أنتم مسؤولون عن فعالية الأجهزة الإدارية التي بين أيديكم، ولو أن مسؤوليتكم اقتضت بفعالية المدير العام لسهل الأمر، فالمدير العام بين أيديكم يراجعكم بسبب أو بلا سبب بكل سانحة، ولو أن فعالية الإدارة في تأمين فعالية رؤساء المصالح لسهل الأمر أيضاً، وهم بمتناول أيديكم، ولكن فعالية الإدارة مرتبطة بكل جزء في كل قسم من أقسام هذا الجهاز الإداري الضخم، ومرتبطة أكثر ما هو مرتبط، هذا العمل، بهذه الجزئيات التي هي باحتكاك دائم مع الشعب، وإذا اقتضت في عملها، قال الشعب ما في حكومة، ليس لأنه يعارض في سياستها الداخلية والخارجية بل لأنه يرى، أن هذا الجهاز الذي علة وجوده هو خدمة المواطن وتسهيل أعماله لا يقوم بوظيفته خير قيام.

دولة الرئيس، كان في ذات يوم رئيس للبلاد قد درس هذه الأوضاع وتعمق بها فاستقصى أسبابها وحل علها، ثم طلع على البلاد بتشريع جامع سمي وقت ذاك بالمراسيم الاشتراعية وكان بوده تجهيز البلاد بجهاز إداري فعال، وكان يهدف إلى اللامركزية، ثم إلى اللامركزية، وحالة الإدارة المترججة اليوم، ليست سوى نتيجة التردد في تنفيذ هذه الخطة بكاملها، فأخذ بالشيء القليل، وترك الشيء الكثير. قالت المراسيم الاشتراعية بإيجاد جهاز مركزي يكون هو لولب الحركة، في تنظيم شؤون الإدارة، في تفادي التشابك في الصلاحيات، في تسهيل سير المعاملات للمواطنين، سمي هذا الجهاز بإدارة الأبحاث والتوجيه، وأنا أفضل أن لا أحدثكم عنه كفاني أن أقول لكم، ان إبلاغ صاحب معاملة من وزارة الشؤون التي مركزها شارع بدارو، حيث هو مقيم في بيته في الأشرفية منذ أشهر، اقتضى مدة أربعين يوماً كاملة، وكان في الأمر اثنا عشر تحويلاً، أربعة عشر إمضاء، محافظ واحد، واثنتان من المدراء العاميين، وستة شرطين للتحويل والتنفيذ والتبليغ. هل تقبلون أيها السادة في عصر السرعة هذا، أن تسري أمور الإدارة على هذا الشكل. وهل تقبلون أن تبقى أجهزة الأمن وهي مضنكة بألف مهمة ومهمة، أن تهتم بالتحويل والتسجيل، ونحن في كل يوم نقول لا نجد من تعنيه في قوى الأمن، ونرتب على أنفسنا معاشات، وكل موظف يرتب على الدولة معاش أربعين سنة، دون النظر إلى التقاعد والتعويضات المختلفة.

دولة الرئيس أيها السادة،

لن يمضي وقت طويل إذا أنتم لم تعالجوا المشكلة الإدارية المستعصية، لن يمضي وقت إلا وتفيقون بأن قراراتكم بقيت في دنيا الغيب حبراً على ورق، ولم تنفذ إلى حيز الوجود، رغم اعتقادنا الراسخ بأن كل كلمة وكل حرف مما قَلَّمْتُمُوهُ تنوون تنفيذه، وأنتم مصممون على تنفيذه، ولكن الأجهزة ليست بيديكم فعليكم أن تصلحوا، وإذا كان لي من ملاحظة على البيان النفيس الذي صدر عن هذه الحكومة، وهي أن المشاكل الإدارية لم تظهر في البيان إلا بسطرين ومررت بهما الحكومة مرور الكرام،

أيها السادة، اسمحوا لي أن أضيف وأقول إن معالجة المعضلة الإدارية تطلب علماً وفناً، تطلب حزمًا وكلها لا ترتجل فتأتي الحكومات وتذهب وليس فيها من يهتم بهذه القضية الأساسية.

أنا أعلم ما يتبادر في أذهان البعض وقد يقول قائل، اننا عالجنا فيما مضى القضايا الإدارية وسنعالجها الآن، بأننا فرضنا من يجب فرضه وعينا وسنعين من يجب تعيينه، ولكن دعوني أن أقول لكم بما اكتسبت من خبرة في القضايا الإدارية، ان سياسة إبدال هذا بذاك، أو عملية تعيين زيد عوضاً عن عمرو، لن تأتي ثمرًا إذا لم يسبقها أو على الأقل إذا لم يرافقها عملية موضوعية، هي إعادة النظر في تشكيل الدوائر، وتحديد مهام كل موظف، وإعادة النظر في مراحل المعاملات واختصار العمل الإداري، لأن الإصلاح الإداري قبل أن يكون قضية شخصية هو قضية ذاتية.

وقبل أن أختتم كلمتي أيها السادة، اسمحوا لي أن أقول، إن في فقدان الأجهزة الإدارية الملازمة قسطاً وافراً من المسؤولية على مجلسنا الكريم، وأختتم كلمتي بشرح عبارة مختصرة، قالها العلامة الإفرنسي بارتيلمي - وهي أن لكل عهد عنواناً، والعناوين تكمن في الأسماء والاصطلاحات الدارجة على الألسن في كل عهد، وإذا صح ذلك يجب أن نقول، إن عصرنا هو عصر الإنماء الاقتصادي والتطوير الاجتماعي، لأنه قلما جرى الحديث عن الإنماء شأنه اليوم في كل مناسبة، فهل ترون وهذا ما يتساءل عنه الجميع، ليس في لبنان فقط، بل في جميع الأندية الدولية التي حضرناها مع البعض منكم؟ هل للمجالس النيابية، وهل لمجلسنا النيابي أن يبقى ويصمد في وجه الزمن إذا هو لم يهيئ نفسه لتلبية متطلبات الزمن، ويكون جهازاً فعالاً يشارك الحكومة والدولة في سبل التنمية والتطوير الاجتماعي؟ وكم تساءلت كيف يتم ذلك؟ يتم ذلك على وجه التأكيد أن لا يقتصر مجلسنا الكريم في بحث المسائل العارضة على الخمس دقائق في النصف الساعة الأولى. وبعد ذلك ينتقل إلى تصديق مشاريع القوانين التي ترده من الحكومة أو من أعضائه، حان لنا أيها السادة، أن نعلن، أن على المجلس عن طريق لجانه أن ينفذ إلى صميم القضايا التي تهم الشعب وكل أفراد هذا المجتمع، حان لنا أن نعلن أن اللجان في المجلس ليست اللهم مجالس استشارية أفلاطونية تعطي رأيها في مشاريع القوانين، بل هي أجزاء حية منبثقة من هذا المجلس تمارس كل صلاحيتها، أي سن التشريع، وقبل ذلك مراقبة العمل الحكومي ومشاركة الإدارة في معالجة الأمور، ورقابة الإدارة في صرف أموال المواطن ومعرفة تصرفها في شؤون المواطنين، وقد سبق لي وكتبت إلى جميع رؤساء اللجان، وأرجو الآن أن أكرر هذا هنا في الجلسة العلنية إذ عرضت أن تضع كل لجنة في مثل هذا الوقت من السنة برنامجاً للسنة المقبلة، فلجنة الأشغال العامة

مثلاً، تضع برنامجاً يعلن عنه في الصحف والتلفزيون ويكون كل مواطن ملماً به، تقول اللجنة إنني أخصص جلسات شهر كانون الثاني لدرس شؤون الطرق، وفي شهر شباط ندرس شؤون الكهرباء، وفي شهر آذار ندرس شؤون مرافئ بيروت وسائر المرافئ، وفي شهر نيسان وأيار ندرس قضايا سكك الحديد، وبهذه المناسبة تدعو اللجنة ليس فقط، المختص في العمل في القطاع العام، بل وأيضاً الهيئات الاقتصادية التي يهتمها الأمر. وللمواصلات يدعى من يعمل بالمواصلات، ولل كهرباء لا يدعى فقط رئيس مصلحة كهرباء لبنان، ولا مدير الشؤون الكهربائية، بل يدعى أيضاً رئيس جمعية الصناعيين، لما للسياسة الكهربائية من صميم الاتصال في تشجيع الصناعة الخ...

وربما إذا حصل ذلك نفذ المجلس إلى صميم القضايا ووضع أسساً صحيحة ليكون جهاز تعاون بين الحكام وبين المحكومين، ويحصل ذلك الحوار الذي بدونه لا ازدهار ولا تقدم ولا رقي.

Appendix 9.6

Khatchig Babikian - 13 April 1967

Deputy Khatchik Babikian's speech on the Rental Law.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1967): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 11th Parliament held on 13 April 1967.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس،

بعد أن جال الزملاء الكرام جولاتهم الموفقة في حقول شتى، قد لا يبقى ما يقال في هذا الموضوع. وقد تبين من هذا النقاش ان الشكوى عارمة. إنما لم أعرف أن قانون الايجار لا يرضي حتى التقويم عندنا - تقويم الطائفة الارمنية -

دولة الرئيس، لفتت نظري كلمة قالها رئيس لجنة الادارة والعدلية، قال ان هذا القانون معمول للماضي وليس للمستقبل، وليس لي أن أخالفه. لأن قانوناً كقانون الايجارات لا يمكن إلا أن ينظر إلى المستقبل لأنه يشرع في مواضيع مهمة، تهم جهات أساسية عديدة. فإذا نظرنا إلى قانون الايجارات بغير هذه النظرة نكون قد فشلنا في مهمتنا التوجيهية في حقول عديدة واخص بالذكر منها ثلاثة :

سيدي، إذا أردنا أن نتفق على شيء حول قوانين الايجارات يجب أن نضع أمام أعيننا المشاكل، فنراقب ونحاسب الحكومة على المشروع بمقدار ما يشترك المشروع بحل هذه المشاكل. ولا أريد أن أتعرض إلى أي من النقاط التي تفضل الزملاء الكرام وطرقوها بلباقتهم وبجدارتهم المعروفة. إلا انني أتى إلى مشكلة واحدة، مثلاً لم يذكرها أحد .

لبنان يعاني مشكلة هي عند غيرنا أزمة، ولكنها عندنا مشكلة فقط، والحمد لله، الا وهي مشكلة المياه. وكلنا يعتبر ان الماء ثروة حبا الله بها هذه البلاد العزيزة ولم يمد بها سوانا، فعلينا ان نحافظ على ثروتنا المائية بكل الطرق. وقد أرسدنا في موازنتنا الاعتمادات اللازمة لانشاء البحيرات الاصطناعية، ومع هذا نواجه كل يوم، مشاكل القرى من أجل توزيع المياه .

فماذا ترون في قانون الاجور جاء هذا المشروع يفرض فرضاً على كل صاحب ملك ان يركب جهازاً جديداً لتوزيع المياه الساخنة، أي أن كل لبناني سيصرف ويستهلك أضعاف وأضعاف الكميات التي كان يستهلكها إلى الان، فلا أرى من الحكمة أن نترك جميع الموصافات الاخرى التي أتى على ذكرها الزملاء الكرام، ونزيد فقط المياه الساخنة. فقانون الايجار سيزيد في أزمة المياه. نأتي إلى مشكلة ثانية، يعاني لبنان والعاصمة بصورة خاصة مشكلة سير، وأنظر إلى مشكلة السير ليس فقط إلى الزاوية التي تعودنا أن ننظر إليها، أي من زاوية صاحب السيارة، أريد مرة واحدة أن أنظر إلى مشكلة السير من ناحية الشعب الذي يمشي وليس لديه سيارة، فهل، بإمكان اللبناني أن ينتقل في الاحياء أو في المناطق السكنية

ليلاً إذا أراد ان يمشي هل يجد رصيفاً شاغراً ليسير عليه كلا، كان الاجدر بنا أن ندخل في مواصفات الابنية الفخمة نفس النص الذي تفضلتم به وقلتم انه موجود في قانون البناء، أي أن يكون المرأب مخصصاً بالاسم، ويكون بالواقع مستودعاً أو ملهى أو ملجأ للردائل وما إلى ذلك .

وأخيراً، وهذا مفهوم ان قانون الايجارات أوجد أساساً لحل مشكلة السكن، ونحن نعلم ان هنالك أكثر من ثمانية الاف بيت فارغ، كما تفضل وقال عن ذلك بعض الزملاء، فكيف السبيل لجعل هذه البيوت تبلغ وظيفتها الاجتماعية لأن الملك بنظرنا له وظيفة اجتماعية فإذا فرغ البيت وبقي شاغراً ستة أشهر، ثم بقي شاغراً سنة فيجب، أن يتدخل المشترع لأجل التأجير. ولاننا نعيش في ظل نظام ارتضيانه لنفسنا وهو النظام الحر، فلا نعتبر انه يجوز للحكومة أن تصدر أو توزع البيوت، إلا أن الدول جميعاً التي لنا وايها تشابه بالانظمة الاقتصادية جاءت بطرق مباشرة، فمثلاً تفرض الضريبة على البيت الذي يبقى شاغراً لا أقول شهرين، ولكن أقول ستة أشهر أو سنة وعندها يقوم بوظيفة اجتماعية على الاقل تجاه الخزينة وتجاه الدولة .

خاتشيك بابكيان: - متابعاً - مولانا الرئيس، المالك له اعتبارات قد لا تكون دائماً هي اعتبارات الشعب والحكومة، المالك الذي له عشرة بيوت متشابهة وتمكن من تأجير ثمانية أو تسعة بيوت منها ببذل باهظ، لا يريد أن يؤجر البيت العاشر كي لا تنخفض الاجارات في البيوت الاخرى، وعليه على الاقل ان يدفع الجزية للخزينة، إذا كان لا يريد أن يجعل ملكه في متناول الناس .

رئيس مجلس الوزراء: - مقاطعاً - حتى إذا كان لا يعرف أن يؤجر بيته .

بابكيان: - متابعاً - يا سيدي، عندما يعرض بيت للايجار ببذل معقول، وليس من أحد إلا ويتمكن من أن يؤجر منزله .

رئيس مجلس الوزراء: - مقاطعاً - مستعد أن أدلك على ناس لم يتمكنوا من أن يؤجروا وأولهم نحن .

بابكيان: - متابعاً - نحن مستعدين أن نلاقي لك مستأجراً يا دولة الرئيس، وهذا أمر بسيط .

وأخلص إلى القول بأن المشروع جاءنا ببدعة، قانون الاجور جاء بشكل استثناء على القانون العام، لحماية المستأجرين وفي هذا المشروع مادة لم أعرف من أين أوتي بها، لانني كنت باللجنة ولم أسمع بها، واسمع فيها الآن جاء بفقرة يستثنى عن القانون العام، حيث كان القانون العام أرحم للمستأجرين، وهي الفقرة الثالثة من المادة التاسعة، يوجد هناك أناس في المناطق الفقيرة استأجروا سابقاً أرضاً وبنوا فيها وما زالوا يسكنون مع عيالهم، هؤلاء يحميهم القانون العام، ولم يكونوا بحاجة إلى قانون اجارات. القانون العام يحميهم لأن بيدهم عقد ايجار عمروا ليسكنوا، فسكنوا، جاءت الفقرة الثالثة تقول: ان للمالك الذي أقيمت على أرضه انشاءات من قبل المستأجر، ان يسترد الارض إذا كانت الانشاءات وضعية. هذا لم يكن في أي قانون سابق .

ناظم القادري: - مقاطعاً - هذا ما كان في القانون السابق .

بابكيان: - متابعاً - أرجو الزميل الكريم ان يسمح لي بأن أقول له ان ذلك لم يكن في القوانين. وأزيده ايضاحاً بأن القوانين السابقة كانت تنص على أماكن استرداد الملك الذي يخص المالك، إذا كان وضعياً. لا أن يخرج المستأجر الذي بنى انشاءات بماله إذا كان الملك وضعياً .

ونحن نعلم أن هذه القضية تهم السواد الاعظم من الطبقات الفقيرة في ضواحي المدينة .

لذلك عندما نصل إلى درس المادة التاسعة سنتقدم مع زملائنا باقتراح فيه إلغاء هذا النص

Appendix 9.7

Khatchig Babikian - 17 November 1970

Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech offering condolences for the passing of General Charles de Gaulle and Deputy Maurice Gemayel.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1970): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 17 November 1970.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان.

خاتشيك بابكيان - الألم يغمر نفسي يا دولة الرئيس، وأنا أضم صوتي إلى صوت الزملاء الذين عبروا عما أصاب لبنان، لبنان الرسمي، ولبنان الشعبي على مختلف أحزابه، وطوائفه ومجتمعاته، من مصاب جلل، بعد أن فقدنا قائد العرب الملهم الذي أعاد إلى العرب عزتهم، والذي بصدق جهاده وإخلاصه لقومه استنبط من التاريخ كرامة العرب.

أصيب لبنان بمصاب مثلك فبشخص قائد قوات فرنسا الحرة الذي تبوأ سدة الرئاسة فيها خسر لبنان صديقاً حميماً، صديقاً حقاً، صديق الساعات الحالكة، صديق العسر والملمات وقد أحب لبنان محبة الإنسان لوطنه الثاني لأنه كان يعتبر لبنان رحمه الله مواطناً ثانياً لكل حر أبي مستقل، وموئلاً للحريات ومنبتاً للعقائد وفي شخص الجنرال ديغول خسر العرب مناصراً كبيراً لقضاياهم العادلة، ومناصراً فذ الذكاء أشم النفس لم يترك فرصة ولم يفوت مناسبة إلا ووقف يعلنها حرباً على كل من يجرؤ على التنكر للحق وخاصة على التنكر لحق شعب فلسطين العزيز في استعادة حقوقه السليبة.

وبشخص الزميل الشقيق العزيز الشيخ مورييس الجميل فقد لبنان وفقدنا جميعاً رجلاً من رجالات الدهر. ولقد أضفى مورييس الجميل على السياسة اللبنانية ألواناً جديدة من الالتزام الفكري العلمي وقد ركز حياته كلها على ما سمي مع الزمن تصميماً وتخطيطاً، إنما بالنسبة له، كان تصميماً لخدمة لبنان وتخطيطاً لرسالة السياسة، كما خسرننا في مورييس الجميل علماً رفف في الأندية الدولية وقد بلغ ذروته عندما تبوأ رئاسة منظمة التغذية العالمية.

وما عسانا نقول عن زميل وأخ عزيز لنا رافقناه في كرسي الحكم وفي المجلس، لم تجف بعد دموعنا على قبره وقد سلمناه للتراب بالأمس فيما كان لبنان يعقد أكبر الآمال على الراحل الكبير لما كان يتحلى به من خلق نبيل من صدق اللسان وأنس المعشر إننا باسم الأستاذ سليمان فرنجية بأصدق وأسمى آيات الإخلاص نتقدم من صاحب الفخامة رئيس الجمهورية زملائنا في الجبهة الحاضرين والغائبين وباسمنا التعزية وقد تفضل فخامته وحمل إلى فرنسا شعور الأسرة اللبنانية المفجوعة وأودعها مقر الراحل الكبير.

كما نتقدم إلى حزب الكتائب اللبنانية العزيز وحزب التقدمي الاشتراكي الشقيق بأصدق شعور
التعزية راجين أن يلهمهما الله جميل الصبر والسلوان وأن يتغمد الفقيدین الراحلین بواسع
رحمته.

Appendix 9.8

Khatchig Babikian - 22 December 1970

Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech on the relationship with Syria.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1970): 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 22 December 1970.

الرئيس - الكلمة لحضرة النائب المحترم الأستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان.

خاتشيك بابكيان - دولة الرئيس،

طالما تعودنا أن نعبر بالصمت والسكوت عن تضامنا مع هذا المجلس بكل مواقفه الوطنية، ولكن الحدث الذي يشير عنه دولة الرئيس اليوم، حدث يخرج عما تعودنا أن نعالج به في هذا المجلس.

ان العلاقة بين لبنان وسوريا نعتبرها حقاً، أنها علاقة عضوية، إذا أصابها أي، انتقاص، عندها يصاب كل لبناني في شعوره وفي مصالحه، وفي حياته اليومية. نكسة كما نشهدها إلى أيام مضت.

نحيي عمل الحكومة، وقد حاولنا عندما كنا في كرسي الحكم لإيجاد هذا الجو وقد ذهبنا إلى سوريا وحاولنا ما أمكن ولكن تأتّى الأيام والأمور مرهونة بأوقاتها، وأقول يا دولة الرئيس وتوافقني ولا شك على ذلك أن الحصة الكبرى في كل هذا. لتلك الهالة التي تحيط بفخامة الرئيس سليمان فرنجية، لما قدم من خدمات طوال حياته السياسية للقضية العربية، ولما يوحيه من ثقة في العالم العربي، فتفتتح أمامه أبواب كانت موصدة في وجه الغير.

إذا ما نتوسم منه الخير العميم للمستقبل ويسرنا أن يكون هذا كله تم على يد دولة الرئيس سلام مع وزير الخارجية الشاب، صديقنا الأستاذ أبو حمد. وأن هذا الحدث بنظرنا ينبغي أن يكون محطة، بل منطلقاً لتحركية دبلوماسية نأمل، أن تأتي بمنافع جديدة لهذا البلد. كنت صباح هذا اليوم بمقابلة شرفني بها معالي وزير السياحة والاقتصاد فاتفقنا أن نسمي الأمور ونطلق عليها «سلوكان». أن لبنان بلد صغير في عالم كبير. ولد صغير في حجمه، ولكنه كبير بإمكاناته، بجذوره، بما أوحى إليّ العالم كله من ثقة بفعالياته. ان على الوجه الثقافي أم الإنساني، أم التربوي أم الاقتصادي أم الانمائي.

فلبنان الذي يضع طاقاته كلها في خدمة القضايا العربية، ان بإمكانه أن يوحى الثقة للمحيط الطبيعي الجغرافي الذي قدر له أن يعيش فيه، وهو في طليعة من سيقود معركة الإنماء، ومعركة الوطنية، ومعركة القضايا العربية المقدسة التي إن شاء الله ستعود إلى أصولها وإلى إحقاق الحق العربي لأصحابه وشكراً.

Appendix 10

Vartkes Shamlan

Appendix 10.1

Vartkes Shamlan - 31 May 1961

Speech by Deputy Vartkes Shamlan at a legislative meeting concerning draft Rental Law.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1961): 16th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 31 May 1961.

وراتكس شامليان - عطوفة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

أود أن ألفت نظركم إلى نقطة أثرتها في إحدى جلسات لجنة الإدارة والعدلية وهي: أن أفراد الشعب من المستأجرين والملاكين اعتادوا، بعد الاتفاق فيما بينهم، أن ينظموا عقود إيجارات ببدايات زائدة عن البديل الحقيقي، فيذكر المالك في سند الإيجار مثلاً بأن بدل الإيجار هو ألف وخمسمائة ليرة لبنانية، ولكنه يرضى بأن يقبض ألف ليرة فقط، وسبب ذلك هو أنهم يعتقدون بحصول تخفيض قانوني، وهذا يعني أن الرأي العام مستعد لقبول مبدأ التخفيض، لذلك فإني أطلب إليكم أن تحققوا آمال المستأجرين وهم الأكثرية الساحقة من الشعب.

وإني اقترح بأن نتبنى، بادئ ذي بدء، مبدأ التخفيض بنسبة 15 بالمئة للإيجارات المعقودة بعد سنة 1956 وتجميد الأوضاع فيما يتعلق بعقود الإيجارات القديمة.

ولدي اقتراح آخر سأقدمه خطياً الآن، وهو يقضي بأن يدرج في صلب القانون الفقرة الآتية: "يخضع للتخفيض القانوني جميع الإيجارات التي لم تخفض حتى الآن بعد سنة تعاقدية أولى، وهذا المبدأ قد أخذت به المحاكم منذ زمن بعيد ونحن المشتريون، نكون بإضافة مثل هذا النص قد كرسنا اجتهادات المحاكم بنص صريح ونكون قد وضعنا حداً للدعوى العديدة العالقة الآن أمام القضاء، ونكون قد أرضينا فئة من المستأجرين لم تخفض حتى الآن بدلات إيجار مساكنهم. على أن يشمل هذا التخفيض الأبنية الفخمة أيضاً.

لقد سمعنا من يقول، وقلنا وكررنا القول، بأن بعض الملاكين يتهربون من تطبيق القانون وذلك بتجهيز أبنيتهم بتدفئة مركزية غير صالحة أو بتدفئة مركزية لا تعمل إلا نادراً، أو بوضع مصعد كهربائي يتعطل أغلب الأحيان، أو بباب لا يكون موجوداً.

عطوفة الرئيس،

هناك طريقة أخرى غير لائقة يستعملها بعض الملاكين وهي الآتية: قبل حلول أجل الإيجار بشهر ينذر المالك المستأجر بترك المأجور، وبما أنه من الصعب على المستأجر أن يجد مسكناً

آخر، يصرف النظر عن سائر الصعوبات والمشقات الأخرى التي نتخبط بها كلما نقلنا من بيوتنا، يرضي المستأجر أن يدفع للمالك زيادة خمسمائة أو ألف ليرة لكي يبقى في المأجور.

كل هذه الأسباب يجب أن نجد لها حلاً، وذلك بإقرار مبدأ التخفيض على أن يشمل التخفيض الأبنية الفخمة أيضاً.

وإني أنبه المجلس بكل احترام إلى أنه بمجرد تمديد قانون الإيجار سنة فسنة يعني التهرب من واجباتنا كمشرعين وكممثلين لهذا الشعب.

Appendix 10.2

Vartkes Shamlan - 3 July 1962

Speech by Deputy Vartkes Shamlan at a legislative meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1962): 6th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 3 July 1962.

وراتكس شامليان - عطوفة الرئيس، أيها زملاء الكرام،

تعلمون أنني تقدمت مع زميلي الأستاذ أحمد أسبر بمشروع لتمديد مفعول قانون الإيجارات يشبه القوانين التي صدرت سابقاً مع تعديل بسيط يتعلق بتخفيض بدلات الإيجارات المعقودة بعد نهاية 1956 .

أما وقد جاء مشروع الحكومة يشمل مشروعا فإنني أوافق عليه والتمس من المجلس الكريم أن يقره.

أيها السادة، لما كان مشروع الحكومة يشمل بصورة أوسع المشروع الذي تقدمت به مع الزميل أحمد اسبر، فإنني أتبني مشروع الحكومة وأوافق عليه.

لاشك في أن الجدل أو النقاش بهذه القضية قضية الزيادة الجديدة على بدلات الإيجار المعقودة بعد سنة 1956 وقضية تخفيض بدلات الإيجار القديمة قد أدى في اللجان إلى الإجماع على أن هناك فئتين مظلومتين، الفئة الأولى هي فئة المستأجرين المعقودة إيجاراتهم بعد 1956، والفئة الثانية هي فئة المالكين القدامى. فطالما أن رسالتنا هي خدمة العدالة فمن الواجب علينا أن نرفع الحيف عن المظلوم وبالتالي علينا أن نخفض بدلات الإيجار الجديدة وزيادة الإيجارات القديمة. وهذا هو تدبير بسيط وعادل، يخدم العدالة والشعب، لأن جميع بدلات الإيجار المعقودة بعد 1956 وضعت في متن العقود وفي نية المؤجر والمستأجر بأن التخفيض القانوني سيقدر في حينه، وهذا التخفيض المنتظر لم يقرر حتى اليوم.

لقد قال أحد الزملاء، وهو الشيخ بهيج تقي الدين بأنه ما برح منذ أربعة عشرة سنة يطالب بتجميع الأوضاع أو بالأحرى، يطالب بإطلاق حرية التعاقد في حقل الإيجارات لأن كل تخفيض يقرر تكون نتيجته الحتمية تخفيض أسعار الأراضي أو الأبنية.

ولكن الذي ألاحظه أنا وتلاحظونه أنتم هو أن المشترع كان يخفض الإيجارات منذ أربع عشرة سنة وأسعار الأراضي والأبنية ولم تتدن بل أنها كانت في ارتفاع مستمر.

فإذاً، هذه الحجة لا تقنع أحداً ولا يجوز أن يقبل بها أحد. أما قول البعض بأن ليس هناك أزمة سكن وأزمة مساكن فهو صحيح بالنسبة للذين يستطيعون أن يدفعوا أربعة أو خمسة أو ستة آلاف ليرة سنوياً بدل إيجار سكنهم. أما بالنسبة للذين لا يكادون يحصلون مثل هذا المبلغ لتأمين معيشتهم ومعيشة عيالهم فأزمة السكن مستحكمة وقائمة بصورة حادة. فلماذا تريدون أن تجمدوا الأوضاع وتطلقون حرية التعاقد؟ أنني أعتقد بأن هذا القانون يجب أن ينص على تخفيض بدلات إيجار الأبنية الفخمة بسبب كثرتها والأسباب الأخرى المعروفة من الجميع.

قد تسألون ماذا اقترح لإزالة هذه الأزمة وتخفيف حدتها. الجواب بسيط:

أولاً: إقرار المشروع المعروف بمشروع المساكن الشعبية.

ثانياً: إقرار المشروع المقدم من الأستاذ محسن سليم وأعني به مشروع المؤسسات التجارية.

ثالثاً: المشروع المقدم من الأستاذ جوزف شادر المتعلق بملكية الطبقات المتعددة في البناية الواحدة.

رابعاً: الموافقة على المشروع المقدم من الحكومة إلى ما بعد تحقيق المشاريع الثلاثة الأنفة الذكر، لأن الشعب ينتظر صدور هذا القانون. وبذلك نكون قد خدمنا العدالة والشعب، لأنه لا يجوز لنا، كممثلين للشعب وكمشترعين أن تمدد قوانين الإيجارات سنة بعد سنة دون أي تعديل.

Appendix 10.3

Vartkes Shamlan - 28 January 1964

Speech by Deputy Vartkes Shamlan at a budget discussion meeting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1964): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 10th Parliament held on 28 January 1964.

وراتكس شامليان - دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام، بمناسبة مناقشة موازنة سنة 1964 بصورة عامة أود أن ألفت الأنظار إلى بعض نقاط تتعلق بوزارة الأشغال العامة والصحة العامة ووزارة العدلية.

لقد قرأنا في الصحف مؤخراً تصريحاً للشيخ بيار الجميل بشأن المساكن الشعبية وموضوع نقل أكواخ الكرنتينا إلى خارج مدينة بيروت وما جرى من حديث بهذا الصدد في مجلس الوزراء، وإنني أهني الحكومة المحترمة على هذه المبادرة، وأنتم تذكرون أنه حصل قبل سنة تماماً حريق في أكواخ الكرنتينا، وتآلفت آنذاك لجنة خاصة قامت بواجباتها ولكن "الأعمال بالإكمال" كما يقولون.

إن الحريق الذي حصل أيها السادة، كان كارثة أليمة نزلت بفئة من المواطنين هو أختونا وأبنائنا، وهذه الكارثة ألقت على عواتقنا واجبات كثيرة وفتحت أعيننا على وضع مؤلم وإشارات إلى المشاريع الكبرى ودفعتنا إلى تحقيقها بسرعة كلية.

من القول المأثور أيها السادة حكمة تقول: "من رأى العبرة بغيره فليعتبر". فكان يقتضى أن لا نمر بهذه الكارثة مواسين المصابين بها مساعدين مشفقين، موزعين الأموال عليهم، بل كان من أولى واجباتنا أن نأخذ من هذه الكارثة عبرة كافية وأن نسرع في إتمام المشاريع التي تقينا شر أمثال هذه الكارثة، ومن أهم هذه المشاريع "المساكن الشعبية".

في كل دورة وفي كل مجلس نسمع ونقرأ عن المساكن الشعبية وحتى في كل بيان حكومي تقدم الوعود في تنفيذ هذه المشاريع، ولكن الواقع يخيب أملنا وتبقى هذه المساكن مشاريع وعلى الورق وفي الكلام، ومن المعلوم في علم الاجتماع بأن المسكن تنعكس آثاره على حياة المواطن وعلى جسمه وعقله وأخلاقه، فإن كان مريحاً وصحياً ينشأ المواطن صحيحاً في جسمه ومتيناً في عقله وقوياً في خلقه. وإن كان كوخاً أو أقل من كوخ كان المسكن مصدراً لشرور كثيرة.

فمن أجل ذلك يقتضى أن ننظر إلى جميع أنحاء لبنان حيث توجد أكواخ مماثلة لأكواخ الكرنتينا ومنها منطقة برج حمود - المتن التي افتخر بتمثيلها. وأن نفعل في هذه المنطقة مثلاً فعلت الدولة التي اشترت بوسائلها الخاصة العقار اللازم لإنشاء المساكن الشعبية وعلى الدولة أن

تبنى البيوت اللائقة لإيواء الألوف من المواطنين الذين يبيتون اليوم في أكواخ لا تصلح لسكن الحيوان.

فهؤلاء المواطنون لهم الحق في الحياة الكريمة التي يستحقها كل إنسان، مصداقاً لقول الله عز وجل: (لقد كرّمنا بني آدم). فكيف يجوز نسيان إيمان هذه القضية المهمة.

فيقتضي أيها السادة أن نجد لهذه القضية حلاً جذرياً سريعاً لتحقيق مشروع المساكن الشعبية، وبهذه المناسبة أيها السادة، أريد أن ألفت الأنظار إلى مشكلة صحيحة أخرى هي مشكلة مجرى مياه بيروت، هذا المجرى الذي يولد المتاعب والأضرار والسيول والبرغش والروائح الكريهة! إن الحالة في هذه المنطقة وعلى جانبي مجرى نهر بيروت حالة غير صحية وغير مرضية فيقتضي إيجاد مجرى نهر ضيق وتجفيف الباقي من النهر الحالي أو تنفيذ المشاريع الموجودة بهذا الصدد والنائمة في إدراج الوزارات المختصة دفعاً للضرر الذي يلحقه كل واحد منا عند دخوله إلى العاصمة وخروجه منها. وإنني استحلفكم بحق صحتكم ولكم وبحق صحة المواطنين أن تعطوا هذه القضية الأهمية والعناية التي تستحقها.

أنني ألفت الأنظار إلى هذه الأمور وأطلب من الحكومة المحترمة ومن الزملاء الكرام ومن المسؤولين، وأشدّد بالمطالبة بتحقيق هذه المشاريع باسم الوطنية والإنسانية والصحة العامة وباسم أولئك الذين يشاركون في تحمل الأعباء العامة فعليهم بالتالي أن يشاركوا في توزيع حسنات وبركات هذا الوطن العزيز "فوالله ما أحد أحق بأموال الدولة من أحد" كما قال عمر بن الخطاب "وما أنا بحق به من أحد" "والله ما من أحد من الناس إلا وله في هذا المال نصيب".

فأين هو نصيبنا أيها السادة؟ والسلام عليكم

Appendix 11

Movses Der-Kaloustian

Appendix 11.1

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 5 December 1947

Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian during a general discussion meeting on the issue of Palestine.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1947): 10th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 6th Parliament held on 5 December 1947.

الرئيس - الكلمة للأستاذ موسيس در كالوستيان ليتلها الكاتب.

فتلا الكاتب كلمة الأستاذ موسيس در كالوستيان التالية:

اني اصادق على جميع ما ذكره زملائي حول قضية فلسطين معلناً بأننا معشر اللبنانيين على اختلاف مللنا ونحلنا كتلة واحدة في سبيل الدفاع عن هذا القطر الشقيق.

در كالوستيان

نائب بيروت

- تصفيق -

Appendix 11.2

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 9 May 1968

Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian as the eldest parliamentarian acting as the Speaker Pro Temp during the election of the speaker of the 12th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1968): 1st Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 9 May 1968.

رئيس السن: حضرات النواب المحترمين ، اني بارادة الله وباسم لبنان وحسبما قرره الدستور ، افتتح هذه الدورة الجديدة واقدم لحضراتكم اخلص التهاني واطيب التمنيات واشكر شعبنا النبيل الذي اولانا ثقته الغالية ، فوضع بين ايديكم امانيه واماله السامية .

اننا نمثل ارادة الشعب اللبناني ، وكل منا يشعر ما عليه من واجبات ومسؤوليات جسام. علينا ان نعمل بفتح الصدور وبتبادل الاحترام والمحبة وبروح التسامح الخالصة، لنتمكن من اداء واجبنا تجاه الوطن العزيز وخاصة في هذه الظروف العصيبة التي تمر بها بلاد العالم قاطبة.

لا شك اننا سنواجه صعوبات كثيرة ومشاكل عديدة ، ولكننا سنزيلها بعون الله تعالى وبالتعاون الصادق. يجب علينا ان نقوم بالاصلاحات اللازمة الضرورية في جميع نواحي حياتنا دون تفريق او تفرقة بين طائفة واخرى او بين منطقة ومنطقة ، بتحقيق المساواة والعدالة ورفع مستوى حياة المحتاجين من الشعب.

لي الثقة بان مجلسكم الكريم سيمشي قدما في البناء والعمل المجدي وفي كل ما فيه خير الوطن بشعار الوحدة الوطنية التي هي قوة لبنان ودعامته المتينة.

اناشدكم بالسير باهداف هذه الوحدة المقدسة التي تصون حريتنا وسيادتنا وتقاليدنا الديمقراطية الصحيحة وبها نحقق المستقبل الافضل. وادعوكم الى العمل مع اخواننا في كل قطر عربي للدفاع عن حقوق العرب المقدسة في ارض فلسطين الجريحة. اتمنى للجميع الخير والتوفيق والسعادة لشعبنا والمجد لوطننا المحبوب.

عاش لبنان وعاش فخامة رئيس الجمهورية المعظم.

رئيس السن

موسيس ديركالوستيان

Appendix 11.3

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 22 October 1968

A Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian as the eldest parliamentarian acting as the Speaker Pro Temp during the election of the speaker of the 12th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1968): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 22 October 1968.

رئيس السن- حضرات النواب المحترمين،

يسعدني ان اتقدم من حضراتكم المحترمين بمناسبة هذه الدورة الثانية باطيب التمنيات للتوفيق والنجاح في جميع اعمالنا.

امامنا في هذا الدورة مشروعات واعمال هامة يجب انجازها بالجد والنشاط والضمير الحي. علينا تنظيم اقتصاديات بلدنا وتنشيط حركة التصديرات بايجاد اسواق جديدة لتصرف منتوجاتنا المختلفة.

وعلىنا تشجيع السياحة والعمل على جلب اكبر عدد من الزوار الى بلدنا الغني بالطبيعة الجميلة وبالاثار التاريخية النادرة.

يجب ان نهتم بتحسين اوضاع القرى ورفع مستواها الاجتماعي والاقتصادي لكي نحول دون ما نلمسه من ظاهرة النزوح بكثرة الى المدن.

ويتوجب علينا الاكثار من المساكن الشعبية لمساعدة ذوي الدخل المحدود من الشعب.

لنعمل دوما بمبادئ المساواة والعدالة ولنؤمن الحقوق الكاملة لكل طائفة والعناية التامة لكل منطقة لكي لا يشعر احد بالحرمان.

وعلىنا ان نكرس كل الامكانيات اللازمة لجيشنا الباسل ليصبح حصنا منيعا وترسا صلبا للدفاع عن وطننا المفدي.

ويجب ان تكون علاقاتنا مع جميع الدول العربية علاقات اخوة متبادلة، هكذا تتطلب مصالحنا جميعا وهكذا يتطلب منا واجبنا لتحقيق الانتصار في حقوق العرب في فلسطين المنكوبة.

زملائي الكرام، انني واثق كل الثقة باننا سنتغلب على كل صعوبة ومشكلة بروح التفاهم والتضامن الصادقة.

لبنان بلد التسامح والحريات يدعونا اليوم ان نكون يدا واحدة وكتلة واحدة ونسخر كل طاقاتنا لسعادة شعبنا ولمجد وطننا العزيز.

عاش لبنان الابدي وعاش فخامة رئيس الجمهورية شارل حلو المعظم.

-تصفيق-

Appendix 11.4

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 21 October 1969

Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian as the eldest parliamentarian acting as the Speaker Pro Temp during the election of the Speaker of the 12th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1969): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 21 October 1969.

رئيس السن - حضرات النواب المحترمين،

ان الدورة التي نفتتحها اليوم نتمنى أن تكون دورة انجازات مثمرة خيرة.

تمر بنا أيام قاسية حاسمة. العدو جاثم على حدود بلادنا ويتزايد كل يوم تهديده واستعداده للهجوم علينا. بعد المؤامرة على مطارنا الدولي فقد أخذ يهاجم قرانا قرب الحدود، يهدم المنازل ويقتل المواطنين المسالمين الأبرار.

لقد حان الآوان أن نقوم بتضحيات جسام لتقوية جيشنا الباسل وتسليحه بأحدث العدد والعتاد للدفاع عن وطننا وشعبنا العزيز.

يتحتم علينا تناسي كل أشكال الخلافات الداخلية والمنازعات والاعتبارات الجانبية.

كلنا اخوان وأبناء لبنان الذي يشتهر في العالم كله برحابة الصدر والتسامح وبحرية الضمير. فعلينا توطيد دعائم هذه الاخوة بالوحدة الوطنية والتفاهم والتعاون التام.

يتوجب علينا العمل على استمرار حسن العلاقات الاخوية مع جميع الدول العربية والحذر من فصم عراها المتينة.

زملائي الكرام،

بجانب انشغالنا بمشاكلنا الداخلية وبالاخطار الخارجية يجب أن لا ننسى أبداً واجباتنا الاصلاحية لترفيه واسعاد شعبنا العزيز.

علينا أن نهتم كل الاهتمام بانشاء المساكن الشعبية. ونحن عندما نفاخر بالابنية الفخمة التي تشاد في بيروت وفي جميع المدن بلبنان، تتألم قلوبنا تألماً شديداً أمام رؤية الأكواخ الخشبية في الحارات والأحياء والتي تسكن فيها عائلات لبنانية بائسة منذ عشرات السنين.

يجب إلغاء الضرائب المباشرة التي تثقل كواهل الفئة الفقيرة باستثناء ما يعود نفعه للجيش.
أما ضريبة الدخل فيجب تعديل نظامها وأصول تكليفها ويجب حصر تحصيلها في الجهات
التي تتكدس وتطفح أرباحها دون العائلات التي تؤمن معيشتها المتواضعة بمشقة.
ثم ينبغي وضع حد صارم للغلاء الفاحش الذي عم في البلد واضحى كارثة للفئات الفقيرة.
زملائي المحترمين،

قبل أن اختتم كلمتي هذه أحيي قلبياً المعركة التي تشن في سبيل حقوق فلسطين العادلة المقدسة
العربية، وأتمنى لهذه المعركة البطولية نصراً عاجلاً مبيناً. عاش لبنان وطننا المحبوب، عاش
فخامة رئيس الجمهورية الأستاذ شارل حلو المعظم.

1969/10/21

موسيس دركالوستيان.

Appendix 11.5

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 20 October 1970

A Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian as the eldest parliamentarian acting as the Speaker Pro Temp during the election of the Speaker of the 12th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1970): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the held on 20 October 1970.

الرئيس - حضرات النواب المحترمين،

هذه الدورة التي نبدأ بها اليوم، نأمل أن تكون دورة نجاح وتوفيق لتقديم خدمات مفيدة وجيلية لشعبنا العزيز ولوطننا المحبوب.

نأمل أن نحقق في هذه الدورة إنجازات خيرة في جميع النواحي الاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية.

ونأمل أن تزول كل الخلافات وأن تحل فينا جميعاً المحبة والوئام والإخلاص الصادق وأن تتحقق الوحدة الوطنية التي ننشدها كلنا.

هذه الأمانى نستمدّها من نصوص الخطاب البليغ الذي ألقاه فخامة الرئيس في جلسة اليمين الدستورية، والذي استقبله الناس بالثقة والابتهاج العام.

فيجب أن يكون خطاب فخامة الرئيس رائداً لنا في جميع قراراتنا وأعمالنا.

عاش فخامة رئيس الجمهورية سليمان فرنجية المعظم.

عاش لبنان الحر المستقل الأبدى.

رئيس السن

موسيس دركالوستيان

Appendix 11.6

Movses Der-Kaloustian – 19 October 1971

Speech by Deputy Movses Der-Kaloustian as the eldest parliamentarian acting as the Speaker Pro Temp during the election of the speaker of the 12th Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1971): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 12th Parliament held on 19 October 1971.

رئيس السن - افتتحت الجلسة، حضرات النواب المحترمين.

حضرات النواب المحترمين.

يطيب لي أن أقدم بهذه المناسبة جزيل الاحترام وعميق الامتنان لفخامة رئيس الجمهورية سليمان فرنجية المعظم لتصريحاته الأخيرة لممثلي الصحافة، بالعمل على ضمانة نظامنا الحالي والمحافظة على الحريات في البلاد.

ويجب أن تكون روح هذه التصريحات قدوة لنا في جميع أعمالنا.

زملائي الكرام....

علينا أن نبذل كل الجهد لتحسين أوضاع العمال والفلاحين والصناع والموظفين الصغار.

ومن الضروري تشجيع السياحة في بلادنا وتسهيل سبلها بشتى الوسائل.

يجب أن نسعى باهتمام بالغ على إيجاد أسواق خارجية لتصريف منتوجاتنا الزراعية، والحد من غلاء المعيشة الذي يتزايد يوماً بعد يوم.

ومن أجل هذا ولتحقيق أعمال أخرى أناشدكم أن ننسى تحت هذه القبة خلافاتنا وخصوماتنا الجانبية ونعمل يداً بيد بروح الأخوة الصادقة لرفاه شعبنا ولمجد وازدهار وطننا المقدي.

عاش فخامة الرئيس سليمان فرنجية

عاش لبنان الحر المستقل الأبدي.

- تصفيق -

Appendix 12

Bhamdoun Accident

Appendix 12.1

Proposed Legislation – 20 April 1960

Proposed Law to compensate the families of the victims of the bus accident of Bhamdoun that took the lives of 24 young students, co-sponsored by Joseph Chader, Khathcig Babikian, Dickran Tosbat and Movses Der-Kaloustian,

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1960): 3rd meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 9th Parliament held on 20 April 1960.

اقترح قانون معجل مكرر مقدم من حضرات النواب السادة: خاتشيك بابكيان، موسيس دركالوستيان، ديكران توسباط، وجوزف شادر بمساعدة ورثة القتلى والجرحى في حادث تدهور الأوتوبي في بحدون.

يتلى مشروع القانون.

فتلى المشروع التالي:

اقتراح قانون معجل مكرر

مادة وحيدة - يفتح في الجزء الأول من موازنة سنة 1960 الاعتماد الإضافي التالي:

الباب 11 - وزارة العمل والشؤون الاجتماعية.

الفصل الأول - الشؤون الاجتماعية.

البند 22 - مساعدات اجتماعية.

الفقرة 5 (جديدة) - مساعدة لورثة القتلى والجرحى في حادث تدهور الأوتوبيس في بحدون 150000 ل.ل (مائة وخمسون ألف ليرة).

توزع هذه المساعدة بموجب قرار من وزير العمل والشؤون الاجتماعية.

يؤخذ الاعتماد المفتوح أعلاه من مال الاحتياط.

ويعمل بهذا القانون فور نشره.

الرئيس - تتلى الأسباب الموجبة.

فتليت الأسباب الموجبة التالية:

الأسباب الموجبة

أصيب طلال لبنان بكارثة مفاجئة إذ توفي عشرات الشبان والشابات في حادث تدهور الأوتوبيس الذي كان ينقلهم أثناء مرورهم في بحدون كما وأن طلاباً آخرين أصيبوا بجراح ثخينة في نفس الحادث.

ولما كان أهل الضحايا والجرحى ممن تقصر يدهم عن تحمل هذه الكارثة مادياً، نقترح فتح اعتماد بمبلغ مائة وخمسين ألف ليرة لبنانية في موازنة وزارة العمل والشؤون الاجتماعية لمساعدة الضحايا وأهلهم.

فالرجاء التفضل بإحالة اقتراحنا هذا على المجلس الكريم لإقراره في أقرب جلسة ممكن.

بيروت في 20 نيسان سنة 1960 .

خاتشيك بابكيان، موسيس دركالوستيان، ديكران توسباط، وجوزف شادر.

جوزيف شادر - حضرة الرئيس المحترم،

أن هذا المشروع قدم بصفة المعجل المكرر نظراً للظرف الذي حدث فيه الحادث وخوفاً من حل المجلس قبل أن نتمكن من إعطاء هؤلاء المساكين بعض المساعدة مع العلم أنهم بحاجة ماسة إليها. لذلك أرجو دولة رئيس الحكومة أن يقبل هذا الاقتراح الآن والمبلغ زهيد بالنسبة للأضرار الحاصلة لأربعة وعشرين شاباً وشابة، لذلك أرجو رئيس الحكومة أن يقبل بهذا الاقتراح خوفاً من أن لا تتمكن الحكومة والمجلس من إقراره.

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