

Towards Lebanese National Reconciliation



Reference Texts

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Geneva Centre for the
Democratic Control of
Armed Forces (DCAF)

About DCAF

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) promotes good governance and reform of the security sector. The Centre conducts research on good practices, encourages the development of appropriate norms at the national and international levels, makes policy recommendations and provides in-country advice and assistance programmes. DCAF's partners include governments, parliaments, civil society, international organisations and security sector actors such as police, judiciary, intelligence agencies, border security services and the military. Further information on DCAF is available: www.dcaf.ch

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Introduction

In very general terms, 'reconciliation' describes a process of coming together, of uniting what has been divided. Reconciliation is seen as necessary in divided societies. As an instrument for transforming conflict into peace, reconciliation appeals to people, donors and politicians alike. Yet, it remains largely unclear what reconciliation actually entails.

Does it mean bringing wrongdoers to justice and preventing them from returning to power? Or, on the contrary, does it require politics of inclusion? Does it mean sharing the same ideas? Or is it about respecting different approaches?

What does reconciliation mean in the Lebanese context?

What is the relationship between reconciliation and the many other values in Lebanese society, such as the need for justice and security, for institutional development, the distribution of wealth and income, and the delivery of basic services?

Reconciliation and Prosperity

"If a country has moved from violence to reconciliation, then outside investors would be more likely to visit, do business, trade, and create factories, among other activities. Tourists, with their spending power, are also more likely to visit that country. A stable society, particularly in a heterogeneous state, is contingent on peaceful relationships between those groups. If there have been periods of strife, then for those groups to trust each other and work together, reconciliation must be a prominent issue on the agenda of any new government. (...) Governments may promote reconciliation because the people want or demand it, or because they need it."

Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p.13.

What precisely does reconciliation mean in the Lebanese context? Is it healing the wounds of past confrontations? Is it a formula for sharing political power? Is it a commitment to institutional process? Is it about acknowledging diversity while building a common identity? Is it about defining shared security interests, or structuring regional and international relations? Or does it mean addressing the needs of society as a whole and setting up participatory processes? Is it all of these or none?

Reconciliation and Accountability

"If reconciliation is going to have a deterrent effect it must be reconciliation among the people, not just between the leaders. (...) Despotism will be deterred when the people have enough connection to one another that they will not allow a despot to divide them; when the people have enough respect for human rights that they will not tolerate abusive means even to achieve ends that they might otherwise like; when they are sufficiently invested in their communities and in their nations that they ask questions and demand accountability from their leaders."

Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *ibid.*, p.17.

Developing a reconciliation policy

Before developing new reconciliation agreements, it may be useful to understand what has worked in the past and what has not worked in order to determine what might work in the future and what might not work - and why? Were the failures due to weaknesses in the texts or in the implementation? Have expectations about reconciliation been too high or too low? Has reconciliation been slowed down by the amount of issues to be addressed? Or, on the contrary, have important issues been left out?

Reconciliation Is Forward-Looking

“Because the democracy argument considers reconciliation in the context of establishing a functioning democracy, it shifts the reconciliation paradigm from one that is primarily backward-looking to one that is primarily forward-looking. (...) If reconciliation is reconfigured to promote values relating to democracy, the past recedes while the present and the future predominate.”

Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *ibid.*, p.19.

The collection of reference texts is an invitation to deal with reconciliation as a policy issue. The process of developing a new policy usually begins with a review of the existing ones. Reviewing past reconciliation policies will support a more realistic assessment of the Lebanese capacities. It may thus create realistic expectations about the outcome of a new reconciliation policy.

Reconciliation and Democracy

“Reconciliation is the soil in which democracy takes root. Democracy can thrive only where the disparate factions in society have chosen to be governed in common. Democracy requires that the disappointed minority accede to the will of the majority – a concession that can happen only if the minority and the majority are sufficiently reconciled that they accept each other’s presence in the polity and the content of each other’s choices as legitimate, even if they don’t agree with them.”

Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *ibid.*, p.19.

Reconciliation and Security Sector Reform

One can argue whether reconciliation in divided societies is part of security sector reform or whether it is only a necessary precondition for it. Fact is, however, as long as a society is divided, security sector reform can never achieve its main objective, which is to provide security and justice for all. The division of society is incompatible with the idea of good governance of the security sector, which rests on values such as the rule of law, democratic governance, inclusiveness, accountability, and institutional process.

Reconciliation and National Security Policy

Without some form of reconciliation, a society will be unable to develop a common approach to security and, ultimately, it will undermine its own interests. A national security policy, which sets out a society’s approach to security and explains how security will be achieved, requires an inclusive approach.

In the Lebanese case, there are a number of important questions to be answered. What does security mean to Lebanese citizens and to political factions? What are the national security interests? What are the current and future threats to these interests? How to define the relations with neighbouring countries as well as with important regional and international players? Are Lebanese institutions delivering the security the Lebanese people want and need? Would Lebanese institutions need to change in order to provide better security to the Lebanese people? Are the Lebanese authorities also willing to deliver security to the region? How? It is expected that such a debate over essential questions generates contradictory responses.

What distinguishes divided from non-divided societies is their way of dealing with disagreements. In the former, disagreements are suppressed, and individuals and groups excluded from the political process; in the latter, disagreements are admitted and resolved, over time, by consensus. Associating political and civil society actors for determining security threats, priorities and resource allocation provides broader legitimacy, greater readiness for consensus, and enhanced responsiveness to citizens’ needs. At the same time, it allows for a broader sharing of the responsibility for the choices made.

For divided societies, reconciliation and national security policy are mutually supportive and cannot be separated from the rule of law, democratic process, institutional development, transparency and accountability.

Why this collection of reference texts?

On 7 June 2009, Lebanese citizens massively participated in the election of a new parliament. Through the great turnout and the uncontested endorsement of the election results, the Lebanese people and political parties demonstrated that they want Lebanon

to be a unified and democratic state. While the elections are an important step towards national reconciliation, many questions still need to be answered by the Lebanese people and their elected representatives. This is likely to be a long term process.

This collection of reference texts does not have the ambition to analyse how Lebanese citizens and political parties have viewed or currently view reconciliation. Nor does it aim to make suggestions on how they should solve the various problems associated with reconciliation. The two goals of this booklet are much more modest.

The first goal is to assist Lebanese policy-makers and interested individuals by providing them with a tool for easy reference. The booklet contains relevant parts of the legal framework in force and the texts of agreements from previous talks that are related to reconciliation. The second goal is to encourage Lebanese policy-makers to critically assess past efforts to find a common ground and examine to which extent they addressed reconciliation.

The booklet contains two parts. The first part of the collection contains basic texts: the Constitution of 1926, introduced during the French mandate period; the Ta'ef Agreement of 1989, which brought an end to the 15-year-long civil war; and the Doha Agreement, which was concluded in 2008 and now regulates the inter-factional relations. Between 1975 and 1990, a succession of conflicts were fought out on Lebanese soil. Both local and foreign parties were involved. Thus, national reconciliation efforts should also take into account Lebanon's international agreements, as contained in the second part of this publication. These agreements concern the relations between Lebanon and Israel (the Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon of 1949 and the Agreement between the Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Republic of Lebanon of 1983¹), the relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (Cairo Agreement of 1969)² and the relations with Syria (Fraternity, Cooperation and Coordination Treaty between the Republic of Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic of 1991).

It is hoped that this reader will be of help to all those involved in shaping and formulating reconciliation and national security policy.

¹ Abrogated by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on 21 May 1987.

² Abrogated by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on 21 May 1987.

Part I

Basic Reference Texts

The Lebanese Constitution

23 May 1926

Amended by:

Constitutional Law issued on 17/10/1927;
Constitutional Law issued on 08/05/1929;
Resolution No. 129 (1) on 18/03/1943;
Constitutional Law issued on 09/11/1943;
Constitutional Law issued on 07/12/1943;
Constitutional Law issued on 21/01/1947;
Constitutional Law (2) issued on 22/05/1948;
Constitutional Law (3) issued on 24/04/1976; and
Constitutional Law No. 18 issued on 21/09/1990.

- (1) Resolution No. 129 issued on 18/03/1943 by the French High Commissioner.
- (2) Constitutional Law issued on 22/05/1948 relates to the provisional amendment of Article No. 49 of the Constitution.
- (3) Constitutional Law issued on 24/04/1976 relates to the provisional amendment of Article No. 49 of the Constitution.

Part A. Fundamental Provisions

Preamble

- a. Lebanon is a sovereign, free, and independent country. It is a final homeland for all its citizens. It is unified in its territory, people, and institutions within the boundaries defined in this constitution and recognized internationally.
- b. Lebanon is Arab in its identity and in its association. It is a founding and active member of the League of Arab States and abides by its pacts and covenants. Lebanon is also a founding and active member of the United Nations Organization and abides by its covenants and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Government shall embody these principles in all fields and areas without exception.
- c. Lebanon is a parliamentary democratic republic based on respect for public liberties, especially the freedom of opinion and belief, and respect for social justice and equality of rights and duties among all citizens without discrimination.
- d. The people are the source of authority and sovereignty; they shall exercise these powers through the constitutional institutions.
- e. The political system is established on the principle of separation, balance, and cooperation amongst the various branches of Government.
- f. The economic system is free and ensures private initiative and the right to private property.
- g. The even development among regions on the educational, social, and economic levels shall be a basic pillar of the unity of the state and the stability of the system.
- h. The abolition of political confessionality is a basic national goal and shall be achieved according to a gradual plan.
- i. Lebanese territory is one for all Lebanese. Every Lebanese has the right to live in any part of it and to enjoy the sovereignty of law wherever he resides. There is no segregation of the people on the basis of any type of belonging, and no fragmentation, partition, or colonization.
- j. There is no constitutional legitimacy for any authority which contradicts the 'pact of communal coexistence'. This Constitutional Law shall be published in the Official Gazette.

[Chapter] I.

On the State and its Territories

Article 1 [Territory]

Lebanon is an independent, indivisible, and sovereign state. Its frontiers are those which now bound it:

On the North: From the mouth of al-Kabir River, along a line following the course of this river to its point of junction with Khalid Valley opposite al-Qamar Bridge.

On the East: The summit line separating the Khalid Valley and al-Asi River (Orontes) and passing by the villages of Mu'aysarah, Harbanah, Hayt, Ibish, Faysan to the height of the two villages of Brina and Matraba. This line follows the northern boundary of the Ba'albak District at the northeastern and south eastern directions, thence the eastern boundaries of the districts of Ba'albak, Biqa', Hasbayya, and Rashayya.

On the South: The present southern boundaries of the districts of Sûr (Tyre) and Marji`yun.

On the West: The Mediterranean.

Article 2 [Territorial Integrity]

No part of the Lebanese territory may be alienated or ceded.

Article 3 [Administrative Areas]

The boundaries of the administrative areas may not be modified except by law.

Article 4 [Republic, Capital]

Greater Lebanon is a Republic the capital of which is Beirut.

Article 5 [Flag]

The Lebanese flag is composed of three horizontal stripes, a white stripe between two red ones. The width of the white stripe is equal to that of both red stripes. In the center of and occupying one third of the white stripe is a green Cedar tree with its top touching the upper red stripe and its base touching the lower red stripe.

[Chapter] II.

The Rights and Duties of the Citizen

Article 6 [Nationality]

Lebanese nationality and the manner in which it is acquired, retained, and lost is to be determined in accordance with the law.

Article 7 [Equality]

All Lebanese are equal before the law. They equally enjoy civil and political rights and equally are bound by public obligations and duties without any distinction.

Article 8 [Personal Liberty, *nulla poena sine lege*]

Individual liberty is guaranteed and protected by law. No one may be arrested, imprisoned, or kept in custody except according to the provisions of the law. No offense may be established or penalty imposed except by law.

Article 9 [Conscience, Belief]

There shall be absolute freedom of conscience. The state in rendering homage to the Most High shall respect all religions and creeds and guarantees, under its protection, the free exercise of all religious rites provided that public order is not disturbed. It also guarantees that the personal status and religious interests of the population, to whatever religious sect they belong, is respected.

Article 10 [Education, Confessional Schools]

Education is free insofar as it is not contrary to public order and morals and does not interfere with the dignity of any of the religions or creeds. There shall be no violation of the right of religious communities to have their own schools provided they follow the general rules issued by the state regulating public instruction.

Article 11 [Official National Language]

Arabic is the official national language. A law determines the cases in which the French language may be used.

Article 12 [Public Office]

Every Lebanese has the right to hold public office, no preference being made except on the basis of merit and competence, according to the conditions established by law. A special statute

guarantees the rights of state officials in the departments to which they belong.

Article 13 [Expression, Press, Assembly, Association]

The freedom to express one's opinion orally or in writing, the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom of association are guaranteed within the limits established by law.

Article 14 [Home]

The citizen's place of residence is inviolable. No one may enter it except in the circumstances and manners prescribed by law.

Article 15 [Property]

Rights of ownership are protected by law. No one's property may be expropriated except for reasons of public utility in cases established by law and after fair compensation has been paid beforehand.

Part B. Powers

[Chapter] I.

General Provisions

Article 16 [Legislative Power, One Chamber]

Legislative power is vested in a single body, the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 17 [Executive Power, Council of Ministers]

Executive power is entrusted to the Council of Ministers to be exercised in accordance with the conditions laid down in this constitution.

Article 18 [Bills]

The Parliament and the Council of Ministers have the right to propose laws. No law shall be promulgated until it has been adopted by the Chamber.

Article 19 [Constitutional Council]

A Constitutional Council is established to supervise the constitutionality of laws and to arbitrate conflicts that arise from parliamentary and presidential elections. The President, the President of the Parliament, the Prime Minister, along with any ten Members of Parliament, have the right to consult this Council on matters that relate to the

constitutionality of laws. The officially recognized heads of religious communities have the right to consult this Council only on laws relating to personal status, the freedom of belief and religious practice, and the freedom of religious education. The rules governing the organization, operation, composition, and modes of appeal of the Council are decided by a special law.

Article 20 [Judicial Power]

Judicial power is to be exercised by the tribunals of various levels and jurisdictions. It functions within the limits of an order established by the law and offering the necessary guarantees to judges and litigants. The limits and conditions for the protection of the judges are determined by law. The judges are independent in the exercise of their duties. The decisions and judgments of all courts are rendered and executed in the name of the Lebanese People.

Article 21 [Electoral Rights]

Every Lebanese citizen who has completed his twenty-first year is an elector provided he fulfills the conditions laid down in the electoral law.

[Chapter] II.

The Legislative Power

Article 22 [Senate]

With the election of the first Parliament on a national, non-confessional basis, a Senate is established in which all the religious communities are represented. Its authority is limited to major national issues.

Article 23 [Eligibility to the Senate]

{abolished in 1927}

Article 24 [Electoral Laws]

1. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of elected members; their number and the method of their election is determined by the electoral laws in effect. Until such time as the Chamber enacts new electoral laws on a non-confessional basis, the distribution of seats is according to the following principles:
 - a. Equal representation between Christians and Muslims.
 - b. Proportional representation among the

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confessional groups within each religious community.

- c. Proportional representation among geographic regions.
2. Exceptionally, and for one time only, the seats that are currently vacant, as well as the new seats that have been established by law, are to be filled by appointment, all at once, and by a majority of two thirds of the Government of National Unity. This is to establish equality between Christians and Muslims as stipulated in the Document of National Accord [The Taif Agreement]. The electoral laws will specify the details regarding the implementation of this clause.

Article 25 [Dissolution]

Should the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved, the Decision of dissolution must provide for the holding of new elections in accordance with Article 24 and within a period not exceeding three months.

Article 26 [Location of Government and Parliament]

The Government and the Chamber of Deputies shall be located in Beirut.

Article 27 [Representation]

A member of the Chamber represents the whole nation. No restriction or stipulation may be imposed upon his mandate by his electors.

Article 28 [No Incompatibility]

A Deputy may also occupy a ministerial position. Ministers, all or in part, may be selected from among the members of the Chamber or from persons outside the Chamber.

Article 29 [Incompatibility by Law]

Cases in which persons are disqualified from becoming Deputies are determined by law.

Article 30 [Validating Elections]

The Deputies alone have competence to judge the validity of their mandate. No Deputy's mandate may be invalidated except by a majority of two thirds of the votes of the entire membership. This clause is automatically cancelled as soon as the Constitutional Council is established and as soon as the laws relating to it are implemented.

Article 31 [Illegal Sessions]

Meetings of the Chamber outside those set for legal sessions are unlawful and ipso facto null and void.

Article 32 [Ordinary Sessions]

The Chamber meets each year in two ordinary sessions. The first session opens on the first Tuesday following 15 March and continues until the end of May. The second session begins on the first Tuesday following 15 Oct; its meetings is reserved for the discussion of and voting on the budget before any other work. This session lasts until the end of the year.

Article 33 [Extraordinary Sessions]

The ordinary sessions begin and end automatically on the dates fixed in Article 32. The President of the Republic in consultation with the Prime Minister may summon the Chamber to extraordinary sessions by a Decree specifying the dates of the opening and closing of the extraordinary sessions as well as the agenda. The President of the Republic is required to convoke the Chamber if an absolute majority of the total membership so requests.

Article 34 [Quorum]

The Chamber is not validly constituted unless the majority of the total membership is present. Decisions are to be taken by a majority vote. Should the votes be equal, the question under consideration is deemed rejected.

Article 35 [Publicity]

The meetings of the Chamber are public. However, at the request of the Government or of five Deputies, the Chamber may sit in secret sessions. It may then decide whether to resume the discussion of the same question in public.

Article 36 [Voting Process]

Votes are to be cast verbally or by the members standing, except for elections when the ballot is secret. With respect to laws in general and on questions of confidence, the vote is always taken by roll call and the responses are made in an audible voice.

Article 37 [Vote of No-Confidence]

Every Deputy has the absolute right to raise the question of no-confidence in the government during ordinary or extraordinary sessions. Discussion of and voting on such a proposal

may not take place until at least five days after submission to the secretariat of the Chamber and its communication to the ministers concerned.

Article 38 [Reintroduction of Bills]

No Bill that has been rejected by the Chamber may be re-introduced during the same session.

Article 39 [Indemnity]

No member of the Chamber may be prosecuted because of ideas and opinions expressed during the period of his mandate.

Article 40 [Immunity]

No member of the Chamber may, during the sessions, be prosecuted or arrested for a criminal offense without the permission of the Chamber, except when he is caught in the act.

Article 41 [Re-election]

Should a seat in the Chamber become vacant, the election of a successor begins within two months. The mandate of the new member does not exceed that of the old member whose place he is taking; however, should the seat in the Chamber become vacant during the last six months of its mandate, no successor may be elected.

Article 42 [General Elections]

General elections for the renewal of the Chamber shall take place within a sixty day period preceding the expiration of its mandate.

Article 43 [Rules of Procedure]

The Chamber draws up its own internal rules and procedures.

Article 44 [First Session]

1. Each time a new Chamber is elected, the Chamber meets under the presidency of the oldest member and the secretariat or the two youngest. It will then elect separately, by a secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the votes cast, the President and the Vice President of the Chamber to hold office for the length or the Chamber's term. At the third ballot, a relative majority is sufficient. Should the votes be equal, the oldest candidate is considered elected.
2. Every time a new Chamber of Deputies is elected, as well as in the October session of each year, the Chamber elects two Secretaries

by secret ballot according to the majority stipulated in the first part of this article.

3. The Chamber may, once only, two years after the election of its President and his Deputy, and in the first session it holds, withdraw its confidence from the President of the Chamber or his Deputy by a Decision of two thirds of the Chamber, based on a petition signed by at least ten Deputies. The Chamber, at such point, must hold an immediate session to fill the vacant post.

Article 45 [Presence]

Members of the Chamber may only vote when they are present at the meeting. Voting by proxy shall not be permitted.

Article 46 [Parliamentary Order]

The Chamber has the exclusive right to maintain order in its meetings through its President.

Article 47 [Petitions]

Petitions to the Chamber may not be presented except in writing. They may not be presented verbally or at the bar of the Chamber.

Article 48 [Remuneration]

The remuneration of members of the Chamber is determined by law.

[Chapter] III.

The Executive Power

[Section] 1. The President of the Republic

Article 49 [Presidential Powers]

1. The President of the Republic is the head of the state and the symbol of the nation's unity. He shall safeguard the constitution and Lebanon's independence, unity, and territorial integrity. The President shall preside over the Supreme Defense Council and be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces which fall under the authority of the Council of Ministers.
2. The President of the Republic shall be elected by secret ballot and by a two thirds majority of the Chamber of Deputies. After a first ballot, an absolute majority shall be sufficient. The President's term is for six years. He may not be re-elected until six years after the expiration

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of his last mandate. No one may be elected to the Presidency of the Republic unless he fulfills the conditions of eligibility for the Chamber of Deputies.

3. It is also not possible to elect judges, Grade One civil servants, or their equivalents in all public institutions to the Presidency during their term or office or within two years following the date of their resignation or their leaving office for whatever reason.

Article 50 [Oath]

Upon assuming office, the President of the Republic shall take an oath of fidelity before the Parliament to the Lebanese Nation and the constitution in the following terms:

"I swear by the Almighty God to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Lebanese Nation and to maintain the independence of Lebanon and its territorial integrity."

Article 51 [Promulgation of Laws]

The President of the Republic promulgates the laws after they have been approved by the Chamber in accordance with the time limits specified by the constitution. He asks for the publication of these laws, and he may not modify these laws or exempt anyone from complying with their provisions.

Article 52 [Negotiation of International Treaties]

The President of the Republic negotiates international treaties in coordination with the Prime Minister. These treaties are not considered ratified except after agreement of the Council of Ministers. They are to be made known to the Chamber whenever the national interest and security of the state permit. However, treaties involving the finances of the state, commercial treaties, and in general treaties that cannot be renounced every year are not considered ratified until they have been approved by the Chamber.

Article 53 [List of Additional Presidential Powers]

1. The President presides over the Council of Ministers when he wishes without participating in voting.
2. The President designates the Prime Minister in consultation with the President of the Chamber of Deputies based on parliamentary consultations which are binding and the

content of which the President formally discloses to the Prime Minister.

3. The President alone issues the Decree which designates the Prime Minister.
4. He issues, in agreement with the Prime Minister, the decree appointing the Cabinet and the decrees accepting the resignation of Ministers.
5. He issues, on his own authority, the decrees accepting the resignation of the Cabinet or considering it resigned.
6. He forwards to the Chamber of Deputies Bills that are delivered to him by the Council of Ministers.
7. He accredits ambassadors and accept the credentials of ambassadors.
8. He presides over official functions and grants official decorations by Decree.
9. He grants particular pardons by Decree, but a general amnesty cannot be granted except by a law.
10. He addresses, when necessary, letters to the Chamber of Deputies.
11. He may introduce, from outside the agenda, any urgent matter to the Council of Ministers.
12. He may, in agreement with the Prime Minister, call the Council of Ministers to an extraordinary session, whenever he deems this necessary.

Article 54 [Countersignature]

The decisions of the President must be countersigned by the Prime Minister and the Minister or Ministers concerned except the Decree designating a new Prime Minister and the Decree accepting the resignation of the Cabinet or considering it resigned. Decrees issuing laws must be countersigned by the Prime Minister.

Article 55 [Dissolution of Parliament by Decree]

1. The President of the Republic may, in accordance with the conditions stipulated in Articles 65 and 77 of this constitution, ask the Council of Ministers to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration

of its mandate. If the Council, based on this request, decides to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, the President issues the Decree dissolving it, and in this case, the electoral bodies meet as provided for in Article 25, and the new Chamber is to be called to convene within fifteen days after the proclamation of the election.

2. The administrative staff of the Chamber of Deputies continues to function until the election or a new Chamber.
3. If elections are not held within the time limit specified in Article 25 of the constitution, the Decree dissolving the Chamber is considered null and void, and the Chamber of Deputies continues to exercise its powers according to the stipulations of the constitution.

Article 56 [Promulgation Time Limits]

1. The President of the Republic promulgates the laws which have been adopted within one month of their transmission to the Government. He must promulgate laws that were declared urgent by a special Decision of the Chamber within five days.
2. The President issues decrees and requests their promulgation; he has the right to ask the Council of Ministers to review any Decision that the Chamber has taken within fifteen days of the decision's transmission to the Presidency. If the Council of Ministers insists on the Decision or if the time limit passes without the Decree being issued or returned, the Decision or Decree is considered legally operative and must be promulgated.

Article 57 [Presidential Veto]

The President of the Republic, after consultation with the Council of Ministers, has the right to request the reconsideration of a law once during the period prescribed for its promulgation. This request may not be refused. When the President exercises this right, he is not required to promulgate this law until it has been reconsidered and approved by an absolute majority of all the members legally composing the Chamber. If the time limits pass without the law being issued or returned, the law is considered legally operative and must be promulgated.

Article 58 [Urgent Bills]

Every Bill the Council of Ministers deems urgent and in which this urgency is indicated in the decree of transmission to the Chamber of Deputies may be issued by the President within forty days following its communication to the Chamber, after including it on the agenda of a general meeting, reading it aloud before the Chamber, and after the expiration of the time limit without the Chamber acting on it.

Article 59 [Adjourning the Chamber]

The President of the Republic may adjourn the Chamber for a period not exceeding one month, but he may not do so twice during the same session.

Article 60 [Responsibility]

1. While performing his functions, the President of the Republic may not be held responsible except when he violates the constitution or in the case of high treason.
2. However, his responsibility in respect of ordinary crimes is subject to the ordinary laws. For such crimes, as well as for violation of the constitution and for high treason, he may not be impeached except by a majority of two thirds of the total membership of the Chamber of Deputies. He is to be tried by the Supreme Council provided for in Article 80. The functions of Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Council are performed by a judge appointed by the Supreme Council in plenary session.

Article 61 [Suspension after Impeachment]

Should the President of the Republic be impeached, he is suspended from his functions. The presidency remains vacant until the Supreme Council has settled the matter.

Article 62 [Vacancy]

Should the Presidency become vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council of Ministers exercises the powers of the President by delegation.

Article 63 [Remuneration]

The remuneration of the President of the Republic is determined by a law. It may not be increased or reduced during his term of office.

[Section] 2. The Prime Minister

Article 64 [Responsibility and Powers]

The Prime Minister is the Head of Government and its representative. He speaks in its name and is responsible for executing the general policy that is set by the Council of Ministers. He exercises the following powers:

1. He heads the Council of Ministers and is ex officio Deputy Head of the Supreme Defense Council.
2. He conducts the parliamentary consultations involved in forming a Cabinet. He signs, with the President, the Decree forming the Cabinet. The Cabinet must present its general statement or policy to the Chamber and gain its confidence within thirty days of the date of issuance of the Decree in which the Cabinet was formed. The Cabinet does not exercise its powers before it gains the Chamber's confidence nor after it has resigned or is considered resigned, except in the narrow sense of managing affairs.
3. He presents the Government's general policy statements before the Chamber of Deputies.
4. He signs, along with the President, all decrees, except the Decree which designates him the head of the Government, and the Decree accepting the Cabinet's resignation or considering it resigned.
5. He signs the Decree calling for an extraordinary parliamentary session, decrees issuing laws, and requests for reviewing laws.
6. He calls the Council of Ministers into session and sets its agenda, and he informs the President and the Ministers beforehand of the subjects included on the agenda and of the urgent subjects that will be discussed.
7. He supervises the activities of the public administrations and institutions, coordinates among the Ministers and provides general guidance to ensure the proper progress of affairs.
8. He holds working meetings with the competent authorities in the Government in the presence of the concerned Minister.

[Section] 3. The Council of Ministers

Article 65 [Powers]

Executive authority is vested in the Council of Ministers. It is the authority to which the armed forces are subject. Among the powers that it exercises are the following:

1. It sets the general policy of the Government in all fields, prepares Bills and organizational Decrees and makes the decisions necessary for implementing them.
2. It watches over the execution of laws and regulations and supervises the activities of all the Government's branches including the civil, military, and security administrations and institutions without exception.
3. It appoints Government employees and dismisses them and accepts their resignations according to the law.
4. It dissolves the Chamber of Deputies upon the request of the President of the Republic if the Chamber of Deputies, for no compelling reasons, fails to meet during one of its regular periods and fails to meet throughout two successive extraordinary periods, each longer than one month, or if the Chamber returns an annual budget plan with the aim or paralyzing the Government. This right cannot be exercised a second time if it is for the same reasons which led to the dissolution of the Chamber the first time.
5. The Council of Ministers meets in a locale specifically set aside for it, and the President chairs its meetings when he attends. The legal quorum for a Council meeting is a majority of two thirds of its members. It makes its decisions by consensus. If that is not possible, it makes its decisions by vote of the majority of attending members. Basic national issues require the approval of two thirds of the members of the Council named in the Decree forming the Cabinet. Basic national issues are considered the following:

The amendment of the constitution, the declaration of a state of emergency and its termination, war and peace, general mobilization, international agreements and treaties, the annual government budget, comprehensive and longterm development projects, the appointment of Grade One government employees and their equivalents,

the review of the administrative map, the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, electoral laws, nationality laws, personal status laws, and the dismissal of Ministers.

Article 66 [Ministries, Responsibility]

Only Lebanese who satisfy the conditions for deputization may assume ministerial posts. The Ministers administer the Government's services and assume the responsibility of applying the laws and regulations, each one according to the affairs of his administration and what is specific to them. Ministers are collectively responsible before the Chamber for the general policy of the Government and individually responsible for their personal actions.

Article 67 [Ministers in Parliament]

Ministers may attend the Chamber if they so desire, and they have the right to be heard whenever they request to speak. They may be assisted by whomever they select from among the officials of their Departments.

Article 68 [Vote of No-Confidence]

When the Chamber, in accordance with Article 37, passes a vote of no-confidence in a Minister, that Minister is required to resign.

Article 69 [Government Resignation]

1. The Government is considered resigned in the following circumstances:
 - a. if the Prime Minister resigns;
 - b. if it loses more than a third of the members specified in the Decree forming it;
 - c. if the Prime Minister dies;
 - d. at the beginning of the term of the President of the Republic;
 - e. at the beginning of the term of the Chamber of Deputies;
 - f. when it loses the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies based on the Chamber's initiative or based on the Council's initiative to gain the Chamber's confidence.
2. Ministers are to be dismissed by a Decree signed by the President and the Prime Minister in accordance with Article 65 of the constitution.
3. When the Council resigns or is considered resigned, the Chamber of Deputies is

automatically considered in extraordinary session until a new Council has been formed and has gained the Chamber's confidence.

Article 70 [Impeachment]

1. The Chamber of Deputies has the right to impeach the Prime Minister and Ministers for high treason or for serious neglect of their duties. The Decision to impeach may not be taken except by a majority of two thirds of the total membership of the Chamber.
2. A special law is to be issued to determine the conditions of the civil responsibility of the Prime Minister and individual Ministers.

Article 71 [Judicial Impeachment Proceedings]

The impeached Prime Minister or Minister are tried by the Supreme Council.

Article 72 [Consequences of Impeachment]

A Prime Minister or Minister leaves office as soon as the Decision of impeachment concerning him is issued. If he resigns, his resignation does not prevent judicial proceedings from being instituted or continued against him.

Part C. Procedural Provisions

[Chapter] I.

Election of the President of the Republic

Article 73 [Election of the President]

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 is summoned by its President to elect the new President of the Republic. However, should it not be summoned for this purpose, the Chamber meets of its own accord on the tenth day preceding the expiration of the President's term of office.

Article 74 [Vacancy of Presidency]

Should the Presidency become vacant through the death or resignation of the President or for any other cause, the Chamber meets immediately and by virtue of the law to elect a successor. If the Chamber happens to be dissolved at the time the vacancy occurs, the electoral bodies are convened without delay and, as soon as the elections have

Reference Texts

taken place, the Chamber meets by virtue of the law.

Article 75

The Chamber meeting to elect the President of the Republic is considered an electoral body and not a legislative assembly. It must proceed immediately, without discussion or any other act, to elect the Head of the State.

[Chapter] II.

Amending the Constitution

Article 76 [Proposal]

The constitution may be revised upon the proposal of the President of the Republic. In such a case the Government submits a draft law to the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 77 [Request]

The constitution may also be revised upon the request of the Chamber of Deputies. In this case the following procedures are to be observed: During an ordinary session and at the request of at least ten of its members, the Chamber of Deputies may recommend, by a majority of two thirds of the total members lawfully composing the Chamber, the revision of the constitution. However, the articles and the questions referred to in the recommendation must be clearly defined and specified. The President of the Chamber then transmits the recommendation to the Government requesting it to prepare a draft law relating thereto. If the Government approves the recommendation of the Chamber by a majority of two thirds, it must prepare the draft amendment and submit it to the Chamber within four months; if it does not agree, it shall return the Decision to the Chamber for reconsideration. If the Chamber insists upon the necessity of the amendment by a majority of three fourths of the total members lawfully composing the Chamber, the President of the Republic has then either to accede to the Chamber's recommendation or to ask the Council of Ministers to dissolve the Chamber and to hold new elections within three months. If the new Chamber insists on the necessity of amending the constitution, the Government must yield and submit the draft amendment within four months.

Article 78 [Priority]

When a draft law dealing with a constitutional amendment is submitted to the Chamber, it must confine itself to its discussion before any other work until a final vote is taken. It may discuss and vote only on articles and questions clearly enumerated and defined in the draft submitted to it.

Article 79 [Majority, Promulgation]

1. When a draft law dealing with a constitutional amendment is submitted to the Chamber, it cannot discuss it or vote upon it except when a majority of two thirds of the members lawfully composing the Chamber are present. Voting is by the same majority.
2. The President of the Republic is required to promulgate the law of the constitutional amendment under the same conditions and in the same form as ordinary laws. He has the right, within the period established for the promulgation, to ask the Chamber to reconsider the draft, after consultation with the council of Ministers, in which case the vote is by a majority of two thirds.

Part D.

Miscellaneous Provisions

[Chapter] I.

The Supreme Council

Article 80 [Function, Composition, Organizational Law]

The Supreme Council, whose function is to try Presidents and Ministers, consists of seven deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies and of eight of the highest Lebanese judges, according to their rank in the judicial hierarchy, or, in case of equal ranks, in the order of seniority. They meet under the presidency of the judge of the highest rank. The Decisions of condemnation by the Supreme Council is rendered by a majority of ten votes. A special law is to be issued to determine the procedure to be followed by this Council.

[Chapter] II.

Finances

Article 81 [Integral Tax Law]

No public taxes may be imposed and no new taxes established or collected in the Lebanese Republic except by a comprehensive law which applies to the entire Lebanese territory without exception.

Article 82 [Rule of Law]

No tax may be modified or abolished except by virtue of law.

Article 83 [Yearly Budget]

Each year at the beginning of the October session, the Government has to submit to the Chamber of Deputies the general budget estimates of state expenditures and revenues for the following year. The budget is voted upon article by article.

Article 84 [Budget Discussion]

During the discussion of the budget and draft laws involving the opening of supplementary or extraordinary credits, the Chamber may not increase the credits proposed in the budget or in the draft laws mentioned above either by way of amendment or by means of a proposal. The Chamber may, however, adopt, by way of proposal, laws involving further expenditures after the close of this discussion.

Article 85 [Extraordinary Credit]

No extraordinary credit may be opened except by a special law. Nevertheless, should unforeseen circumstances render urgent expenditures necessary, the President of the Republic may issue a Decree, based on a Decision of the Council of Ministers, to open extraordinary or supplementary credits or transfer appropriations in the budget as long as these credits do not exceed a maximum limit specified in the budget law. These measures are to be submitted to the Chamber for approval at the first ensuing session.

Article 86 [Provisional Budget]

If the Chamber of Deputies has not given a final decision on the budget estimates before the expiration of the session devoted to the examination of the budget, the President of the Republic, in coordination with the Prime Minister, immediately convenes the Chamber

for an extraordinary session which lasts until the end of January in order to continue the discussion of the budget; if, at the end of this extraordinary session, the budget estimates have not been finally settled, the Council of Ministers may take a decision on the basis of which a decree is issued by the President giving effect to the above estimates in the form in which they were submitted to the Chamber. However, the Council of Ministers may not exercise this right unless the budget estimates were submitted to the Chamber at least fifteen days before the commencement of its session. Nevertheless, during the said extraordinary session, taxes, charges, duties, imposts, and other kinds of revenues continue to be collected as before. The budget of the previous year is adopted as a basis. To this must be added the permanent credits which have been dropped, and the Government fixes the expenditures for the month of January on the basis of the 'provisional twelfth.'

Article 87 [Final Financial Accounts, Auditing Bureau]

The final financial accounts of the administration for each year must be submitted to the Chamber for approval before the promulgation of the budget of the year following. A special law is to be issued for the setting up of an Auditing Bureau.

Article 88 [Public Loan]

No public loan or undertaking involving an expenditure from the treasury funds may be contracted except by virtue of a law.

Article 89 [Contracts, Concessions, Resources, Monopolies]

No contract or concession for the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, or a public utility service, or a monopoly may be granted except by virtue of a law and for a limited period.

Part E.

Provisions Relating to the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations

Article 90 [...]

{Abolished in 1943}

Article 91 [...]

{Abolished in 1943}

Article 92 [...]

{Abolished in 1943}

Article 93 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Article 94 [...]

{Abolished in 1943}

Part F.

On the Abolition of Political Confessionalism

Article 95 [National Committee]

1. The first Chamber of Deputies which is elected on the basis of equality between Muslims and Christians takes the appropriate measures to realize the abolition of political confessionalism according to a transitional plan. A National Committee is to be formed, headed by the President of the Republic, including, in addition to the President of the Chamber of Deputies and the Prime Minister, leading political, intellectual, and social figures.
2. The tasks of this Committee are to study and propose the means to ensure the abolition of confessionalism, propose them to the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministers, and supervise the execution of the transitional plan.
3. During the transitional phase:
 - a. The confessional groups are to be represented in a just and equitable fashion in the formation of the Cabinet.
 - b. The principle of confessional representation in public service jobs, in the judiciary, in the military and security institutions, and in public and mixed agencies are to be cancelled in accordance with the requirements of national reconciliation; they shall be replaced by the principle of expertise and competence. However, Grade One posts and their equivalents are exempt from this rule, and the posts must be distributed equally between Christians and Muslims without reserving any particular job for any confessional group but rather applying the principles of expertise and competence.

Part G.

Provisions Relating to the Election and Functions of the Senate

Article 96 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Article 97 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Article 98 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Article 99 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Article 100 [...]

{Abolished in 1947}

Part H.

Additional Provisions

Article 101 [Greater Lebanon, The Lebanese Republic]

Beginning 1 Sep 1929, the state of 'Greater Lebanon' is to be known as 'The Lebanese Republic' without any other change or modification.

Article 102 [Abrogation of Old Laws]

All legislative provisions contrary to the present constitution are abrogated.

The Lebanese National Accord Document / The Ta'ef Accord

22 October 1989

Ratified at the Parliament's session held on 5 November 1989

First: General Principles and Reforms:

I. General Principles

A. Lebanon is a sovereign, free, and independent country and a final homeland for all its citizens.

B. Lebanon is Arab in belonging and identity. It is an active and founding member of the Arab League and is committed to the League's charter. It is an active and founding member of the United Nations Organization and is committed to its charters. Lebanon is a member of the nonaligned movement. The state of Lebanon shall embody these principles in all areas and spheres, without exception.

C. Lebanon is a democratic parliamentary republic founded on respect for public liberties, especially the freedom of expression and belief, on social justice, and on equality in rights and duties among all citizens, without discrimination or preference.

D. The people are the source of authority. They are sovereign and they shall exercise their sovereignty through the constitutional institutions.

E. The economic system is a free system that guarantees individual initiative and private ownership.

F. Culturally, socially, and economically-balanced development is a mainstay of the state's unity and of the system's stability.

G. Efforts (will be made) to achieve comprehensive social justice through fiscal, economic, and social reform.

H. Lebanon's soil is united and it belongs to all the Lebanese. Every Lebanese is entitled to live in and enjoy any part of the country under the supremacy of the law. The people may not

be categorized on the basis of any affiliation whatsoever and there shall be no fragmentation, no partition, and no repatriation [of Palestinians in Lebanon].

I. No authority violating the common co-existence charter shall be legitimate

II. Political Reforms

A. Chamber of Deputies:

The Chamber of Deputies is the legislative authority which exercises full control over government policy and activities.

1. The Chamber spokesman and his deputy shall be elected for the duration of the chamber's term.
2. In the first session, two years after it elects its speaker and deputy speaker, the chamber may vote only once to withdraw confidence from its speaker or deputy speaker with a 2/3 majority of its members and in accordance with a petition submitted by at least 10 deputies. In case confidence is withdrawn, the chamber shall convene immediately to fill the vacant post.
3. No urgent bill presented to the Chamber of Deputies may be issued unless it is included in the agenda of a public session and read in such a session, and unless the grace period stipulated by the constitution passes without a resolution on such a bill with the approval of the cabinet.
4. The electoral district shall be the governorate.
5. Until the Chamber of Deputies passes an election law free of sectarian restriction, the parliamentary seats shall be divided according to the following bases:
 - a. Equally between Christians and Muslims.
 - b. Proportionately between the denominations of each sect.

Reference Texts

c. Proportionately between the districts.

6. The number of members of the Chamber of Deputies shall be increased to 108, shared equally between Christians and Muslims. As for the districts created on the basis of this document and the districts whose seats became vacant prior to the proclamation of this document, their seats shall be filled only once on an emergency basis through appointment by the national accord government that is planned to be formed.
7. With the election of the first Chamber of Deputies on a national, not sectarian, basis, a senate shall be formed and all the spiritual families shall be represented in it. The senate powers shall be confined to crucial issues.

B. President of Republic:

The president of republic is the head of the state and a symbol of the country's unity. He shall contribute to enhancing the constitution and to preserving Lebanon's independence, unity, and territorial integrity in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. He is the supreme commander of the armed forces which are subject to the power of the cabinet. The president shall exercise the following powers:

1. Head the cabinet [meeting] whenever he wishes, but without voting.
2. Head the Supreme Defense Council.
3. Issue decrees and demand their publication. He shall also be entitled to ask the cabinet to reconsider any resolution it makes within 15 days of the date of deposal of the resolution with the presidential office. Should the cabinet insist on the adopted resolution, or should the grace period pass without issuing and returning the decree, the decree of the resolution shall be valid and must be published.
4. Promulgate laws in accordance with the grace period stipulated by the constitution and demand their publication upon ratification by the Chamber of Deputies. After notifying the cabinet, the president may also request reexamination of the laws within the grace periods provided by the constitution, and in accordance with the articles of the constitution. In case the laws are not issued or returned before the end of the grace periods, they shall be valid by law and they must be

published.

5. Refer the bills presented to him by the Chamber of Deputies.
6. Name the prime minister-designate in consultation with the Chamber of Deputies speaker on the basis of binding parliamentary consultation, the outcome of which the president shall officially familiarize the speaker on.
7. Issue the decree appointing the prime minister independently.
8. On agreement with the prime minister, issue the decree forming the cabinet.
9. Issue decrees accepting the resignation of the cabinet or of cabinet ministers and decrees relieving them from their duties.
10. Appoint ambassadors, accept the accreditation of ambassadors, and award state medals by decree.
11. On agreement with the prime minister, negotiate on the conclusion and signing of international treaties which shall become valid only upon approval by the cabinet. The cabinet shall familiarize the Chamber of Deputies with such treaties when the country's interest and state safety make such familiarization possible. As for treaties involving conditions concerning state finances, trade treaties, and other treaties which may not be abrogated annually, they may not be concluded without Chamber of Deputies' approval.
12. When the need arises, address messages to the Chamber of Deputies.
13. On agreement with the prime minister, summon the Chamber of Deputies to hold special sessions by decree.
14. The president of the republic is entitled to present to the cabinet any urgent issue beyond the agenda.
15. On agreement with the prime minister, call the cabinet to hold a special session whenever he deems it necessary.
16. Grant special pardon by decree.
17. In the performance of his duty, the president shall not be liable unless he violates the constitution or commits high treason.

C. Prime Minister:

The prime minister is the head of the government.

He represents it and speaks in its name. He is responsible for implementing the general policy drafted by the cabinet. The prime minister shall exercise the following powers:

1. Head the cabinet.
2. Hold parliamentary consultations to form the cabinet and co-sign with the president the decree forming it. The cabinet shall submit its cabinet statement to the Chamber of Deputies for a vote of confidence within 30 days [of its formation]. The cabinet may not exercise its powers before gaining the confidence, after its resignation, or when it is considered retired, except within the narrow sense of disposing of affairs.
3. Present the government's general policy to the Chamber of Deputies.
4. Sign all decrees, except for decrees naming the prime minister and decrees accepting cabinet resignation or considering it retired.
5. Sign the decree calling for a special session and decrees issuing laws and requesting the reexamination of laws.
6. Summon the cabinet to meet, draft its agenda, familiarize the president of the republic in advance with the issues included in the agenda and with the urgent issues to be discussed, and sign the usual session minutes.
7. Observe the activities of the public departments and institutions, coordinate between the ministers, and issue general instructions to ensure the smooth progress of work.
8. Hold working sessions with the state agencies concerned in the presence of the minister concerned.
9. By law, act as the Supreme Defense Council's deputy chairman.

D. Cabinet:

The executive power shall be vested in the Cabinet.

The following are among the powers exercised by it:

1. Set the general policy of the State in all domains, draws up draft bills and decrees, and takes the necessary decisions for its implementation.
2. Watch over the implementation of laws and regulations and supervise the activities of

all the state agencies without exception, including the civilian, military, and security departments and institutions.

3. The cabinet is the authority which controls the armed forces.
4. Appoint, dismiss, and accept the resignation of state employees in accordance with the law.
5. It has the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies at the request of the president of the republic if the chamber refuses to meet throughout an ordinary or a special session lasting no less than one month, even though it is summoned twice consecutively, or if the chamber sends back the budget in its entirety with the purpose of paralyzing the government. This right may not be exercised again for the same reasons which called for dissolving the chamber in the first instance.
6. When the president of the republic is present, he heads cabinet sessions. The cabinet shall meet periodically at special headquarters. The legal quorum for a cabinet meeting is 2/3 the cabinet members. The cabinet shall adopt its resolutions by consent. If impossible, then by vote. The resolutions shall be adopted by a majority of the members present. As for major issues, they require the approval of 2/3 the cabinet members. The following shall be considered major issues: The state of emergency and its abolition, war and peace, general mobilization, international agreements and treaties, the state's general budget, comprehensive and long-term development plans, the appointment of top-level civil servants or their equivalent, reexamination of the administrative division, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, the election law, the citizenship law, the personal status laws, and the dismissal of cabinet ministers.

E. Minister:

The minister's powers shall be reinforced in a manner compatible with the government's general policy and with the principle of collective responsibility. A minister shall not be relieved from his position unless by cabinet decree or unless the Chamber of Deputies withdraws its confidence from him individually.

F. Cabinet Resignation, Considering Cabinet Retired, and Dismissal of Ministers:

Reference Texts

1. The cabinet shall be considered retired in the following cases:
 - a. If its chairman resigns.
 - b. If it loses more than 1/3 of its members as determined by the decree forming it.
 - c. If its chairman dies.
 - d. At the beginning of a president's term.
 - e. At the beginning of the Chamber of Deputies' term.
 - f. When the Chamber of Deputies withdraws its confidence from it on an initiative by the chamber itself and on the basis of a vote of confidence.
2. A minister shall be relieved by a decree signed by the president of the republic and the prime minister, with cabinet approval.
3. When the cabinet resigns or is considered retired, the Chamber of Deputies shall, by law, be considered to be convened in a special session until a new cabinet is formed. A vote-of-confidence session shall follow.

G. Abolition of Political Secterianism:

Abolishing political sectarianism is a fundamental national objective. To achieve it, it is required that efforts be made in accordance with a phased plan. The Chamber of Deputies elected on the basis of equal sharing by Christians and Muslims shall adopt the proper measures to achieve this objective and to form a national council which is headed by the president of the republic and which includes, in addition to the prime minister and the Chamber of Deputies speaker, political, intellectual, and social notables. The council's task will be to examine and propose the means capable of abolishing sectarianism, to present them to the Chamber of Deputies and the cabinet, and to observe implementation of the phased plan. The following shall be done in the interim period:

- a. Abolish the sectarian representation base and rely on capability and specialization in public jobs, the judiciary, the military, security, public, and joint institutions, and in the independent agencies in accordance with the dictates of national accord, excluding the top-level jobs and equivalent jobs which shall be shared equally by Christians and Muslims without allocating any particular job to any sect.
- b. Abolish the mention of sect and denomination on the identity card.

III. Other Reforms

A. Administrative Decentralism:

1. The State of Lebanon shall be a single and united state with a strong central authority.
2. The powers of the governors and district administrative officers shall be expanded and all state administrations shall be represented in the administrative provinces at the highest level possible so as to facilitate serving the citizens and meeting their needs locally.
3. The administrative division shall be recognized in a manner that emphasizes national fusion within the framework of preserving common coexistence and unity of the soil, people, and institutions.
4. Expanded administrative decentralization shall be adopted at the level of the smaller administrative units [district and smaller units] through the election of a council, headed by the district officer, in every district, to ensure local participation.
5. A comprehensive and unified development plan capable of developing the provinces economically and socially shall be adopted and the resources of the municipalities, unified municipalities, and municipal unions shall be reinforced with the necessary financial resources.

B. Courts:

[1] To guarantee that all officials and citizens are subject to the supremacy of the law and to insure harmony between the action of the legislative and executive authorities on the one hand, and the givens of common coexistence and the basic rights of the Lebanese as stipulated in the constitution on the other hand:

1. The higher council which is stipulated by the constitution and whose task it is to try presidents and ministers shall be formed. A special law on the rules of trial before this council shall be promulgated.
2. A constitutional council shall be created to interpret the constitution, to observe the constitutionality of the laws, and to settle disputes and contests emanating from presidential and parliamentary elections.
3. The following authorities shall be entitled to revise the constitutional council in matters pertaining to interpreting the constitution

and observing the constitutionality of the laws:

- a. The president of the republic.
- b. The Chamber of Deputies speaker.
- c. The prime minister.
- d. A certain percentage of members of the Chamber of Deputies.

[2] To ensure the principle of harmony between religion and state, the heads of the Lebanese sects may revise the constitutional council in matters pertaining to:

1. Personal status affairs.
2. Freedom of religion and the practice of religious rites.
3. Freedom of religious education.

[3]. To ensure the judiciary's independence, a certain number of the the Higher Judiciary Council shall be elected by the judiciary body.

C. Parliamentary Election Law:

Parliamentary elections shall be held in accordance with a new law on the basis of provinces and in the light of rules that guarantee common coexistence between the Lebanese, and that ensure the sound and efficient political representation of all the people's factions and generations. This shall be done after reviewing the administrative division within the context of unity of the people, the land, and the institutions.

D. Creation of a socio-economic council for development:

A socio-economic council shall be created to insure that representatives of the various sectors participate in drafting the state's socioeconomic policy and providing advice and proposals.

E. Education:

1. Education shall be provided to all and shall be made obligatory for the elementary stage at least.
2. The freedom of education shall be emphasized in accordance with general laws and regulations.
3. Private education shall be protected and state control over private schools and textbooks shall be strengthened.
4. Official, vocational, and technological education shall be reformed, strengthened, and developed in a manner that meets the

country's development and reconstruction needs. The conditions of the Lebanese University shall be reformed and aid shall be provided to the university, especially to its technical colleges.

5. The curricula shall be reviewed and developed in a manner that strengthens national belonging, fusion, spiritual and cultural openness, and that unifies textbooks on the subjects of history and national education.

F. Information:

All the information media shall be reorganized under the canopy of the law and within the framework of responsible liberties that serve the cautious tendencies and the objective of ending the state of war.

Second: Spreading the sovereignty of the State of Lebanon over all Lebanese territories:

Considering that all Lebanese factions have agreed to the establishment of a strong state founded on the basis of national accord, the national accord government shall draft a detailed one-year plan whose objective is to spread the sovereignty of the State of Lebanon over all Lebanese territories gradually with the state's own forces. The broad lines of the plan shall be as follows:

A. Disbanding of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias shall be announced. The militias' weapons shall be delivered to the State of Lebanon within a period of 6 months, beginning with the approval of the national accord charter. The president of the republic shall be elected. A national accord cabinet shall be formed, and the political reforms shall be approved constitutionally.

B. The internal security forces shall be strengthened through:

1. Opening the door of voluntarism to all the Lebanese without exception, beginning the training of volunteers centrally, distributing the volunteers to the units in the governorates, and subjecting them to organized periodic training courses.
2. Strengthening the security agency to insure control over the entry and departure of individuals into and out of the country by land, air, and sea.

Reference Texts

C. Strengthening the armed forces:

1. The fundamental task of the armed forces is to defend the homeland, and if necessary, protect public order when the danger exceeds the capability of the internal security forces to deal with such a danger on their own.
2. The armed forces shall be used to support the internal security forces in preserving security under conditions determined by the cabinet.
3. The armed forces shall be unified, prepared, and trained in order that they may be able to shoulder their national responsibilities in confronting Israeli aggression.
4. When the internal security forces become ready to assume their security tasks, the armed forces shall return to their barracks.
5. The armed forces intelligence shall be reorganized to serve military objectives exclusively.

D. The problem of the Lebanese evacuees shall be solved fundamentally, and the right of every Lebanese evicted since 1975 to return to the place from which he was evicted shall be established. Legislation to guarantee this right and to insure the means of reconstruction shall be issued. Considering that the objective of the State of Lebanon is to spread its authority over all the Lebanese territories through its own forces, represented primarily by the internal security forces, and in view of the fraternal relations binding Syria to Lebanon, the Syrian forces shall thankfully assist the forces of the legitimate Lebanese government to spread the authority of the State of Lebanon within a set period of no more than 2 years, beginning with ratification of the national accord charter, election of the president of the republic, formation of the national accord cabinet, and approval of the political reforms constitutionally. At the end of this period, the two governments -- the Syrian Government and the Lebanese National Accord Government -- shall decide to redeploy the Syrian forces in Al-Biq'a area from Dahr al-Baydar to the Hammana-al-Mudayrij-'Ayn Darah line, and if necessary, at other points to be determined by a joint Lebanese-Syrian military committee. An agreement shall also be concluded by the two governments to determine the strength and duration of the presence of Syrian forces in the above-mentioned area and to define these forces' relationship with the Lebanese state authorities where the forces exist. The Arab Tripartite Committee is prepared to assist the two

states, if they so wish, to develop this agreement.

Third: Liberating Lebanon from the Israeli occupation:

Regaining state authority over the territories extending to the internationally-recognized Lebanese borders requires the following:

A. Efforts to implement resolution 425 and the other UN Security Council resolutions calling for fully eliminating the Israeli occupation.

B. Adherence to the truce agreement concluded on 23 March 1949.

C. Taking all the steps necessary to liberate all Lebanese territories from the Israeli occupation, to spread state sovereignty over all the territories, and to deploy the Lebanese army in the border area adjacent to Israel; and making efforts to reinforce the presence of the UN forces in South Lebanon to insure the Israeli withdrawal and to provide the opportunity for the return of security and stability to the border area.

Fourth: Lebanese-Syrian Relations:

Lebanon, with its Arab identity, is tied to all the Arab countries by true fraternal relations. Between Lebanon and Syria there is a special relationship that derives its strength from the roots of blood relationships, history, and joint fraternal interests. This is the concept on which the two countries' coordination and cooperation is founded, and which will be embodied by the agreements between the two countries in all areas, in a manner that accomplishes the two fraternal countries' interests within the framework of the sovereignty and independence of each of them. Therefore, and because strengthening the bases of security creates the climate needed to develop these bonds, Lebanon should not be allowed to constitute a source of threat to Syria's security, and Syria should not be allowed to constitute a source of threat to Lebanon's security under any circumstances. Consequently, Lebanon should not allow itself to become a pathway or a base for any force, state, or organization seeking to undermine its security or Syria's security. Syria, which is eager for Lebanon's security, independence, and unity and for harmony among its citizens, should not permit any act that poses a threat to Lebanon's

Doha Agreement

21 May 2008

First

The parties have agreed on having the Lebanese parliament speaker, based on the rules in effect, invite the parliament to convene within 24 hours to elect consensus candidate General Michel Sleiman, knowing that this is the best constitutional method to elect the president under these exceptional circumstances.

Second

Forming a national unity government composed of 30 ministers distributed among the majority (16 ministers), the opposition (11 ministers) and the president (3 ministers), and by virtue of this agreement, all parties commit not to resign or obstruct the government's actions.

Third

Adopting the caza as an electoral constituency in conformity with the 1960 law, whereby the districts of Marjayoun-Hasbaya, Baalbek-Hermel and West Bekaa-Rashaya remain as a single electoral constituency each.

As for Beirut, it was divided in the following manner:

The first district: Achrafieh – Rmeil – Saifi

The second district: Bachoura – Medawar – the Port

The third district: Minet al-Hosn – Ain al-Mreisseh – Al-Mazraa – Mousseitbeh – Ras Beirut – Zoqaq al-Blat

Agreeing on referring the reform clauses mentioned in the draft law prepared by the National Commission on Electoral Law Reform, which was headed by Minister Fouad Boutros, to the parliament in order to examine and discuss them in accordance with the rules in effect.

Fourth

Pursuant to the above mentioned Beirut Agreement, especially Paragraphs 4 and 5, which stated the following:

Paragraph 4:

The parties commit to abstain from having recourse or resuming the use of weapons and violence in order to record political gains.

Paragraph 5:

Initiate a dialogue on promoting the Lebanese state's authority over all Lebanese territory and their relationship with the various groups on the Lebanese stage in order to ensure the state's and the citizens' security.

Hence, the dialogue was initiated in Doha on promoting the state's authority according to Paragraph 5 of the Beirut Agreement, and an agreement was reached on the following:

- Prohibiting the use of weapons or violence or taking refuge in them in any dispute whatsoever and under any circumstances, in order to ensure respect for the national partnership contract, based on the Lebanese people's commitment to live with one another within the framework of the Lebanese system, and to restrict the security and military authority over Lebanese nationals and residents to the state alone so as to ensure the continuity of the coexistence formula and civil peace among all the Lebanese; and the parties pledge to all of the above.

- Implementing the law and upholding the sovereignty of the state throughout Lebanon so as not to have regions that serve as safe havens for outlaws, out of respect for the supremacy of the law, and referring all those who commit crimes and contraventions to the Lebanese judiciary.

This dialogue is to be resumed under the aegis of the president as soon as he is elected and a national unity government is formed, and with the participation of the Arab League in such a way as to boost confidence among the Lebanese.

Fifth

Reasserting the commitment of the Lebanese political leaders to immediately abstain from resorting to the rhetoric of treason or political or sectarian instigation.

Reference Texts

The Arab Ministerial Committee undertakes to register this agreement before the Arab League General Secretariat as soon as it is signed.

This agreement was signed in Doha on May 21, 2008 by the Lebanese political leaders participating in the Conference and in the presence of the president and members of the Arab Ministerial Committee.

Part II

International Agreements

Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon

23 March 1949

Preamble

The Parties to the present Agreement, Responding to the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948, calling upon them, as a further provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations and in order to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, to negotiate an armistice;

Having decided to enter into negotiations under United Nations Chairmanship concerning the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948; and having appointed representatives empowered to negotiate and conclude an Armistice Agreement;

The undersigned representatives, having exchanged their full powers found to be in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article I

With a view to promoting the return of permanent peace in Palestine and in recognition of the importance in this regard of mutual assurances concerning the future military operations of the Parties, the following principles, which shall be fully observed by both Parties during the armistice, are hereby affirmed:

1. The injunction of the Security Council against resort to military force in settlement of the Palestine question shall henceforth be scrupulously respected by both Parties.
2. No aggressive action by the armed forces - land, sea or air - of either Party shall be undertaken, planned, or threatened against the people or the armed forces of the other; it being understood that the use of the term "planned" in this context has no bearing on normal staff planning as generally practised in military organisations.
3. The right of each Party to its security and freedom from fear of attack by the armed

forces of the other shall be fully respected.

4. The establishment of an armistice between the armed forces of the two Parties is accepted as an indispensable step toward the liquidation of armed conflict and the restoration of peace in Palestine.

Article II

With a specific view to the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948, the following principles and purposes are affirmed:

1. The principle that no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council is recognised.
2. It is also recognised that no provision of this Agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and positions of either Party hereto in the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine question, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military considerations.

Article III

1. In pursuance of the foregoing principles and of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948, a general armistice between the armed forces of the two Parties - land, sea and air - is hereby established.
2. No element of the land, sea or air military or para-military forces of either Party, including non-regular forces, shall commit any warlike or hostile act against the military or para-military forces of the other Party, or against civilians in territory under the control of that Party; or shall advance beyond or pass over for any purpose whatsoever the Armistice Demarcation Line set forth in Article V of this Agreement; or enter into or pass through the air space of the other Party or through the waters within three miles of the coastline of the other Party.

Reference Texts

3. No warlike act or act of hostility shall be conducted from territory controlled by one of the Parties to this Agreement against the other Party.

Article IV

1. The line described in Article V of this Agreement shall be designated as the Armistice Demarcation Line and is delineated in pursuance of the purpose and intent of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948.
2. The basic purpose of the Armistice Demarcation Line is to delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective Parties shall not move.
3. Rules and regulations of the armed forces of the Parties, which prohibit civilians from crossing the fighting lines or entering the area between the lines, shall remain in effect after the signing of this Agreement with application to the Armistice Demarcation Line defined in Article V.

Article V

1. The Armistice Demarcation Line shall follow the international boundary between the Lebanon and Palestine.
2. In the region of the Armistice Demarcation Line the military forces of the Parties shall consist of defensive forces only as is defined in the Annex to this Agreement.
3. Withdrawal of forces to the Armistice Demarcation Line and their reduction to defensive strength in accordance with the preceding paragraph shall be completed within ten days of the signing of this Agreement. In the same way the removal of mines from mined roads and areas evacuated by either Party, and the transmission of plans showing the location of such minefields to the other Party shall be completed within the same period.

Article VI

All prisoners of war detained by either Party to this Agreement and belonging to the armed forces, regular or irregular, of the other Party, shall be exchanged as follows:

1. The exchange of prisoners of war shall be under United Nations supervision and control throughout. The exchange shall take place at

Ras en Naqoura within twenty-four hours of the signing of this Agreement.

2. Prisoners of war against whom a penal prosecution may be pending, as well as those sentenced for crime or other offence, shall be included in this exchange of prisoners.
3. All articles of personal use, valuables, letters, documents, identification marks, and other personal effects of whatever nature, belonging to prisoners of war who are being exchanged, shall be returned to them, or, if they have escaped or died, to the Party to whose armed forces they belonged.
4. All matters not specifically regulated in this Agreement shall be decided in accordance with the principles laid down in the International Convention Relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, signed at Geneva on 27 July 1929.
5. The Mixed Armistice Commission established in Article VII of this Agreement shall assume responsibility for locating missing persons, whether military or civilian, within the areas controlled by each Party, to facilitate their expeditious exchange. Each Party undertakes to extend to the Commission full co-operation and assistance in the discharge of this function.

Article VII

1. The execution of the provisions of this Agreement shall be supervised by a Mixed Armistice Commission composed of five members, of whom each Party to this Agreement shall designate two, and whose Chairman shall be the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organisation or a senior officer from the Observer personnel of that Organisation designated by him following consultation with both Parties to this Agreement.
2. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall maintain its headquarters at the Frontier Post north of Metulla and at the Lebanese Frontier Post at En Naqoura and shall hold its meetings at such places and at such times as it may deem necessary for the effective conduct of its work.
3. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall be convened in its first meeting by the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organisation not later than one week

following the signing of this Agreement.

4. Decisions of the Mixed Armistice Commission to the extent possible shall be based on the principle of unanimity. In the absence of unanimity, decisions shall be taken by majority vote of the members of the Commission present and voting.
5. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall formulate its own rules of procedure. Meetings shall be held only after due notice to the members by the Chairman. The quorum for its meetings shall be a majority of its members.
6. The Commission shall be empowered to employ observers, who may be from among the military organisations of the Parties or from the military personnel of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation, or from both, in such numbers as may be considered essential to the performance of its functions. In the event United Nations Observers should be so employed, they shall remain under the command of the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organisation. Assignments of a general or special nature given to United Nations Observers attached to the Mixed Armistice Commission shall be subject to approval by the United Nations Chief of Staff or his designated representative on the Commission, whichever is serving as Chairman.
7. Claims or complaints presented by either Party relating to the application of this Agreement shall be referred immediately to the Mixed Armistice Commission through its Chairman. The Commission shall take such action on all such claims or complaints by means of its observation and investigation machinery as it may deem appropriate, with a view to equitable and mutually satisfactory settlement.
8. Where interpretation of the meaning of a particular provision of this Agreement, other than the Preamble and Articles I and II, is at issue, the Commission's interpretation shall prevail. The Commission, in its discretion and as the need arises, may from time to time recommend to the Parties modifications in the provisions of this Agreement.
9. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall submit to both Parties reports on its activities as frequently as it may consider necessary. A

copy of each such report shall be presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to the appropriate organ or agency of the United Nations.

10. Members of the Commission and its Observers shall be accorded such freedom of movement and access in the area covered by this Agreement as the Commission may determine to be necessary, provided that when such decisions of the Commission are reached by a majority vote, United Nations Observers only shall be employed.
11. The expenses of the Commission, other than those relating to United Nations Observers, shall be apportioned in equal shares between the two Parties to this Agreement.

Article VIII

1. The present Agreement is not subject to ratification and shall come into force immediately upon being signed.
2. This Agreement, having been negotiated and concluded in pursuance of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948 calling for the establishment of an armistice in order to eliminate the threat to the peace in Palestine and to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, shall remain in force until a peaceful settlement between the Parties is achieved, except as provided in paragraph 3 of this Article.
3. The Parties to this Agreement may, by mutual consent, revise this Agreement or any of its provisions, or may suspend its application, other than Articles I and III, at any time. In the absence of mutual agreement and after this Agreement has been in effect for one year from the date of its signing, either of the Parties may call upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to convoke a conference of representatives of the two Parties for the purpose of reviewing, revising, or suspending any of the provisions of this Agreement other than Articles I and III. Participation in such conference shall be obligatory upon the Parties.
4. If the conference provided for in paragraph 3 of this Article does not result in an agreed solution of a point in dispute, either Party may bring the matter before the Security Council of the United Nations for the relief sought on the grounds that this Agreement has been

Reference Texts

concluded in pursuance of Security Council action toward the end of achieving peace in Palestine.

5. This Agreement is signed in quintuplicate, of which one copy shall be retained by each Party, two copies communicated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to the Security Council and to the United Nations Conciliation Commission on Palestine, and one copy to the Acting Mediator on Palestine.

Done at Ras En Naqoura on the twenty-third of March nineteen forty-nine, in the presence of the Personal Deputy of the United Nations Acting Mediator on Palestine and the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organisation.

For and on behalf of the Government of Israel

Signed:

Lieutenant-Colonel Mordechai Makleff

Yehoshua Pelman

Shabtai Rosenne

For and on behalf of the Government of Lebanon

Signed:

Lieutenant-Colonel Toufic Salem

Commandant J. Harb

The Cairo Agreement¹

3 November 1969

Resolution No. 2550/D 52, on 13 September 1969
Strictly Confidential

On Monday, 3 November 1969, the Lebanese delegation headed by Army Commander General Emile al-Bustani, and the Palestine Liberation Organization delegation, headed by Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the organization, met in Cairo in the presence of the United Arab Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mahmud Riyad, and the War Minister, General Muhammad Fawzi.

In consonance with the bonds of brotherhood and common destiny, relations between Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution must always be conducted on the bases of confidence, frankness, and positive cooperation for the benefit of Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution and within the framework of Lebanon's sovereignty and security. The two delegations agreed on the following principles and measures:

The Palestinian Presence

It was agreed to reorganize the Palestinian presence in Lebanon on the following bases:

1. The right to work, residence, and movement for Palestinians currently residing in Lebanon;
2. The formation of local committees composed of Palestinians in the camps to care for the interests of Palestinians residing in these camps in cooperation with the local Lebanese authorities within the framework of Lebanese sovereignty;
3. The establishment of posts of the Palestinian Armed Struggle [PASC] inside the camps for the purpose of cooperation with the

local committees to ensure good relations with the Lebanese authorities. These posts shall undertake the task of regulating and determining the presence of arms in the camps within the framework of Lebanese security and the interests of the Palestinian revolution;

4. Palestinians resident in Lebanon are to be permitted to participate in the Palestinian revolution through the Armed Struggle and in accordance with the principles of the sovereignty and security of Lebanon.

Commando Activity

It was agreed to facilitate commando activity by means of:

1. Facilitating the passage of commandos and specifying points of passage and reconnaissance in the border areas;
2. Safeguarding the road to the 'Arqub region;
3. The Armed Struggle shall undertake to control the conduct of all the members of its organizations and [to ensure] their non-interference in Lebanese affairs;
4. Establishing a joint command control of the Armed Struggle and the Lebanese Army;
5. Ending the propaganda campaigns by both sides;
6. Conducting a census of Armed Struggle personnel in Lebanon by their command.
7. Appointing Armed Struggle representatives at Lebanese Army headquarters to participate in

¹ The agreement was revoked in 1987 by a resolution of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies:

Resolution adopted by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, 21 May 1987:

1. Abrogation of the law issued by the Chamber of Deputies on 14 June 1983, authorizing the Government to ratify the agreement signed by the Government of the Lebanese Republic and the Government of the State of Israel on 17 May 1983.
2. The agreement signed on 3 November 1969 between the head of the Lebanese delegation General Emile Bustani and the Chairman of the PLO and which is known as the "Cairo Agreement" is hereby null and void as if it had never existed. Further, all annexes and measures related to the Cairo Agreement are hereby null and void as if they had never existed.
3. This law will become effective upon its publication in the Official Gazette.

Reference Texts

- the resolution of all emergency matters;
8. Studying the distribution of all suitable points of concentration in border areas which will be agreed with the Lebanese Army command;
 9. Regulating the entry, exit, and circulation of Armed Struggle personnel;
 10. Removal of the Jiyrun base;
 11. The Lebanese Army shall facilitate the operation of medical, evacuation, and supply centers for commando activity;
 12. Releasing detained personnel and confiscated arms;
 13. It is understood that the Lebanese authorities, both civil and military, shall continue to exercise all their prerogatives and responsibilities in all areas of Lebanon in all circumstances;
 14. The two delegations affirm that the Palestinian armed struggle is in the interest of Lebanon as well as in that of the Palestinian revolution and all Arabs;
 15. This agreement shall remain Top Secret and for the eyes of the commands only.

Head of Lebanese delegation
Emile Bustani

Head of Palestinian delegation
Yasir Arafat

Agreement between the Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Republic of Lebanon²

17 May 1983

The Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Republic of Lebanon:

- Bearing in mind the importance of maintaining and strengthening international peace based on freedom, equality, justice and respect for fundamental human rights;
- Reaffirming their faith in the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and recognizing their right and obligation to live in peace with each other as well as with all states within secure and recognized boundaries;
- Having agreed to declare the termination of the state of war between them;
- Desiring to ensure lasting security for both their States and to avoid threats and the use of force between them;
- Desiring to establish their mutual relations in the manner provided for in this Agreement;
- Having delegated their undersigned representative plenipotentiaries provided with full powers in order to sign in the presence of the representative of the United States of America this Agreement;

Have agreed to the following provisions:

Article 1

1. The Parties agree and undertake to respect the sovereignty, political independence

and territorial integrity of each other. They consider the existing international boundary between Israel and Lebanon inviolable.

2. The Parties confirm that the state of war between Israel and Lebanon has been terminated and no longer exists.
3. Taking into account the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2, Israel undertakes to withdraw all its armed forces from Lebanon in accordance with the Annex of the present Agreement.

Article 2

The Parties, being guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, undertake to settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner as to promote international peace and security and justice.

Article 3

In order to provide maximum security for Israel and Lebanon, the Parties agree to establish and implement security arrangements including the creation of a Security Region as provided for in the Annex of the present Agreement.

Article 4

1. The territory of each Party will not be used as a base for hostile or terrorist activity against the other Party, its territory or its people.

²The agreement was revoked in 1987 by a resolution of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies:

Resolution adopted by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, 21 May 1987:

1. Abrogation of the law issued by the Chamber of Deputies on 14 June 1983, authorizing the Government to ratify the agreement signed by the Government of the Lebanese Republic and the Government of the State of Israel on 17 May 1983.
2. The agreement signed on 3 November 1969 between the head of the Lebanese delegation General Emile Bustani and the Chairman of the PLO and which is known as the "Cairo Agreement" is hereby null and void as if it had never existed. Further, all annexes and measures related to the Cairo Agreement are hereby null and void as if they had never existed.
3. This law will become effective upon its publication in the Official Gazette.

Reference Texts

2. Each Party will prevent the existence or organization of irregular forces, armed bands, organizations, bases, offices or infrastructure the aims and purposes of which include incursions or any act of terrorism into the territory of the other Party or any other activity aimed at threatening or endangering the security of the other Party and safety of its people. To this end, all agreements and arrangements enabling the presence and functioning on the territory of either Party of elements hostile to the other Party are null and void.
3. Without prejudice to the inherent right of self-defense in accordance with international law each Party will refrain:
 - a. from organizing, instigating, assisting, or participating in threats or acts of belligerency, subversion, or incitement or any aggression directed against the other Party, its population or property both within its territory and originating therefrom or in the territory of the other Party.
 - b. from using the territory of the other Party for conducting a military attack against the territory of a third state.
 - c. from intervening in the internal or external affairs of the other Party.
4. Each Party undertakes to ensure that preventive action and due proceedings will be taken against persons or organizations perpetrating acts in violation of this Article.

Article 5

Consistent with the termination of the state of war and within the framework of their constitutional provisions, the Parties will abstain from any form of hostile propaganda against each other.

Article 6

Each Party will prevent entry into deployment in or passage through its territory, its air space and, subject to the right of innocent passage in accordance with international law, its territorial sea by military forces, armament or military equipment of any state hostile to the other Party.

Article 7

Except as provided in the present Agreement nothing will preclude the deployment on Lebanese territory of international forces requested and

accepted by the Government of Lebanon to assist in maintaining its authority. New contributors to such forces shall be selected from among states having diplomatic relations with both Parties to the present Agreement.

Article 8

1.
 - a. Upon entry into force of the present Agreement, a Joint Liaison Committee will be established by the Parties in which the United States of America will be a participant and will commence its functions. This Committee will be entrusted with the supervision of the implementation of all areas covered by the present Agreement. In matters involving security arrangements, it will deal with unresolved problems referred to it by the Security Arrangements Committee established in subparagraph c. below. Decisions of this Committee will be taken unanimously.
 - b. The Joint Liaison Committee will address itself on a continuing basis to the development of mutual relations between Israel and Lebanon, inter alia the regulation of the movement of goods, products and persons, communications etc.
 - c. Within the framework of the Joint Liaison Committee, there will be a Security Arrangements Committee whose composition and functions are defined in the Annex of the present Agreement.
 - d. Subcommittees of the Joint Liaison Committee may be established as the need arises.
 - e. The Joint Liaison Committee will meet in Israel and Lebanon alternately.
 - f. Each Party, if it so desires and unless there is an agreed change of status, may maintain a liaison office on the territory of the other Party in order to carry out the above-mentioned functions within the framework of the Joint Liaison Committee and to assist in the implementation of the present Agreement.
 - g. The members of the Joint Liaison Committee from each of the Parties will be headed by a senior government official.
 - h. All other matters relating to these liaison offices, their personnel, and

the personnel of each Party present in the territory of the other Party in connection with the implementation of the present Agreement, will be the subject of a protocol to be concluded between the Parties in the Joint Liaison Committee. Pending the conclusion of this protocol, the liaison offices and the above-mentioned personnel will be treated in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the Convention on Special Missions of December 8 1969, including those provisions concerning privileges and immunities. The foregoing is without prejudice to the positions of the Parties concerning that Convention.

2. During the six-month period after the withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanon in accordance with Article 1 of the present Agreement and the simultaneous restoration of Lebanese governmental authority along the international boundary between Israel and Lebanon and in the light of the termination of the state of war, the Parties shall initiate within the Joint Liaison Committee bona fide negotiations in order to conclude agreements on the movement of goods products and persons and their implementation on a non-discriminatory basis.

Article 9

1. Each of the two Parties will take within a time limit of one year as of entry into force of the present Agreement all measures necessary for the abrogation of treaties, laws and regulations deemed in conflict with the present Agreement subject to and in conformity with its constitutional procedures.
2. The Parties undertake not to apply existing obligations, enter into any obligations or adopt laws or regulations in conflict with the present Agreement.

Article 10

1. The present Agreement shall be ratified by both Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. It shall enter into force on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall supersede the previous agreements between Israel and Lebanon.

2. The Annex, the Appendix and the Map attached thereto and the Agreed Minutes to the present Agreement shall be considered integral parts thereof.
3. The present Agreement may be modified, amended or superseded by mutual agreement of the Parties.

Article 11

1. Disputes between the Parties arising out of the interpretation or application of the present Agreement will be settled by negotiation in the Joint Liaison Committee. Any dispute of this character not so resolved shall be submitted to conciliation, and if unresolved thereafter, to an agreed procedure for a definitive resolution.
2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1, disputes arising out of the interpretation or application of the Annex shall be resolved in the framework of the Security Arrangements Committee and if unresolved shall thereafter at the request of either Party be referred to the Joint Liaison Committee for resolution through negotiation.

Article 12

The present Agreement shall be communicated to the Secretariat of the United Nations for registration in conformity with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Kiryat Shmona and Khaldeh, this seventeenth day of May 1983 in triplicate in four authentic texts in the Hebrew, Arabic, English and French languages. In case of any divergence of interpretation, the English and French texts will be equally authoritative.

For the Government of the State of Israel
David Kimche

For the Government of the Republic of Lebanon
Antoine Fattal

Witnessed by:
Morris Draper

For the Government of the United States of America

Reference Texts

Treaty for Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Republic of Lebanon

22 May 1991

On the basis of the distinctive fraternal ties that link them and that draw their strength from their roots of kinship, history, common affiliation, joint destiny and shared interests;

In the belief that the attainment of the fullest cooperation and coordination will serve their interests and provide means of ensuring their development and progress and of safeguarding their regional and national security, that it will promote their prosperity and stability and will enable them to cope with all regional and international developments, and that it will meet the aspirations of the peoples of the two countries in compliance with the Lebanese National Charter approved by the National Assembly on 5 November 1989;

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The two States shall endeavour to achieve the highest degree of cooperation and coordination in the political, economic, security, cultural, scientific and other fields for the benefit of both fraternal countries within the framework of their individual sovereignty and independence and so as to enable the two countries to use their political, economic and security potential to provide for their prosperity and stability, protect their regional and national security and broaden and strengthen their joint interests in confirmation of their fraternal relations and as a pledge of their common destiny.

Article 2

The two States shall endeavour to achieve cooperation and coordination between them in the fields of the economy, agriculture, industry, commerce, transport and communications and

customs, to set up joint projects and to coordinate development plans.

Article 3

The interdependence of the security of the two countries shall require that Lebanon shall not, under any circumstances, be made a source of threat to the security of Syria, or Syria to the security of Lebanon. Accordingly, Lebanon shall not afford passage or provide a base for any force, State or organization seeking to infringe upon its security or the security of Syria, and Syria, desiring to ensure the security, independence and unity of Lebanon and harmony among its citizens, shall not permit any action which threatens the security, independence or sovereignty of Lebanon.

Article 4

After the institution of political reforms in constitutional form in accordance with the provisions of the Lebanese National Charter and on the expiry of the time-limits prescribed in the Charter, the Syrian and Lebanese Governments shall decide on the redeployment of Syrian forces in the region of the Bekaa and the entry to the Western Bekaa at Dahr el Baidar as far as the line Hammana-Mdairj-Ain Dara and, in case of need, at other points to be determined through the agency of a joint Syrian-Lebanese military commission, and agreement shall be reached between the two Governments concerning the determination of the size of the Syrian forces, the duration of their presence in the above-mentioned areas and the relationship between these forces and the authorities of the Lebanese State in the places where they are present.

Reference Texts

Article 5

The inter-Arab and international foreign policy of the two States shall be based on the following principles:

1. Syria and Lebanon, as Arab countries, are bound by the pact of the League of Arab States, by the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty between the States of the Arab League and by all agreements ratified within the framework of the League.

They are also Members of the United Nations and are bound by its Charter and are members of the Non-Aligned Movement.

2. The common destiny and common interests of the two countries.
3. Each of them shall support the other in matters pertaining to its security and national interests in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty. Accordingly, the Governments of the two countries shall endeavour to coordinate their inter-Arab and international policies, to achieve the fullest cooperation in inter-Arab and international institutions and organizations and to coordinate their positions on the various regional and international issues.

Article 6

The following organs shall be set up to achieve the objectives of the present Treaty, and other organs may be created by decision of the Supreme Council referred to below:

1. The Supreme Council:
 - a. The Supreme Council shall comprise the President of the Republic in each of the Contracting States together with:
 - The Speaker of the People's Assembly, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic;
 - The President of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of the Lebanese Republic.
 - b. The Supreme Council shall meet once a year and whenever necessary at a place to be agreed.
 - c. The Supreme Council shall establish the general policy for coordination and cooperation between the two States in the political, economic, security, military and other fields and shall supervise their implementation and shall endorse the plans

and resolutions adopted by the Follow-up and Coordination Board and by the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Economic and Social Committee, the Defence and Security Committee and any committee created subsequently.

- d. The resolutions of the Supreme Council shall be binding and shall enter into force within the framework of the constitutional arrangements of each of the two States.
 - e. The Supreme Council shall determine the subjects on which the specialized committees shall be entitled to adopt decisions, which shall acquire executive force as soon as they have been promulgated by such committees, in accordance with the constitutional arrangements and principles of each of the two States or to the extent that they do not conflict with such arrangements and principles.
2. Follow-up and Coordination Board:

The Follow-up and Coordination Board shall comprise the Prime Ministers of the two countries and a number of ministers concerned with relations between them, and it shall be entrusted with the following functions:

 - a. Following up the implementation of the decisions of the Supreme Council and forwarding to the Council reports on the stages of implementation;
 - b. Coordinating the recommendations and decisions of the specialized committees and forwarding the proposals to the Supreme Council;
 - c. Convening meetings as necessary with the specialized committees;
 - d. The Board shall meet every six months and whenever necessary at a place to be agreed.
 3. Foreign Affairs Committee:
 - a. The Foreign Affairs Committee shall comprise the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two countries.
 - b. The Foreign Affairs Committee shall meet once every two months and whenever necessary in each of the two States alternately.
 - c. The Foreign Affairs Committee shall

endeavour to coordinate the foreign policies of the two States in their relations with all other States and also to coordinate their activities and positions in inter-Arab and international organizations and shall for that purpose prepare plans for adoption by the Supreme Council.

4. Economic and Social Committee:

- a. The Economic and Social Committee shall comprise the ministers responsible in the two States for the economic and social sectors.
- b. The Economic and Social Committee shall meet once every two months and whenever necessary in each of the two States alternately.
- c. The mandate of the Economic and Social Committee shall be to endeavour to achieve the economic and social coordination of the two States and to prepare recommendations to that end.
- d. The recommendations adopted by the Economic and Social Committee shall become effective after endorsement by the Supreme Council, subject to the constitutional principles of each of the two States.

5. Defence and Security Committee:

- a. The Defence and Security Committee shall comprise the Ministers of Defence and the Ministers of the Interior of the two States.
- b. The mandate of the Defence and Security Committee shall be to study means of ensuring the maintenance of security in the two States and to propose joint measures to withstand any aggression or threat to their regional security or to counter any unrest prejudicial to the internal security of either State.
- c. All plans and recommendations prepared by the Defence and Security Committee shall be submitted for adoption by the Supreme Council, subject to the constitutional principles of each of the two countries.

6. General Secretariat:

- a. A General Secretariat shall be established to follow up the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty.
- b. The General Secretariat shall be headed

by a Secretary-General who shall be appointed by decision of the Supreme Council.

- c. The headquarters, mandate, staff and budget of the General Secretariat shall be determined by decision of the Supreme Council.

Final provisions

1. Special agreements shall be concluded between the two countries in the fields covered by the present Treaty, such as the economic, security, defence and other fields, in accordance with the constitutional principles of each of the two countries, and shall be regarded as an integral part of this Treaty.
2. This Treaty shall come into force after ratification by the competent authorities, in accordance with the constitutional procedures of the two Contracting States.
3. Each of the two States undertakes to abrogate laws and arrangements which are not in accordance with this Treaty to the extent that such action is not incompatible with the constitutional provisions of the two States.

Damascus, 22 May 1991

For the Syrian Arab Republic:

Hafez al-Assad

President of the Syrian Arab Republic

For the Lebanese Republic:

Elias Hraoui

President of the Lebanese Republic

