

## Lebanon

Rice

Lebanon, having previously been under French mandate, achieved independence in 1943. The Republic of Lebanon was a democracy, and by 1946 the leader of the state was President Béchara El-Khoury of the Destour Party (DP)<sup>1</sup>. El-Khoury was elected for a second term, but by the end of his rule, he had become increasingly authoritarian. This combined with a poor economy was enough to force his resignation in 1952.

For a brief period of four days, General Fouad Chehab was a transitional leader as the chamber of deputies elected Camille Shamun to the presidency. Shamun was backed by the Social National Front (SNF), a group that had led the demonstrations against el-Khoury.<sup>2</sup> Shamun's government is coded as a SOLS change, for this reason, but General Chehab's is not (as it was transitional).

Shamun occupied the presidency until a Muslim revolt in 1958. As he left office (effectively to pacify the defeated revolt forces), the chamber of deputies elected General Chehab to the presidency. Shebab continued to rule until 1964, when he chose not to have the constitution amended for an additional term.

The next leader elected was Charles Helou, a member of the Lebanese Social Democratic Party (KPL) and supporter of the Chehabist reforms and ideology. His transition was coded as a SOLS change despite the fact that he was very similar to Chehab because the latter was, after all, of the military rather than a political party. Helou's presidency would give way in 1970 to that of Suleiman Kabalan Franjeh, a member of the Lebanese Front that did not agree with Chehabist policy.

Franjeh's government could not deal with continuing crisis in Lebanon concerning sectarian conflict and Palestinian refugees. By 1975, the country was in civil war. Considering the gravity of the conflict, the government still ran fairly smoothly; though many resignations occurred, Franjeh chose to stay in his office until his term was up in September of 1976. Ilyas Sarkis was elected president, which ultimately caused Syrian intervention in the conflict. By October, the fighting had officially stopped in Syria. The regime change to Sarkis is coded as a SOLS change, because GWF code Lebanon from 1977 to 2005 as warlord/foreign-occupied and there is no evidence that Sarkis was Franjeh's designated successor.

In 1982, Amin Gemayel came to the presidency after his brother was elected but he was assassinated before he could take office. A political crisis was brewing throughout the 1980s surround terrorism and the Palestinian refugee issue, and in 1988, Gemayel stepped down. Before leaving,

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic name of the Constitutional Bloc (CB) is al-Kutla al-Dusturiyya (KD), it is also referred to as al-Dustur, Destour or Destour Party (DP) (Shanahan 2005; 90)

<sup>2</sup> Although Chamoun (or Shamun) was affiliated with the CB in the past, Chamoun had come to power with the support of the National Socialist Front (SNF) (Beshara 2005 37-39). Reich (1990, 130) also writes that "Under leadership of Chamoun, a National Socialist Front came into being [...]." Note that according to Beshara (2005; 37-9) Chamoun became increasingly close to the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP). The National Liberal Party (NLP) was formed later by Chamoun in 1959 (Reich 1990; 133).

Gemayel appointed General Michel Aoun to the Prime Ministership, ensuring that he would be take the presidency after his resignation, rather than the civilian government that would've been set up under Selim al-Hoss. The leadership changes to Amin Gemayel in 1982 and to Aoun in 1988 are not coded as SOLS changes because GFW code the country as warlord/foreign occupied until 2005.

General Aoun's appointment to the position of Prime Minister was a violation of the Lebanese National Pact, which divided the government up between various religious groups and sects. This spurred open conflict between the various groups and militias representing these religions. Essentially, there were two competing governments: a Christian-military one in the east being led by General Aoun, and a Muslim-civilian one in the West under al-Hoss. We code General Aoun as being the leader in this situation only because Archigos does as well; it is important to recognize, however, that al-Hoss is considered the leader by other sources such as World Statesmen and the Department of State Background Notes.

November of 1989 saw an end to the civil war as Aoun was exiled for rejecting peace settlements (namely the Ta'if Agreement), and the reconciling parties elected Rene Moawad to the Presidency. According to O'Balance (1998, 196), Moawad was a Maronite lawyer who had been deputy since 1972. The Falangist Party pledged support to him, as did the Israeli-backed SLA. O'Balance also writes that Aoun considered Moawad's election null and void and it seems like he might have been involved in Moawad's assassination. As such, Moawad was definitely not Aoun's predesignated successor. However, we do not code this change from Aoun to Moawad as a SOLS change (to be precise, a SOLSchange30 given Moawad's short time in office) because the country is considered as warlord/foreign occupied. A few days later, Moawad was assassinated in a car bombing. Elias Hrawi succeeded him and remained in office until 1998. According to O'Balance (1998, 196), the deputies elected Hrawi as president and Hrawi "had unsuccessfully challenged Moawad in the previous election". Hrawi had "good relations with both the Maronite leadership and the Syrians" (197). Based on the fact that Hrawi was a challenger in the election that Moawad won, it seems that he should not be coded as a pre-designated successor. Furthermore, Moawad was backed by an Israeli-backed party, while Hrawi was described as close to the Syrians (Ellis 2002; 34, O'Ballance 1998, 196-7). However, this is also not a SOLS change because of our rules on warlord/foreign occupation.

Hrawi served as president three years past his term via constitutional amendment, but eventually stepped down so his protégé Émile Lahoud could take power. Lahoud later pulled the same maneuver of attaining an extra three years. Both Hrawi and Lahoud had the support of the Syrians and according to GWF this is during the time in which Syria has control over Lebanon. In fact, Lahoud was announced as next president when Hrawi and Syria's Assad met in Damascus (Blanford 2006, 69). Thus, there is not a SOLS change here. GWF code Syrian occupation as ending in 2005. From 2005 through 2008 the country is considered a presidential democracy; however, since Cheibub et al. (2010) do not code a democratic regime type, the sub-regime type has been chosen based on several other sources (Arfi 2005; Salamey 2013; Schalger et al. 2006).

Starting in November of 2006, Lebanon's government could not agree on a successor for Lahoud. While deliberations took place, Fouad Siniora was installed as the provisional president by 2007. Finally, in 2008, the Doha Agreements between Shi'a Muslims and Maronite Christians helped reach a decision. Commander Michel Suleiman, non-party took office (Ismael and Ismael 2011: 271). He was chosen because of his neutrality in the domestic standoff between March 8 supporters (government loyalists) and March 14 supporters (opposition) who disagreed about whether Hezbollah should be disarmed and Lebanese government troops deployed into the south (Tucker 2010: 1175). We code a SOLS change—Suleiman was not firmly in the government, Lahoud's, camp.

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