

THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
LEBANON: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS,
ORGANIZATION, AND LEADERSHIP

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PREFACE

For some time now, the Arab world has been the center of attention of many academic studies. Lebanon, as an Arab state, has received its share of such studies, especially since the 1958 revolt, which brought American intervention to Lebanon. This crisis alone produced more material on Lebanese politics than the whole of the preceding fifteen years.

Unfortunately, however, most of the work on Lebanese politics has been somewhat general. There has been little work done on the political party system of Lebanon or on individual parties. This study is concerned with a particular party, the Progressive Socialist Party, and its origins, leadership, organization and relative position in the Lebanese political arena.

The selection of the Progressive Socialist Party was not an arbitrary one: it was the only possible choice. Three conditions governed the choice of a party from among the many in Lebanon. First, the author wanted to study a party whose leaders, members, and supporters are Lebanese; second, it was desired that the party have the characteristics of a mass party; and third, the party should place ideology above religious or feudalistic affiliation. The Progressive Socialist Party was the only one which appeared to meet these conditions.

In this study, many Arabic terms have been used. Most of these are self-explanatory, since an English translation of each term is provided in the text. The word Druze, which is frequently used here, refers to an entire religious community, and should be understood to be plural. Many writers use the word Druzes as the plural. This is incorrect.

This work, which was begun in Lebanon in the summer of 1965, has been completed with the supervision, help, and encouragement of many individuals. It is my pleasure to thank the following: Professor Harold V. Sare, under whose direction most of this study was made; Dr. Raymond N. Habiby, whose help in the translation of the Progressive Socialist Party's charter and constitution was most appreciated; Dr. Clifford A. L. Rich, for his personal help and encouragement during my entire program of study; Mr. Kamal Junblat, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, for his valuable suggestions and information on the party; Mr. Abbas Khalaf and Mr. Amin Jurdi, for their interest in my work, and the time they spent in interviews with me; Dr. Edmund Na'im, for his help; the members of my family, especially my father, Naim Nassereddine, and my brothers, Wadi' and Ziad, who patiently supplied me with information and material pertinent to this study; Miss Anne Delap, for her help in correcting and typing; and the many others who aided the progress of my work by completing the questionnaire administered to party members, and by supplying information.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Civilization, it is often said, grows by reducing the areas where violence and misunderstandings are dominant. When force and violence are diminished, a better society can be hoped for. The nature of this better society will depend, as have all its predecessors, on the nature of its citizens and their behavior. Therefore, regardless of the period in question, it has always been true that "the root is man."¹ He is the basis of history, which reflects the customs, traditions, and governmental systems that man has found it necessary to create.

The better society which man has always searched for has been the theme of various ideological movements, among which is international socialism. Since its inception by men like Robert Owen, Henry Saint Simon, and Charles Fourier, socialism has had champions in most parts of the world. This ideology has already been applied in many areas of the world, and is being introduced in others under various banners and in many forms. A common technique for advancing socialist ideas has been the organization of a political party which attempts to spread these ideas to the masses, regardless of their origins, customs, or nationalities.

¹Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Approach to Persuasion in Politics (New York, 1963), p. 3.

Lebanon, a newly independent nation,² has among its many political parties one which professes socialism as its ideology. This is the Progressive Socialist Party, the object of this study. The goal of the Progressive Socialist Party, as stated in its constitution and party literature, is the achievement of a socialist society in Lebanon as part of a larger international socialist order.

The purpose of this thesis will be to study the origins, structure, and leadership of the Progressive Socialist Party, which appears to be a mass party in accordance with the definition given by Maurice Duverger. Thus, one of the main purposes of the study will be to determine whether or not the Progressive Socialist Party is indeed a mass party. This will be achieved by studying the actual functioning of the party in the main structure of Lebanese politics, and observing how the party relates organizationally to its members and supporters in pursuing its goals. Several questions have been posed which have served to guide the research of this thesis, (one of which is how and under what circumstances did the party come into existence? Second, what are the organizational characteristics of the party? Third, what are the main features of the party's ideology? Fourth, what kind of

²See Shils' discussion of the concept of "new states" to which he attributes the following properties:

- 1--They have recently acquired independence following a substantial period of foreign rule; their machinery of government is of quite recent origin.
- 2--Their social structure and culture are, on the whole, highly traditional.
- 3--Significant sections of their elite are concerned with modernizing their social structure, their culture, and their political life and outlook.

Edward M. Shils, Political Development in the New States (Gravenhage, Netherlands, 1962), p. 11.

activities has the party engaged in, and what techniques does it usually employ?

In pursuing this study, the author has used personal interviews with party leaders and members, and a questionnaire, which was distributed to party members. However, because the party insisted that it should distribute the questionnaire and would not permit the author to do so, its validity must be considered with caution. Academic references have also been liberally drawn upon. One of the basic theoretical references was Maurice Duverger's Political Parties.

The study of a political party, in this case the Progressive Socialist Party, must be preceded by a clear understanding of the term political party. In the words of Duverger:

...we use the term parties to describe the factions which divided the Republic of Antiquity, the troops which formed round a Condottiere in Renaissance Italy, the clubs where the members of the Revolutionary assemblies met, and the committees which prepared the elections under the property franchise of the constitutional monarchies as well as the vast popular organizations which give shape to public opinion in modern democracies.³

Central to the definition of a party is its primary objective of winning office and exercising the powers thereof. Duverger writes:

"...the role of all these institutions is to win political power and exercise it."⁴ Individuals are attracted to a particular organization or association for a variety of reasons, but perhaps the most important is to share in the ideal or material benefits that power may provide. Max Weber accounts for these motives when he defines a political party as being

³Maurice Duverger, Political Parties (New York, 1954), p. xxiii.

⁴Ibid.

...an associate type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment. The end to which its activity is devoted is to secure power within a corporate group for its leaders in order to attain an ideal or material advantage for its active members. These advantages may consist in the realization of certain objective policies or the attainment of personal advantages or both.⁵

The specific origins of parties vary from society to society, but generally they are clearly related to the development of legislative institutions and universal suffrage. Duverger writes: "...the rise of the parties is...bound up with the rise of parliamentary groups and electoral committees. Nevertheless some deviate more or less from this general scheme...."⁶

Parties that develop outside of parliament are different in character from parties that are created within the electoral or parliamentary cycle. They are generally more centralized, since they are developed from the top at the initiative of strong leadership.⁷

The Progressive Socialist Party was developed under circumstances that conform generally to this hypothesis.

✓ Another factor that seems to relate to the type of party structure is the ideology of the party. Parties that attempt to relate closely to the masses of people normally create an extensive party structure to mobilize and educate the membership. Socialist parties are typical of such development. They create an elaborate organization in order to facilitate the involvement of the individual in the

⁵The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (New York, 1947), p. 407.

⁶Duverger, p. xxiv.

⁷Ibid., p. xxxiv.

activities of the party. The usual structure at the base of the party or at the mass level of the party is the branch. Duverger writes that "the branch is a socialist invention" and "serves as the fundamental unit" in the party's activities. It is generally very active, meeting every month or every fortnight.⁸ From all appearances, the Progressive Socialist Party should be classified as a mass or branch type party.

The mere existence of a branch-like structure, however, is not sufficient. The study must be concerned with the quality of articulation in the party. Socialist parties are generally better articulated than conservative parties. Duverger thinks that this is so regardless of the electoral system: "...the socialist parties and most Catholic parties which are based upon the branch display at the same time strong articulation, and are generally stronger in socialist parties, where the branch is better established and more widespread."⁹ The electoral system is a factor that must be considered in this regard also. The single member district system, which functions in small constituencies, tends to promote an independent local party group which results in weak articulation. On the other hand, according to Duverger,

...if the list vote coincides with proportional representation... then there is a necessity for strong articulation... with or without proportional representation the list vote tends toward a system of articulation which goes beyond the local level: it diminishes the influence of men and increases that of ideas, it makes general programmes override parish-pump considerations

⁸Ibid., p. 24.

⁹Ibid., p. 46.

and therefore act in the direction of the natural organization of the party.¹⁰

✓ Another factor which is significant to the study of party organization is membership. Duverger's study states that "within each party...there are to be found several kinds of members."¹¹ In the British labor party, for instance, there is the affiliated member and the direct individual member. On the other hand, in the cadre party, members are not formally enrolled. They merely support the prevailing leadership. This, of course, means that there is no elaborate party membership organization at the outer level of the party. According to Duverger, "only in mass parties is there any formal machinery of enrollment, comprising the signing of a definite undertaking and the payment of an annual subscription. Cadre parties know neither the one nor the other; admission is accompanied by no official formalities...."¹² The mass party, such as a socialist party, is dependent upon subscription for financing party activities. Duverger argues that "the mass party techniques in effect replace the capitalist financing of electioneering by democratic financing ...the mass party spreads the burden over the largest possible number of members, each of whom contributes a modest sum."¹³ This study will examine the Progressive Socialist Party's membership enrollment procedures and financing techniques to determine whether

¹⁰Ibid., p. 45.

¹¹Ibid., p. 61.

¹²Ibid., p. 71.

¹³Ibid., p. 63.

it possesses the characteristics of a mass party system.

The study of any party organization would be incomplete without considering the leadership structure. Leadership is an important element in any organization. In a democratic society it is expected that leadership should spring from the masses as a result of free elections and that leadership is constantly subject to the control of those who selected it. Duverger writes that "...the leadership of political parties...presents dual characteristics: it is democratic in appearance and oligarchic in reality."¹⁴ The legitimacy of a leader in a democracy is based on his rightful method of selection and his adherence to the basic values of the group which are to be reflected in his policies. In a socialist organization it is to be expected that the legitimacy of the party leader would rest to a large extent upon ideological factors. The study of leadership in the Progressive Socialist Party thus focusses on the method of selection and on the predominance of ideological factors in the cultivation of support for the leadership among the members. It is expected that party leadership will quite naturally assume an oligarchic form. Duverger writes that

...a veritable 'ruling clan' comes into being that is more or less closed; it is an 'inner circle' into which it is difficult to penetrate. The phenomenon is just as true...of autocratic as of democratic rulers. In theory, the principle of election should prevent the formation of an oligarchy; in fact, it seems rather to favor it. The masses are naturally conservative; they become attached to their old leaders, they are suspicious of new faces. Socialist parties, in which the recruitment of leaders is more democratic than in others, find correspondingly greater difficulty in finding new leaders.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 151.

On the basis of a study of the origins, development, and organizational characteristics of the Progressive Socialist Party, the following assumptions will be examined:

1. The Progressive Socialist Party is a mass party in terms of Duverger's Political Parties.
2. The Progressive Socialist Party possesses leadership that is democratically selected and relies primarily upon its ideological orientation for legitimacy.
3. The Progressive Socialist Party attracts membership primarily on the basis of its socialist ideology, and appeals to the masses who are primarily members of the working class or the lower economic groups.
4. The Progressive Socialist Party is a political party characterized by a highly centralized structure, strong articulation and discipline.

It is the hypothesis of this thesis, however, that while the leadership of the Progressive Socialist Party has attempted to establish a modern mass party based on a socialist ideology, in reality the party is a political body which is primarily traditional and semi-confessional. Its development represents an effort on the part of a traditionalist leader, who, along with some of the young, educated Lebanese, recognized that the basis of power in the political environment of Lebanon must be adapted to the development of a Western form of government and modernization of the economy. The success of the leadership in achieving its objectives has not been impressive, if success has been realized at all.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCES OF LEBANESE POLITICS ON THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY

On May 23, 1926, Lebanon became a new republic and received a constitution which, though amended and revised from time to time, remains in force today. It provides for the election of the executive and legislative offices in accordance with democratic principles. The head of the state is the President of the Republic, who is elected for one six-year term by a two-thirds vote of the Chamber of Deputies. The President promulgates the laws after their adoption by the Chamber of Deputies, and ratifies treaties. Legislation is the responsibility of a unicameral Chamber of Deputies. The constitution also provides for a Cabinet of Ministers appointed by the President. These ministers are responsible for assisting the President in the exercise of the executive powers, and are responsible jointly to the Chamber for general policy and individually for their respective ministries.

On the basis of its constitution, Lebanon is divided into five provinces (Muhafazat): Beirut, North Lebanon, South Lebanon, Bqaa' and Mount Lebanon. Each in turn is subdivided into districts (Qada'). The provinces have their own separate administrative machinery; however, they come under the control of the central government in Beirut, the capital.

The creation of the Republic of Lebanon (Grand Liban) by France, which had a mandate over it, came at a time when the peoples of the Middle East, and particularly the Arab world, were seeking freedom from the French and the British, who replaced the Turks following World War I. Lebanon's identity results from many geographical, historical, cultural, confessional, feudalistic, and nationalistic influences which continue to have an impact on her politics.

Geographical Influences

In the modern period, the geographical area known as the Arab World, and sometimes called the Middle East, is recognized as the crossroads of world communications and commerce, and as a very important producer of oil. The Republic of Lebanon is a part of the Arab World. It lies on the Mediterranean within borders defined on September 1, 1920, by General Henri Gouraud, the Supreme Commander of the French forces in Syria and Lebanon. Lebanon covers an area of 4,015 square miles. It is bordered by the Mediterranean on the west, Syria on the north and east, and occupied Palestine on the south. Lebanon as it is now, including not only the formerly autonomous (Mount Lebanon) Jabal Lubnan, but also Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Beirut, was a creation of the French. Until General Gouraud's announcement in 1920, what is now called Lebanon (Lubnan) had always been a part of some large and powerful empire.¹ Because of its favorable position on the Mediterranean,

¹Although the Mount Lebanon was autonomous for many centuries, even under the Ottoman Empire, the author cannot make this claim for "Grand Lebanon" as defined in 1920.

the country received tradesmen of all nationalities, and through them became associated with many diverse peoples throughout the world. While many natives migrated from Lebanon, people from different parts of the world came there to live and work, resulting in the development of an interesting and diverse society. Philip Hitti describes Lebanon in this way: "Of the Near East states, Lebanon is a class by itself. Its historic experience, mountainous geography and the composition of its population combine to give it an identity and personality of its own."² Lebanon today continues to serve as a bridge between the East and the West in communications and in trade and culture. It also is a summer resort for Arab peoples and others from all over the world because of its cool climate and its beaches.

Historical and Cultural Influences

At the close of World War I, Lebanon found itself under the mandate of France. Though declared a republic in 1926, with its own constitution and government, the real governing powers belonged to France and were exercised through a high commissioner. In 1940 the French officials in Lebanon opted for the Vichy government, but this condition lasted only until a combined Anglo-Free French force took over in 1941. On November 26, 1941, at the insistence of the British and under instructions from General De Gualle, the Free French Commander General Catroux formally proclaimed Lebanon a sovereign, independent state. The Catroux proclamation, like the Gouraud announcement

²Philip Hitti, A Short History of Lebanon (New York, 1965), p. ix.

before it, was not received with enthusiasm in all parts of Lebanon. This announcement of independence quickly revived the differences in Lebanese politics which had begun in 1920, basically on the question of Lebanon's identity and its relations with its neighbors. The Catroux announcement was a blow to the ideas and hopes of those struggling toward realizing independence for Syria and Lebanon as one state. On the other hand, the announcement, followed by quick British recognition, was more of an assurance to the Lebanese Christians who, as a minority among the Arab-Muslims, were seeking a Lebanon separate from Syria.

Although Lebanon had been declared a sovereign state in 1941, it was not until 1943 that she was able to organize her government and free herself from the French. Finally, and after much pressure from the British, Lebanese elections were held in the late summer of 1943 under the supervision of President Trad of Lebanon, General Spears, the British commander, and the new French delegate, General Jean Hellou.³ The result of this election was a Parliament composed of 55 members elected by the Lebanese people. Immediately after, on September 21, 1943, the Parliament elected Bishara Al-Khoury to the presidency of Lebanon for a six-year term. President Al-Khoury quickly proceeded to call on his Muslim friend and ally, Riad Al-Solh, to form a cabinet.⁴

³Kamal Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon (New York, 1965), p. 188.

⁴Ibid., page 151-204, for a complete discussion of the elections, and an account of preceding problems.

The new government immediately began to establish the image and identity of Lebanon. The two leaders, Bishara Al-Khoury and Riad Al-Solh, announced an agreement which has since become known as the National Pact (Al-Mithaq Al-Watani). This agreement has served as a guideline for Lebanon in its relations with the Arab countries and the rest of the world.⁵ In the words of H. B. Sharabi, the National Pact provided that

The Christians acknowledged Lebanon's "Arab face" and dropped their allegiance to France, the Maronites' compassionate mother and traditional protector; and on their part the Muslims agreed to stand firmly behind Lebanese independence and to give up all demands to unite Lebanon with Syria or any other Arab country.⁶

The announcement of the National Pact enabled Lebanon to identify itself as a political entity, and reaffirmed the constitutional declaration of Lebanon's political independence within the area defined as Lebanon in 1920. In describing Lebanon's dependence upon it, Philip

⁵ A translation of the National Pact is found in The Republic of Lebanon, ed. Raphael Patai. (New Haven. Printed by Human Relations Area Files - HRAF - 1956), p. 568: "Lebanon is more needful of...international cooperation than any other country. Its geographical situation, its language, culture, history, and economic position impose upon it the duty of occupying itself, above all, with the question of its relations with the rest of the Arab World. The government will establish these relations on solid bases which will ensure the respect by the different Arab states of Lebanon's independence, its full sovereignty, and the integrity of its present frontiers.

"Lebanon is a country of Arab character which nevertheless seeks to profit by the best that Western civilization can give. Our brothers in the rest of the Arab World wish us everything that we wish ourselves. We do not wish Lebanon to be a passage for imperialist conquerors. They, therefore, agree with us in wishing Lebanon to be a dignified, independent, sovereign and free country."

⁶ H. B. Sharabi, Governments and Politics of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century (Princeton, New Jersey, 1962), p. 138.

Hitti states:

With its neighbors two cardinal factors have conditioned its (Lebanon's) relationships, its Arabic language and large Muslim population which have made it gravitate into the Arab states' orbit, and its Western orientation and preponderent Christian element which dictated a cautious course that would retain the country's individuality and avoid the possibility of submergence.⁷

Lebanon today is not made up of Christians and Muslims only. Phoenicians, Assyrians, Romans, and many others moved to Lebanon thousands of years ago, and have lived there for centuries. The Arabs later dominated the land and introduced their language and religion, and the Crusaders left their imprint, which is still apparent in some localities. The number of civilizations which have influenced Lebanon, and whose relics still remain, are impressive indeed. On the rocks of (The Dog River) Nahr Al-Kalb, to the north of Beirut, are the inscriptions of Egyptian Pharaohs and Assyrian kings and many others, including the description of General Gouraud's troops' entry into Damascus in 1920; however, the latest of these inscriptions records the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon in 1946. Lebanon reflects all of these groups who at one time or another passed through and occupied the region. However, of all these cultures and civilizations, that of the Arabs seems to have left the dominant mark on Lebanon. As a result, more than half of the present population of Lebanon considers itself to be Arab. The others who do not necessarily deny the Arabic heritage, are unwilling to identify themselves with this heritage because of their religious affiliations. These religious affiliations play an important role in the politics of the

⁷Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History (New York, 1957), pp. 497-498.

country. Because of this, confessionalism is an aspect of all political institutions in Lebanon.

Confessional Influences

Fahim Quabin writes: "The most significant aspect of the population in Lebanon is not its geographical distribution, ecological, racial, or linguistic structure, but rather its religious distribution."⁸ Religious diversity has significantly undergirded the political, cultural, educational, and social life for many centuries. Religion still divides the people politically. The diversity of this country of two million people⁹ is ably reflected by Quabin when he writes: "Lebanon, unlike any other state in the Middle East, is a country of religious minorities, each conscious of its separate identity, jealous of its rights and a little different from the other in its outlook and orientation."¹⁰ There are more than ten major denominations representing the three major religions (see Table 1), each of which possesses a unique outlook and has interests of its own. While religious differentiation is not the only cause of factionalism in Lebanon, it is probably the main force. Even among the Muslim peoples

⁸Fahim Quabin, Crisis in Lebanon (Washington, D. C., 1961), p. 7.

⁹Lebanon has had no official census since 1932. There was one census for distribution of rations in 1946, and since then only estimates have been reported: A typical estimate is found in The Statesman's Yearbook: 1963-1964, which reports that there are about 1,424,000 people in Lebanon. A more realistic estimate is reported by the United Nations Yearbook: 1963, which records that there are about 2,160,000 people living in Lebanon at present.

¹⁰Quabin, p. 8.

TABLE I

RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN LEBANON¹¹

Religious Group	Number	Religious Group	Number
Maronites	424,000	Druze	88,000
Sunni	286,000	Armenian Orthodox	69,000
Shi'a	250,000	Armenian Catholics	14,500
Greek Orthodox	150,000	Protestants	14,000
Greek & Roman Catholics	91,000	Jews	6,600

there are minority groups that are subject to various kinds of inequality in their relationships with the Muslim majority; the Shiite denominations and the Druze are two examples. Other minorities such as the Kurds and the Armenians, are set apart by linguistic peculiarities strengthened by national sentiments and aspirations.¹²

In spite of the separate religious communities, Lebanon currently does not have a real minority problem. Various factors seem to have produced a workable equilibrium. In the first place, the traditional Islamic statutes governing the Arab Christians (the People of the Book), which put the Christians in a position of inequality with the Arab Muslim majority, were never fully applied in Lebanon. Since early

¹¹Data adapted from The Statesman's Yearbook: 1963-1964 (New York, 1964), p. 1222.

¹²Pierre Rondot, "The Minorities in the Arab Orient Today," Middle East Journal, Vol. 10, no. 6-7 (1959), p. 216.

times, Lebanon has served as a refuge for non-conforming religious factions. These factions have learned to co-exist and even co-operate against aggression from the outside. Second, under present circumstances none of these communities possesses an absolute majority of the population, nor an absolute majority in parliament or government. A working balance among these groups with respect to the various positions of influence in the political system has evolved.

Confessionalism in Lebanese politics can be traced to the period of the civil wars which took place during the period of 1840-1860 between the Druze and the Christians.¹³ The impact of confessionalism was evident in 1943 when plans were made for electing a Lebanese Parliament. President Petro Trad, whom the French appointed as Chief of State, finally persuaded the Christians and the Muslims to agree on the number of representatives and the ratio of each group. The 55-member Parliament was divided so that the Christians would have 30 seats and the Muslims and the Druze would occupy 25.¹⁴ This six-to-five ratio proved to be a workable solution and has been maintained ever since.¹⁵ Soon afterwards, this ratio was used as the basis for distributing all offices and jobs in the Lebanese Government (See Tables II, III, IV, pp. 18-19). On November 9, 1943, this principle of the confessional ratio became part of the constitution, when

¹³For full discussion see Leila Meo, Lebanon, An Improbable Nation (Bloomington, 1965), pp. 3-64.

¹⁴For full discussion see Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, pp. 165-194.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 188.

TABLE II
 DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS BY RELIGION WITHIN THE
 LEBANESE PARLIAMENT 1943-1960¹⁸

Period	1943-47	1947-51	1951-53	1953-57	1957-60	1960-64
Maronite	18	18	23	13	20	30
Sunni	11	11	16	9	14	20
Greek Orthodox	6	6	8	5	17	11
Shi'a	10	10	14	8	12	19
Greek Catholic	3	3	5	3	4	6
Druze	4	4	5	3	4	6
Armenian Orthodox	2	2	3	1	3	4
Armenian Catholic	-	-	1	1	1	1
Protestant	-	-	1	-	-	1
Minorities	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	55	55	77	44	66	99

¹⁸Adapted from Nicola A. Ziadeh, "The Lebanese Elections, 1960," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Autumn, 1960), p. 367.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGHER ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS
AMONG RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN 1955¹⁹

Religious Community	Number (total)	Maronite	Sunni	Shi'a	Greek Orthodox	Greek Catholic	Druze
Directors General	17	7	5	1	1	1	2
Directors	21	11	4	-	2	3	1
Muhafizun (Prefects)	5	3	1	-	-	-	1
Ambassadors and Ministers Service	21	5	6	2	3	2	3
Chiefs	47	19	15	1	7	4	1
TOTAL	111	45	31	4	13	10	8

TABLE IV

SECTARIAN PATTERNS OF CABINET STRUCTURES 1943-61 (OMITTING
EIGHT ABORTIVE, EMERGENCY, AND INTERIM CABINETS)²⁰

Size of Cabinet	6	8	9	10	10	10	14	18
Sunni	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	4
Maronite	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	4
Druze	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
Greek Catholics	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Shi'a	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3
Armenian Catholics	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Armenian Orthodox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

¹⁹Adapted from Ralf Crow, "Religious Sectarianism in the Lebanese Political System", Journal of Politics, Vol. 24, No. 3, (August, 1962), p. 504.

²⁰Ibid.

Article 95 was amended by the Parliament to read as follows:

As a provisional measure and for the sake of justice and concord, the communities shall be equitably represented in public employment and in the composition of the Cabinet; such measures, however, are not to cause prejudice to the general welfare of the state.¹⁶

Today, this confessional basis remains a part of the Lebanese constitution, even though many of the political leaders and parties claim otherwise.¹⁷ It continues to be used because it is the only guarantee the Christians have for an independent Lebanon. It is the price the Arab Muslims must pay to assure the continuation of separate Lebanese identity vis-a-vis the broader Muslim community in the Middle East. One of the results of confessionalism has been the preservation of feudalism as a force of the greatest influence in Lebanese politics.

Feudalist Influences

Feudalism (Iqta'iyah) in Lebanon is officially a thing of the past. However, its roots are entrenched so deeply in Lebanese society, customs, and politics, that it will be a long time before feudalist influence degenerates. Lebanese feudalism is in many ways similar to the feudalism of the Middle Ages in Europe. The governmental system of Lebanon has always been influenced by feudalism. In the words of William Polk:

¹⁶Helen Miller Davis, Constitutions, Electoral Laws, Treaties of States in the Near Middle East, 2nd ed., (Durham, 1953), p. 304.

¹⁷Michel Ghurayeb, a successful Lebanese writer, in his book, Confessionalism and Feudalism in Lebanon (Al-Ta'ifiya Wa Al-Iqta'iyah Fi Lubnan) (Beirut, 1964), attacks Article 95 of the Lebanese Constitution, and states that as recently as 1960, Parliament passed a resolution again guaranteeing the confessional quota for elections. p. 54.

As the term pertains to Mount Lebanon, it [feudalism] denotes a political and fiscal organization composed of districts whose government was vested in aristocratic families.²¹

Although feudalism is not now part of the official Lebanese system of government (it lost its legal recognition after the French mandate in 1920), its influences can be seen readily in every part of Lebanese social life.

The history of feudalism in Lebanon can be traced back many centuries. However, its most active power developed under the amirate rule of the Ma'n and Shihab families, who ruled Lebanon in the name of the Turkish Sultan. The Amir usually divided his domain into sub-parts. He allowed key families to assume authority over an area for a specified annual tax. Many of these families became known as the feudalists (muqati'jiya), and came to possess as much power as the Amir himself. These feudalist families still exercise control similar to that exercised hundreds of years ago. Many of them have succeeded in transforming their feudalist authority into an elective one by cultivating their traditional following for electoral support. The heirs of many of these feudalist families, such as Junblat of the Shuf, Arislan of Al-Gharb, Al-Khazen of Kiserwan, Hammadah of Baalbeck, and Al-Assa'd in the South and many others, have succeeded in maintaining their power, even to the present time.

The political leadership of al-Iqta'iyah is at the very base of the present Lebanese political system. Loyalty between the constituents and the feudal leaders is similar to that between the son and

²¹William R. Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840 (Cambridge, 1963), p. 10.

his father.²² The leaders have done everything within their power to continue this traditional form of loyalty among their followers. In the words of Michel Ghurayeb: "the feudalist (Iqta'i) benefits from the continuation of confessionalism as a basis of politics in Lebanon. This Iqta'i is aware that if confessionalism disappears, so will he."²³ This dependence upon religious groups has given the feudalist the role of protector of his religious group not only in government affairs, but in whatever is pertinent to the daily life of his community.

Religious identification and the psychological-historical feeling of loyalty have not been the only factors which seem to have eternalized the influence of the feudalist families in Lebanon. The electoral laws constitute another important factor. The electoral process of Lebanon, according to Michael Hudson, "has harmonized with the traditional pluralism of the society and legitimized the constant balance of power struggles among the important regional and confessional factions."²⁴ In addition, there are many more reasons which have provided for the feudalist forces' survival. Michel Ghurayeb lists some of the reasons as being

...the colonial influence, historical-psychological influence, lack of compulsory secondary and high school education, careful division of election districts in accordance with the old feudalist divisions, the feudalists' ownership of vast areas of land and the usage of political parties as means of leadership.²⁵

²²Some of the fanatic followers of Kamal Junblat will respond when pressed about their loyalty that "if I were beheaded, my head would roll all the way to Al-Mukhtara." Al-Mukhtara is the traditional home of the Junblat family.

²³Ghurayeb, p. 166.

²⁴Michael Hudson, "The Electoral Process and Political Development in Lebanon," Middle East Journal, Vol. 20, no. 2, (1966), p. 126.

²⁵Ghurayeb, pp. 163-164.

With these political weapons in their possession, the feudalists seem to have an inordinate amount of power and influence in Lebanon, in spite of the fact that since 1953, their parliamentary representation has been decreasing steadily (see Table V, p. 24). It needs to be taken into account, however, that these figures do not represent an absolutely accurate picture because many of the younger feudalists declare themselves to be professionals rather than land owners. Certainly, the rise in the percentage of professional representation has not had much diverse impact on the process of decision-making in Lebanon. Therefore, Hudson writes:

The fact that today a larger segment of the population is enfranchised and votes, tells us that a greater share of the Lebanese are politicized, but it does not tell us whether they are happy with the system...nor does the appearance of professionals in the chamber signify progress if the Chamber itself should fail to deal properly with important issues, or if the professionals themselves remain bound to hereditary feudal leaders...²⁶

This failure of the whole country to realize as much political progress as in the economic and social fields has been due largely to the type of party system which has existed in Lebanon. This party system is full of diversity and complexity, as reflected in the many political parties---with their various ideological, economic, and social diversity---which make up the party system in Lebanon.

²⁶Sources: Records of the Library of Parliament, A. Haidar, The Lebanese State (Beirut, n. d.), L'orient, and B. Tabbarah. As reported in Michael Hudson's "The Electoral Process and Political Development in Lebanon," The Middle East Journal, p. 186.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF DEPUTIES IN SEVEN LEBANESE PARLIAMENTS
BY OCCUPATION (AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL DEPUTIES)²⁷

Occupation	Parliament						
	1943	1947	1951	1953	1957	1960	1964
Landlords	46.5	48.2	42.5	40.9	33.3	23.0	23.2
Lawyers	33.9	27.3	25.0	34.1	36.3	29.0	27.3
Businessmen	10.2	10.9	12.5	6.8	11.1	14.0	17.2
Professionals	10.2	12.7	20.0	18.2	19.0	34.0	32.3
TOTAL	100.8	99.1	100.0	100.0	99.7	100.0	100.0

These totals, though numerically inexact, approximate 100% in all areas listed.

The Lebanese Party System

The Lebanese political party system possesses several unique features. In the first place, Lebanon, although newly independent, has not developed a one-party system, as many similar states have. It is popularly said that Lebanon has as many political parties as people. Although this statement is an exaggeration, Lebanon's population of nearly two million people has more than fifteen parties, besides various other social and semi-political organizations. However, while the system is considered to be a multi-party system, a question can be raised as to whether it is a true multi-party system. Maurice Duverger writes:

A country in which opinion is divided amongst several groups that are unstable, fluid, and short-lived does not provide an example of multi-partism in the proper sense of the term: it is still in the prehistoric era of parties; it is to be situated in that

²⁷Ibid., p. 178.

phase of general development at which the distinction between bipartism and multi-partism is not yet applicable because there are as yet no true parties.²⁸

It may be argued in Lebanon's case that its political groups are not that "unstable, fluid, and short-lived." On the contrary, Lebanese groups have deep roots in the nation's history. Rushdi Maalouf suggested this in a newspaper editorial:

Partisanship to the Lebanese has always been a traditional joy; they would invent it if it did not exist. From the periods of Kaisey and Yamani, and of Yazbaki and Junblati, to the Constitutional (Al-Dasturi) and the Nationalist blocs (Watani), to our own newly created parties and our imported parties, the Lebanese cannot but take a position--even if it is symbolic on every problem, and this indicates Lebanese personality.²⁹

These divisions influence the types of parties that came into existence. Fahim Quabin, writing about political parties in Lebanon, asserts that with the exception of a few "ineffective ideological parties, political groupings revolve around personal leadership, usually a clan leader, a city notable, or a semi-feudal lord."³⁰

Until 1934, Lebanese parties were more clan groupings oriented toward their traditional leader. Religion was the basis for the leadership activities, and as such, religious groups performed the functions of political parties. But when such feudal and traditional leaders began to appear in the Parliament, they discovered that new techniques were needed to advance their interests. This was illustrated by two Maronite leaders, Bishara Al-Khoury and Emile Edde', who opposed

²⁸Duverger, p. 228.

²⁹Al-Safa, December 11, 1965, p. 1.

³⁰Quabin, p. 8.

each other for the presidency of Lebanon. In their efforts to win this high office each sought support from the various groups represented in Parliament, cutting across clan lines. The result was the creation by each of a parliamentary bloc. Al-Khourri's group became known as the Constitutional Bloc (Al-Kutla al-Dasturiya), while that of Edde' took the name of the National Bloc (Al-Kutla al-Wataniyyen). Since then, many more parties have come into being (see Table VI, p. 27) on the Lebanese scene. The Lebanese parties listed in Table VI were created because of various factors. {Religion and ideology were two factors responsible for the rise of five of the parties:} Phalanges (Al-Kata'ib), Helpers (Al-Najjadah), Liberation (Al-Tahrir), and the Tashnacks and Hanchacks (Armenian parties). Geography and ideology influenced the creation of the Syrian National Party (Al-Hizb al-Koumi al-Souri) and the Arab Resurrection Party (Al-Ba'th). Ideology and the force of personality brought into being the Progressive Socialist Party (Al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishtiraky). As recently as 1958, personal alliances among feudal leaders and independents brought about the newest party, the National Liberals Party (Al-Hizb al-Wataneyyen al-Ahrar). This variety in parties is dictated by the strong influence of feudalism and traditionalism in Lebanese society. A Western writer comments on this point: "Many of the political groups have one thing in common: They are led by chiefs, heads, leaders, and strong men. Arabic has one word for it: Zu'Ama."³¹

The electoral system also has an important effect on multipartism. It is reputed that while "it is certain that proportional

³¹Arnold Hottinger, "Zu'Ama and Parties in the Lebanese Crisis of 1958", The Middle East Journal, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1961), p. 128.

TABLE VI

LEBANESE POLITICAL PARTIES³²

Phalanges (Al-Kata'ib)	The Progressive Socialist Party (Al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishtiraky)
Helpers (Al-Najjadah)	
Constitutional Bloc (Al-Kutla al-Dasturiya)	The National Liberals Party (Al-Hizb al-Wataneyyen al-Ahray)
National Bloc (Al-Kutla-al-Wataneyya)	Al-Tashnack
	Al-Hancheck

representation always coincides with a multi-party system, in no country in the world has proportional representation given rise to a two-party system or kept one in existence.³³ Yet in Lebanon today, the list or slate system is used by all ideological parties such as The Progressive Socialist Party and the Phalanges (Kata'ib). The electoral laws require that deputies, in order to be elected, must receive a majority of all the votes cast in the constituency. Since most of the constituencies must elect two or more deputies, depending on the size of the constituency and the sects represented in it, a group of candidates representing the religious quota will join in an alliance and run in the whole district. In this manner, they receive the votes of the

³²There are more than 12 so-called political parties in Lebanon; however, it is the opinion of the author that only the above are significant, because they are the only ones presently represented in Parliament. Two more exist, but officially they are outlawed: The Syrian National Party and The Arab Resurrection Party (Al-Ba'th)

³³Duverger, p. 245.

district, which in most cases helps the weaker candidate to win with the help of the stronger candidates. Because of this practice, a two-slate system has been developed, but the slate alliance has never been strong enough to develop into a two-party system. On the contrary, the party system seems at times to be disappearing. This absence of a true party system, according to a Lebanese writer, Joseph Mughayzel, has come about because

.....religious sectarianism prevents the appearance of partisan forces that are not based on religious denominations, or hinders that appearance for an unlimited period of time, because sectarian political forces enjoy a legal protection which is not extended to the other partisan forces; for religious groups have a certain number of parliamentary seats, while the party does not.³⁴

Many of the ideological parties have used religious groupings as a basis for their development and advancement. The Phalanges and the Helpers are good examples. The Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon has relied heavily upon the Druze for its strength and power; yet, on the other hand, its ideology makes it possible to attract others. There is a genuine effort being made to place itself above religious differentiation. Its loyalty is to socialism.

The Progressive Socialist Party plays an important role in Lebanese politics today. It derives its influence from its leadership, membership, and supporters. The party over the years has presented to the nation a very appealing ideology. Today the party is one of the most influential in Lebanon.

³⁴Joseph Mughayzel, Against Confessionalism (Dyd Al-Tai'fiya) (Beirut, 1960), p. 17.

The Progressive Socialist Party

In Lebanese society, where confessionalism plays the most important role in the country's affairs, and where feudalism dominates the structure and function of political institutions, the Progressive Socialist Party came into existence as an answer to "all sectarianism, confessionalism and feudalism in Lebanon."³⁵ As an ideological party it is committed in principle to the maintenance of Lebanese independence, and limits itself only to Lebanese membership. As such, the Progressive Socialist Party, in the words of Article three of its constitution, specifies the message and the goals of the party as being

...the achievement of the people's desire for a decent living, freedom, justice and brotherhood, in accordance with the provisions of the rights of man and the world's concern expressed in emphasizing our just inheritance of all the social, economic, intellectual, and political movements which came about in history for the purpose of realizing a complete system for man. The party is responsible for this before the conscience of men and the conscience of the nation.³⁶

Origins

The Progressive Socialist Party was formed on the first day of May, 1949.³⁷ Its creation was the result of long study and careful preparation by Kamal Junblat, the president and founder of the party. The charter of the Progressive Socialist Party reflects this preparation:

³⁵Kamal Junblat, "Why Do We Believe in Socialism?" Views On Progressive Socialism, P.S.P. Publication (Beirut, 1963), p. 41.

³⁶Article 3, P.S.P. Constitution. See Appendix A, p. 154.

³⁷The choice of May 1 for the formation of the party was no accident. In Lebanon, May 1 is Labor Day, and Junblat wanted to associate the party with that occasion.

The Progressive Socialist Party was not the creature of accidental conditions that happened to exist; neither was it the result of certain convenient friendships among its founders...also, it was not a bloc whose aim was only the immediate improvement as popularly understood...The Progressive Socialist Party is the fruit of exploration and research, and is characterized by science, experience, and knowledge of the social, human, and scientific status quo. For each of the founders has put into it the cream of his life, which encompasses his experiences and thinking...this small nucleus of comrades, which has delegated itself towards spreading the ideology of the Progressive Socialist Party and supporting it, is trying to achieve these goals through a total preparation of the masses.³⁸

During the 1940's, the Arab World witnessed the end of imperialism, which had lasted for over four hundred years. Lebanon, which had suffered from this long rule of colonialists, began breathing the air of nationalism and its promises of sovereignty and independence. However, nationalism meant that the Lebanese had to assume the responsibility for political decision-making. The form of political system became a matter of choice for the Lebanese. Socialism was receiving a great deal of publicity throughout the world as a means of solving the complex problems that confront the masses of people and many in Lebanon were attracted by its promises. The socialist concept was not new to the Lebanese, however. Lebanon had experienced another socialist movement a hundred years before the creation of the Progressive Socialist Party. According to Junblat, it was "the farmers' revolution of 1840 which can be considered as the beginner."³⁹ Junblat also believes that socialism has certain characteristics basic to the traditional culture of the Lebanese. Many ideas of socialism have been practiced for hundreds of years, according to Junblat, "by the Druze people who

³⁸Introduction to the Charter of the P.S.P. (Mithaq al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishtiraki) (Beirut, 1954), p. 6.

³⁹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat, Beirut, August 12, 1965.

applied this ideology in their interrelations and functions."⁴⁰ Kamal Junblat began to think about socialism as a means for serving the masses of the people years ago, but it was late in the 1930's before he began to think of organizing a political party based on a socialist ideology. He told the author during an interview that "the idea of a political party based on socialist thought began to crystallize in my mind during the period of 1936-39."⁴¹ By 1944, the idea of creating a political party began to be reflected in the speeches and lectures of Junblat. His articles in Lebanese magazines like Revue du Liban, (December 31, 1944), and the various speeches in the Parliament and at the Cenacle Libanais, were a clear indication of his intention to form a political party based on a socialist program.

Kamal Junblat has reported that he spent the period between 1944-1949 in intensive soul-searching and research, and in discussions with many leaders in the political, linguistic, educational, and economic fields concerning the creation of a new political party. Ali Youssef El-Khalil accounts for this period and the cooperative effort adequately when he states:

During the summer of 1946, Kamal Junblat began to work on the charter of the party and to consult thinkers and intellectuals about the subject. Dr. Tawfik Rizk and Dr. Muhammad Talhouk helped in shaping the health program; Joseph Najjar and Sa'id Hammadah helped from the economic point of view; Sa'id Akl, Fouad Bustani, Selah Labaki, Majid Fakhri, Dr. George Hanna and others helped from the cultural and philosophical point of view; Sheikh Abdullah

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

Al-Allayli polished the language and put the party charter in its classical form.⁴²

The writing of a constitution and a charter for the Progressive Socialist Party were not as much a problem to Kamal Junblat and his associates as was that of convincing the Lebanese of the legitimacy of the party.⁴³ Other Lebanese political parties became concerned, and tried to prevent the creation of the Progressive Socialist Party. This new party, strongly based in the Druze community, would constitute a threat to the Syrian National Party, which was also influential and deeply rooted among the Druze. The Syrian National Party, with which Kamal Junblat stated that he shared some ideas, did not possess enough of his philosophy for him to be attracted to it. The Syrian National Party, however, became interested in this Druze feudal lord who, by drawing attention toward socialism, had threatened its position.⁴⁴

Kamal Junblat reported in an interview that the leader of the Syrian National Party met with him three times in an effort to convince

⁴²Socialism and Socialist Movements in the Arab World, (Unpub. M. A. thesis, American University of Beirut, 1958), p. 93.

⁴³Mr. Junblat told the author, during an interview, that in order to impress the Lebanese with the legitimacy of his new party's ideology, he, Dr. Farid Jibran, and Shakir Shayban visited the Papal Internuncio to Lebanon and discussed with him the party constitution and its charter. The Internuncio congratulated them, and stated that he could sign such a charter along with the others who had put their signatures on it, because of its good intentions. Recently the party newspaper, Al-Anba' (The News), carried Junblat's report of this same story in an editorial entitled "What is the Position of the Phalanges on the Implementation of the Projected Unlawful Gains Law" (Ma Huwa Mawkiif Al-Kata'ib Min Tahkiek Mashrou': Min Ayna Laka Hatha?) October 9, 1965, p. 8.

⁴⁴Sharabi, p. 143.

him to give up his plans for creating a new party and to join the Syrian Nationalists. During one of these meetings, which took place in Damascus, Syria,⁴⁵ the leader of the S.N.P., Antoun Sa'adeh, offered him the vice-presidency of his party, but Junblat turned the offer down. The effort to prevent the development of the Progressive Socialist Party (P.S.P.) was increased immediately after the execution of Sa'adeh by the Lebanese government.⁴⁶ This included the offer of the presidency of the S.N.P. to Mr. Junblat within a few months after he joined, if he would become a member.⁴⁷ Kamal Junblat refused to accept the S.N.P.'s offers because the leadership was not willing to meet his conditions, which were

- (A) That the Fascist-type economic policy and the economic programs accepted and advocated by the party should be changed in order to reflect socialism as their basis.
- (B) That the Syrian National Party should place more emphasis on the individual, his freedoms, and his capacity as a member of a productive and cooperative society.⁴⁸

The S.N.P. was not the only party interested in the services of Kamal Junblat. The Phalange Party, through its leader, Pierre Gmayil,

⁴⁵The author was unable to get the exact date of this meeting from Mr. Junblat, who was answering questions without the aid of notes or data.

⁴⁶George Lenczowski reports that "on July 7, 1949, the government arrested Antoun Sa'adeh with a number of his associates, accusing them of a plot against the government. On the next day Sa'adeh was executed by order of a military court." The Middle East in World Affairs (Ithaca, New York, 1956), pp. 283-89.

⁴⁷Mr. Junblat told the author that a group representing George Abdul-Masieh, one of the S.N.P. leaders, extended the offer to him.

⁴⁸Ali Youssef El-Khalil lists one more reason why Mr. Junblat refused to join the S.N.P. Junblat insisted that Iraq be excluded from the Greater Syria plan. When the author discussed this issue with Junblat, he was given only the two reasons listed above.

also approached him. In a press release published by the P.S.P. newspaper, Al-Anba', the leader of the P.S.P. stated:

The president of the Phalange visited our house on several occasions, when we were still thinking about forming the Progressive Socialist Party. He requested us to join the Phalange, and said that he was willing to step down from the presidency, so we could build a new party with progressive ideology, which would erase the confessional image of the party. However, we refused, in spite of the president's insistence, because we knew that it was impossible to work with a group like the Phalanges, who have common interests with the big businessmen and the manipulators.⁴⁹

The efforts of the various political parties to prevent the creation of the Progressive Socialist Party seemed to be based on their concern over the new party's socialism. Until 1949, the other political parties enjoyed a free hand in their appeal to the masses of the people. They feared the impact of socialist promises on the masses. In the opinion of Dr. Edmund Na'im, a former leading Progressive Socialist,⁵⁰ socialism as a movement did not become serious in Lebanon until the creation of the Progressive Socialist Party. In a speech at the Gen-acle Libanais, Dr. Na'im expressed his views very clearly when he stated:

Socialism did not see the light in Lebanon until the birth of the Progressive Socialist Party, although before the 1939 War, there were a few socialist movements demanding the betterment of the existing conditions of the working people. These, however, resulted in a very few improvements, which were not even enough to improve the lot of those who had nothing.⁵¹

⁴⁹Kamal Junblat, "The Party President Defines the Party Position on the Phalanges," Al-Anba', October 9, 1965, p. 4.

⁵⁰In an interview in Beirut, on July 20, 1965, Dr. Na'im told the author that he resigned from the P.S.P. because of his governmental job as professor at the Law School in the Lebanese University. The Lebanese law prohibits members of political parties from government service.

⁵¹Edmund Na'im, The Theory of Progressive Socialism and its Application in Lebanon (Beirut, 1963), p. 10.

Kamal Junblat and his associates were encouraged to organize a socialist party because the popularity of socialism in Lebanon was enhanced by the currency of socialist ideas in many parts of the world, including the Arab World. Commenting on outside influence, Ali Youssef El-Khalil has written:

There is no doubt that the emergence of other socialist parties in different parts of the Arab World had exerted some influence on the socialist movement in Lebanon. This influence, together with the Western influence, helped to spread socialist thinking and crystallize it into a political party.⁵²

Development

In 1949, Lebanese politics was centered around the efforts of the administration of President Bishara Al-Khoury to amend the constitution so that the President could serve a second term. The announcement of the founding of the P.S.P. did not cause any reaction on the part of the government. One month later, however, the government began to suppress the Syrian National Party. To the amazement of each of its founders, the P.S.P. was quickly granted permission to function and operate legally. With legal status granted, the party began to implement some of the basic provisions of its constitution. One of the first acts was the establishment of the main office which, according to the constitution, was to be located in Beirut.⁵³ Other offices were to be established in all parts of Lebanon; however, this was not immediately accomplished. The immediate response to the new party was centered in three areas: The Shuf district; the capital, Beirut;

⁵²El-Khalil, p. 93.

⁵³Article 2, P.S.P. Constitution. See Appendix A, p. 154.

and the Aley district. The majority of the supporters were Druze people, who quickly came to the support of Kamal Junblat because of their traditional loyalty to his family, or because of discontent with Junblat's rival, Majid Arislan, the other traditional Druze leader. According to a ranking officer in the Department of General Security, the Druze comprised about eighty percent of the party's membership.⁵⁴ The party also appealed to intellectuals and educated people from all groups in the society. Some of the leading Lebanese intellectuals who joined the party were Dr. Edmund Na'im, Fouad Rizk, Anwar Al-Khatieb, Dr. Bishara Al-Dahan, Aref Abu-Shakra, and others who represented most of the religious groups of Lebanon.

Following the formation of the party, three years were spent establishing party branches and educating the membership in socialism. By 1952, P.S.P. membership numbered approximately 17,000, a figure the leadership of the party had never hoped to achieve in such a short period. The increase in membership, however, was not due so much to the appeal of the ideology, as to the support of the masses for their traditional leaders, who joined in an alliance with the P.S.P. in an effort to overthrow President Bishara Al-Khuri.

This surge in membership, realized in less than three years, brought the Progressive Socialist Party its greatest public attention, and a membership figure which it has not been able to match since. However, from an ideological standpoint, the party probably did not benefit much in terms of making gains toward the establishment of a

⁵⁴The author is not authorized to cite his name.

socialistic society.⁵⁵ On the contrary, according to Junblat, "the quick advancement and development of the Progressive Socialist Party in 1952 was an artificial one, because of the success of the peaceful revolution which overthrew Bishara al-Khouri in 1952; this success brought to the party many new members, all seeking political gains and personal goals."⁵⁶

The popular and sudden success of the P.S.P. was too short-lived for the party to realize long-range strength. No real advancement was realized in the districts (Quada') where the party needed to develop stability. In a few, however, the party was a useful organization for mobilizing support for its leadership. In Quada' Al-Shuf, the center of Junblat's support, the P.S.P. was the instrument through which Kamal Junblat, Anwar Al-Khatieb, and two of their allies in the popular front, Emile Bustani, and Ghassan Twayni, were elected to parliament. The only other area where the party's strength was reflected was in Beirut, where one of its major allies, Abdullah Al-Hajj, won a seat in Parliament.⁵⁷

⁵⁵When the author mentioned to Mr. Junblat Dr. Na'im's explanation of the sudden success of the party, Mr. Junblat stated that "I agree completely with Dr. Na'im's opinion and would add one more factor; i.e., the role of the party in resisting the foreign military pacts which were being introduced during the period of 1952-1955 by the Western imperialists."

⁵⁶Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁵⁷There is no clear indication that the P.S.P. was mainly responsible for the election of Abdullah Al-Hajj, because in his campaign speeches, Al-Hajj promised to force the bakeries and the French-Lebanese owned tobacco monopoly company to reduce their prices. These two commodities are very important to the working people in Lebanon, and such promises gave Al-Hajj a slogan of his own, which appealed to many people.

The Progressive Socialist Party was not long in realizing that Camille Shamoun, the newly-elected President of Lebanon, would be difficult to deal with. Less than six months after the "peaceful revolution", according to Junblat, "the new President and his administration began to go back on the promises which were made...at Deir Al-Kamar's meeting,"⁵⁸ a meeting organized by the P.S.P., Shamoun, and the National Front (a group created by Kamal Junblat and other leaders for the purpose of opposing Bishara Al-Khoury⁵⁹). More

⁵⁸Kamal Junblat, The Truth about the Lebanese Revolt (Haqiqat Al-Thawra al-Lubnaniyat) (Beirut, 1959), p. 33. The aim of the meeting was to show President Bishara Al-Khoury the size of the opposition he was facing, so he would step down from the presidency. Deir Al-Kamar was Shamoun's home town, and one of Junblat's strongholds at the time.

⁵⁹Fahim Quabin, in Crisis in Lebanon, lists some of these promises made at Deir Al-Kamar, and witnessed by Junblat, Ghassan Al-Twayni, Camille Shamoun, Anwar Al-Khatieb, Abdullah Al-Hajj and Emile Bustani. Shamoun pledged "on my honor and convictions" to pursue and put into effect the following policies:

- 1--The independence and integrity of Lebanon; non-alignment with any foreign government and maintenance of friendly relations with all the great powers. (Article 1)
- 2--To abstain from using the influence and prestige of his office for personal monetary gain and self-aggrandizement, or for the benefit of relatives and friends. (Articles 2 and 3) Also to close down his law office if elected. (Article 4)
- 3--To put into effect the programs of the Front, "particularly that for which the strike took place." (Article 5)
- 4--To amend the electoral laws and to dissolve the existing Chamber of Deputies. (Article 6)
- 5--To abolish "secret funds" in all government departments, with the exception of the ministries of interior, finance and foreign affairs. (Article 7)
- 6--To insure that appointments and promotions in government departments shall be exclusively on the basis of merit and competence, and by examination. (Article 8)
- 7--To refuse absolutely to appoint any person with a tarnished reputation to a ministerial or any other post, or to be guided by confessionalism. (Article 10)
- 8--To take action contrary to the declarations and criticisms formerly made by the Front. (Article 11), p. 54.

specifically, the new President did not carry out some of the promises made to Junblat personally. According to Junblat,

...the differences came out quickly after the refusal of Shamoun to adopt the merit system as a basis for employment in all governmental positions. He also, contrary to his promise, accepted 1500 shares in the Lebanese Cement Company, which had the monopoly in this business. Shamoun promised this company protection instead of his original promise of prosecution and investigation.⁶⁰

During this period, after realizing that the differences between Shamoun and the P.S.P. could not be reconciled, the members who had joined the party for reasons of personal gain began to leave the party.⁶¹ The differences between Shamoun and Junblat were more than ideological differences.⁶² Both leaders came from the Shuf district, and the success of the P.S.P. in the Shuf would have weakened Shamoun's position among his fellow Christians in the area. Not long after their differences developed, according to Kamal Junblat, "Shamoun began accusing the P.S.P. leader of wanting to run for the presidency of Lebanon."⁶³

At the beginning of 1954, the P.S.P. began to actively oppose Shamoun's administration. Shamoun, in turn, charged that the P.S.P.

⁶⁰Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²The popular version of the break between the President and the Progressive Socialist Party was that in 1953, soon after Shamoun became President, he had arranged for his royal visitor, Crown Prince Sau'd, to visit the home of Rashid Junblat, a relative of Mr. Junblat. This insulted Kamal Junblat, and as a result, while at the reception, Junblat made a speech in which he was popularly quoted as saying, "We told them to be and they are, and if we say disappear, they must." By this he is supposed to have had Shamoun in mind.

⁶³Junblat, The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, p. 43.

was nothing more than a confessional party representing the Druze. According to Junblat, "the party has not succeeded as expected because of its struggle against Shamoun and its continuous efforts to clear itself of the confessional image Shamoun and his kind have branded the party with."⁶⁴ In the 1954 election Shamoun accused the P.S.P. of being a confessional party; he applied much pressure on Christians and Druze alike in the Shuf district in order to weaken the party. He called on them to look to the leadership of Na'im Mughabghab, his protege', instead of leaders like Kamal Junblat and Majid Arislan. As a result of these new elections, which were "accompanied by violence, the 'new forces' of Kamal Junblat's 'Progressive Socialists' were defeated...."⁶⁵ Kamal Junblat himself was barely elected, owing no doubt to the loyalty of the Druze toward him and his family.

The P.S.P.'s problems did not stem alone from the differences with Shamoun. In fact, Shamoun's persecution of the P.S.P. later proved to be beneficial. The most serious problem confronting the P.S.P. during this period was the differences which developed among its leadership in 1956. Following the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression directed at the Suez Canal, the P.S.P. began to experience pressure demanding a change in its policy. Until 1956, Kamal Junblat's strongest influence in foreign policy matters was probably the Indian leadership, and not Gamal Abdel Nasser's leadership of the Arabs. As a

⁶⁴Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁶⁵"Biography of Lebanon," Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. 5, no. 2, (1954), p. 15.

result, conflict developed and several prominent members resigned, included among others Fouad Rizk, Clovis Maksoud, Maurice Sakr, and Jibran Majdalani. Some of these men disagreed with Junblat's Arab policy, while others were irritated with Junblat for personal reasons.⁶⁶

The revolt of 1958 was used by the party to consolidate its power over the rank and file, and to attract more members, especially from the young and educated of Lebanon.⁶⁷ The revolt itself resulted from a number of causes, among which was the failure of the elections of 1957 to put in the Parliament the most prominent leaders, notably Junblat, Sa'ib Salam, Abdullah Al-Yafi, Ahmed Al-Assad and Shibly Al-Aryan. Formally, the 1958 revolt produced neither winners nor losers; however, the coming of General Shihab to the Presidency of Lebanon after the 1958 revolt opened a new chapter in the history of the P.S.P. For the first time, the party appeared to be in a position to realize a part of the program which it had been advocating since its formation. Members of the P.S.P. joined the cabinet of the new government and from that vantage point worked toward reforms which it advocated.

⁶⁶El-Khalil, p. 97.

⁶⁷In an interview in Aley, August 7, 1965, with Mr. Amin Jurdi, party representative from the Aley district (Mu'tamad Aley), the author was told that an average of 10 new applicants have applied for membership every month, since the revolution of 1958. Mr. Jurdi stated that not all of them were accepted. In the author's opinion, however, the district Mr. Jurdi is in charge of is mainly a Druze district, and therefore cannot be cited as typical of other districts.

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the party, a pamphlet issued by the party contained this statement:

Seventeen years have passed since the Progressive Socialist Party was founded on May 1st, 1948. During this period the party has travelled a long path in its struggle to spread socialist views and ideology...the party, in its effort to fulfill its promises and achieve its goals, has led a long and bitter campaign, and has acted as an intellectual, political, and social force, in spite of its recent origin, to lead the Lebanese masses in ridding themselves of foreign imperialistic pacts and those who trade in confessionalism...when the Shihab administration came along, the party realized the possibility of cooperating with it because of what it wanted to achieve in social and economic goals. Thus the Progressive Socialist Party was able, in the various ministries in which its members assumed responsibility, to create some deep and basic reforms.⁶⁸

At present, the Progressive Socialist Party, according to its leaders, is experiencing difficulty on two fronts; that of the leadership and that of the rank and file. The leadership of the party, of course, focusses on Kamal Junblat, but it is necessary for the party to have a strong and united group of leaders just under Junblat. In this realm, there are many difficulties which weaken the party organization and its grip on the rank and file. Membership in the party has declined from its peak of approximately 17,000 to about 10,000, which has been the average figure since 1954. While the party's organization covers most of Lebanon with branches in most villages and towns it is the opinion of a high-ranking official in the Lebanese Department of General Security that the real strength of the party continues to be, as it was in the beginning, in the Shuf, Aley, Beirut, Baalbeck and finally, in Tripoli. Kamal Junblat no doubt

⁶⁸ On the Occasion of May 1, 1965, P.S.P. Publication, (Beirut, 1965), p. 1.

reconciled himself to this small membership when he wrote in the annual report of the President to the party general assembly:

On the basis of previous mistakes as to the responsibility of creating the new socialist world, the party concludes:

first--awakening is a duty which should be spread among the true partisans even if their membership numbers only tens and hundreds, for to produce the spirit of progressive socialism is much better than to continue a large and loose organ in which much contradiction exists, and which possesses no soul.

second--the limitation of membership to only a small number of those especially responsible and serious, who know their responsibilities to their society and history, is much better than seeking out larger groups of members which do not qualify to have the honor of being acquainted with the message of the Progressive Socialist Party.⁶⁹

The success of the party in terms of transforming Lebanon into a socialist state, controlling the government, or acquiring a massive membership, has been disappointing; nevertheless, the P.S.P. continues to function as one of the more important parties in Lebanon. It continues to strive through its organization for a sufficient political strength to enable its leadership to direct reforms called for in its programs. A fuller understanding of the party requires a study of its organization.

⁶⁹Kamal Junblat, The 1965 Annual Report to the General Assembly, issued by the Bureau of Internal Affairs of the P.S.P., (Beirut, 1965), p. 2.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATION, MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCES

The constitution of the Progressive Socialist Party provides for a party organization based on democratic principles, and a party that seems to have the characteristics of a mass party. Duverger argues that a mass party is characterized by its organization, methods of recruitment, and the character of its finances. Specifically, he writes:

... present day parties are distinguished far less by their programme or the class of their members than by the nature of their organization. A party is a community with a particular structure.... Modern parties are characterized primarily by their anatomy.¹

Socialist parties attempt to organize the masses of people. To this end, the branch becomes the basic element in party organization, for mass membership is enrolled at this level. Individual members who are assigned to the branches are required to pay subscriptions, which the party is dependent upon for the financing of its operations. The payment of subscriptions reinforces the loyalty of the individuals to the party. These "working units" of the party, to borrow Duverger's term, are "wider-based and less exclusive" than are the higher level units; They are important to the party not only for electoral purposes, but also because they play a major role in the education of

¹Duverger, pp. 1-2.

the membership. The maintaining of membership and financial records, besides the conduct of educational programs, makes necessary the development of a party bureaucracy beginning at the branch level. As the party develops, an increasing number of permanent officials are employed, who tend to form a separate class in the party and, of course, assume a measure of authority. As the party evolves, according to Duverger, the "personal aspects in leadership become less important," and a system of complex institution comes into existence, such as congresses, national committees, councils, executives, and secretariats. Duverger writes that "In theory, election is the rule at all levels; in practice, powerful oligarchic tendencies manifest themselves."² In this kind of party, doctrine plays an important role, and conflicts between personalities become contests between individuals with different opinions.

This chapter will explore the organization, membership, and finances of the Progressive Socialist Party for the purpose of determining whether it can be described as a mass party in terms of Duverger's analysis. An examination of this problem entails a study of the constitution, charter, and internal rules of the party, and also of the working relationships among the leaders and between the leaders and the membership. Duverger has written that "the organization of parties depends essentially upon unwritten practice and habit," being almost entirely a matter of custom. "Constitutions and rules never give more than a partial idea of what happens, if indeed they describe

²Ibid.

reality at all."³

Organization

The Progressive Socialist Party was organized to appeal to the masses as well as to the intellectuals and professional people. The very name of the party suggests this: The Progressive Socialist Party (Al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishtaraky). The organization is limited to Lebanon, which means that it is a national party, in contrast to other socialist parties such as the Arab Resurrection Party (Al-Ba'th), which has branches in most of the Arab countries.

The party must be described as unitary; that is, the decisions made within the party are usually made at the party center in Beirut. Article 5 of the P.S.P. constitution divides the party organization into two broad parts (see Chart I, p. 47). The first part is the central structure, which includes the president, two vice-presidents, the board of directors, and twelve commissioners performing executive functions; and special counsellors and the party general assemblies, which include members from the various regions of the party organization. The second part of the party is the regional structure, which includes deputy commissioners, district heads and branch officials.

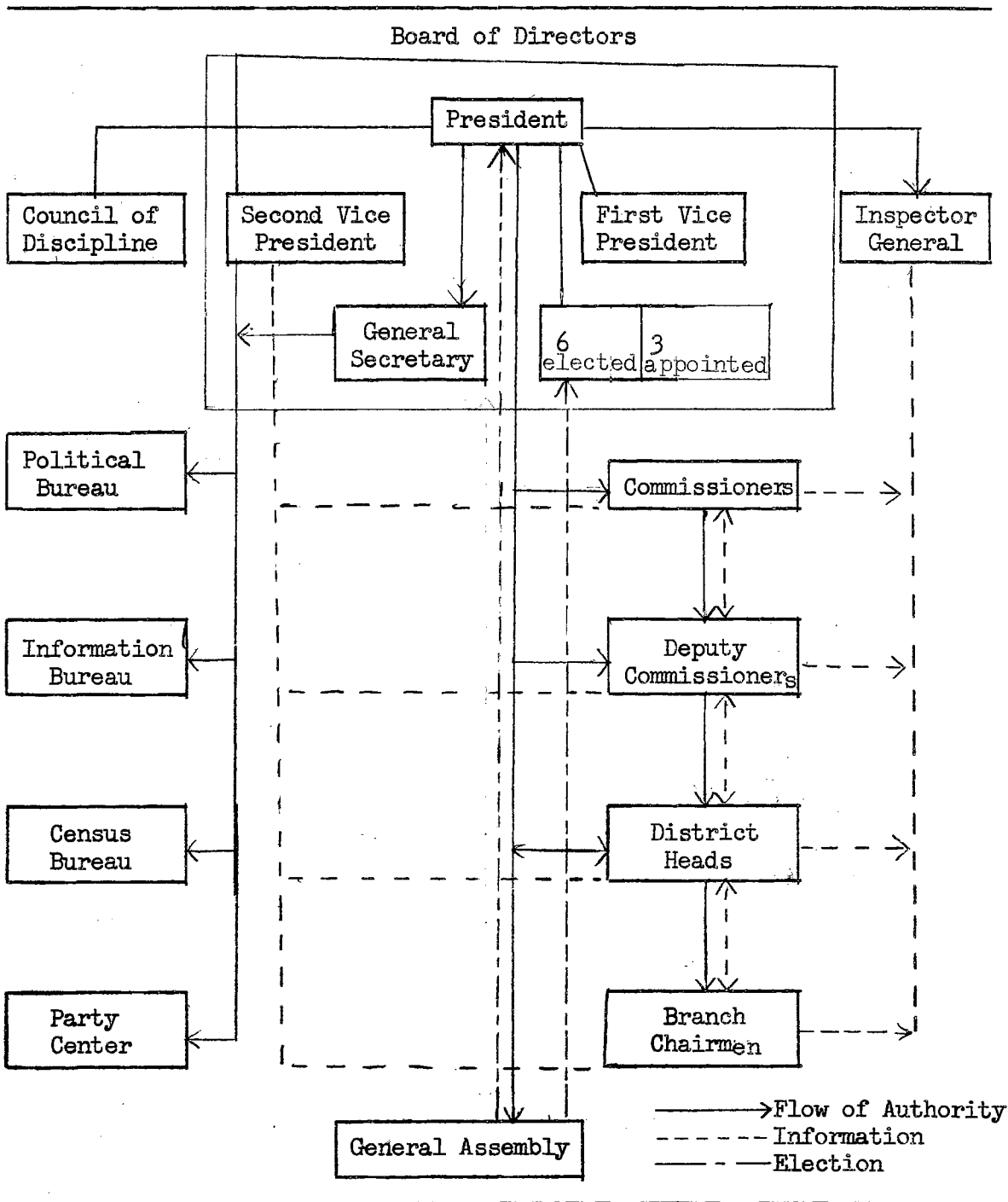
Central Party Structure

At the base of the P.S.P. organization is the party assembly, which constitutionally is given an important role in the selection

³Ibid., p. xvi.

CHART 1

PARTY ORGANIZATION⁴



⁴⁸ Chart prepared by the author based on information deduced from the constitution and the internal rules of the party.

of the party leadership. The party's assemblies are of two kinds: the branch general assembly (see Articles 47 and 48, Appendix A), and the party's general assembly. The latter includes the board of directors, commissioners, deputy commissioners, district heads, and branch chairmen of the active member category, in addition to all the elder members in the party. The general assembly is required to meet once a year to study and approve the party budget and its programs. Also, the general assembly elects the party president and his two vice-presidents for a term of office of four years. However, the authority of the P.S.P. general assembly ends at this point. Article 48 of the constitution provides that when amendments to the constitution are considered, the membership of the general assembly is to be restricted to the elder membership only. On the other hand, the branch general assembly is composed of all the party's members - associate, active and elder. Its functions are also nominal: it meets once a year to approve the branch budget and programs for the coming year.

The board of directors is situated at the top of the party structure and is next to the president in importance. The board is composed of twelve members, among whom are the party president, his two vice-presidents and the general secretary.⁵ The term of office of members of the board of directors is four years. Three members of the board are selected by the elected members of the board, who are six in number and are elected by the party general assembly, immediately after the election of the president and his vice-presidents.

⁵For a list of the members of the board of directors as of 1966, and a brief biographical sketch of each, see Appendix D, pp. 192-194.

The general function of the board is to chart the broad outline of the party's policy and programs which are to be implemented by the party's executive authority.

The executive authority of the P.S.P. is constitutionally (Article 4 of the internal rules) shared by the party president, commissioners, deputy commissioners, district heads, and the chairmen of the branches. However, in actuality, most of the executive authority is exercised by the office of the president. As the head of the party, the president exercises control over every office throughout the party structure. Article 6 of the constitution not only classifies him as the head of the party, but also as "the protector" of the constitution. The powers of the president of the party are extensive: he can appoint or remove the various counsellors, commissioners, district heads, branch chairmen and party employees. In carrying out his authority, the president is responsible to the general assembly, which elects him. Article 7 makes this clear:

The president is responsible only to the general assembly. However, the board of directors can censure him in case of failure to observe the provisions of the constitution, or the party's charter, or in case of clear failure or negligence. A motion for censure shall give cause and will only be carried by 2/3 vote of the Board.⁶

The limited power of the Board of Directors over the office of the president has allowed him to be very independent of the party organization whenever he desires. The constitution also limits the authority that the general assembly, which is supposed to guard against any misuse of power by the president, can exercise over him, because,

⁶For a full text see Articles 6, 7, and 8 in Appendix A, pp. 155-156.

according to Article 54 of the constitution, it cannot make decisions except on the basis of suggestions made by the board of directors, and since the president controls the board of directors, the general assembly is powerless in this respect.

The general assembly of the party has repeatedly elected Kamal Junblat to the party presidency, ever since the party's creation. No attempt has been made by the board of directors to censure him, although, according to Amin Jurdi, District Head of Aley (Mu'tamad Aley), "there has been some dissatisfaction with Kamal Junblat because of the dominant role he has played in the party."⁷ When questioned about Junblat's domination of the party, the General Secretary, Abbas Khalaf, admitted this has been so. He added that "at the beginning Kamal Junblat used to give out personal press statements without consulting any member of the board of directors. However, this tendency has been restricted because of pressure which a large group of the party leadership brought to bear on him."⁸ Mr. Khalaf also pointed out that the creation of the "popular front" and its incorporation into the party was done without prior knowledge or approval of any of the members of the board of directors or the general assembly. The President's almost independent authority exists because of the large number who became members because of personal allegiance to him, and since the party is relatively new and not well-grounded it was necessary to place unusual powers in the hands of the President.

⁷Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

⁸Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf, Souk el-Gharb, August 12, 1965.

The office of the president overshadows any other office in the party, not only constitutionally, but also because of the influence, prestige and work of Kamal Junblat. The constitution of the party delegates much of the president's authority to his second vice-president in case the president is unable to carry out his party functions. The party vice-presidency is divided into the first and second vice-presidencies.⁹

The first vice-president of the P.S.P. seems to have little power, except as the head of the judicial authority of the party. However, even this position is not well-defined in the constitution (see Article 9, Appendix A), for the commissioner of justice seems to surpass him in authority. Article 142 of the party internal rules provides for the creation of a "consultation office" attached to the commission of justice and operating under the authority and direction of the commissioner of justice. The first vice-president does not seem to have anything to do with this, nor does he seem to be linked with the council of discipline which, according to Article 198 of the internal rules, "represents the judicial authority of the party, and its decisions concerning the party membership are to have the same effect as the court's decisions over the citizenry."¹⁰ Authority over this council and its membership are delegated to the president and not to his vice-president.

⁹At present the two offices are filled by Dr. Farid Jibrán, who is the Second Vice-President, and by Fadlu Abu-Haidar, the First Vice-President.

¹⁰P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. lll.

While the first vice-president seems to have only a position of prestige, the second vice-president is potentially powerful because he assumes responsibilities for, and presides over meetings when the president is unable to do so. This potential power, however, has not been enjoyed by the past Second Vice-President, Fouad Rizk, or by the present one, Dr. Farid Jibran, except on very few occasions, like presiding over the commissioners' council. Probably no important decision has been made by a second vice-president while acting in the place of Kamal Junblat.

The Board of Directors is second in importance to the party president. Article 12 of the constitution lists the powers and responsibilities of the Board. Its importance is greatly restricted, however, because of the methods by which members are appointed or elected. However, the term of office of all elected or appointed members of the Board of Directors is four years. The candidate may be re-elected for subsequent terms. The candidacy to the Board of Directors, however, is open only to elder members, and their candidacy must be accepted by the party or, more realistically, by Kamal Junblat. A typical party practice is reflected in this announcement by the P.S.P. in its paper, Al-Anba':

The general secretariat announces that the comrades who filed for election to fill the seat on the Board of Directors vacated by Comrade Kamal Al-Abdallah, and who have been accepted, are the following: Shukrallah Nasrallah, Najdah Hajer, and George Shibly.¹¹

Having the last word on who will be on the Board of Directors, if for no other reason, gives the president the power to rule and direct the

¹¹Al-Anba', October 30, 1965, p. 5.

party in spite of the objections which some members of the council may raise. An examination of the constitution suggests that in reality, it is only the Board of Directors which can bring pressure on the party president.

The history of the Board of Directors shows that such pressure and influence has been attempted. In 1956 there was a mass resignation of Board members because Junblat refused to heed some of the members' counsel on Arab and local issues. It is an obvious fact, however, that the Board has been somewhat constant in membership since the formation of the party. Of the eight original founders of the party, Kamal Junblat, Dr. Farid Jibrán, Shakir Shayban, and Dr. Bishara Al-Dahan are still active in the party and continually serve on the Board. Among the others are the late Asad Jamal, and parliament deputy Anwar Al-Khatieb, who is presently in an alliance with the party, but is not a member. Fouad Rizk resigned in 1956 for policy reasons (see footnote 55, p. 75) and the last of the eight, Nasim Majdalani, was dismissed from the party for disciplinary reasons in 1961. Kamal Junblat himself suggested that some change in top leadership has taken place in his speech celebrating the 18th anniversary of the P.S.P.:

In our struggle, which has been full of difficulties, but which has stood against all forms of pressure...hundreds were left behind, and many a group left our ranks. During the first weeks after the announcement of the party's creation, more than one of the eight comrades [founders] left us. However, we continued to struggle and to be faced with many responsibilities.¹²

¹²Al-Anba', May 7, 1966, p. 6.

However, while there has been some change in party leadership under Junblat, there has been a rather stable core of personalities serving the party and Junblat on the Board of Directors.

The authority of the Board of Directors has been bypassed by Junblat in the realm of party discipline. Article 12, paragraph 9 of the constitution authorizes the Board of Directors to dismiss any member for breaking discipline after giving him a chance to present his case. In more than one instance, Junblat has bypassed the Board and has issued direct orders of dismissal. There are three known cases of dismissal on the higher level. Issam Karam and Nasim Majdalani were dismissed by direct orders of the President, while a third, Mr. Fadlallah Talhouk, was dismissed by the Board following his refusal to follow party policies in 1958.¹³ Of particular interest is the case of Mr. Karam, who was a member of the Board and who served as Inspector General. His dismissal was ordered by the President at the request of the General Secretary of the party in 1963, following Junblat's refusal to nominate him as a party candidate from the Shuf district for Parliament.¹⁴ Although the President frequently disregards the Board of Directors, he seems to take more seriously his strongest assistant and party administrator, the General Secretary.

The office of the general secretary of the P.S.P. is one of importance and influence. The first General Secretary was Colonel Asad

¹³It was charged officially that Talhouk refused to act in accordance with P.S.P. policy. However, it was common knowledge that Talhouk refused to allow his supporters from Aley to aid the P.S.P. armed men in their attacks on the town of Shimlan during the 1958 revolt. This refusal hurt the attackers, and alienated the P.S.P. leadership.

¹⁴Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

Jamal who, as one of the eight founders of the party, gave considerable attention to developing the structure of the office of the secretariat general. "At the time, the circumstances," according to the present General Secretary, Abbas Khalaf, "dictated that such a military man, and party co-founder, assume this job." The period between 1949-54 was one of building and co-ordinating the activities of the party. Asad Jamal is credited with writing the internal rules of the party which define the authority, responsibility, and duty of every officer, member, and organ of the party which were not specifically detailed in the constitution. By 1954 the basic structure of the internal rules was complete, and the board of directors proposed a resolution officially accepting these rules.¹⁵

The internal rules defines the authority of the general secretary, which includes serving as party spokesman and making contact with other parties in the interest of the Progressive Socialist Party. However, his authority, as defined by Article 12 of the internal rules, is subject to veto and supervision by the president. The general secretary, besides being a full member of the commissioners' council, is also responsible for administering the office of the party in Beirut, and for taking care of presidential correspondence. On the political front, he is head of the political bureau, the functions of which are listed in Article 134 of the internal rules as follows:

A--To constantly study political, economic, and partisan problems.

B--To observe foreign policies and international tendencies.

¹⁵The internal rules were officially adopted by decree #10, on May 4, 1954, which was unanimously supported.

C--To submit to the board of directors reports on the result of such studies and make recommendations for the party to consider. The final decision is that of the board of directors.¹⁶

In practice, the general secretary functions in the shadow of Kamal Junblat. Though it is constitutionally permissible for the general secretary to serve as the party's representative, Junblat has been reluctant to permit him to do so. For instance, Junblat himself has always represented the party at international conferences, such as the Conference of Asian Socialist Parties held in Delhi in 1951, and at the Conference on Freedom of Education held in Switzerland in 1953. The general secretary has not served as a significant spokesman of the party even in Lebanon; Junblat has always been the focal point of the party's statements on national and international issues. According to the present General Secretary, Abbas Khalaf, this practice began during the term of the first General Secretary, Asad Jamal, because of his forceful personality and his background, and not because of Junblat himself. However, it is reasonable to assume that because of Junblat's hereditary authority and the importance of his personality to the party, this would have become the practice regardless of the individual holding the office of general secretary. Junblat's dominance has not changed with succeeding general secretaries, even though members of the original leadership group have held the position.

Shakir Shayban, an attorney and member of the board of directors, held the office of general secretary between 1954 and 1957.

¹⁶P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. 78-79.

He continued the work of Asad Jamal but made no changes in the organization of the secretariat. During his term the P.S.P. sponsored demonstrations and protest marches against colonialism and foreign alliances in support of Arab countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco; it supported Egypt against the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on the Suez Canal. During these periods of tension Kamal Junblat was the spokesman for the party; the General Secretary achieved no public prominence. From the standpoint of further developing the internal structure of the party the General Secretary was so busy with the demonstrations and work involving the party's role of opposition toward Shamoun that no much further development was realized.

Party activities seemed to have come to a halt during part of the next General Secretary's term, and certainly during the 1958 revolt against the government. Fadlu Abu-Haidar, also an attorney and a member of the board of directors, held the position of general secretary during the 1957-62 term. His office was inactive during 1957-58 when Junblat, the Druze leader,¹⁷ and not Junblat the President of the P.S.P., was active in politics. The party's activities were suspended, though some announcements continued to be made in the name of the party.

The present General Secretary of the party, Abbas Khalaf, is of the opinion that "there are many areas in which the party can change its organizational structure and can fulfill much of the program

¹⁷In his book, The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, Mr. Junblat referred to heroes and gallant brothers who defended him, but did not once mention comrades, or refer to the P.S.P. pp. 84-91.

which has not yet been implemented by the party."¹⁸ The internal rules, Articles 140 and 141, authorize the general secretary to establish census and information bureaus. Though both bureaus were organized in 1961, the census bureau has remained inactive, though Khalaf has said that there is much it could do:

The party has not made any effort to find out the number of members in the various occupational categories, but such information would be useful, and it is anticipated that a study of the status and condition of all members of the party will be made when the census bureau becomes fully developed and begins to function.¹⁹

With respect to the bureau of information, it is inactive at the moment, and its functions are now being performed by the Commission on internal affairs.

In one area of party activities the general secretary has, perhaps, increased his importance. He is head of the political bureau, and as such is enabled to exercise influence over the electoral activities of the party. The political bureau, according to Mr. Khalaf, "takes an active interest in working out the plans for parliamentary elections and recommending the list of candidates to represent the party."²⁰ It was the political bureau under Khalaf that suggested to Junblat that Issam Karam not be made a party nominee in the Shuf district (Quada' Al-Shuf), and it was Khalaf himself who asked for Karam's dismissal from the party.²¹

¹⁸Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹According to Mr. Khalaf, it was his responsibility as General Secretary to ask for Karam's dismissal, especially since Karam's actions and statements had become very critical of the P.S.P. after the party had refused to nominate him.

The current General Secretary, Abbas Khalaf, has become more important as a party spokesman. It is becoming customary to see general secretariat announcements in the party newspaper, Al-Anba', concerning party positions on national and international issues, such as the following which was issued by the general secretariat:

On the evening of January 3, 1966, the board of directors of the Progressive Socialist Party held its regular meeting, at which various issues and problems were discussed....The party declares its support of President Charles Helou and of the government in their actions to rid the judiciary and the foreign service of all corruption.²²

These general secretariat announcements have begun to include matters concerning the personal relationships of Kamal Junblat with other political groups. For instance, an announcement was issued by the general secretariat and published in Al-Anba', in which the general secretary denied certain newspaper reports that Kamal Junblat had made peace with the deputies of the Baalbeck district.²³

The increasing use of the general secretary on party matters of importance is also paralleled by a rising tendency among the commissioners to be more active in administering specific party activities. The party organization has a commissioners' council which includes the heads of the various party commissions. Each commission is headed by an elder or active member who, according to Article 21 of the party constitution, is the executive authority in his specific field.²⁴

²²Al-Anba', January 8, 1966, p. 4.

²³Ibid., p. 5. These differences between the P.S.P. leader and the Baalbeck deputies resulted from the 1966 municipal elections which were lost by P.S.P. candidates.

²⁴For a list of the present commissioners see chart no. 2, p. 114. For a short biography on each see Appendix D, pp. 192-194.

Article 61 of the Internal Rules specifies that the Commissioners' Council is a planning body in which each of the heads of commissions presents the problems facing his commission for discussion and exchange of ideas. The Council does not make decisions by voting; however, the president, as president of the Commissioners' Council, can make administrative decisions relating to the work of the commissions during the meetings of the Council. For instance, he schedules lectures and speeches, transfers party members from one branch to another, and cancels and re-organizes party branches. Each decision, however, is issued in the name of the particular commission concerned, with the approval of the president of the party.

The constitution of the party provides for twelve commissions, though all twelve have not yet been created.²⁵ The party has not created the projected commissions on reconstruction and economics, health and aid, or legislation. The most active commission seems to be the commission on internal affairs, which is in charge of the party districts and branches, and their activities. The commissioner of internal affairs is in possession of great potential power, for his authority covers areas under the jurisdiction of other party organs. Since 1963, the commissioner of internal affairs has been in charge of the bureau of information which, according to Article 141 of the internal rules of the party, is responsible for the collection of information important to the welfare and security of the party. It is specifically charged with the collection of information

²⁵See Article 20, Appendix A, p. 159.

that reveals spying or other activities against the party. This work is carried out in secret.²⁶

Another important area of interest to the commission on internal affairs is the activities of the students who, according to the constitution, must be supervised by the youth, sports and students commission, and by the civics and education commission. In spite of the constitution, the activities of students have frequently been directed by the commission on internal affairs. In an article published in a P.S.P. bulletin in 1956, the Commissioner of Internal Affairs, Iskandar Ghibriyl, thanked the students of the American University of Beirut, the Lebanese Academy, the Law School, and those in Aley, Souk el-Gharb, Sidon, Abey, and Ammiyk, for their close cooperation and activities on behalf of the P.S.P.²⁷ Lately, however, the activities of the students have been handled more and more by the youth, sports, and students commission. This may be because of the political inactivity of students since 1958. Most student activity since then has been educational. Typical programs sponsored by the youth, sports, and students commission include speeches by high school and university students, and speeches by student organization leaders and the P.S.P. leadership. Most of these programs are held at the P.S.P. center in Beirut.²⁸

²⁶P.S.P. Internal Rules, pp. 82-83.

²⁷P.S.P. Bulletin, October, 1956, Beirut, p. 10.

²⁸The announcements of these meetings are usually listed in the P.S.P. newspaper, Al-Anba'.

The commission on external affairs has become more active in recent years. According to Article 24, paragraph D of the constitution, this commission must be constantly aware of all international problems, and is charged with the responsibility of making studies on the causes and consequences of such problems, and making recommendations on the bases of these studies. Some of the commission's studies have centered on the Cold War, the United Nations, the Arab League and other problems. At present the party is active, in Abbas Khalaf's words, in "cooperating and communicating with other socialist parties."²⁹ The present Commissioner of External Affairs, Abbas Khalaf, represented the party at the British Labor Party's general meeting which was held in Liverpool, England, in 1962.³⁰ Also, the party was represented by Mr. Khalaf in conferences held in Baden, West Germany, and in Yugoslavia. The party has also taken an active interest in the conferences of Afro-Asian peoples. The P.S.P. has helped to establish the Lebanese Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Conference to represent Lebanon in such conferences. However, the commissioner of external affairs does not have a voice in the activities of the Committee, since it is headed by Kamal Junblat, who replaced the late Shakib Jaber.³¹ The Lebanese committee

²⁹Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

³⁰The constitution of the party allows an official to hold more than one position, and Khalaf, among others, presently holds two offices, those of General Secretary and Commissioner of External Affairs.

³¹Shakib Jaber was a prominent young attorney from the town of Aley, who, as a P.S.P. member, ran for Parliament on three occasions, but lost each time. While Chairman of the Lebanese Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Conference, which was taking place in Accra, Ghana, on May 10-17, 1965, he was killed in an automobile accident.

is composed of elements representing Arab nationalists, communists, P.S.P. members and other leftist groups.³² This close co-operation with other leftist groups has opened a new chapter in the organizational activities of the party; it has been used as a justification for increased communication between the leadership and the party membership.

During the period of 1953-1960, the P.S.P.'s membership activities were very limited. As an active opposition, the party leadership concentrated more on the political problems at the government level than on party indoctrination and membership education. During this period, the P.S.P. activities were restricted to inspection visits to the branches by the party leaders. The meetings of party members have always been regional; however, in 1964, the party initiated a series of popular meetings called the "awakening" series. These were held all over Lebanon, with radical and leftist groups among those in attendance. According to a party bulletin, this series of meetings was held under the supervision of the Commission on internal affairs, and was presided over by Kamal Junblat, who explained and analyzed the ideas and goals of progressive socialism.³³ The program called for meetings in Al-Mukhtara, in the Shuf district; Souk el-Gharb, in the Aley district; Btikhmay, in Al-Matn district; Kam'd el-Los, in Biqa' province; Baalbeck, in the Baalbeck district; and

³²Personal interview with a high official of the Lebanese Department of General Security, who asked to remain anonymous, Beirut, July 17, 1965.

³³P.S.P. bulletin, issued by the commission on internal affairs, (Beirut, March 1965), p. 2.

in Tripoli, in the Northern Province. Two other scheduled meetings, in Rashaya (Biqqa' province), and in Al-Batroun (Northern Province), were cancelled because of the absence of Junblat, who was on a trip to the Soviet Union.³⁴

In 1965-1966, the P.S.P. began its second series of popular meetings, five of which found the party out in full strength to protest national or international issues.³⁵ Announcements made in Al-Anba' and by the commission on internal affairs; the commission on labor, the commission on youth, sports and education, and sometimes the P.S.P. leader himself, called on its members, supporters, and the personal followers of Junblat to attend these meetings. The purpose was to cultivate enthusiasm among the party members and supporters and to obtain new members.

It is apparent from this analysis that central institutions have been provided for on a rather elaborate scale. However, not all the constitutionally-delegated institutions have been created. Many of those that have been created have not become fully functional. The President of the party holds a dominant position, and because of this has usurped powers and functions that constitutionally belong to many of the established organs. Since about 1962, the party has been working to strengthen the relationship between the members and supporters and the leadership in Beirut, by numerous popular meetings organized by the center in order to educate the following along ideological lines. However, a mass party must have its regional and branch

³⁴Kamal Junblat is referred to in party literature by such titles as "first comrade," "the teacher," or by his official title of "president."

³⁵Personal interview with a high official of the Lebanese Department of General Security, who asked to remain anonymous, Beirut, July 17, 1965.

structure in order to hold its membership.

Regional Party Structure

Below the central level of the party are regions, districts, and branches. The commission on internal affairs is responsible for the party organization below the central level. Each province of Lebanon constitutes a region of the party. In each of the provinces there is a deputy commissioner for internal affairs, who, in accordance with Article 53 of the internal rules, serves as a link between the district heads and the central leadership. This individual, appointed by the president, is usually chosen from among the district heads of the province.

The deputy commissioner is responsible for the over-all administration of the party in his region: He inspects the districts and branches periodically, assisting them in accordance with directives from the center. He makes periodic reports on the political situation in his region, and is obligated to keep in constant touch with government officials in his region in order to solve any problem that the party might have an interest in. If individual members have difficulties with the government of the region, the deputy commissioner is expected to help the member if this is possible. It should be pointed out, however, that the deputy commissioner is not a strong leadership figure; he does not dominate the party's regional activities. The district heads are sometimes more powerful in their districts, regions, or at the central level than some deputy commissioners. For the district heads also assume a major responsibility for planning

organizational activities.

District Level

By order of the president, the P.S.P. is divided into 42 districts (Mutamadiat) which embrace all of Lebanon. Each district has not less than five nor more than fifteen branches. Article 5 of the Internal Rules provides that each branch is to include not less than 10 nor more than 50 members.³⁶ While each branch has its own officials, the district head is authorized by the constitution to assume complete control over the branch (see Article 27). The district head has a special responsibility for carrying out the directives and orders which are passed on to him by the deputy commissioner in his region. He is assisted by a district secretary, a treasurer, a secretary for ideology, and a secretary for cooperatives.

The presence of a secretary for ideology reflects the interest of mass parties in the education of the membership. In fact, it seems that most of the activity on the district level is concerned with mass meetings and education activities. District heads and their assistants make periodic visits to the branches for the purpose of arranging mass meetings and participating in educational programs.

In order to acquire an understanding of the district and branch level, the author visited the Aley district (Quada' Aley), which has probably the highest number of party members of any district in Lebanon. Of the questionnaires distributed to a group of the party, 32.1

³⁶P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. 6.

percent of the returns came from this district.³⁷ Aley district is divided into three districts. The most important is the middle district of Aley (Mu'tamadayat Aley al-Wusta), which has three branches in Aley, and two more in the neighboring villages of Al-Ghaboun and Al-Ramliyat.³⁸ The total party strength in the middle district is 200-250 members.³⁹

With this membership, the organizational structure of the district can be expected to be extensive. However, according to the present representative, the party organ of the middle Aley district is being reorganized because of difficulties involving the removal of certain party members for disciplinary reasons.⁴⁰ The present representative, Amin Jurdi, took over the position on April 1, 1965, replacing Adel Hatoum, who resigned to devote his time to the practice of law and to assume the position of party commissioner of justice. With the resignation of Hatoum, the district organization was

³⁷For a complete list of the questions in the questionnaire, see Appendix C., p. 190. It must be noted here again that the writer did not have the final choice as to who was to answer the questionnaire. The party insisted that the questionnaire and its distribution must be under party control, which was handled by Abbas Khalaf and Amin Jurdi, the district head of Aley. Of 200 copies of the questionnaire, only 86 were returned to the author, with the official party stamp on each one of them. Though the author wishes that the results could be a balanced reflection of the party, he cannot assume with any certainty that this is the case. Nevertheless, the results have been extensively used in this study, and it is the author's hope that a reasonably correct image of the P.S.P. is being conveyed through these results.

³⁸According to Mr. Jurdi, there is a plan to open a fourth branch in Aley.

³⁹Aley is a famous resort city, with a summer population of over 100,000 people; during the winter, the population drops to about 10,000 people, including the out-of-town students who attend its five high schools.

⁴⁰Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

dissolved. This event coincided with the dismissal of the chairman of the second branch in Aley, who was found guilty by the Council on Discipline of misusing his powers.⁴¹

These personal and organizational changes reflect difficulty in this local party organization. According to Aley's representative, the local level organization is generally confronted with numerous problems. One of the most serious is the lack of time which party officials can devote to the work of the organization. Officials at this level simply give what free time they have, because the party does not pay them for their services. There are no part-time or full-time employees at the local level. Misuse of power might be prevented through more adequate supervision of the branches by the district head. Amin Jurdi stated in an interview that the problem in Aley was typical of all branches and districts. He attributed the causes to lack of obedience to the party rules; lack of attendance at party meetings; and neglect in paying monthly dues on the part of many members.⁴²

In reference to the branch level, where the mass membership of the party is enrolled and held accountable for paying a monthly subscription, effectiveness in the party organization is low. Article 6 of the internal rules provides that each branch shall have an administrative committee composed of the various offices of the branch. The officers designated are a chairman, a vice-chairman, a general

⁴¹Ibid. However, the author was unable to find out the reasons for the dismissal or the name of the dismissed official.

⁴²Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

secretary, and a treasurer.⁴³ There is a vast difference between branch officials and those of the district and higher levels in terms of educational, economic, and social standards. As a result of poor quality leadership, nearly all the small villages are poorly organized. It seems that the local leadership has very little, if any, interest in the party's ideals or programs, having joined the party because of interest in some local matters which they can use the party to realize. It is locally popular in many districts to be associated with political leaders such as Kamal Junblat or Majid Arislan. Many belong to the party because of this traditional Druze identification with the Junblati faction. In the same way, many dislike the party because of their identification with the Yazbaki faction, the traditional opponent of the Junblati among the Druze. There are party branches which are dominated by a single family which supplies most or all of the members.⁴⁴ In many cases the population of the Druze village is divided into two blocs representing the two factions. This division usually includes the social, economic, and political aspects of the villagers' daily lives. Those who do belong to the P.S.P. branches do so because of their dislike for or rivalry

⁴³P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. 6.

⁴⁴The word family is commonly used in Lebanon, and will be used in this study, to indicate a group of blood relatives who carry the same last name.

with the members or leaders of the other bloc in the village.⁴⁵ These local interests often channel the activities of the P.S.P. branch toward problems which do not relate to the interests of the party in general. The party's requirement that socialistic education and training be provided in the branches is often neglected, a negligence which frequently results in the dismissal of members, local leaders, and even in the dissolution of branches. According to a district official, the party is always faced with a relatively high rate of turn-over among branch officials, estimated at about 20 percent yearly.⁴⁶ The March, 1965, bulletin of the P.S.P. reflected this turn-over, reporting that nine branches had recently been cancelled and new officials appointed to organize new branches. This was reported by the commission on internal affairs.⁴⁷

⁴⁵To illustrate this point, the author looked at the March, 1965, bulletin of the P.S.P., which lists the orders for cancellation of nine branches, and the appointment of new P.S.P. members to reorganize those branches. The new officials of three of the nine branches are made up of people who are members of dominant families in each:

Baysour branch--all officials are from the Mula'ib family

Majd al-Ba'na branch--all officials are from the Abdul-Khalek family

Soufar branch--All officials are from the Shayya family

Two other branches include only one or two names of those who are not close relations:

Aynab branch--Most officials are from the Al-Sha'ar family

Ras al-Matn--Most officials are from the Nuwayhed family

There are other branches besides those mentioned in this bulletin which are controlled largely by a single family.

⁴⁶Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

⁴⁷The list which was published in a P.S.P. bulletin in March, 1965, included branches in the following towns: Kabr Shamoun, Soufar, Baysour, Majd al-Ba'na, Aynab, Housh al-Harimeh, Ras al-Matn, and al-Hilaliyat. For a complete list of P.S.P. branches, see Appendix E, p. 195.

While the branch organization in the small villages is plagued by the weaknesses just discussed, in the towns and cities the branch organization is more stable, largely because it is better organized. Also, better qualified people are available to supply leadership. These branches, however, like their rural counterparts, are usually dominated by a single religious group.

Membership

The leadership of the P.S.P. depends greatly on the membership in the party organization. In the opinion of many, this membership is made up of sympathizers or supporters of the P.S.P. President, Kamal Junblat. However, the party has made a continuous effort to develop an appealing program which would attract new members during recruitment drives. The leadership seeks a mass membership oriented toward the party's programs rather than toward the personality of the President. According to Maurice Duverger, the type of membership will identify a party as either a cadre or a mass party. Constitutionally, and in practice, the organizational structure of the P.S.P., including the form of membership, indicates that it is a mass party.

At the peak of the 1952 peaceful revolt, the P.S.P. boasted a membership of about 17,600 members; half of whom, however, immediately left the party when it failed to ally itself with Shamoun.⁴⁸ This was only four years after the party was established. In addition to this formal membership there was perhaps an equal number of people

⁴⁸Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

who were personal supporters of Kamal Junblat or who sympathized with the party's program, but who could not join because of professional or governmental jobs. Ali Youssef El-Khalil estimates that there were about "16,000 members and 15,000 supporters, composed of laborers, peasants, small farmers, professional people, and students."⁴⁹ An official of the Lebanese Department of General Security estimated for the author that "the present membership of the Progressive Socialist Party is about 8,000, and the number of sympathizers is about 9,000 people."⁵⁰ The official party figures indicate that the membership of the P.S.P. since 1954 has been constant at about 10,000 members.⁵¹ The increased membership in 1952, according to the P.S.P. President occurred

...because of the sudden success of the P.S.P. in the peaceful revolt and the expected take-over of the government by the party; for these people joined the party only because they wanted to be on the winning side, and certainly had little interest, if any, in the P.S.P. ideology.⁵²

Such membership is possible because the membership requirements of the P.S.P. are not rigorous. According to Article 35 of the constitution, an applicant for membership must be a Lebanese citizen, twenty years of age, and must understand and believe in the ideology, and must not have a police record.

⁴⁹El-Khalil, The Socialist Parties of Syria and Lebanon, pp. 160-161.

⁵⁰Personal interview, Beirut, July 17, 1965.

⁵¹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁵²Ibid.

There are three types of membership in the P.S.P.: elder, active, and associate membership. The requirements for each tend to divide the party according to the different social and economic groups represented in the party. The leadership decides whether a member is capable of being in a higher type of membership or not. For example, an elder member must understand the ideology and explain it and defend it with "sound logic" and must be able to pass a special examination on it;⁵³ also, he must be well-educated in science and literature (see Article 33, Appendix A). The leadership comes from the higher economic and social levels; thus it is natural that it would surround itself with people from the same social environment. The discrimination can be seen in the small percentages which make up the elder membership. The twenty-five party positions which make up the central executive authority of the party are filled from the elder membership. The associate membership is not entitled to hold any party offices higher than the branch level; neither can it vote in the party general assembly. Even offices on the branch level are dominated by the active membership, which controls most of the positions constituting the regional executive authority. The active member is entitled to hold party positions on the branch, district and commission levels only, while the elder member can represent the party wherever he chooses and enjoy a monopoly in the higher positions of leadership.

⁵³This announcement appeared in Al-Anba', November 6, 1965; p.2: "The commission on civics and education calls all active members who wish to become elder members to a meeting at the party center at 6:00 p.m., Monday, November 15, 1965, in order to take a qualifying examination."

The party, in its effort to induce more educated people to join its ranks, offers them membership even if it is for personal and selfish reasons. The internal rules of the party specifically makes this possible in Article 63, paragraph 6:

Those who seek personal political gains and believe in the principles of the party can be accepted on the condition that their goals are in full agreement with those of the party.⁵⁴

It is this encouragement which brought many high office seekers to the party. Issam Karam, Fadlalah Talhouk, Nasim Majdalani, Anwar Al-Khatieb and others joined to acquire the party's support for their candidacy. Some sought an alliance with the party: among these were Emile Bustani, Abdullah Al-Hajj, Bahiej Takayyidine and Abdul Aziz Shihab.⁵⁵ This personal interest motive partially explains the high rate of turn-over in the P.S.P. membership. The questionnaire shows that only 25 percent of those who answered had been members for over ten years, while 53.5 percent had joined the party within the past ten years, and 21 percent within the last five years (see questionnaire, question #2, Appendix C).

The influence of personal and religious factors in the development of membership is a contradictory element when one considers the stated principles and objectives of the party. According to Dr. Edmund Na'im, "The P.S.P. cannot rid itself of its confessional image

⁵⁴P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. 37.

⁵⁵See reference to the alliance between the P.S.P. and Karam, Talhouk, Al-Hajj on pp. 54. According to the General Secretary, The P.S.P. dismissed Nasim Majdalani from its membership in 1961 following his boycott of the party, because Kamal Junblat would not approve the alliance between him and Sa'ib Salam, who headed the list of candidates for election in Beirut.

because many of the members are in the party because their leaders are in it.⁵⁶ On this point, the questionnaire results showed that 14.2 percent listed, as their reason for joining the party, their combined belief in socialism and in the P.S.P. leader. Over ten percent listed all the reasons offered in the questionnaire (see Appendix C, question #5), while 64.2 percent stated that their belief in socialism was the only reason. Over ten percent combined their belief in socialism with their disapproval of other political parties as their motive. These results show that about 24.9 percent of those answering the questionnaire indicated that the P.S.P. leader was a major factor in their decision to join the party. This comes quite short of the estimates given the author by party and non-party people alike, who have made estimates as high as fifty percent for personal allegiance to Junblat.⁵⁷

The confessional image of the P.S.P. is also reflected in the common claims that most of the party membership comes from the Druze. It is generally believed that the Druze are in the party not because of their belief in socialism, but because of their personal loyalty to Kamal Junblat as a Druze leader. According to Arnold Hottinger

⁵⁶Personal interview with Edmund Na'im.

⁵⁷According to Amin Jurdi, Mu'tamad Aley, the percentage of those who personally believe in Junblat is about 50 percent, now decreasing because of the educational effort the party leadership is waging.

The same estimate was given by Abbas Khalaf in an interview, August 12, 1965, in the presence of Mr. Jurdi. According to a high ranking official, the estimate is nearly 70 percent, because 80 percent of Progressive Socialist Party membership are Druze who have special allegiance to Kamal Junblat.

in his article, "Zu'Ama' and Parties in the Lebanese Crisis of 1948", Kamal Junblat, "whether he wants it or not, is the head of the Junblati clan of the Druze in the Shuf. His feudal position is the source of his political strength and even of the strength of his 'socialist party.'"⁵⁸ The P.S.P., however, claims non-sectarian membership, although the majority of its members are Druze.⁵⁹

Though the P.S.P. cannot get rid of its Druze image, the economic or professional representation seems to reflect that the party presents an appeal to every professional group in Lebanese society. The questionnaire shows that over fourteen percent of those who answered were students; 21.3 percent were workers; 10.5 percent were farmers; 10 percent were merchants; and that 18 percent were employees of private corporations, and local and central government agencies. Engineers, lawyers, and doctors make up 18 percent of the membership. It is interesting to note that there is a close correlation between the percentage belonging to the professional communities (18 percent) and the percentage which are elder members (14.9 percent).

The function of the P.S.P. membership, as summarized in the party constitution (see Appendix A) and Article 71 of the Internal Rules, is that each and every member must work to uphold the party's

⁵⁸Hottinger, pp. 131-132.

⁵⁹Ralph Crow, "Religious Sectarianism in the Lebanese Political System", Journal of Politics, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1962), pp. 489-520. Mr. Crow does not classify the Progressive Socialist Party as a true party. He claims that the Druze party members are only followers of Mr. Junblat as a Druze leader, rather than as a political leader of the Progressive Socialist Party.

principles. The membership must continuously try to show the rest of the society the necessity for socialism in the state, and to emphasize the social and historical background of the society. Members are also expected to accept peaceful means for achieving the party's objectives. In this sense the party takes the stand of Ghandianism on the importance of the "means as well as the goals." It orients its programs toward educating its membership in socialistic ideology through mass meetings at which opinions are exchanged freely.

The P.S.P. employs very few people at the party center, some on only a part-time basis. The salaries of these party workers, plus the cost of maintaining the party center and the expenses resulting from the popular meetings of the party, are all met by the party treasury. As a mass party, the P.S.P. depends on the regular fees and the contributions of its membership and leadership in order to meet its financial obligations.

Finances

One of the basic distinctions between a cadre and a mass party, according to Maurice Duverger, is the financial approach each uses. As a mass party, the P.S.P. depends on recruiting formal members to its ranks, because membership is the very substance of the mass party. However, Duverger writes, "from the financial point of view, the mass party is essentially based upon the subscriptions paid by its members: The first duty of the branch is to insure that they are

regularly collected."⁶⁰ The P.S.P. finances are based on the collection of party dues and fees from its membership on a monthly basis.

Article 42 of the P.S.P. constitution specifies that the finances of the party and its revenues are to be from "entrance fees, monthly membership dues, members' contributions, income from functions organized and held by the party, income from social services and interest on party deposits, and income derived from party properties."⁶¹ Through means such as these, Duverger writes, "the party gathers the funds required for its work of political education and for its day-to-day activity; in the same way it is enabled to finance electioneering."⁶² These goals, in order to be carried out properly, require much more than what the finances of the P.S.P. are able to support at present. Abbas Khalaf has stated that "the party has poor financial resources, and this prevents the party from carrying out all its responsibilities."⁶³

The P.S.P. entrance fee for any member is usually two Lebanese pounds (\$.60), and the monthly membership fee, as defined by Article 43 of the constitution, is one Lebanese pound, to be paid during the first week of every month. These two sources of income are the only fixed ones, according to Amin Jurdi, District Head of Aley

⁶⁰Duverger, p. 63.

⁶¹For a complete statement, see Article 42, Appendix A, p. 169.

⁶²Duverger, p. 63.

⁶³Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

(Mu'tamad Aley). He added that the contributions of party members vary to such an extent that they cannot be depended upon.⁶⁴ In spite of the claim of poor finances, the party still seems to carry on its regular activities, and has recently increased its popular meetings, placing even more financial responsibility on the party. In asking Amin Jurdi about the rumors which are current in Lebanon about the U.A.R.'s contributions to the P.S.P., the author was told that Kamal Junblat has definitely "refused to receive any financial aid, either from the Arab countries, or from communist or socialist nations."⁶⁵ Junblat's refusal, Jurdi said, is frustrating the political activities of the party and its efforts to reach more Lebanese people. The opinion of others on the finances of the P.S.P. seem to reflect what has always been rumored by Junblat's supporters, that it is Kamal Junblat himself who has been carrying the financial burden of the party. One strong Junblat supporter has said

Kamal Junblat comes from one of the wealthiest families in Lebanon. He does not have any hobbies or ~~pastime~~ except this party. Yet, every once in a while you hear about a sale of some of Junblat's property. I ask you where can that money go except to pay for the party's expenses.⁶⁶

While Kamal Junblat has refused financial assistance from foreign socialist and communist parties, young executives of the P.S.P. tend to welcome such aid on the principle that it helps toward the achievement of international socialism. This basic difference in the

⁶⁴Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Personal interview with Majid Rabah, retired Gendarme Sergeant, Soufar, July 20, 1965.

approaches of Junblat and his young associates is also seen at the organizational level of the party, in their efforts to decrease the identification between Kamal Junblat as the P.S.P. leader and his personal supporters. Young P.S.P. leaders feel that the party is in Lebanon to stay, not because of Kamal Junblat, but because of the important and idealistic message it carries, that of progressive socialism as a program.

CHAPTER IV

IDEOLOGY, PROGRAMS AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

"Democracy is inconceivable without socialism." This is a popular slogan in much of the world at present. Some even go further to state that socialism itself is democracy. One of the very early socialist groups which made such an association between democracy and socialism was the Fabian society. The Fabian understanding of socialism meant "...the organization and conduct of the necessary industries of the country, and the appropriation of all forms of economic rent of land and capital by the nation as a whole through the most suitable public authorities, parochial, municipal, provincial or central."¹ This understanding of socialism is one of many explanations of the ideology which is advocated in many parts of the world at present. In the words of the late Jawaharlal Nehru:

Socialism is of many kinds. There is a general agreement, however, that it aims at the control by the state of the means of production--that is, land and mines and factories and the like--and the means of distribution, like railways, etc....²

Since World War II, socialism of one type or another has been adopted by many political parties. In the Arab World many subscribe

¹M. Beer, A History of British Socialism, Vol. 2 (London, 1953), p. 285.

²William Ebenstein, "Nehru on Marx", Political Thought in Perspective (New York, 1957), p. 555.

to some form of socialism; however, the Arab concept of socialism seems to be influenced by the need for fulfillment of two important conditions: social equality and the abolition of poverty. One Arab writer has pleaded with his Arab readers on behalf of socialism:

Regardless of how it is understood by the parties, the problem of the workers and farmers, and of social improvement, and the lack of the social institution, inspires the need for socialism in our countries, and requires and necessitates a party with its sole goal the improvement of all social conditions and the achievement of all social goals.³

It is these goals which the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon has set before itself. In the words of a former leading P.S.P. member, Anwar Al-Khatieb, "Socialism is a reform movement and a reaction to all the social hardships."⁴ He has written further that "socialism is no longer considered a dangerous shadow threatening the world. All peoples now call for it and claim that their nations' rulers are either socialistic or on the way to becoming so."⁵

{ Socialism as understood and preached by Robert Owen condemns the evils of society which existed because of social circumstances which produced inequality. } As a program, Owenite socialism would operate under a democratic form of government to create more opportunity for the poor classes to end the inequality resulting from birth rather than profession. It would also enable every individual to get an education, and maintain full employment and the rest of

³Mohammad Darwazah, The Problems of the Arab World (Mashakil' al-A'lam al-Araby). (Beirut, 1960), p. 162.

⁴Anwar Al-Khatieb, The Socialist Tendency in Islam (Al-Naz'a' Al-Ishtirakiyah Fi Al-Islam). (Beirut, 1965), p. 9.

⁵Ibid., p. 10.

the social services.⁶ The same emphasis on social and human conditions was also advocated by the Fabian society, which seems to influence the ideology of the P.S.P. The basic philosophy of Fabianism and later of British socialism sees socialism as only an outcome of democracy. The P.S.P. subscribes to this idea in its basic ideology. The P.S.P. has proclaimed that progressivism is the spirit of its program and socialism is the technique--hence the Progressive Socialist Party.

Progressive Socialism

The P.S.P.'s internationally oriented ideology is paralleled by its concern with human problems everywhere--whether social, economic, political or educational. This emphasis on human problems is reflected in Article 3 of the P.S.P. constitution, which defines the goals of the P.S.P.:

The party's goals are the achievement of the people's desire for a decent living, freedom, justice and brotherhood, in accordance with the provisions of the rights of man and the world's concern expressed in emphasizing our just inheritance of all the social, economic, intellectual and political movements which came about in history for the purpose of realizing a complete system for man. The party is responsible for this before the conscience of man, the progress of men and the conscience of the nation.⁷

The P.S.P. insignia reflects this emphasis on the human aspect of life: it is composed of a pick-ax and a pen, which are located in

⁶For a complete discussion of Robert Owen and his socialist ideas refer to William Ebenstein's Political Thought in Perspective, (New York, 1957), pp. 448-464.

⁷For full statement of Article 3, see Appendix A, Constitution of the Progressive Socialist Party, p. 154.

the middle of a white triangle, which in turn is centered in a blue globe; a band of red surrounds the entire insignia.⁸

The emphasis on international peace and the development of human unity is reflected in the party's concentration on progressivism in its ideology. The party's charter states:

We believe in progress, and progress is unlimited...for socialism to us is not the base but the form..., and it (socialism) is not the center of a circle but its circumference, and it is not the thing but its appearance.⁹

When asked about this emphasis on progressivism, Kamal Junblat told the author: "Man is in a state of continuous development, and because of this there should be changes in the programs of the party in accordance with the needs of the day: namely, the social needs

⁸Article 79 of the P.S.P. Internal Rules defines the P.S.P. insignia. Also see footnote 1 to Article 79, which outlines the insignia symbols as follows:

"The white color in the insignia symbolizes the internal plural peace and that of international peace, which the party seeks to realize in accordance with the teachings of its charter.

The blue color symbolizes that the party does not avoid spiritual feeling in the life of a human being and in explaining the progress of the individual and the masses; the party takes these into consideration based on the belief that this feeling has been a constant one in the life of the individual and the group for centuries.

The earth's sphere symbolizes human unity which is the popular tendency aiming at the end of uniting all the countries of the world in an international union, and toward the bringing of unity, brotherhood, and cooperation among all the peoples of the world regardless of their color, race, or beliefs.

The crossed pick-ax and pen symbolize two basic factors, labor and intellect, which affect the development of rules, civilization and history; in the unity of all the social groups which belong to them is the assurance for a victory of the socialist movement.

The red color symbolizes the idea of a 'complete revolution' in all the rules and ideologies as mentioned in the party's charter.

The triangle symbolizes the dependence of the party on positive force; i.e., the direct work and the principle of sacrifice as its path and goal for the struggle."

⁹Kamal Junblat, Introduction to the Charter of the P.S.P., pp. 10-11.

of the period."¹⁰ Former P.S.P. leader, Anwar Al-Khatieb, underlines this emphasis: "All systems and rules are the creations of experiments and practices, none of which exist for any length of time if not suitable for the needs of those who create them."¹² The same standard seems to apply to the progressive socialist ideology, for Anwar Al-Khatieb went on to state: "Socialism is a complete ideology, which has been and still is like all other systems under experimentation."¹³

The concentration on progressivism by the P.S.P. does not mean that socialism is of secondary importance. The achievement of progressivism is dependent on socialism as well as democracy. According to Kamal Junblat, "Socialism practiced in a democracy causes the achievement of progressivism."¹⁴ This combination of the cause and effect on the idea and its results is what the P.S.P. is based upon. Therefore a question ought to be asked here: What is progressive socialism? A Progressive Socialist Party bulletin explains it this way:

Progressive socialism is a social and political movement aimed at the establishment of a society and a governmental system based on three principles:

1--Progressivism: men's choice of the best in all their experience.

¹⁰Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

¹¹Mr. Anwar Al-Khatieb has been a parliament deputy from the Shuf district since 1953. He was one of the founders and leaders of the P.S.P. He left the party in 1960 for personal reasons.

¹²Al-Khatieb, p. 133.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

- 2--Socialism: that is, a social and economic system which aims at achieving social justice and equality in the opportunity for employment.
- 3--Democracy: that is, a governmental system of the people, by the people and for the people.¹⁵

The link between progressive socialism and democracy is considered to be the most important single element in the thought and policy of the party. Progressive socialism is dependent on democracy. This dependence, however, is conditional. Kamal Junblat argues that real democracy exists where "civilization is directed toward the satisfying of man's natural needs and desires in a sufficient and just manner, for as poverty leads to corruption, so does excessive wealth."¹⁶ As a result, progressive socialism places much emphasis on Gandhi's concept of "keeping the man neither rich nor poor"¹⁷ as the basis for its program and ideology.

Progressive socialism as a concept borrows from many current ideologies. For examples, progressive socialism reflects the Owenite thought that love and fellowship cannot be conceived in hatred and born in strife. Robert Owen's appeal to every "rational man" and "every true friend of humanity" is reflected in the party's charter, which states that the party's goal is "the attainment of the greatest practical measure of human justice and the most advanced civilization for our society."¹⁸ Education, according to Robert

¹⁵ Progressive Socialist Teachings (Ta'aliem Al'Takadumiyah Al'Ishtirakiya), P.S.P. Bulletin (Beirut, n.d.), p. 1.

¹⁶ Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See Appendix B, P.S.P. Charter, p. 176.

Owen, is the key to make men rational and more cooperative in their daily strife: "the best governed state will be that which shall possess the best national system of education."¹⁹ The P.S.P. places the same emphasis on education, as reflected in its charter:

Education must seek to disseminate the truth, the natural codes of character, and social values; and free and develop the mind to seek in all phases of life the realization of the complete man as an individual and a citizen, and in so doing fuse the powers of intelligence, judgment, sensitivity, and character into a well-balanced whole, that will train the body to become an ideal machine of work.²⁰

Fabianism also influenced progressive socialism's dependence upon democracy. According to Fabian thought, socialism is an inevitable result of the full fruition of democracy. Sidney Webb--one of the chief spokesmen of Fabianism--linked democracy with socialism: "So long, however, as democracy in political administration continues to be the dominant principle, socialism may be quite safely predicted as its economic obverse."²¹ This dependence on democracy, according to Webb, is very important for the creation of a new social organization. This new social organization, he wrote, can develop in a system which is democratic, but changes must be gradual, and must not be regarded as immoral by the people, and must be constitutional and peaceful.²² This Fabian influence can be seen in what the party's

¹⁹Quoted by William Ebenstein in Today's Issues, 4th edition (Engelwood, J. J., 1964), p. 202.

²⁰See Appendix B, P.S.P. Charter, p. 186.

²¹Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, et. al., Fabian Essays in Socialism (New York, 1891), p. 43.

²²For a complete historical and ideological analysis of Sidney Webb and his socialism, see M. Beer's A History of British Socialism (London, 1919).

charter includes as one of the professed aims of the P.S.P.:

The establishment of a society founded on true democracy where social security, justice, prosperity, peace and freedom prevail, and where those human rights decreed by the United Nations are assured.²³

Progressive Socialism, according to the P.S.P., respects human rights because it depends upon the individual and places high value on him. In its attitude toward the individual, progressive socialism contradicts the Fascist belief in basic human inequality. Fascist ideology not only accepts inequality, but asserts it as an ideal. Progressive Socialism recognizes inequality in individuals, but only in their abilities. Contrary to Fascism, progressive socialism affirms "basic equality in right, duties, and obligations" of individuals.²⁴ The charter of the P.S.P. states that one of the many aims of progressive socialism is the achievement of "political equality for all citizens, taking into consideration their worth and the extent of their ability to contribute to society."²⁵ According to Junblat, the P.S.P.

...refuses to accept the arithmetic equality of people, which refuses to recognize the individual...the party philosophy takes into consideration the natural differences in talent, ability, qualification and character; these natural differences are realistic and therefore, it is just that those who benefit society should receive larger rewards than others...and it is just for individuals not to receive according to their desires...but in accordance with the necessity of their daily living and development.²⁶

²³See Appendix B, P.S.P. Charter, p. 176.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Junblat, Introduction to the Charter of the Progressive Socialist Party, pp. 31-32.

²⁶Ibid.

As recently as May 1, 1966, while celebrating Labor Day, Kamal Junblat stated: "We never believe in the masses as such, but we believe in the human being who is the reality of the individuals who make up the masses."²⁷

The ideas of progressive socialism as advocated by the P.S.P. do not blend with Marxist thought. Yet communist propaganda is constantly trying to impress upon its Arab readers that Marxism is only the second stage following socialism. According to Soviet Communist propaganda books published for the Arabs, socialism and communism are

...two steps toward one classless society. Because of this they have many common characteristics. Communism grows out of socialism because it is a continuation of the achievement of socialism; for if the change from capitalism to socialism requires a social revolution, then the changeover from the first step to the higher one; i.e., the communist society, must be in the complete development of all socialistic principles without social revolution or the struggle among the classes of society.²⁸

Neither the membership nor the leadership of the P.S.P. accepts such an identification between communism and socialism. On the basis of the results of a questionnaire distributed to a group of the membership of the P.S.P., only 3.6 percent of the results reflected a belief in socialism as a first step toward communism. When asked the same question, Kamal Junblat stated that he adopts Marxism "only in relation to economics and sociological views."²⁹

²⁷From Kamal Junblat's speech in celebrating the first of May (Labor Day) of 1966 as printed in Al-Anba', May 7, 1966, p. 1.

²⁸Momedjan, Socialism---its Present and Future (Al-Ishtirakiyat---Hadirouha Wa Mustakbaloha) (Moscow, n.d.), p. 76.

²⁹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

Progressive socialism and Marxism differ in terms of their individual approach to revolution, ownership and religion. According to Dr. Edmund Na'im, in a lecture delivered at the Cenacle Libanais on October 23, 1953, these differences between Marxism and progressive socialism are basic to the individual orientation of each. He stated:

- 1--Our socialism is a legal socialism that looks at reality and tries to modify reality when necessary. In this manner of following legal change we reach the perfect socialism, while communism wants to implement its principles by violent and bloody revolutions.
- 2--We do not resist private individual ownership, but only limit its extent...; while communism does not accept the principle of private ownership. While also giving people what they need, regardless of the individuals, we give everyone what he needs, yet give extra recognition to those who deserve it.
- 3--We leave it to every individual to select any religious or material sect of his choice..., while communism interferes in the life of the individual in that it denies him spiritual teachings, limiting him to materialism.³⁰

Freedom of private ownership is very important to progressive socialism, because socialism is concerned with the individual man and his feelings. These feelings "grow attached to the land where a person lives, and taking it away is taking this feeling of possession."³¹ This is why the "party gives the owner the freedom of ownership, its increase and development and...; all this within laws based on

³⁰Edmund Na'im, The Theory of Progressive Socialism and its Application in Lebanon (Al-Nazariyah Al-Ishtirakiyah Wa Tatbiqoha Fi Lubnan) (Beirut, 1953), p. 36-37.

³¹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

progressive socialist teachings."³²

The differences between progressive socialism and communism is paralleled by some differences among advocates of socialism themselves. Socialism varies from one nation to another and from one continent to the next. Each group seeks in its own way a means by which it can answer the question of how to achieve socialism. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru:

Here socialists part company with each other, and there are many groups pointing different ways. Roughly they may be divided into two classes: (1) The slow-change, evolutionary groups which believe in going ahead step by step and working through parliaments, like the British Labour Party and the Fabians; and (2) the revolutionary groups which do not believe in achieving results through parliaments; these latter groups are mostly Marxists.³³

Progressive socialism is of the evolutionary group which seeks change by peaceful means. For this reason, among others, the ideology of the P.S.P. differs largely from that advocated by the Arab Resurrection Party (Al-Ba'th). One of the basic differences is the outlook of each on nationalism. Ali Youssef El-Khalil writes on this point: "What distinguishes the Ba'th from other Arab nationalist parties and movements is its inclusive systematic program that makes nationalism a way of life..."³⁴ Progressive socialism, on the other hand, is based on the existing elements of Lebanese

³²Issam Karam, "Freedom as Understood in Socialism" (Al-Huriya Wa Ma'fumiha Fi Al-Ishtirakiyat), Viewpoints on Progressive Socialism (Ara' Fi Al-Takadumiyah Al-Ishtirakiyat), P.S.P. Publication (Beirut, 1963), p. 51.

³³Ebenstein, Political Thought in Perspective, p. 555.

³⁴El-Khalil, The Socialist Parties of Syria and Lebanon, p. 77.

society and is dependent on the evolutionary process of that society, which eventually will form a part of an international society. Nationalism to the progressive socialists is internationalism. Arab nationalism is not their concept; as Kamal Junblat is reported to have told an interviewer:

We want to return Arabism to its depth and to our real culture...Arabism is more of a culture than a nationalism... We despise the idea of nationalism because it was imported to us from Europe...It is the selfishness of the individual and of society that may win temporarily but lose ultimately.³⁵

This difference over nationalism is also a part of the difference between the two ideologies on their views of revolution. While the P.S.P. refuses to accept the use of force or revolution:

...the Ba'th advocates a social revolution that will pave the way for unity, democracy, and socialism. It adopts revolutionary rather than evolutionary means, believing that only a fundamental change in the structure of Arab society will allow the introduction of the basic reforms that are necessary for the re-establishment of that society on a sound basis.³⁶

The social struggle of the Ba'th is also paralleled by the concept of class struggle which Marxism advocates. Progressive socialism advocates society as a whole body, with no differences within it. The P.S.P. charter declares that the party's work is toward "rejecting classes and feudalism and working toward developing real leadership and the awakening of the feeling of social solidarity and responsibility."³⁷ Social responsibility is reflected

³⁵Ibid., p. 173. Based on an interview reported by Samir Sanbar in Sabah Al-Khayr, September 20, 1956, p. 25.

³⁶Ibid., p. 95.

³⁷P.S.P. Charter, Appendix B, p. 180.

in the attitude of the P.S.P. toward the members of society. The party advocates the creation of small cooperatives as units of agricultural production, with the laborer in partnership with the employer; in this manner class differences can be eliminated from society.

Kamal Junblat wrote on this subject:

I am a socialist because I believe that there cannot be labor without capital..., and the labor which is energy kept in the arm of the individual is part of this capital. Since capital cannot loose its potentialities until it takes the form of labor, labor cannot be separated from capital. And if it were not for capital there could be no labor. However, it is the social class--that of the laborer and employer--which separates and distinguishes between capital and labor.³⁸

The emphasis which the P.S.P. places upon both the individual and international outlook caused its philosophy and ideology to be concerned with a complete program for an ideal social state. The socialist state, according to the P.S.P., is one in which every citizen is an owner and none are dispossessed. Citizens of the state are to be assured of equal opportunity for work, education, and the provision of health and social insurance. Ownership, as defined by the P.S.P., is to be of three kinds: private, collective, and public. The country's resources are to be utilized without any exclusive monopoly on the part of the few wealthy individuals.

The goal of a socialist state, according to the P.S.P., is to achieve a socialist society where progressiveness is the essential quality of that socialism. This type of socialism, to be successful, must be democratic, and this progressive socialist order

³⁸Kamal Junblat, Why I Am A Socialist (Limatha Ana Ishtiraki) (Beirut, October, 1965), p. 2.

is not to be worked out from above but must emanate from the people who have been trained and organized to know their rights and to assume with confidence and joy their responsibilities. The Progressive Socialist Party is dedicated to remaking the society into one in which the "integration of individuals and groups through mutual aid and cooperative effort results in one loving and creative society free of bias and prejudice of any sectarian doctrines."³⁹

The socialization of society is to come through evolutionary means which will eventually bring a total change. During this process, according to the charter, "the party resorts to direct action and the principle of self-sacrifice in order to attain its goals which shall result in complete change."⁴⁰ This principle of self-sacrifice is sometimes used to argue that the party is not merely a group of traditional leaders with certain immediate goals. The P.S.P. tries to separate itself from such traditional groups by emphasizing that the ultimate goal of the party is the socialization of the society, and not the implementation of the immediate needs of society or its members, whether they are in towns or villages. In his 1965 annual report to the P.S.P. General Assembly, Kamal Junblat stated:

It is not our only worry to bring roads, water, electricity, telephone service and schools to villages and compounds; it is not our only concern to find work for the unemployed...; for these are only the techniques which we work with, while our path lies toward the building of a progressive socialist world, where the spirit of cooperating

³⁹Nejla Izzeddine, The Arab World, Past, Present, and Future (Chicago, 1953), p. 395.

⁴⁰See Appendix B, P.S.P. Charter, p. 176.

brotherhood, justice, and sacrifice exists...⁴¹

{The party is committed to certain programs of social reform, to the nationalization of some parts of industry and to plans designed to wipe out unemployment; also, it has other programs and positions on foreign policy, alliances, and relations with the East and West. Therefore, a separate discussion of these programs is appropriate at this point in the study.}

Internal Policies

In an effort to implement its philosophy and ideas, the Progressive Socialist Party has developed a program of many social goals which, if put into effect, would penetrate areas of life which are considered private. The P.S.P. states that it aims to establish a political system in which the separation of religion from government is the principle. However, progressive socialism depends upon religion as a basis for developing its society. The charter includes this directive: "Have the people integrated into a complete social unit, recognizing religion as a basic foundation for a superior society and welcoming the work of the clerics in spreading the principles of the ideal man."⁴² This society, according to the P.S.P., is to be organized in accordance with the natural arrangement of Lebanese local groups, which does not aim at social differentiation.

⁴¹Kamal Junblat, P.S.P. Annual Report, P.S.P. publication (Beirut, 1965), p. 2.

⁴²See Appendix B, P.S.P. Charter, p. 180.

In the field of social relations, the party aims at strengthening the family by encouraging and enabling the young to marry early and by teaching them the significance of motherhood, and proper and good relations between parents and children. The P.S.P. calls for a civil law allowing any two people to select either a religious or a civil marriage. The idea of the society as one big family is also advocated by the P.S.P. The obligations of the members of such a family are also toward the betterment of the society as a whole. One of the basic expectations of the party from the members of the society is mandatory service in social work in time of peace, or military service whenever deemed necessary. In its efforts to set an example to society, the party expects its members at present to perform this service of social work. As an example, on November 9, 1953, the Board of Directors issued an order to all party members to set aside one day of their time to help build the party's center."⁴³

The party calls on the government to establish a comprehensive social security program which, among other things, would include public health and unemployment benefits.⁴⁴ As a result of its

⁴³Edmund Na'im, The Theory of Progressive Socialism and Its Application in Lebanon (Al-Nazariyah Al-Ishtirakiyah Wa Tatbiqaha Fi Lubnan) (Beirut, 1953), p. 17. It is the belief of this author that there have not been any efforts on the part of the P.S.P. to demand from its membership such social service; for from 1953 until the present, the party has not tried to build its center. There has not been any mention of party activities along this line anywhere in Lebanon which have been reported by the press or the party paper, Al-Anba'.

⁴⁴For full statement, see Appendix B, Part Three, pp. 181-182.

importance, the party prepared its own health protection program, which was written in 1955 by Dr. Robert Karam, with the legal advice of Dr. Edmund Na'im and Mr. Anwar Al-Khatieb, and the medical advice of Dr. Bishara Al-Dahan. According to the Karam health protection program, an estimate of 215 health units should be established all over Lebanon. Each health unit would provide most of the medical services--except major operations--for an average of 7,000 people. One of the benefits of such a program is set forth in article 9 of the party program: "The health protection plan is to give mandatory coverage to permanent and non-permanent employees of the government, while allowing the rest of the citizens the option of joining the program..."⁴⁵ The program is to be supported by members' fees and the government's budgetary allowances.

Unemployment is a problem in Lebanon. It has caused thousands of Lebanese over the years to leave their homes and seek a living in foreign lands. In a speech during the celebration of the 18th anniversary of the Progressive Socialist Party, one of the speakers, Muhsin Ibrahim, referred to the problem of unemployment in Lebanon as follows:

The number of those available and qualified for work is about 800,000 people; while we find that the number of those who are really working is about 450,000 individuals, adding to them an average of 130,000 who find seasonal employment only. What is all this supposed to mean? Numerically this means that about 220,000 people do not have and cannot find jobs.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Robert Karam, Medical Insurance in Lebanon (Al-Daman al-Sihhi fi-Lubnan), P.S.P. Publication (Beirut, 1955), p. 9. This program is a detailed one consisting of 8 parts of 69 articles, and is intended to be a governmental project and not a party one.

⁴⁶Al-Anba', May 7, 1966, p. 3.

The P.S.P. recognizes the problem of unemployment and blames the government for not finding a solution for it.⁴⁷ The party, besides blaming the government, blames also the employers and the business groups for not initiating more employment opportunities. The party believes that most of Lebanon's wealth is being swallowed by a small minority of wealthy people. The party's paper, Al-Anba', quotes the IRFED report⁴⁸ on this subject:

{ Nine percent of the Lebanese are miserable because their income does not exceed 1200 Lebanese pounds a year; and 40 percent are poor because their income ranges between 1200-2500 pounds a year; there are about 30 percent who make between 2500-5000 pounds while 14 percent make between 5000-15000 pounds. The millionaires are only four (4) percent of the population and control all the Lebanese assets. Therefore, it can be stated, based on these figures, that 50 percent of the Lebanese people receive 18 percent of the national income, and another 32 percent of the people get 22 percent of the income, while 14 percent of the population receives 28 percent. As to the remaining four percent, they enjoy 32 percent of Lebanon's total national income.⁴⁹

⁴⁷"Lebanon", The Arab World: Special Issue, XI, No. 3 (New York, 1965), p.60; Lebanon has a Social Security Code set up for the purpose of creating 'for the benefit of every citizen, and in particular every worker, a system of guarantees against eventualities liable to reduce or terminate their activity or place them under extra burdens.' The bill will be implemented in stages in 1965. The total cost of the scheme is expected to reach LL 136,000,000. The social security scheme covers sickness and maternity insurance, service-incurred accidents and disability, family allowances, and end-of-service indemnity."

⁴⁸IRFED: (Institute international de recherche et de formation envue de development) was a private, independent association established in Paris and directed by Pierre Louis Joseph Lebet. On the invitation of the Lebanese government in 1958, the association sent a mission of experts to prepare a report on the social and economic situation. Its reports have been widely quoted by most Lebanese newspapers as well as Lebanese intellectuals dealing with related subjects. See, Le Commerce du Levant, November 1960 - April 1961.

⁴⁹Al-Anba', November 20, 1965, p. 2.

{ Because of the insecurity which the Lebanese laborer suffers, and the extreme differences in wealth as well as in the yearly income between the various classes of the society, the Progressive Socialist Party wants to see a separate governmental agency created where labor, voluntary or mandatory as deemed by the majority of the labor organization, can be insured. The party, in its platform in 1964, called for the adoption of five year plans with a view toward developing Lebanese industry and expanding irrigation networks and artificial lakes.⁵⁰ The party called also for giving every worker, including the farm worker, a monthly income, to be drawn from the social insurance plan when the worker reaches the age of sixty. Also, in an effort to attract more labor groups to its ranks, the party called on the government and employers to reduce the work day to 7 hours. Also--and such an idea has already been accepted in principle by the government--the party called for the "establishment of housing units in cities and the countryside in an effort to meet the need for good housing and to satisfy the party motto, every citizen is the owner of his home."⁵¹

In the field of agriculture the P.S.P. looks forward to the development of cooperatives. According to Anwar Al-Khatieb: "The P.S.P. wants to adopt the cooperative system on a large scale in all possible areas of production and consumption; such cooperative

⁵⁰The Party Platform for the Coming Period Beginning 1964 (Minhaj Al-Amal Al-Hizbi Khilal Al-Marhala Al-Kadimah), P.S.P. Publication (Beirut, 1964), p. 5.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 6-7.

effort has been successful in all the experiences of European countries as well as in the Soviet Union."⁵² In pursuing this effort, the P.S.P. advocates a policy of total and partial nationalization of all means of production which are important to the welfare of the society. A party bulletin defines partial nationalization in this way: "the government is a partner with private groups in a project and shares with them profits as well as losses."⁵³ However, the P.S.P. limits its nationalization policy to the most essential public businesses. Among the institutions which the P.S.P. would like to see totally nationalized are the water, electricity and the port of Beirut companies; while others like television companies, are to be partially nationalized.⁵⁴

This policy of promised nationalization caused Lebanon's poor to identify with the party. These "have not" Lebanese expected that any time the party took office they would become owners and partners because the leadership of the party constantly made them these promises.⁵⁵

⁵²Al-Khatieb, p. 113.

⁵³Socialist Teachings (Al-Ta'aliem Al-Ishtirakiyat), p. 4.

⁵⁴The electricity and transportation company, which was owned by Belgian and French interests, has been nationalized by the government since then; also, the water company, which was owned by European and Lebanese interests. However, there is no literature, to the author's knowledge, crediting the P.S.P. for such acts of nationalization.

⁵⁵An illustration of this misunderstanding is a humorous incident which happened to the family of the author: on the first morning after the election of Camille Shamoun as President of Lebanon in 1953, (Shamoun was known to have been in complete alliance with the P.S.P.), some P.S.P. members, headed by a laborer, Shahin Abu Mujahid, came to the author's father and demanded that he evacuate his 4-story house for their occupation. The reason they gave was that the P.S.P. was then in power, and the laborers were going to become owners of their homes; and so the group was placing its hands on the building in expectation of the formal governmental order of confiscation.

The leadership stated as early as 1950 that "we want to see all public institutions nationalized, so every citizen can become an owner... and every worker can become a partner of the employer."⁵⁶ According to the P.S.P. leadership, this is admittedly a difficult goal to achieve in Lebanon. The party, as a result,

...plans to concentrate at least for the next five years on the realization of some projects and social programs for Lebanon. Examples of such projects would be free education up to college level, and expansion of more social services to all citizens, in addition to implementing a proportional system of election like that applied in West Germany at present.⁵⁷

The P.S.P. aims most of its critical attacks at the political front. Its most famous attack was on Article 95 of the Lebanese Constitution.⁵⁸ This article recognizes religion as the basis on which offices in various ministries and governmental agencies, as well as seats in the Lebanese parliament, are to be distributed. The party favors the complete elimination of religion as the basis; it has also presented the government with a program seeking the elimination of religious affiliations from identity cards issued to Lebanese citizens. In the field of national politics the party, through its leader Kamal Junblat, opposes the National Pact, although it does tolerate it now for the sake of the workability of the constitution.⁵⁹ According to Kamal Junblat:

⁵⁶Kamal Junblat, as reported in Al-Nahar, January 13, 1950, p. 2.

⁵⁷Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

⁵⁸See complete text of Article 95 of the Constitution, p. 19.

⁵⁹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

The National Pact is not an end in itself; and it does not create anything of real or positive value. The only consideration due the National Pact is that it was the first step toward the achievement of secularization of public life and we should not stop at the half-way point, without establishing the state of the nation...⁶⁰

Opposition to the National Pact as a basis for Lebanese politics stems from its many consequences, which plant the roots of sectarianism deeper. One such consequence of the National Pact is Lebanon's national or parliamentary representation, which the P.S.P. believes does not guarantee the Lebanese people a true economic, cultural and educational representation. Editorials in the party's newspaper, Al-Anba', argue more for a change in this system of representation than for any other topic. The P.S.P. declares that true popular representation must go hand in hand with the socialization of the state. Contrary to Duverger's hypothesis (see Chapter 1, p. 5), the party advocates the establishment of the proportional representation system, and expansion of representation in parliament. The present electoral system allows candidates, on a district basis, to form alliances in presenting a list. Thus a strong candidate, or a religious group, can usually help elect a weak candidate from another religious sect. Because politics functions in this way in Lebanon, the P.S.P. advocates that "small, single-member election districts are not good, because they will emphasize rather than minimize religion in the parliament."⁶¹ The

⁶⁰Junblat, The Truth about the Lebanese Revolt, p. 112.

⁶¹Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

P.S.P. claims that this use of religion as the basis of politics and government is to a large extent hindering the progress and advancement of Lebanon, because it is hindering Lebanon's relations with its neighboring Arab states and other countries. This type of internal pressure has influenced the political stands which the party takes on many international problems.

External Policies

In its foreign policy, the Progressive Socialist Party emphasizes its position as a Lebanese socialist party. According to its constitution, the P.S.P. is open only to Lebanese membership.⁶² This characterized the party's outlook until 1956, though the party had never objected to the close relation which existed between Lebanon and the Arab world. This statement by Dr. Edmund Na'im illustrates the party's position:

The Progressive Socialist Party, based on its effort toward creating peace around the world, adopts close cooperation with all countries which share with us such goals.⁶³

International concern and the dominance of socialism over traditional ideas of nationalism, as reflected by other Arab states, was the guiding principle. The P.S.P. Charter, in its foreign policy section, Article 2, states that "the party supports close cooperation among the Arab states."⁶⁴

⁶²According to Article 63 of the P.S.P. Internal Rules, one of the basic requirements for eligibility of a party applicant is Lebanese citizenship. For a full text, see Appendix A, p. 167.

⁶³Na'im, p. 35.

⁶⁴Junblat, Introduction to the Charter of the P.S.P., p. 58.

With the British-French-Israeli attack on the Suez Canal, the ideas of closer Arab relations and of Arab unity appeared more and more in P.S.P. press statements, leadership speeches and Al-Anba' editorials. The party leadership resignations which occurred in 1956 were the result of the party's internal struggle toward reaching a position on this subject. According to Abbas Khalaf, "although the differences of 1956 among party leadership were due mainly to personal reasons, one factor which was clear more than any other was that some party leaders were not happy with Junblat's vague position on Arab nationalism."⁶⁵ The opinion of one young party district head on the same issue is that "at least two of the six who resigned, Maurice Maksoud and Jibran Majdalani, did so because they wanted the P.S.P. to declare Arab unity its goal."⁶⁶ The general feeling of the party's membership on Arab unity, based on responses in the questionnaire, indicated that none of those who returned the questionnaire wanted Lebanon to unite with the Arab states without reservations. Over fourteen percent of the returns indicated that members would like to see Lebanon remain in its present status, while 78.5 percent wanted to unite Lebanon with those Arab states which have socialist regimes. None of the returned questionnaires indicated a favorable attitude toward a neutral Lebanon as advocated by men like Charles Malik and Phalanges party leader, Pierre Gmayel. When Kamal Junblat was asked why the

⁶⁵Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

⁶⁶Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

Progressive Socialist Party had not come out publicly and with more strength toward Arab unity before 1956, he told the author:

The idea before 1956 was to go along respecting the feelings of our Christian brothers whom we wanted to join the party on the basis of socialism, but as a result of the aggression on Suez of 1956, we discovered that close cooperation and alliance between the socialist Arab parties is the most important thing in the struggle against imperialism, and in the creation of an Arab personality and the Arab civilization which we desire.⁶⁷

The 1958 Lebanese crisis strengthened Junblat's conviction that he must depend on closer and better relations with the Arab states which had helped him during the crisis. This conviction appears in various favorable speeches by the P.S.P. leader, and in the attitude of some of the young leadership, as represented by Abbas Khalaf when he stated: "We believe completely in Arab unity with the condition that all laws of the would-be united Arab states must be socialistic in spirit as well as in practice, for there can be no way to distinguish between Arab unity and socialism."⁶⁸

Presently, there can be no doubt as to the formal position of the P.S.P. with respect to Arab unity; however, the acceptance by the P.S.P. of the National Pact, which pledges to keep Lebanon in its present status, diminishes much of the desire of the party to declare itself wholeheartedly for Arab unity. On the other hand, the acceptance and tolerance of the National Pact by the P.S.P. has not changed its stand on foreign defense alliance systems and other relations with the West. The Progressive Socialist Party states

⁶⁷Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁶⁸Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

very emphatically that it is against any commitment on Lebanon's part toward any defense pact. Non-alignment is the party's motto; the party takes a strong stand in favor of the creation of a powerful third world force composed of the Afro-Asian countries who would exercise pressure on both the Western and communist camps.⁶⁹ The P.S.P. claims a long history in its fight against imperialism and the influence of big powers. When the United States and its allies were pressuring the Arab countries to join in the Middle East Defense Command, the P.S.P. went to the streets of Beirut demonstrating against it and as a result one of its members, Ihsan Abu-Isma'il,⁷⁰ was killed, and many other members were hurt.

The party also claims that with the help of other socialist and nationalist organizations, it led the struggle against the Baghdad Pact.⁷¹ This struggle took place again in 1964, when the United States suggested it invest some of its money in the Lebanon, subject to certain conditions. This project, which the Lebanese government

⁶⁹The P.S.P. leader claims that the non-aligned Afro-Asian nations, will act as a third world force. In 1958 he stated: "It is well-known that the party was the first to state such ideas [Afro-Asian bloc] during the Soufar meeting in the summer of 1949 and also in subsequent statements and press releases.... We personally called for this in 1941, in articles written in 'Les Cahiers de L'est', analyzing the tendency to unite the efforts of these countries for the sake of establishing world peace.... Also in autumn, 1951, the party, in a joint communique with the Indian Socialist Party, explained perhaps for the first time the ideas underlying this third world force, and that there would be no reason to refuse peoples and nations from other than Africa and Asia to join the bloc...but that it is the better if this happens."

⁷⁰Junblat, The Truth about the Lebanese Revolt, p. 54.

⁷¹On the Occasion of May 1, 1965, p. 1.

had to refuse because it came under constant attack from the P.S.P. and other leftists, was the topic of many popular and partisan meetings in 1964-65. One such meeting was "The popular movement"⁷² held in Byblos Cinema in Beirut on July 18, 1965. At this meeting Junblat stated that

...the Americans were beginning to appear more imperialistic than ever, because of this program of guaranteed and protected foreign investments as well as the attack of the U.S.A. on the Dominican Republic plus its greatest sign of imperialism in South Vietnam and the undeclared war of aggression it is waging against North Vietnam.⁷³

In questioning the P.S.P. leader on his stand against "foreign investments" in Lebanon, Junblat stated:

I have never been against un-conditional aid from any foreign country; but the Eisenhower Doctrine as well as the American offer of foreign investments all included some conditions which the party could not accept. We favor foreign investment, if it comes from the Arab states or if controlled by the Lebanese government only.⁷⁴

The Progressive Socialist Party does not have the same fear of the communist camp as does the West. Party literature has always been critical of the West and its "aggressive" intentions. When the P.S.P. leader was asked about the Soviet Union and its allies, he answered,

⁷²According to a high-ranking official in the Department of General Security, the "popular movement" is communist dominated and Junblat is being used because he likes to give speeches to large crowds.

⁷³Al-Anba', July 24, 1965. The complete speech was reported on p. 10. During that meeting there were speakers representing various leftist groups and Lebanese radicals.

⁷⁴Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

...the party emphasizes that Lebanon should accord the communist nations in general and the Soviet Union in particular the same rights and privileges in Lebanon which the U.S.A. and its allies receive. We ask for this because we do not face any more danger from the U.S.S.R. than from the U.S.A.⁷⁵

The P.S.P. leader illustrated further by recalling that when he was the Minister of Economy in 1946, the Soviet Union offered Lebanon a free shipment of wheat, but the President, Bishara Al-Khoury, and his prime minister, Riad Al-Solh, refused to accept the shipment because they feared the British government's anger.⁷⁶ Since then, the P.S.P. has been constantly seeking the improvement of Soviet-Lebanese relations. When Mr. Junblat became Minister of Education in 1960, he inaugurated a program allowing Lebanese students to study in communist countries; also, as Minister of Public Works and Transportation, (1962), he negotiated air treaties with the communist nations.

The resentment of the P.S.P. of the influence of the West has had many causes, such as the long history of colonial rule, but most important is the creation of Israel, which all Arabs consider to be the creature of the West. (The P.S.P. considers Israel a military base for imperialism.) (The leadership states that its presence only slows down the progress of socialism in the Arab lands, but that it will not be able to stop it. Since Israel was established almost twenty years ago, sending more than a million refugees into the Arab states, the P.S.P. has been concerned, as have other groups,

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

with this problem. The solution, the party says, is to let the wrongs be righted so the refugees can go back to their homes in Palestine. The only way to achieve this is for the Arabs to follow a policy of non-alignment, while developing closer relations among themselves through the Arab League.

The P.S.P. has taken a strong and positive position on the maintenance of international institutions. It calls for the strengthening of the United Nations as an organization of international peace. The party claims that since 1941, its leader has called for the creation of an international police force, whose task is the prevention of wars and the maintenance of world peace.⁷⁷ The party's proposed program for strengthening the United Nations is based on three points:

- 1--Cancellation of the veto power in the Security Council, so the U.N. can function in time as a world union.
- 2--Creation of a representative council besides the General Assembly which includes elected delegates representing the peoples or parliaments of the world according to population.
- 3--Establishment of international authorities - economic, scientific, educational, financial, and others - to promote international cooperation.⁷⁸

The Progressive Socialist Party aims to promote its ideology and programs through continuous educational efforts directed toward the masses, and by peaceful means rather than by force or revolution. As Nejla Izzeddine, quoting Kamal Junblat, writes: "The goals to

⁷⁷Junblat, "Our Position on Asian Grouping" (Mawqifuna Min al-Takatul Al-Asiawi), The Progressive Socialist Party's Position (Mawqif Al-Hizb Al-Ishtiraki), P.S.P. Publication (Beirut, 1958), p. 23.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 29.

which the P.S.P. is committed cannot be less important to us than the means used to achieve them."⁷⁹ The achievement of these goals by the party depends to a large extent on the type of leadership which the party has had in the past and still has today.

⁷⁹ Izzeddine, p. 170.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP, ALLIANCES, AND PARTY ACTIVITIES

The Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon is primarily the result of one man's ideas and thoughts and the product of long preparation. The formal structure of the P.S.P. conforms to Hodgkin's description of a mass party:

The formal structure of a mass party is reasonably clear. It normally contains three elements: the party leader, president or chairman; an inner policy-making central committee, or bureau politique; and an outer executive committee or council, whose functions are mainly consultative.¹

The internal rules of the party define the structure of authority of the P.S.P. in this way: "Party president, commissions, deputy commissions, districts and branches. Communication must be in this order in the party."² The central executive structure of the party, according to Article 5 of the constitution, is composed of the party president, the two vice presidents, and the Board of Directors. However, P.S.P. leadership is also significant at the regional and branch levels.

The P.S.P. leadership is small in number, much smaller than the formal organization of the party reflects. The P.S.P. seems

¹Thomas Hodgkin, African Political Parties (London, 1961), p. 93.

²P.S.P. Internal Rules, p. 5.

to have a ruling elite which perpetuates its leadership not only through formal elections but also through traditional and inherited authority.

When party leadership is examined, party alliances and strength must be considered at the same time. A standard technique for measuring party strength is to employ three different yardsticks: members, voters, and parliamentary seats.³ The strength of the P.S.P. cannot be measured by any one of these factors alone, for one principal reason: the election alliances that are entered into between parties and leaders (Zu'ma'), on the district level. The structure and composition of the district (Al-Quada'), which makes up the basic election unit, is not a reflection of a single social class, religion, or economic need; on the contrary, it is a combination of all these. This combination is not going to produce votes for a single representative who represents one religious group. Instead, all of the constituencies except Sidon district (Sidon Quada') have been established as multi-member ones in order to better represent the diversity of voter interests. The voter can cast his ballot for the complete list put forth by an alliance, or for any candidate or candidates not exceeding the number of deputies to be elected in that district. Because of this electoral system, the P.S.P. enters into alliances with other political parties and independents during the election periods; and for this reason, the P.S.P.'s importance in Lebanese political life cannot be measured on the basis

³Duverger, p. 281.

of election results alone. A more accurate guideline is the party's achievements in its leadership activities in a society characterized by many traditional influences.

The P.S.P. claims many achievements, including most of the credit for saving and protecting the Lebanese Constitution on two occasions, in 1952 and again in 1958. Through the activities of its leadership in Lebanese society and in parliament, the party takes credit for instituting many progressive programs and some important pieces of legislation, ranging from the creation of the Ministry of Planning to social security programs for insuring all citizens. The party is dependent in these activities upon its leadership, which is more than simply a party leadership; it has influence which stems from its traditional roots. This leadership consists of Kamal Junblat and his close associates (see Chart, p. 114), who serve in the high positions of the party.

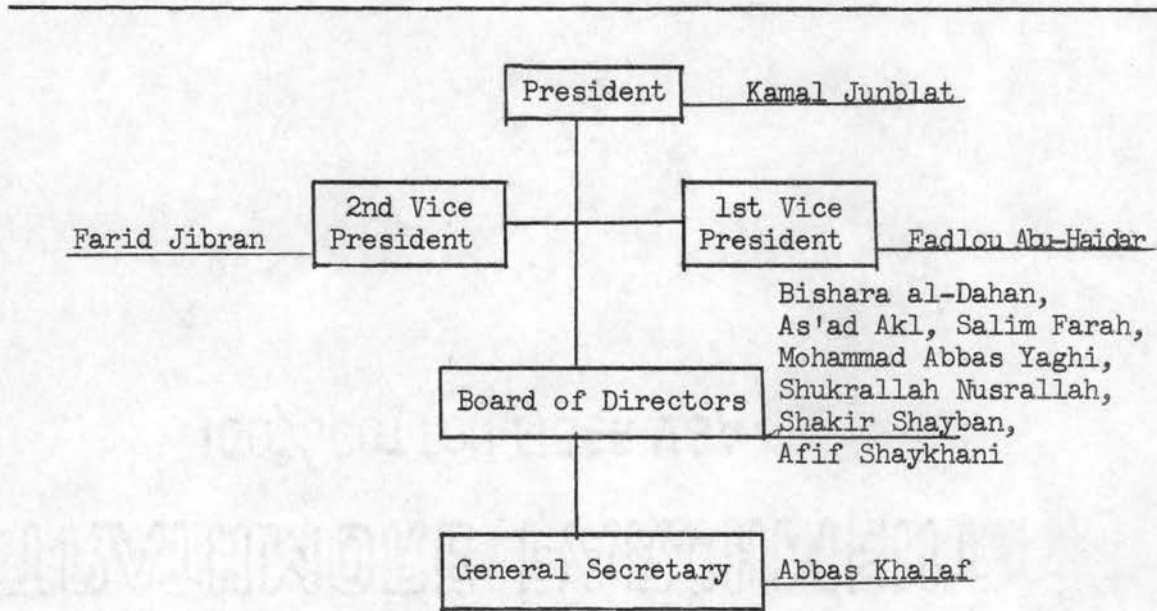
Leadership

From the beginning, the P.S.P. has had only one man as its president: its founder, Kamal Junblat, the son of a feudal family which has complete leadership over one of two factions which make up the Druze Community in Lebanon.⁴ This family leadership was

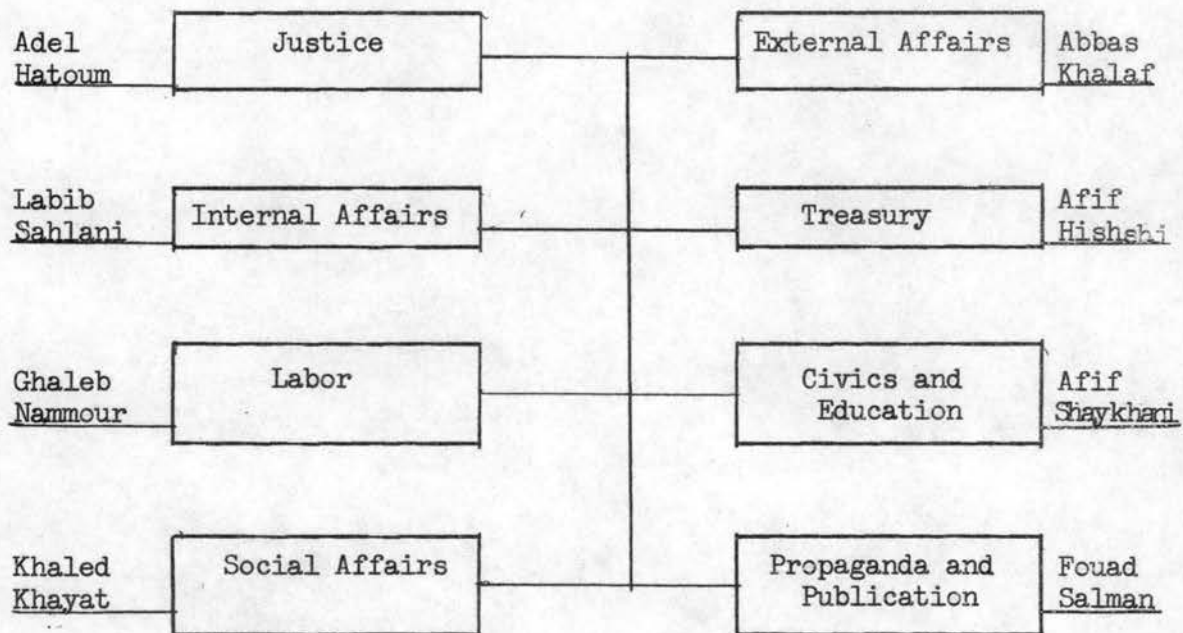
⁴The Lebanese have known factionalism for a long time. Until 1711, Lebanese, regardless of religion, were divided into Kaisey and Yamani; this factionalism was then transformed among the Druze into Yazbaki and Junblati; later the Yazbaki leadership fell into the hands of the Arislan family; and at present the two recognized leaders of the Yazbaki and Junblati factions, are Majid Arislan and Kamal Junblat, respectively. For a complete discussion of this factionalism, see William R. Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963).

CHART II

CENTRAL PARTY LEADERSHIP



COMMISSIONERS OF



inherited by Kamal Junblat, whom Who's Who in the Middle East calls "A Lebanese politician and a hereditary Druze chieftain..."⁵ He was born on December 6, 1917 in Al-Mukhtara in the Shuf district, to Fouad Junblat and his wife, Nazira, who was always called al-Sitt (the Lady).⁶ He received his high school education at Ein-toura, a Christian missionary school, where upon graduation, he left for Paris to attend the University of Paris for one year. At the Sorbonne, he received two degrees, one in sociology and the other in psychology and civics. Upon returning to Lebanon, Kamal Junblat studied law at St. Joseph University in Beirut, where he received his "License en Droit" in 1941. After receiving his law degree, he practiced law for only one year, after which he turned his attention to business and politics.

As a businessman, Kamal Junblat founded a factory to produce chemical products, and at present he is a major share holder of a cement factory established in the Shuf district. In 1943, he won a seat in the parliamentary elections from the Shuf district (Quada' al-Shuf); and has continued as a member of parliament except for the period between 1957-1960 when he lost his seat to Kahtan Himmah, another Druze from Ba'Kline in the Shuf. It is suggested that Shamoun's influence in the campaign caused Junblat to lose his parliamentary position. Since 1943, Kamal Junblat has held high

⁵The Middle East, (London, 1963), p. 265.

⁶For more information on the life and influence of Al-Sitt Nazira Junblat, see Nejla Izzeddine's book, The Arab World, Past, Present, and Future, p. 310-312.

government positions more than ten times. In 1946, he was appointed Minister of National Economy in the cabinet of Riad Al-Solh. He resigned in May, 1947, in protest against continual interference by Bishara Al-Khouri, the President, and the Prime Minister, Riad Al-Solh, in the affairs of his ministry. Since 1960, Kamal Junblat has served in several cabinets under various Prime Ministers. He had been at various times Minister of National Education, Public Works, Planning, and Interior.⁷

As a writer, Kamal Junblat has published many books and articles, some of which are his translations of Mondaha Aubamyshad. Three books are translations from the Hindi language. Some of his Arabic books are The Truth about the Lebanese Revolt of 1958 (Haqiqat Al-Thawra Al-Lubnaniyah), and The Course of Lebanese Politics (Fi Majra al-Siyasah Al-Lubnaniyah), and four more on economics and Lebanese society. } As a journalist, Kamal Junblat writes the weekly editorial of the party newspaper, Al-Anba', in which he explains the party's position and views on all current national and international problems.

The life and personality of Kamal Junblat reflect an interesting diversity. As an individual he seems to be very sensitive to the needs and suffering of the people, to the point of distributing some of his own landholdings.⁸ In the words of a Lebanese author:

⁷At the time of the writing of this thesis, Kamal Junblat was the Minister of Public Works, and also of Telephone and Postal services, in the cabinet of Abdullah al-Yafi.

⁸According to a statement of Fahim Quabin, in his Crisis in Lebanon, p. 57.

Kamal Junblat, scion of a feudal family, has completely identified himself with the people. He has renounced a life of ease, inherited leadership and prestige, for a life of hardship, toil and sacrifice.⁹

He has expressed his desire to establish a new society from the grass roots through the medium of the Progressive Socialist Party. These ideas, however, are not clear to many people. In the words of Robert Murphy, the former U. S. Under Secretary of State for International Affairs, "Junblat's political ideas are fuzzy..."¹⁰ Harold Minor, U. S. Ambassador to Lebanon in 1953, stated that "Kamal Junblat is a visionary with a silly philosophy. However, he is not an extreme leftist or a communist."¹¹ Yet another opinion on the ideas and personality of Junblat is that "In the person of Junblat many modern ideologies and modern political ambitions are blended strangely with the inherited position of a Druze tribal leader, the son of a great Druze princess (Amirah), who had been endowed, so many believe, with prophetic gifts."¹²

The Junblat philosophy is based on the belief that the individual holds the key to international peace and understanding, which must be achieved through civilization and culture. In a recent book, Junblat states that "civilization is concerned with developing the material institution of society, while culture includes everything

⁹Izzeddine, p. 395.

¹⁰Robert Murphy, A Diplomat Among Warriors (New York, 1964), p. 406.

¹¹Personal interview with Harold Minor, Stillwater, Oklahoma, March 31, 1966.

¹²Arnold Hottinger, p. 131.

concerned with the spiritual, moral and characteristic advancement of the human being."¹³ This advancement, according to the P.S.P. leader, can be realized through socialism. However, socialism to him is also blended with ideas from Chinese philosophy and philosophies from India. In referring to this influence as reflected in the P.S.P. and its ideology, Nicola Ziadeh says of the P.S.P., that "its program points toward socialist views on the Asian model."¹⁴ However, Ziadeh expresses doubts about the sincerity of Junblat's socialist efforts. Kamal Junblat acknowledges the Asian influence through his writings, statements of philosophy, and his daily life. One man to whom Junblat acknowledges much indebtedness is the late Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Nearly every year the leader of the P.S.P. undertakes a pilgrimage to India, where he engages himself in spiritual contemplation and philosophical discussions with Indian sophists. Junblat's daily life is an exact imitation of Gandhi's:¹⁵ Junblat neglects his material needs, and depends to a large extent on the same cures and remedies described by Hindus.¹⁶

¹³Kamal Junblat, Beyond the Letters (Fi-Ma Ya-Ta'ada al-Harf) (Beirut, n. d.), p. 100.

¹⁴Nicola Ziadeh, "The Lebanese Elections, 1960", The Middle East Journal, XIV, no. 4, autumn, 1960, p. 370.

¹⁵Don Peretz has made a study of Junblat, and has written a book entitled The Gandhi of Lebanon and his Party (Tel Aviv, 1953), in which he states: "...it [the P.S.P.] is one of the few Arab political organizations sincerely devoted to social reform". Quoted from Raphael Patai, Jordon, Lebanon and Syria: An Annotated Bibliography (New Haven, 1957), p. 215.

¹⁶Several years ago, when one of this author's sisters was ill, Kamal Junblat brought her medicine from India which had been prescribed by Hindu doctors. This experience illustrates the extent of Junblat's reliance upon Hinduism.

Dr. Nejla Izzeddine, writes of Gandhi's influence on the leader of the P.S.P.:

Junblat is deeply imbued with the life, work, and teachings of the world's greatest spiritual leaders, among them the Hindu mystics. His own life is strikingly reminiscent of Gandhi's. To him, as to the greatest Indian leader, meditation is of the essence of mental and spiritual discipline; and after the crowded day's activity in the city or throughout the country, he retires to his ancestral mountain castle where in quiet reflection and prayerful contemplation, he reviews the work accomplished and draws inspiration and strength for the work yet to be done.¹⁷

However, Junblat has not conformed completely to the Gandhian teachings of anarchy or non-violence. In the first case the P.S.P. leader has always insisted on legislation to strengthen the authority of the central government.¹⁸ Also, his ownership of property and factories demonstrates that Gandhi's simple propertyless life is not imitated by the P.S.P. leader.¹⁹ As to the idea of non-violence, Kamal Junblat told the author that

¹⁷Izzeddine, p. 396.

¹⁸In his book The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, Junblat calls for the establishment of cabinet ministries to manage and direct the businesses of towns and villages, as well as a ministry for planning and development. See his discussion pp. 168-172. It must be mentioned that a ministry of planning is at present functioning.

¹⁹Al-Safa, March 15, 1965. This Lebanese newspaper reported that "Junblat and company were issued a license by the council of ministers, for a cement factory to be built in the Shuf mountains." This is a significant point because Junblat's partners are men from the wealthiest group of Lebanon: Najib Alamaddine, Bahiej Takayed-dine and others. Also this factory is supposed to be operated on a socialist basis; i.e., by distributing the profits to the laborers working in it. In addition, the worker will be able to buy property lots on an installment basis, and will have all the social and material benefits advocated by the programs of the Progressive Socialist Party, p. 3.

Opposition must be peaceful and non-violent; however, if this proves to be completely ineffective, then a show of force and violence is necessary with three conditions:

- 1--All peaceful efforts should be exhausted,
- 2--the leaders should be at the front line of these violent activities and must not fear any consequences,
- 3--the leaders must not think of either winning or losing during such actions.²⁰

Within this frame of reference, Kamal Junblat supports the use of violence or positive resistance. He stated that "non-violence does not forbid the person from protecting himself; it only forbids him from taking the initiative..."²¹

As a politician, Kamal Junblat is hated and envied by many Lebanese. Those who question Junblat's P.S.P. activities and goals accuse him of being a feudalist, the very thing he claims to be fighting against. One scholarly assessment of Junblat is that

Junblat is no ordinary propagandist; he is a doctrinaire revolutionary pamphleteer and something of an intellectual who does not hesitate to reject national traditions, myths, and slogans that are ordinarily considered sacrosanct by Lebanese politicians: free enterprise, inter-sectarian distribution of government jobs, the National Pact of 1943..., with which Junblat is profoundly depressed and disgusted, for he sees in it anarchy, grasping materialist hypocrisy, corruption and the enrichment of mediocrity through half-way measures.²²

As a political leader, Kamal Junblat seems to be in possession of two images--that of the traditional feudalist Druze leader among his personal followers, and that of the first comrade and teacher among the members of the Progressive Socialist Party. As the heir

²⁰Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

²¹Ibid.

²²Malcolm H. Kerr, "Review of The Truth about the Lebanese Revolt," Middle East Journal, XV, no. 2, 1961, p. 213.

to the traditional leadership of the Junblati faction, he has not shown any signs or interest in really relinquishing the prestige this position bestows on him. One of the many privileges of Junblat as a Druze leader is his power over the governmental appointment of a religious chief (Shaykh Al-Akl) of the Junblati faction of the Druze. However, late in 1955, he and Shaykh Muhammad Abu-Shakra, Shaykh Akl of the Junblati faction, attempted to force their own candidate, Shaykh Ali Abdul-Latief, into the position of Shaykh Akl of the Yazbaki faction instead of Shaykh Rashid Hammadah, who was backed by the traditional Yazbaki leader, Majid Arislan.²³ As a result the Druze community solidified more and more their traditional identification with either the Yazbaki or the Junblati factions. Also, upon the insistence of Shaykh Muhammad Abu-Shakra, the Druze have now three Shaykh Akls instead of the traditional two.²⁴ At the same time, Kamal Junblat has refused to play the full role of a traditional politician and leader of his district. For instance

²³According to the present practice, whenever a position of Shaykh Akl becomes vacant, the leaders of the faction concerned will nominate a Shaykh, who will be appointed by the President of Lebanon, to fill the vacancy. However, upon the death of the Yazbaki Shaykh Akl, Shaykh Abdul-Samad, in 1955, the Shamoun regime recognized Majid Arislan's candidate Shaykh Rashid Hammadah, although it did not try to stop Shaykh Abdul-Latief - who was backed by Junblat and Shaykh Abu-Shakra - from carrying unofficially some functions of a Shaykh Akl.

²⁴On January 31, 1961, a meeting of Druze leaders, including the parliament members, former ministers and other high Druze officials, along with the two (rival) leaders Kamal Junblat and Majid Arislan, resulted in an agreement on the Shaykh Al-Akl. It was agreed that the three present Shaykhs would be recognized; however, it was also agreed that if a position of Shaykh fell vacant, the Druze would continue with two Shaykh Akls only; one for the Yazbakiyah and another for the Junblatiyah. Al-Hayat, February 1, 1961, p. 3.

he has always refused to help some of his constituents on the basis of the principle "let justice take its course."²⁵ However, the 1958 revolt brought a change in Kamal Junblat's role toward his personal and religious followers and his party; he began to respond to the appeals of his followers for recommendations for jobs, clemency and other favors from government officials. According to Amin Jurdi, the P.S.P. leader began showing this change "when some of Shamoun's forces nearly succeeded in killing him, and most of the people who showed concern were those who felt personal allegiance to him and his Druze leadership."²⁶ This attempt on Junblat's life was one of the basic factors which persuaded him to begin the preparations for a possible revolution against Shamoun.²⁷ The 1958 revolt again brought Junblat in closer relationship with militant personalities like Salman Abu-Hamza, Shaykh Muhammad Abu-Shakra and Shawkat Shkayr and many others.²⁸

²⁵This is how most of Junblat's supporters phrased it when they discussed Junblat's refusal to help any of the law-breakers or job seekers. It must be remembered, however, that Junblat was in complete opposition to the Shamoun administration, and, in this author's opinion, he did not dare try to help because he feared he might be refused and this would have damaged his traditional leadership.

²⁶Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

²⁷In an interview with the author, Mr. Junblat described this attempt on his life. In 1957, while at the head of a motorcade passing near Ayn-Zhalta, in the Shuf district, the Lebanese Gendarmerie opened fire on his car, which received five bullets, in spite of the fact that there had been no provocation for such an act, and no firearms or weapons carried on the motorcade. Mr. Junblat stated that after this incident he knew he had to watch out for Shamoun.

²⁸General Shawkat Shkayr is a Lebanese Druze who served in the Syrian Army until his retirement as Chief of Staff in 1958. During the 1958 revolt, General Shkayr was in command of the operations which were carried out by Salman Abu-Hamza, a former army sergeant who headed many of the attacks. Abu-Hamza comes from a large family in the Shuf district which is known for its loyalty to the Junblat family.

Following the 1958 revolt, these people began to exercise more influence on the P.S.P. leader, especially in matters of interest to the Druze. As a result, during the period of 1960-1961, Junblat, the socialist and ideologist, began to be as much a feudalist as his traditional rival, Majid Arislan. Kamal Junblat's interest became the immediate welfare of his constituency and the implementation of the rights of the Druze in all governmental positions. This interest was revealed in this statement; reported in Al-Jaridah, April 7, 1961:

It was learned that on April 5, the cabinet with President Shihab presiding, held a meeting to debate the question of appointments to the civil service on a communal basis. President Shehab opened the meeting by saying that in all appointments the ministers must observe the communal equilibrium... Majid Arislan and Kamal Junblat (the rival Druze leaders) gave support to this policy and said that the Druze were discriminated against...²⁹

This role of protector of the Druze interest was in more than one way a response to pressure from those who helped him in the 1958 revolt. Kamal Junblat began showing more response to those seeking favors and letters of recommendation.³⁰ However, at the same time

²⁹Al-Jaridah, April 7, 1961, pp. 1-2.

³⁰On August 3, 1965, the author visited the P.S.P. center with Amin Jurdi, District Head of Aley, for the purpose of observing the activities of the party employees. Mr. Junblat generally spends two mornings each week hearing complaints and requests from his followers. On the morning of the author's visit, Kamal Junblat received between 75-100 people who were asking for different types of help. A man from Sidon wanted Junblat's help with the Soviet embassy, in order to send his son to the Soviet Union to receive higher learning because it is free. A Druze man from the Shuf was involved in a criminal act, and his father was requesting a letter from Junblat to the judge. These cases and others were being attended to by the P.S.P. leader, who was dictating instructions to his assistant, Anis Tumeh, who is secretary of the central office in Beirut.

the P.S.P. leader began showing more aggressiveness in his efforts to popularize the party.

This diversity in the personality and political aspirations of the P.S.P. leader has been a useful resource in providing leadership for his party in Lebanese politics. His personal leadership was responsible for the creation of the P.S.P. and is still fundamental to the party's life. However, the ideology and the programs which the P.S.P. sets forth appeal to the educated people, the intelligentsia, who today play a significant role in the activities of the party.³¹ Based upon the results of the questionnaire, only 33.3 percent of the intellectuals responding have been members for between five and ten years. Only 16.6 percent have held party membership for over ten years. In terms of membership classification, 25 percent of this group are elder members, 41.6 percent are active, and 33.3 percent are associate members. More than half of the party intelligentsia have joined the P.S.P. since the 1958 revolt. Perhaps the definite change in Junblat's and the party's position on Arab unity had a large influence, for this group reflects a strong tendency toward Arab unity. Only 16.6 percent of the responding intelligentsia wanted Lebanon to remain in its present status of independence, while the rest responded favorably toward Arab socialist unity.

³¹The intelligentsia, arbitrarily defined for the purpose of this study, is a group with similar economic and educational backgrounds, including the professions of doctor, engineer, lawyer, high school teacher, university student, journalist, and executive. All these were represented in the sample questionnaires.

The influence of the party intelligentsia is centered in the very few individuals who make up the Board of Directors, and some of the close associates of the P.S.P. leader in the Political Bureau and the Commissioners' Council. It is this small group which has carried most of the party activities in the name of the party leader.

The composition of the party leadership has always been a target for criticism: the party is accused of attracting only Christian intellectuals, and not the masses. Many who have written about the P.S.P. hold that "the party, to avoid being labeled a Druze party, assigned 13 members of the total 16 of the executive board to Christians, and this is not a good excuse for the party."³² However, although the party intelligentsia has certainly increased in numbers over the years, its influence has increased only slightly.

At the beginning, it was always Kamal Junblat, his Vice President, Nasim Majdalani, and his General Secretary, Asad Jamal, who had to face the pressure of the intelligentsia, under the leadership of men like Clovis Maksoud, Jibrán Majdalani, and Fouad Rizk. However, this working relationship did not last long because of personality conflicts, and differences which existed among party

³²Ghurayeb, p. 63. An interesting point must be mentioned here. When the author asked Kamal Junblat about this accusation by Mr. Ghurayeb, his answer was that Mr. Ghurayeb is a P.S.P. member now, and if he thought there was religious preference in the party, he would not have joined.

However, while this may be true, the same accusation is mentioned in El-Khalil's The Socialist Parties in Syria and Lebanon, p. 161; and in Toufic Mokedessi and Lucien George, Lebanese Parties (Beirut, 1959), p. 12.

leadership over its basic Arab policy. Ali Youssef El-Khalil refers to this point:

...late in 1956 the party lost some of its prominent members and intellectuals. The resignation of Fouad Rizk was followed by those of Clovis Maksoud, Maurice Sakr, Jibran Majdalani, and others, who disagreed with Kamal Junblat's Arab policy, or had personal reasons.³³

The reasons for these resignations, in the words of Jibran Majdalani, who later became the secretary of the Ba'th party in Lebanon, are reflected in this statement about the weaknesses of the socialist movement in Lebanon:

...the Progressive Socialist Party is so far the only spokesman for socialism in the Lebanon. This party was founded in 1949 by a young landowner who also enjoyed the privilege of being the temporal head of a religious community. At first it attracted a number of intellectuals and workers who, while playing up to its founder's attachments to the past, hoped they would be able to counteract the pressure exerted upon him by his personal supporters. In this they failed: between the conflicting claims of the past and the present, the leader at first took up contradictory positions, and then appealed more and more to ancestral aspirations. In the end the ideals of the past carried the day, to the detriment of socialism in general in Lebanon, for by discrediting his party the founder discredited the movement itself.³⁴

This resignation of some of the early party leaders brought forward a new and younger group to take their place. Some of those who always worked closely with Junblat were Dr. Edmund Na'im, Shakib Jaber, Dr. Farid Jibran, Fadlu Abu-Haidar and Fadlallah Talhouk. Two of the most outstanding party leaders next to Junblat have been Nasim Majdalani and Dr. Edmund Na'im, who joined the party at its

³³El-Khalil, Socialism and Socialist Movements in the Arab World, p. 97.

³⁴Jibran Majdalani, "The Arab Socialist Movement", ed. Walter Laquer, The Middle East in Transition, (New York, 1958), p. 347.

founding and have been its representatives in parliamentary elections. The present party leadership is still headed and controlled by Kamal Junblat, with very few changes in its composition and outlook. The new members of the leadership group are nevertheless more ideologically-minded than confessional: only a few feel a strong personal loyalty to the P.S.P. President.³⁶

Another characteristic of this younger leadership is that it seems to be content with positions on the regional and commissioner levels: the party now has men like Muhsin Dalloul, Ghaleb Nammour and Abbas Khalaf as commissioners. Others, like Najda Hajer (District Head of Tripoli), Tarek Shehab (District Head of Hasbaya), and Badry Younes (Deputy District Head of Western Aley) place more importance on party ideology than on personal loyalty to the President. However, their loyalty to the President cannot be doubted, for their positions in the P.S.P. were achieved through their cooperation and loyalty. Also, they know that their occasional disapproval of the activities of the leader would not be heeded by the party membership in any attempt to force decisive action against the President. In the words of one party official, "what is the use of forcing Kamal Junblat to resign? If he does, there will be no more a vital party with enough backing to exert influence on the government and its policies." This might seem an extreme way of showing lack of opposition to Junblat; however, such opposition is not without

³⁶At least two high P.S.P. officials, who asked to remain anonymous, told the author that in no way do they think of themselves as Junblat's men.

support. The results of the questionnaire suggest that at least 64.2 percent of those who answered reported that their reason for joining the P.S.P. was their belief in socialism.

This increase in membership based on ideology rather than on personal loyalty to Junblat has begun to affect the growing opposition to Junblat which is appearing at present in the P.S.P. In the words of an unofficial representative of this group, there are three reasons for the move against Kamal Junblat:

- 1--Kamal Junblat has changed since 1958 from being the good progressive socialist into a traditional leader, a position he always refused to acknowledge. Now he does not let the guilty receive punishment, for he sends letters of recommendation on behalf of a person simply because he voted for him in the last election.
- 2--The dictatorship of Kamal Junblat over the party machinery and organs; for on many occasions he gives his personal views as official P.S.P. views without prior approval from party leadership.
- 3--The presence of many party members who believe in Junblat rather than in progressive socialism. Their presence is hindering the party more than helping it; and the quicker they leave, the better.³⁷

This tendency toward opposition among the party leadership has been responsible for changing some of the party's policies toward alliances with independent politicians, political parties and other leftist groups.

Alliances

The alliance policy of the P.S.P. reflects the same pattern discussed by M. Duverger:

³⁷Personal interview with Amin Jurdi.

Alliances between parties vary greatly in form and degree. Some are ephemeral and unorganized; simply temporary coalitions which take place in order to overthrow a government or to support one from time to time.³⁸

The personal policy of allying himself with one group while opposing the others has made Kamal Junblat, and in turn the P.S.P., the object of opposition by almost every Lebanese group at one time or another. An official of the Lebanese Department of General Security gives the reason for this change in allies as the result of the basic personality of the P.S.P. leader; he states:

Kamal Junblat is a changing person in his political as well as his personal views. In 1946 he was one of the loyal supporters and friends of President Bishara Al-Khoury, then he went against him. Also, in 1952, he was responsible for Shamoun's election to the presidency. Yet, when he could not control Shamoun, he quickly went against him.³⁹

This change from one day's ally to the next day's opposition has been a constant pattern of the P.S.P. since its creation. The party has been in alliance with, and in opposition to, presidents of Lebanon; it has allied itself with, and has opposed, various political parties, whether they be socialistic or feudalistic.

The P.S.P. is at present the only legal socialist party in Lebanon. Previously it had to compete with the Ba'th, which has memberships in most of the Arab world. Occasionally, however, these two parties cooperated, especially from 1953 to 1954, when the leaders of both parties met on Shetura, midway between Beirut and Damascus, and issued a communique supporting the efforts being made at the time

³⁸Duverger, p. 324.

³⁹Personal interview with a high official of the Lebanese Department of General Security, who asked to remain anonymous, Beirut, July 17, 1965.

for the development of a third world force. The communique brought out more than that when it said,

The Arab Resurrection Party and the Progressive Socialist Party met at Shetura on the 26th of April, 1954, and decided to establish the principles of cooperation between them in dealing with matters confronting the Arab states. The two parties feel, in this historic and critical stage through which the Arab countries are passing, that they respond to, and represent the wish of, the Arab people toward socialism and resistance to imperialism. Thus, they invite all Arab socialist movements to form a front to unify their popular struggle for the achievement of their aims in life: freedom and justice.⁴⁰

However, ten years later, in 1964, the Ba'th party was declared illegal by the then Minister of Interior, Kamal Junblat, who said that the party advocated a single party autocracy, which Junblat felt was contrary to the principles of Lebanon's democracy.⁴¹ The P.S.P. also had differences with the Constitutional Party. Junblat was instrumental in overthrowing the leader of the Constitutional Party, Bishara Al-Khoury, in 1952, but the P.S.P. was in full alliance with that party in the elections of 1960 and 1964 in every district where the two were contesting elections, especially in the Shuf and Ba'abda districts.

The P.S.P. alliance policy with the independent politicians of Lebanon, whether they were millionaire businessmen, feudalist landlords or corrupt politicians, has been on the basis of political expediency as well. The relations between the P.S.P. and Najib Salha (Al-Matn district), Sa'ib Salam and Abdullah Al-Yafi (Beirut district),

⁴⁰El-Khalil, The Socialist Parties of Syria and Lebanon, p. 172, as reported in Al-Anba', May 1, 1954, p. 5.

⁴¹"Chronology," The Middle East Journal, XVIII, No. 1, 1964, p. 93.

Rashid Karami (Tripoli district), Sabri Hamadah (Baalbeck district), and many others were typical of the pattern: yesterday they were enemies, yet today they are allies. One of the most significant alliances was that between Kamal Junblat and Camille Shamoun, which resulted in the formation of the "popular front" in 1951. According to the P.S.P. leader, Camille Shamoun seemed to be the best available candidate for the presidency; as such, the P.S.P. took most of the credit for Shamoun's election. However, it was not long before Shamoun's past connection with the British as an intelligence agent was brought against him by the P.S.P. On this point of whether the party had known before 1952 about Shamoun's past, the author was told by Kamal Junblat, "yes, we knew it, because in 1943 Camille Shamoun received the monthly sum of 615 Lebanese pounds from the Aziz Rahal Company which was the front of the British intelligence network."⁴² "However," Junblat stated, "we thought that he could be watched and controlled after he took the oath to obey the specific points of the resolution adopted by the 'popular front'."⁴³ This policy of alliance for political expediency is also reflected in the alliance between the P.S.P. and traditional politicians.

[The P.S.P. support of a feudalist Druze landlord is by itself contradictory to what the party teaches and practices.] In the Biqa' district, the Druze are entitled to one parliament member. The

⁴²Personal interview with Kamal Junblat.

⁴³For a complete discussion of this point, and the full statement of the resolution see Junblat's The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, pp. 54-58.

P.S.P. has always, and especially after 1958, supported Shibly Agha Al-Aryan, who is a very wealthy landlord and runs his constituency on a feudalistic basis. This particular district has hardly any roads, schools or water facilities. Most of the people live on a substandard basis. A typical illustration is the condition of the people who make up the P.S.P. branch at one of the villages of the district. Al-Mishirpneh has a population of nearly 1,000 people. The P.S.P. branch includes about 35 members. In the whole village, there are only two people at present who have achieved a secondary education (Certifica) while the rest have had little or no education. The P.S.P. leader himself had visited this village while campaigning for Al-Aryan, yet not a single social or party project has been implemented for improving the social, economic and educational standards of the population of Al-Mishirpneh and the district.⁴⁴

This is typical of many parts of Lebanon, especially those that are still dominated by the landlords, who at present make up 23.2 percent of the Lebanese parliament.⁴⁵ The purpose of discussing these alliances has been to show that the party possesses strength and influence not only in the Shuf district, but also in the districts of Rashaya, Baalbeck, Al-Matn, Al-Batroun, and Akkar.

⁴⁴Personal interview with Farhan Salim Ghdaydan, Soufar, Lebanon, August 20, 1965. Mr. Ghdaydan is a resident of Al-Mishirpneh, in Biqa' province.

⁴⁵For the complete data on the representation of the landlords and other groups in parliament, refer to Table V, p. 24.

Party Activities

The P.S.P. is formally committed to help all human beings, and particularly the Lebanese people and society, to develop themselves. Its efforts have not produced any major advancement because of its constant opposition toward the government. The party has never had power or a deciding position in the government, nor has it been large enough to exert the influence needed for socialization of the state. The P.S.P. position is typical of a minority party, as Duverger describes it:

...permanent minority parties tend toward opposition. Expressing an opinion which is, they feel, not that of the nation and which has little support, they are led into an attitude of protestation and intransigence by the same psychological mechanism which leads an inferiority complex to show itself in aggressiveness.⁴⁶

A policy of opposition was chosen in the period between 1949-1952 because of the many corrupt activities of the government's leaders. The role of peaceful opposition which the P.S.P. followed was a policy of strength and not of weakness. In the opinion of Harold Minor, "the Progressive Socialist Party did play a very important role in the peaceful overthrow of President Bishara Al-Khuri in 1952."⁴⁷ In the opinion of the P.S.P. General Secretary, "the most important achievement of the P.S.P. was its success in the peaceful revolution of 1952."⁴⁸ Nearly 72 percent of those responding

⁴⁶Duverger, p. 294.

⁴⁷Personal interview with Harold Minor.

⁴⁸Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

to the questionnaire singled out this accomplishment as the most important. This success resulted in increased strength and membership in the period immediately following, enabling the P.S.P. to get its ally, Camille Shamoun, elected President of Lebanon. Party membership soared to a record high of 17,600 members, a mark the P.S.P. has never since been able to equal.

The strength of the P.S.P. soon dropped drastically because of the change in its position toward President Camille Shamoun. In the words of Ali Youssef El-Khalil:

{An important reason for the opposition of Junblat to Shamoun's regime is that the former aimed at seizing power, or at sharing the responsibility of governing in the country after the peaceful coup d'etat of September, 1952. He expected to form a cabinet or to join in one, which would apply his party program or a part of it, but his aim was not attained.⁴⁹

While some of these reasons are true, Junblat denies any intention of taking over the government. All the P.S.P. wanted was to implement the program of the "National Socialist Front" which was agreed upon by Shamoun himself.⁵⁰ With the diminishing influence of the P.S.P. and its leadership in the politics of Lebanon, party membership began to decline sharply. {During the Shamoun administration and until 1958, "the party, was always in opposition, and most of the time its members were persecuted."⁵¹ } During the period of

⁴⁹El-Khalil, Socialism and Socialist Movements in the Arab World, p. 97.

⁵⁰Personal interview with Kamal Junblat. For a complete discussion on this point, see Junblat's The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, pp. 54-58.

⁵¹Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

1953-57, Kamal Junblat was the only party representative in Parliament. However, this was also to change, because in the 1957 parliamentary election, Junblat was defeated. He accused Shamoun of using "the Gendarmes and armed civilians who terrorized the Christian villages and forced them to vote against us."⁵² The defeat of Junblat, according to Robert Murphy, was a political mistake. He wrote: "It seemed to me that somewhere along the time a political error has been made in ousting him."⁵³ This defeat, one of the key factors which led to the 1958 Lebanese crisis, proved costly to every party concerned in Lebanon. It cost the P.S.P. alone more than 200 people killed; including both party members and Druze personal supporters of Junblat himself.⁵⁴ [One of the major results of the 1958 revolt was that Lebanon's independence has been more fully guaranteed by blood than by the National Pact.]

The coming of President Fouad Shihab to the presidency of Lebanon seemed to be the logical way to end the Lebanese crisis, and the P.S.P. showed enthusiasm for the new regime. A look at the party literature suggests a large list of accomplishments to the party credit under this regime.

The P.S.P. began, during Shihab's presidency, to show more energy and strength in both its organization and its membership.

⁵²Junblat, The Truth About the Lebanese Revolt, p. 84.

⁵³Murphy, p. 406.

⁵⁴The round number of 200 casualties is based on the casualty figures reported in Time Magazine, June-July editions, 1958, and in Fahim Quabin's book, Crisis in Lebanon.

Because Junblat had fought, many of the Druze came to his side. However, the Shihab regime meant more to the P.S.P. as a political party. According to Abbas Khalaf, "the period 1958-64 was one of loyalty to the administration of President Fouad Shihab. The P.S.P. was partially in the government, and because of the improvement of the party position, its organization was influenced greatly."⁵⁵ As a result of being in the government, the P.S.P. was able to influence the president with its programs, for the president, according to the present General Secretary, "believed in socialism and was instrumental in implementing two important programs: The merit program and a central bureau of inspection of governmental agencies."⁵⁶

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the P.S.P., the party issued a communique outlining its general accomplishment in struggling toward peace and helping Lebanon to liberate itself both from foreign alliances such as the Middle East Defense Pact, and from imperialism by joining the ranks of non-aligned nations. } The communique places a stronger stress on the achievements of the P.S.P. during the Shihab administration. The party specifically lists the following accomplishments:

The creation of the Ministry of Planning and all its rules, the development of the five-year plans and the establishment of road, electrical and water networks which will cover all Lebanese villages. The creation of municipalities for all villages to raise their standards, and to legislate laws protecting their interests.
Legislating a program distributing all public land to villages

⁵⁵Personal interview with Abbas Khalaf.

⁵⁶Ibid.

and municipalities, as provided for in the charter of the party.⁵⁷

The Shihab regime gave the P.S.P. the confidence it had lost during the Shamoun period. The P.S.P. not only enjoyed more influence in government, but also began receiving more votes during elections, and sent more party candidates to the Parliament.

In the 1954 elections, "the new force of Kamal Junblat's progressive socialists were defeated; Junblat himself was elected not because of his progressive socialism, but because of the semi-feudal allegiance of the Druze villages to his family."⁵⁸ However, nearly ten years later, in the 1964 elections, the same reports stated that "official results of the third round of elections in Beirut and Mount Lebanon indicated that Kamal Junblat, leader of the Socialist Progressive Party, was elected together with six of his ticket."⁵⁹ The strength of the party began to show also in other areas of Lebanon. The P.S.P. now has a party member representing Baalbeck district and another from Beirut.⁶⁰ The increased parliamentary membership of the P.S.P. has enabled it to play a bigger role in Lebanese politics. Although the strength of the party has not given it a majority or even a large number of deputies in the

⁵⁷P.S.P. Communique as reported by Al-Anba', May 6, 1965.

⁵⁸The Middle Eastern Affairs, V, No. 2, 1954, p. 15.

⁵⁹The Middle Eastern Journal, XVIII, No. 3, 1964, p. 93.

⁶⁰At present, the P.S.P. Parliament member from Baalbeck is Muhamad Abbas Yaghi, and Dr. Farid Jibrán is the P.S.P. Parliament member from Beirut.

parliament, it has nevertheless become a dominant party in at least two or three areas of Lebanon. This significance has also given it a new look and more vigor in playing its part in Lebanese politics. Duverger outlines the role a minor party may play: "Minor parties may exceptionally assume the role of arbiters and acquire considerable influence, either on the electoral or on the parliamentary plane."⁶¹ The P.S.P. has done just that, and has also helped shape the government, its outlook and its policies.

[At present, and more than ever, the P.S.P., through its leader Kamal Junblat, is playing an important role in the political affairs of Lebanon as a power balancer.] Kamal Junblat is at present the man to see whenever there is dissatisfaction with the government.⁶² His political influence goes far beyond that of a party leader. Hardly a week passes without a meeting between the President of Lebanon, Charles Hellou, and Kamal Junblat, where government and parliamentary affairs are always the topic of discussion, and Junblat's agreement is requested.

On the party side, the P.S.P. seems to have recently acquired a more vigorous outlook. The party is now better accepted in more districts. The weekly party newspaper publishes the visits of the P.S.P. leader to many districts. Also, invitations and telegrams of support pour in from all parts of Lebanon every time Kamal

⁶¹Duverger, p. 294.

⁶²Newspaper and political magazine reports refer to Kamal Junblat now as the "Cabinet maker" and "government destroyer". See Al-Sayyad and Al-Aalam Al-Arabi, March 31, 1966.

Junblat makes a statement. This kind of new look has enabled the P.S.P. to strengthen its branches, especially in areas where other parties are dominant, such as in Tripoli, Baalbeck, and Rashaya, where large scale celebrations of the P.S.P. 18th Anniversary were reported.⁶³

⁶³Al-Anba', May 7, 1966, pp. 2-3.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

{Lebanon, a newly independent nation, is socially, culturally, and economically diverse.} There is a corresponding political diversity which is reflected in numerous political parties and several important political leaders. This study has focussed on the Progressive Socialist Party, which is one of the political parties of Lebanon and which has as its President, Kamal Junblat, one of the more important political leaders of the nation. The Progressive Socialist Party is the only legal party of Lebanon which subscribes to a socialist ideology and has a branch structure designed to mobilize the masses, regardless of social, cultural and economic background, for political activity. Outward appearance reflects the existence of a "mass" party in terms of Duverger's definition.

The Progressive Socialist Party was organized in 1949 at the inspiration of Kamal Junblat, who at the time was a rising political leader in Lebanon. Though Junblat was at this time a member of the Lebanese Parliament, the formation of the P.S.P. took place outside of Parliament. He was, and continued to be, the recognized leader

of the Junblati faction of the Druze community. This leader, a well-educated person, was aware of the fundamental social and economic changes taking place in Lebanon, and recognizing the need for modern political forms, attempted to organize a political party that would appeal to the masses of people without regard to their religions, cultural or economic background. This interest led him to promote his beliefs in socialism, and to form a political party which is organized in branches so that it can relate to the masses. The fact that he was a Druze leader gave him a power base from which to operate; and the Druze community, a minority group in Lebanon, became the core of the membership of the Progressive Socialist Party. Many Druze have identified themselves with the party and the socialist ideology because of their identity with Junblat, the Druze traditionalist leader. However, many intellectuals, youth, and students have joined the ranks of the party because of the appeal of the ideology.

This study shows that Junblat's goal of establishing a political party based on modern social and economic forces has not been fully realized. The record of the party's development reveals that from the beginning it has been dominated by traditionalist influences. This is seen in the membership of the party from the President down to the individual members. While the ideology of the party is an appealing factor to peoples from various communities in Lebanon, the Progressive Socialist Party continues to be primarily a party of the Druze community. {Junblat, as the leader of an ideally broad-based party is constantly in conflict with Junblat,} the traditional

leader of the Druze Junblati faction. At this point it seems that Junblat is confronted with the necessity of trying to maintain some kind of balance between these two orientations. His power and influence in Lebanon, while probably most dependent upon his position as a traditional leader, is also based on his leadership of a socialist party. The young and ambitious educated members who are among the lower levels of political leadership in the party constantly press Junblat to push into the background his traditionalist support, while Junblat realizes that success at the polls and influence in the national government necessitates his continued cultivation of the traditionalist Druze political forces.

{It has to be the conclusion of this study that while the leadership of the Progressive Socialist Party has attempted to establish a modern mass party based on a socialist ideology, in reality the party is a political body which, in terms of its membership, is primarily traditional and semi-confessional.} Its development represents an effort on the part of a traditionalist leader, who, along with some of the young, educated Lebanese, recognized that the basis of power in the political environment of Lebanon must be adapted to the development of a parliamentary form of government and modernization of the economy. Junblat's success up to this point has not been impressive, probably because of the overwhelming force of confessionalism present in Lebanese political life.

Junblat's lack of success in creating a party that would relate to modern economic and social forces through a socialist ideology is also reflected in the Progressive Socialist Party's inability

to conform fully to Duverger's model of a fully functioning mass or branch party. The formal structure and ideology seem to characterize the party as a mass party in the modern sense, but an analysis of its functioning reveals deficiencies.

In the first place, as has been pointed out above, the professed socialist ideology is not as important as the traditionalist relationships in identifying the members with the party and the leadership. There is no real evidence that the working class or the lower economic groups are attracted to the party because of its socialist ideology. However, there are working class people in the party, as the results of the questionnaire show.

Turning to the organization of the party, it was found that quite a number of formal branches have been organized throughout Lebanon (see Appendix E). However, it should first be noted that most of the branches are located in the province of Mount Lebanon, where the Druze community is concentrated. A study of the branches reveals that they do not constitute a very strong element in the organization of the party, primarily because many of the branches are dominated by relatives of a single family. Generally, branch leadership suffers from a low level of education, and has little or no ideological commitment. Branch leadership seems to be primarily concerned with local feuds generated by many family factions. Upper echelons of the party have attempted to use the branches as a means of educating the masses of people in the professed ideology of the party, but success in many of these endeavors has been lacking.

Duverger argues that the branch serves as the fundamental unit in the mass party's activities, and that it is generally very active in pursuing party business. The conclusion of this study must be that the branch of the Progressive Socialist Party does not conform to Duverger's requirements. Branch activity frequently shows no relation to the party's programs or national leadership. In many cases they are inactive. Party leadership in recent years has attempted to revitalize the membership at the branch level, but has not been able to make much progress.

With respect to the quality of articulation found in the progressive Socialist Party, it must be concluded that articulation between the central party organization and the districts and their branches is weak. Duverger argues that generally socialist parties display a strong articulation; however, he writes, this is especially true when "the branch is better established and more widespread."¹ As has been shown, the branch in the Progressive Socialist Party is not well-developed.

Weak party organization and articulation is partially a result of weak discipline. According to Duverger, discipline in socialist parties is necessarily strong; the P.S.P. leadership, however, does not exert vigorous control at the branch level. Nevertheless, there is a sizeable amount of disciplinary action taken against members every year, primarily because of misuse of party offices at the branch level. Some recorded cases of disciplinary action at the

¹Duverger, p. 46.

central level result from conflicts over party ideology and personality. This study suggests that the party can expect more disciplinary cases if it does not close the communication gap between its leadership and membership, and as long as it permits party membership to ambitious people who are obviously committed to objectives contradictory to those of the party.

According to Duverger, mass parties have different categories of formal membership. The P.S.P. has three formal categories: elder, active, and associate. As the study has shown, these three types of membership reflect a formal discrimination against the less educated members. For instance, only elder members, people with a high level of education, are allowed to hold high office; active members may hold any office up to that of commissioner; but associate members, nearly 40 percent of the entire membership, are limited to branch office only, and are prohibited from voting in the general assembly, which elects the president. While the party professes to identify with the working classes, its membership restrictions deny most of this community any real voice in the party's decisions. These restrictions create a situation which tends to characterize the party as a party of notables. Yet from the standpoint of enrolling membership, the party conforms to Duverger's model. He writes: "only in mass parties is there any formal machinery of enrollment, comprising the signing of a definite undertaking and payment of an annual subscription."² Each applicant formally applies for P.S.P.

²Duverger, p. 71.

membership, at which time he signs a statement declaring that he believes in the socialist ideology. If his application is accepted a probationary period of from one to two years follows.

Monthly dues must be paid by all members, regardless of their membership category. The basic subscription is one Lebanese pound. Some very poor members are exempted from payment of fees; all members are encouraged to contribute beyond the basic fee. Duverger writes that "mass party techniques in effect replace the capitalistic financing of electioneering by democratic financing...the mass party spreads the burden over the largest possible number of members, each of whom contributes a modest sum."³ However, while the P.S.P. formally requires a subscription, collections have been poor. The financing of party activities depends upon contributions from wealthy members, among whom Junblat himself may be a principle contributor. There is some doubt as to whether the financing of the P.S.P. conforms with Duverger's statement concerning the financing of mass parties.

Duverger notes that political party leadership in a mass party "is democratic in appearance and oligarchic in reality." This study shows that while the leadership--the President and the Board of Directors--is formally selected by means of a democratic process, the actual selection is made by Junblat, the President, who screens the nominees. Junblat has always been elected President without opposition. Members of the Board of Directors are obviously hand

³Duverger, p. 63.

picked by Junblat. There has been little change in the membership since the creation of the party. Changes that have been made resulted from resignations, deaths, and purges initiated by the President. Those who serve at the level of leadership have been men who qualify as elder members of the party. These are people who have special qualifications, outlined in the Internal Rules. For instance, they must be well-educated and have an unusual grasp of party ideology and programs, which is determined by examination. The Progressive Socialist Party must be characterized as oligarchical.

While the Progressive Socialist Party has do doubt strengthened the power and influence of Kamal Junblat in the affairs of government, especially since 1958, this party continues to depend on traditional political forces more than modern economic and social elements in the Lebanese political environment. It has not become a fully modern mass party in Duverger's terms. Junblat's goal of making it truly a modern party is a difficult one to achieve in the political environment of Lebanon, which has been dominated by traditional and confessional influences.

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Edmund Na'im. Former Progressive Socialist Party leader and at present the Dean of the Law School at the Lebanese University; at his home in Beirut on July 20, 1965.

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Harold Minor. Former U. S. Ambassador to Lebanon during 1951-53; in Stillwater, Oklahoma, April 1, 1966.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY*

PART I

Name--Offices--Goals--Organization

CHAPTER ONE

Name--Offices--Goals

- Article 1: A party is hereby formed in Lebanon, and is named "The Progressive Socialist Party."
- Article 2: The main office of the party shall be located in Beirut. Offices shall be opened in all parts of the Lebanese Republic.
- Article 3: The party's goals are the achievement of the people's desire for a decent living, freedom, justice and brotherhood, in accordance with the provisions of the rights of man and the world's concern expressed in emphasizing our just inheritance of all the social, economic, intellectual and political movements which came about in history for the purpose of realizing a complete system for man. The party is responsible for this before the conscience of man, the progress of men and the conscience of the nation.
- Article 4: The party shall function in accordance with the principles laid down in this constitution and its pact, which stands as an indivisible part of the constitution.

*Translated from the original Arabic by the author.

CHAPTER TWO

Party Organization

- Article 5: The party shall be directed by an organization composed of and operated in the following manner:
 First--The central executive--composed of:
 a--Party President
 b--The two vice-presidents
 c--Board of Directors
 d--The commissioners
 e--The counsellors
 Second--Regional executives--composed of:
 a--Deputy commissioners
 b--District heads--The district includes several branches.
 c--Chairmen of Branches--The branches are in the villages or the city precincts.
 The party president along with his two vice-presidents are ex-officio members of the Board of Directors.
- Article 6: The President is the head of the party, the protector of its constitution, and heads its executive authority. The President's authority shall include:
 a--Representing the party before all government, organizations and various institutions.
 b--Working to enforce the provisions of this constitution, and the pact, and the principles and rules of the party.
 c--Putting into effect the decisions of the Board of Directors, and decisions of the Council of Elders.
 d--Appointing or removing of the various counsellors, commissioners and their deputies, the district heads, branches' chairmen and their party employees, with power to supervise their work and dismiss them. Due recognition shall be given to the provisions of paragraph 5 of Article 12, on the appointment of a Commissioner of Justice.
- Article 7: The president is only responsible to the General Assembly. However, the Board of Directors can censure him in case of failure to observe the provisions of the constitution, or the party's charter, or in case of clear failure or negligence. Such a motion of censure shall give cause, and will be carried only by a 2/3 vote of the Board.
- Article 8: The President shall be elected by the General Assembly for a period of four (4) years and may be re-elected for succeeding terms. In the event of the President's office becoming vacant, a special meeting of the General Assembly

shall be held for the election of a successor who shall serve for the remainder of the term of office, provided that the period is six months or more.

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

Article 9: The first vice-president is the head of the judicial authority of the party, and shall exercise his authority with complete independence. The first vice-president must be an attorney-at-law.

The second vice-president shall assist the President in carrying out the presidential duties. He must attend the meetings of the Council of Commissioners, and preside at it, and at Board of Directors meetings in the absence of the President, or whenever the president requests him to do so. His attendance of the meetings of the Council of Commissioners is mandatory, failing which, the provisions of Article 17 shall apply.

The two vice-presidents are elected for a period of four years and are eligible for consecutive re-election. The two vice-presidents shall be elected by the General Assembly directly preceding the election of the President. In the event of one of the two offices of the vice-presidency becoming vacant, the General Assembly shall be called into a special session to elect a successor, and this shall be for the remainder of the term of office of the predecessor, provided that this remaining period is six months or more.

Article 10: In the absence of the President, the second vice-president shall assume his duties. If this is not possible, the first vice-president shall assume those duties. If the three are absent, the Board of Directors shall select one of its members as a temporary president, to preside over its meeting and to carry out the normal duties. If in an emergency the offices of President and vice-presidents shall become vacant at the same time, the Board of Directors shall assume all the powers and duties of the President and shall select one of its members as temporary President to preside over its meetings. The temporary President must call a meeting of the General Assembly within two months at the most, to elect a new party president and his two vice-presidents.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Article 11: The direction of the party and its general policy is in the hands of a Board of Directors comprising the

President, his two vice-presidents, and nine members, all of whom must be elders. One of them will act as Secretary General. Six members are to be elected by secret ballot by the party's General Assembly immediately following the election of the party president and his two vice-presidents. The other three members are to be selected by the elected members of the Board of Directors. In case of two members receiving an equal number of votes, the senior party member is selected.

The authority of the Secretary General shall be defined in the Internal Rules of the party.

In the event of a position becoming vacant among the elected members of the Board of Directors, it shall be filled by the person who had received the largest number of votes among those who failed to be elected. In case of a tie among two or more candidates, the senior member of the party among them shall be named to fill the vacant position.

In the event of the position of one of the selected members becoming vacant, the Board of Directors shall appoint a successor.

- Article 12: The authority of the Board of Directors shall include:
- 1--The planning of the general program of the party and the preparation of the major outlines of its general policy.
 - 2--The formulation of all party rules to deal with matters which have either not been dealt with in the party constitution or were not detailed therein.
 - 3--The interpretation of any possible ambiguity in the party's charter, constitution, or rules. The Board in such a case may request the opinion of the Council of Ideology.
 - 4--The supervision of the direction of the party and the submission of recommendations to the president concerning such direction.
 - 5--The approval of the appointment of a Commissioner of Justice and his dismissal.
 - 6--The creation and/or cancellation of new positions other than those provided for in Article 5. The Council, however, must request the opinion of the competent commissioner before cancelling any party position.
 - 7--The naming of elders of the party, or depriving them of such rank. Either action must be approved by an absolute majority of the Council. A decision depriving an elder of his status must be accompanied by reasons and be based on good cause. The affected elder must be notified of the decision and allowed to appeal it to the Board within ten days from the day he is notified of the Board's action. If he fails to appeal, the decision becomes final.

8--The consideration and approval of the party's budget with power to increase or decrease the allocated funds.

The Board also approves the general annual budget of the party and its financial statement.

9--The dismissal of any party member, including members of the Board of Directors, if such action is dictated by the supreme interest of the party as determined by the Council, and as such shall do so without first referring the matter to the Council of Discipline. Such action shall only be taken after the member is called upon to present his case to the Board. The decision of the Board must give the reasons for the action and must be for good cause, and be taken by a two-thirds majority.

10--In the event of a tie of votes on any decision taken by the Board of Directors, the President or the vice-president, if he is presiding, has the deciding vote. In a secret ballot the presiding officer can declare his choice.

Article 13: In an emergency or in extraordinary circumstances, the Board of Directors can delegate all its authority to the President. Such a decision must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the Board.

Article 14: The President is the chairman of the Board. In the absence of the President, the second vice-president, presides over the Board meetings.

Article 15: The Board of Directors serves for four years, and is made up of both elected and appointed members.

Article 16: The Board of Directors meets once a week at the party's main office, or at any other location it decides on. The President can call the Board to emergency meetings whenever he deems it necessary. The meetings of the Board are official when the majority of its members are present. The decisions of the Council shall be adopted by the absolute majority of the members present except in cases provided for in Article 12, paragraph 9, and in Article 13. Voting shall take place either by voice vote, or by show of hands, or by secret ballot if the President or the majority of the Board so desire.

Article 17: A member of the Board, including the President and his two vice-presidents, if he is absent, without valid reason from the Board's meetings twice successively, or for a total of five times in a period of one year beginning from the date of his first absence, shall be considered to have resigned from the Board, and shall have no rights to file for re-election in the general or the

special elections which shall follow the order considering him as resigned. The Board has no right to select the resigned member for membership on the Board during the session.

A member who is considered to have resigned can appeal the order of the Board within five (5) days of the date he is notified of the order, to prove that his absence was for a valid cause. A special committee composed of two members and a president appointed by the Board of Directors for a period of one year shall consider the appeal within ten days of its filing. If the special committee fails to issue its decision within this specified period, the absence of the member shall be deemed to have been legal. An appeal filed by the President of the party shall be considered by the Board of Directors at its first meeting immediately following the filing of the appeal.

THE COMMISSIONERS:

- Article 18: The President of the party shall delegate elders or active party members to carry out, under his supervision, functions related to the executive authority. They shall be called the Commissioners, and each shall function within the powers assigned him. They shall be responsible to the President of the party.
- Article 19: The Commissioners shall meet on an assigned day every week with the President or his vice-president presiding. The purpose of the meeting is the exchange of views and information, the presentation of suggestions and the acceptance of the orders and instructions of the President. The Commissioners have no right to vote or make decisions at these sessions. The President or his second vice-president can call the Commissioners to special meetings.
- Article 20: The party shall have the following Commissions:
- 1--Commission on Justice
 - 2--Commission on Internal Affairs
 - 3--Commission on External Affairs
 - 4--Commission on the Treasury
 - 5--Commission on Labor
 - 6--Commission on Reconstruction and Economics
 - 7--Commission on Civics and Education
 - 8--Commission on Health and Aid
 - 9--Commission on Social Affairs
 - 10--Commission on Propaganda and Publications
 - 11--Commission on Youth, Sports, and Students
 - 12--Commission on Legislature

- Article 21: Every Commissioner within his field represents the executive authority and has the right to suggest all plans and measures related to the responsibilities assigned to him. The Commissioner carries such activity as his own responsibility, after he receives the approval of the President of the party.
Each Commissioner must submit a monthly report to the President of the Board of Directors of the party on all activity related to his commission.
- Article 22: The Board of Directors has the power to have any Commissioner appear before it to supply information and for consultation.
- Article 23: The President has the right to appoint deputy commissioners, as the need arises, at the request of the Commissioner.
- Article 24: The authority of the Commissioners shall be limited to the following:
- A--Commission on Justice: assumes the judicial functions in the party: investigation, discipline, and separation or expulsion from the party, in accordance with the provisions of the Internal Rules of the party.
 - B--Commission on Internal Affairs: this commission concerns itself with:
 - 1--The acceptance of party members after the verification of their union abilities and acceptability to the party.
 - 2--The classification of members into active and associate members.
 - 3--The development of party, ideological and union capabilities of members of the party by keeping a close watch over them, studying their conditions, and by collecting and recording all pertinent facts about them in their personal files, to be ready for use whenever required.
 - 4--The exercising of direct authority over the deputy commissioners and appointed district delegates; and indirect authority over the chairmen of branches, and management of party activities, and the character training, by various means, of members of the party.
 - 5--Recommending the appointment of deputy chairmen, district heads, chairmen of branches and other officials of this commission.
 - C--The Commission on External Affairs: This commission shall assume the following responsibilities:
 - 1--Undertake studies of the effective factors in

societies, and deal with each separately.

- 2--Undertake studies of the various alliances, and international agreements, whether now concluded or which shall later be concluded, which deal with various political, military, economic and cultural affairs, particularly those dealing with the Middle East.
- 3--Prepare analyses of the causes and consequences of international events.
- 4--Correspond with the socialist parties of the world, and arrange for international party conventions.
- 5--Get in touch, when necessary, with the national government officials and with the foreign representatives, on political affairs.
- 6--Supervise the publication, in the newspapers of the party, of international news items, and articles dealing with foreign policy.

D--Commission on the Treasury: This Commission shall be in charge of:

- 1--The management of all matters related to the party's finances, its resources, expenditures, immoveable properties, and the preparation of the budget. It shall be guided in this by the provisions of the Internal Rules.
- 2--The suggestion of financial and economic programs and their implementation once they are approved. It shall also work to provide the party with adequate income, and as far as this is possible, to economize in expenditures.

E--Commission on Labor: shall be in charge of:

- 1--Encouraging the unions' movement all over the country, spreading the principles of the party throughout the existing labor unions, and having them support the party and its goals.
- 2--Creating a front to be called "The honor of labor", which will work to attain the party's goals of improving the conditions of workers.
- 3--Working with labor to help them obtain fair wages, hours of work and vital insurance.
- 4--Studying financial programs, and an active development of a just system of labor management relations.

F--The Commission on Reconstruction and Economics: shall be responsible for:

- 1--The preparation of reconstruction programs, economic research, and the circulation of these within the party circles in cooperation with the Commission on Social Affairs, provide technical, industrial, agricultural and professional extension

services throughout the party.

- 4--Providing a network of communications for the party membership throughout Lebanon by depending on modern means of communications like radio, wireless telegraphy, television, signals, etc., and to give careful study to the communication network with the capital.

G--The Commission on Civics and Education: shall be responsible for:

- 1--Providing party members especially, and all citizens generally, with scientific and artistic information and all spiritual, social and humanistic teachings in accordance with the provisions of the party's pact, which provides that the party accept the achievements of science and progress in all fields, and will strive to achieve the highest possible civilization for our society.
- 2--Bringing up the party member as a free human being and as a pioneer of definitive activity in the society of the party, thus becoming a good example to others and so gaining the respect of the people for the party's principles and in so doing having them aspire to join the party.
- 3--Transmitting the feeling to all party members that the duty of each one of them is to spread the party message by all convincing ways and means, at all times and in all places.
- 4--Selecting the elite of the party membership, and instructing these members in a systematic and detailed way on all union, scientific and practical programs, in cooperation with the Commission on Internal Affairs, and that on Sports and Youth.
- 5--Arranging ideological meetings to which all responsible officials and persons having special ties with the party shall be invited, with the purpose of disseminating new ideas and the various accomplishments of science, and to arrange for enlightened discussion of these topics.
- 6--Explaining all forms of socialist ideology, particularly that of progressive socialism of the party, and disseminating this ideology by means of writings, lectures, and books which shall serve as a school of thought for a better life and new generation of citizens.
- 7--Translating as much as is possible of international works, especially the socialist ones which present progressive socialism.
- 8--Combating illiteracy and spreading education by all possible means within the party circles.

H--Commission of Health and Aid: shall be responsible for:

- 1--The publication of medical information to help in protecting the general health of individuals and of families, and the suggestion of what action should be taken to produce immunity to disease, especially endemic and contagious types.
- 2--Providing care for children and mothers in order to reduce fatalities, and raise new generations of citizens having healthy bodies and sound minds. In so doing it shall issue all necessary publications.
- 3--Action to combat venereal and congenital diseases and the publication of such advice as will help to prevent the spread of these diseases.
- 4--Action to enforce a well-prepared, comprehensive medical insurance plan throughout the country, and until such time as this program is realized, the commission shall administer a medical program which shall provide the party members and their families with medical services and hospitalization either free or at a nominal cost.

I--The Commission on Social Affairs: shall be responsible for:

- 1--Providing social security for all members of the party in accordance with the provisions of the charter of the party.
- 2--Action to establish agriculture, industrial, professional and production cooperatives based on joint ownership and common work; also set up similar cooperatives for consumers and social insurance.
- 3--Bringing together men of letters and of labor, to meet in joint groups as brothers to explain the role which each plays in building society, and the progress of man and civilization; and to utilize this unity of brothers in ideology and work in serving the party, whose symbol is the union of the pen and the pick-ax, representing the unity of men of letters and labor.

J--Commission on Propaganda and Publications: shall perform the following:

- 1--Simplify progressive socialist principles and disseminate them within the ranks and among the masses, so the members and other citizens may fully and clearly understand them. This shall be done by means of pamphlets, books, newspapers, articles, lectures, meetings and all other media of propaganda and publication.

- 2--Train a select group of propagandists on modern methods of propaganda, discussion and debating, and then send them to operate among the various social groups to propagate the party's ideology and so gain new members and strengthen the party.
- 3--Guide the people toward fully understanding the individual and the group.
- 4--Organize the ceremonies of the party and establish a protocol department.
- 5--Supervise the policy and editing of the party's newspapers.

K--Commission on Youth, Sports, and Students: this commission shall be responsible for:

- 1--Selecting a good group of members and training them in the fields of sports, unionization and party action. They shall be given a spartan training in order to be able to face hardships, purify their souls and overcome pain, and be imbued with spiritual strength.
- 2--Organize a free social service program for the party, to be implemented during specified days of every year. Among other things it should be utilized in building houses, planting trees and opening roads, drilling water springs and building dams, etc.
- 3--Organize general parties which shall be devoted to sports, recreation and games and which shall be well-coordinated and which fully utilize artistic and musical talent.
- 4--Establish clubs and camps specifically for athletic and scouting activities.
- 5--Imbue the spirit of sacrifice, spreading the doctrine of "glory of work" and developing the belief in service among the intellectuals and labor groups alike.
- 6--Discovering the good elements, giving special attention to them and preparing them to eventually shoulder the responsibilities of the political and social leadership.

L--Commission on Legislation: The responsibility of this commission shall be:

- 1--The drafting of the rules and regulations which the competent authorities of the party issue.
- 2--The studying of the laws, decrees and the rules in force in the Lebanese Republic, and the preparation of bills, drafts, decrees of new rules, and bills to amend those in force, to have them presented to the competent government authorities by the party whenever this is necessary.

THE COUNSELLORS:

Article 25: The President of the party has the power to appoint specialists as counsellors and seek their advice in scientific, technical and artistic matters. He may remunerate them when this is necessary.

THE INSPECTORATE GENERAL:

Article 26: An inspectorate general shall be established in the party. Its function shall be as follows:

- 1--To supervise the commissions, the agencies, and departments with power to make suggestions on how to improve their operations.
- 2--To accept complaints and investigate them, then refer them to the proper authorities.
- 3--To supervise athletic training.

REGIONAL COMMITTEES:

Article 27: The Regional Committees shall be composed of:

A--The districts: A district is a unit comprising not less than five branches. It is headed by an agent who is assisted by a number of officials. The district head exercises direct authority over those branches which make up his district.

B--The Branches: The branch is the basic unit of the party.

Article 28: The chairmen of the branches are the representatives of the executive authority, and accept orders and instructions from the party's authorities through the district head.

COUNCIL OF DISCIPLINE:

Article 29: The Commissioner of Justice applies the code of honor to all party members except the president, who, in such a case, shall be tried on a charge of having committed high treason to the progressive socialist doctrine, or embezzlement. He shall be tried by a board of five members to be elected by the General Council of elders from among its members. He may be impeached by the Board of Directors by a two-thirds majority vote. Once elected the special committee shall meet with its oldest

member presiding and proceed with its work in accordance with the regular procedures of the Council of Discipline. The committee may delegate one of its members to investigate whatever it deems necessary. The committee reaches its decisions by majority vote and such decisions are final.

- Article 30: The Council of Discipline can impose any of the following punishments:
- 1--Issue a warning and have it recorded in the personal file of the member.
 - 2--Issue a reprimand and have it recorded in the personal file of the member.
 - 3--Order the dismissal of the person from a party job.
 - 4--Order the demotion of the member from the category of elder to the category of active member, or from an active to an associate member.
 - 5--Order the temporary separation of the member from the party for a period of not less than three months and not more than two years.
 - 6--Order complete dismissal from the party.

- Article 31: The manner in which cases are referred to the Council of Discipline, their investigation and hearing shall be defined in the Internal Rules of the party.

PART II

Classification of Members--Membership Requirements--Resignation--Dismissal

CHAPTER ONE

Classification of Members

- Article 32: The Party shall have three types of members:
- Group one: Elder members.
 - Group two: Active members.
 - Group three: Associate members.
- Article 33: The associate member is a member newly accepted by the party, who is put through a period of probation and training. Such members cannot assume party responsibility beyond the branch level, and cannot vote in the General Assembly. The active member is one who, during the probation period, proved to be acceptable for party work. He is a permanent member and can assume

responsibilities on the branch, district and commission levels. An active member who is invited to attend the General Assembly meeting has the right to participate in the discussions and to vote. An elder member is one who has the following attributes:

- 1--He must possess high qualities which express themselves in his conduct, beneficial work, and in his sacrifices for the party and its principles, humanity and the nation.
- 2--He must understand the ideology of the party that he can preach it, explain it, and defend it with sound logic.
- 3--He must have taken action which improved the conditions of society and individuals.
- 4--He must be well-educated in science, literature, and fine arts, or possess a high degree of general education.
- 5--He must be fully informed of other socialistic ideologies and doctrines.

Article 34: The Internal Rules shall specify the conditions for promoting a member from the associate to active and from the active to elder categories.

CHAPTER TWO

Membership Requirements--Resignation--Dismissal

Article 35: The conditions which must be met for any applicant to be accepted are the following:

- 1--He must be twenty years old.
- 2--He must understand and believe in the basic principles of the party.
- 3--He must not have been sentenced in a felony or a moral crime.

Article 36: Upon his acceptance the applicant must take the party's oath. The manner of applying to the party, the acceptance, and the text of the oath shall be specified in the party's Internal Rules.

Article 37: Since the oath which links every member to the party and its principles is a contract between the member and the party, the only acceptable cause for resignation is the member's departure from the principles of the party or his submission of some other equally important reason.

Article 38: No member may be dismissed from the party except by an order issued by the competent authorities of the party, which shall give the reasons for the expulsion. The Internal Rules shall provide for the manner of dismissal or expulsion of members from the party.

PART III

The Party's Office---Library---Documents

CHAPTER ONE

The Party's Office

Article 39: The General Secretary is in charge of the party's main office, assisted by the necessary editors, clerks and their assistants as provided for in the Internal Rules of the party.

THE LIBRARY:

Article 40: The party shall establish a large general library at its main center, and a number of libraries at the branches which will serve as "reading rooms", and so help to spread the principles of the party and educate the members by means of study and reading.

PARTY'S RECORDS:

Article 41: The party shall keep at its main center, and in all its branches, the records required by the law on organizations, and which are:

- 1--A record of the identity cards of the members and the dates on which the members joined the party.
 - 2--A record of the decisions of the Board of Directors.
 - 3--A record of income and expenditures of the party.
- In addition to the above-mentioned records, the party units must keep the records provided for in the Internal Rules.

PART IV

Party Finances and Revenues--Entrance Fees and Membership Dues--
Contributions--Safe Keeping of Money and Expenditures

CHAPTER ONE

Party Finances and Revenues

- Article 42: The finances of the party and its revenues are:
- 1--Entrance fees.
 - 2--Monthly membership dues.
 - 3--Members' contributions.
 - 4--Income from functions organized and held by the party.
 - 5--Income from social services.
 - 6--Interest on party's deposits and income derived from party properties.

CHAPTER TWO

Entrance Fees and Membership Dues--Contributions

- Article 43: The entrance fee is two Lebanese pounds payable by the applicant on his acceptance. The applicant cannot be exempted from payment.
- The monthly dues are one Lebanese pound payable during the first week of every month.
- A member can be exempted from payment of the dues for a limited or an unlimited period, by order of the Commissioner of the Treasury, which shall be made on the suggestion of the chairman of the party branch and approved by the Commissioner of Internal Affairs. Such exemption shall be given only if the member is very poor and unemployed. Any party member can make a voluntary monthly contribution in the sum of not less than five Lebanese pounds and not more than 500 Lebanese pounds to the party treasury.
- Any member can give a yearly contribution of not less than 25 Lebanese pounds.
- The Board of Directors may require a member to pay a special fee on the recommendation of the Commissioner of the Treasury, and after hearing the member in question if he requests such a hearing.

Article 44: It is not permissible for any party member or non-member to collect contributions to the party or money from the sale of tickets to a party function without written authority from the President or the Commissioner of the Treasury, and only on the basis of official receipts bearing the party's seal.

CHAPTER THREE

Safe Keeping of Money--Expenditures

Article 45: No more than a thousand Lebanese pounds may be kept in cash at the main center of the party. Any amount in excess of this must be deposited in the name of the party at the bank designated by the Board of Directors. Each branch must not keep more than one hundred Lebanese pounds in cash at hand; all additional amounts must be deposited at the main center of the party to the account of the particular branch.

Article 46: No money may be spent by any party unit except through payment orders issued by the proper authorities. Payments are to be established by legal receipts or valid registered bills. The Internal Rules shall regulate all procedures, and define responsibilities.

PART V

The General and Special Assemblies--Nominations and Election-- Amendment of Party Constitution and Rules--Adoption of Regulations and the Issuance of Orders

CHAPTER ONE

The General and Special Assemblies

Article 47: The General Assembly of the Branch is composed of all its members--associate, active and elder. It shall meet on the first Sunday of October of every year on the invitation of the chairman of the branch, to study his report on the activities of the preceeding year, the branch's position; and to review in detail the accounts, approve them, pass the branch's budget for the coming year, and decide on the broad programs for the

following year.

The chairman of the branch, or his deputy, in his absence, shall preside.

All members have the right to debate, vote, and submit resolutions.

In important situations, the branch chairman may call a special meeting of the branch's general assembly.

Article 48: If the Constitution is to be amended, the party's general assembly must be composed of the elder members only. For other purposes the general assembly shall be composed of:

1--The Board of Directors.

2--Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Counsellors, and District Heads.

3--All elder members.

4--Branch chairmen who are active members.

The General Assembly shall be presided over by the President, or his second vice-president in case he is incapacitated, or if he is outside Lebanon, or on a long vacation. The General Assembly is to hold its regular meeting on a Sunday during the second half of November of each year, the exact date to be fixed by the President in his invitation. At the regular meeting the Assembly will hear the President's detailed report concerning the activities of the party during the preceding year, the domestic and foreign political situations, the broad outlines of the activities of the party during the coming year, the party's financial standing, and the party's progress.

The General Assembly shall debate all parts of the report, and adopt appropriate decisions regarding the problems discussed. These decisions are mandatory for the entire party.

The General Assembly shall, on the invitation of the president, meet at least two months prior to the expiration of the term of office of the president, his vice-presidents, and the Board of Directors, to elect a new party President, vice-presidents, and members of the Board of Directors.

The General Assembly shall hold its meetings at the main party center, but can meet at a different place when necessary, and in such a case the designated meeting place must be mentioned on the invitation card.

If an elder member fails to attend one meeting without a valid excuse, his membership in the elder member's General Assembly is terminated, but he has the right to present his excuse within a period of one month of the day he receives the President's notice informing him of the decision to terminate his membership. This decision shall be made at the close of the meeting of the elder members' General Assembly. The session of the

General Assembly may last one or more days. The session ends upon the conclusion of the debates and after the necessary decisions concerning the matters being discussed, are made.

- Article 49: The party President can call the General Assembly into a special session whenever he deems this necessary. In such an event, only topics listed in the notice of the meeting are to be discussed.
- Article 50: In the event the President is incapacitated, outside Lebanon, or on vacation, the second vice-president shall issue the invitation to the meeting. In the event the second vice-president is also incapacitated, the first vice-president shall assume this responsibility. In the event all the above mentioned officials are absent, the Board of Directors shall have the power to invite the General Assembly to meet whether in special or in general session.
- Article 51: Whenever at least one-fourth of the members possessing the right to vote request a special meeting of the General Assembly to discuss political or party matters, the President or his deputy must honor their request; and the invitation shall be issued in accordance with the provisions of Article 49.
- Article 52: The proceedings and decisions of the regular and special General Assemblies must be recorded and must be signed by the President and the General Secretary of the party.
- Article 53: The meetings of the regular or special General Assemblies are legal when attended by the absolute majority of the members of the General Assembly. If, following the first invitation no quorum is obtained, the members shall be invited to a second meeting three weeks later, and the meeting shall be considered legal regardless of the number of members in attendance. In the event the Assembly meets subsequent to the second invitation, and decides to remain in session, then all subsequent meetings shall be legal regardless of the number of members present.
- Article 54: The General Assembly, whether in a special or regular session, shall adopt its decisions on the basis of suggestions made by the Board of Directors. These decisions shall be legal and obligatory when approved by a simple majority; i.e., by a vote of half plus one of the members attending who have the right to vote. If the decision deals with amending the party constitution, it must be approved by at least a majority of

two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly who are entitled to vote.

- Article 55: The invitation to a meeting of the General Assembly, whether regular or special, shall be published in the newspapers of the party and others, and posted at the center of the party and its branches. This shall constitute legal notification to all members.
- Article 56: The Commissioner of Internal Affairs shall communicate to all party units a list containing all the names of members who comprise the regular general assembly. This list must be signed by the President each year, about one month before the date of the session. This list shall be used if the General Assembly meets in a special session during the same year.
- Article 57: The Internal Rules of the party shall provide for all matters not dealt with in the constitution on this subject.

CHAPTER TWO

Nominations and Elections

- Article 58: Only an elder member can nominate himself for the Presidency, vice-presidency, or membership on the Board of Directors of the party.
- Nominations shall be made by written letter to be presented by the candidate to the General Secretariat at least one month from the day of the election. The General Secretary has no authority to refuse a nomination application unless it fails to meet the two conditions mentioned in this article.
- The General Secretary must give the candidate a receipt acknowledging the filing of the application.
- Nomination to the Board of Directors can be refused:
- 1--If the member has not fully paid his membership dues.
 - 2--If the member has neglected to carry out the party responsibilities assigned to him. This should be noted in the report which the Board of Directors prepares on this matter at the end of each year.
- Nominations shall be reviewed by a committee composed of the party President, the General Secretary and the Inspector General within ten days of receiving the nomination. The committee may secure the assistance of the various party organizations whenever this is considered necessary, and shall then decide whether to accept or reject the nomination, and proceed to notify the person

concerned. Every nomination, with regard to which no decision is made within the required period, shall be considered accepted.

- Article 59: After the expiration of the period for filing nominations the General Secretary shall release the list of names of all the accepted candidates.
- Article 60: The results of the election may be contested before the Council of Discipline if necessary.
- Article 61: The Internal Rules of the party shall make detailed provisions for elections and the manner in which results may be contested.

CHAPTER THREE

Amending the Constitution--Enactment of Rules and Amending them--Issuing Decisions

- Article 62: The constitution of the party may be amended only by the General Assembly of elder members, following suggestions made by the Board of Directors, which shall take the form of legal and constitutional bills which the party's President shall refer to the General Assembly for consideration and approval; or following a request made by more than one-fourth of the members who are entitled to vote in the General Assembly. Such requests must be referred to the General Assembly by the President of the party.
- Article 63: The Board of Directors is the only party authority which has the right to enact Internal Party Rules, provided that the rules are in accordance with the provisions and meaning of this constitution and the party charter. The Board of Directors has the power to amend these rules or repeal them at will, provided it observes the above mentioned conditions.
- Article 64: The party President has the power to issue orders related to the party, administrative, and organizational affairs, provided that they shall not conflict with the charter, constitution, or rules of the party.
- Article 65: The Commissioners of the party are empowered to issue orders within the powers granted to them as defined in the constitution and in the party rules in force. The party President has the power to cancel such orders, or amend them, provided he gives his reasons for doing so.

Article 66: This constitution shall come into force on the day it is accepted by the General Assembly of elder members, and all provisions contrary to this constitution shall henceforth be repealed.

APPENDIX B

THE CHARTER OF THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY**

Ideology

1--The party seeks to have human institutions founded on the perfect human ideals. This, interpreted relative to time, is that the sole objective of every human endeavor and institution is the full and coordinated unfurling of the individual's capabilities, and that, society with all its institutions--including the political--is not an end in itself, but a means for developing man. This is why the state is either hallowed or cursed, or sees its institution become productive or sterile depending on whether it serves or does not serve man.

Accordingly the party, in a practical way, aims at:

*The establishment of a society founded on true democracy, where social security, justice, prosperity, peace and freedom prevail, and where those human rights decreed by the United Nations are assured.

*The attainment of the greatest practical measure of human justice and the most advanced civilization for our society.

And for these reasons:

*The party accepts fully the progressive experience of man in the fields of science, sociology, economics, and politics to include the principles of International Socialism and its practical requirements, namely the distribution of ownership and the means of production and their utilization in accordance with the requirements of time, the development of society, and the needs of every country.

*The party resorts to direct action, and adopts the principle of self-sacrifice in order to attain its goals, which shall result in complete change.

**The translation of this document was compared with the only other English translation, that of Ali Youssef Al-Khalil in his unpublished dissertation, The Socialist Parties of Syria and Lebanon, (American University, Washington, 1962); but though Mr. EL-Khalil's translation was beneficial it was not a complete work, and as a result the author deemed it necessary to present his own translation of the original charter.

2--This principle presents itself:

A--On the social, political and administrative levels in the following:

- *Basic equality in rights and duties (obligations).
- *Justice Based on brotherhood, cooperation and solidarity.
- *Respect for all the freedoms of the individual and only limited by the freedoms of other persons and by the dictates of the general welfare.
- *Political equality for all citizens, taking into consideration their worth and the extent of their ability to contribute to society.
- *A balanced structure, which, while basically showing moderation, accepts both individual variations and that individuality which produces the personality of the individual.
- *Brotherly solidarity that results from the division of labor and the acceptance of the fact that citizens differ in their abilities.
- *Creative, responsible leadership.

B--On the international level; through:

- *Seeking the strongest cooperation with these nations which share with us the highest ideals, in order to obtain international understanding and solidarity and then working through the family and the nation, produce the unity of all the faithful.
- *The nation becoming an effective member of the movement for the development of man which seeks the solidarity of men, and ensuring that civilization attains its highest level. The development of the value of man based on:
 - *Knowledge, which is the pivot of individual, national and governmental activity.
 - *The intellect and whatever is needed for its development are assured at all times.

Foreign Policy

1--The party and world peace. It subscribes to every genuine formal international cooperation, and supports all international action that would establish world peace on the basis of the equality of all nations and respect of their legitimate rights.

2--The party supports close cooperation with the Arab States.

Internal Policy

Part One--The State

1--A document shall be drafted declaring the rights and duties of

man and the citizen. Such document shall serve as the preamble of the constitution.

2--The people shall be organized, and as much as this is possible, on the basis of a natural hierarchy, that would represent the natural grouping of the people in accordance with their interests or activities. Such organization shall then be incorporated into the state, making it the representative of the people's organizations and in this way can attain its social goals. The government will then be the keystone of the organizational arch of the people.

3--A constitution shall be drawn up in line with the principles of the party, and the requirements of the time and place. It shall guarantee rights and duties as declared in the document. Such constitution shall be based upon:

*The separation of powers.

*A strong executive.

*A judiciary which shall serve as the guardian of the constitutionality of the laws.

*Men and women are equal in their political and civil liberties.

*Proper representation of the elite, professional, economic, and social groups, in all elective councils, to insure having capable persons assume the duties of government.

4--The judiciary being the sanctuary of rights and personal liberties shall function on the basis of responsibility, and speed in performance and the judges shall be qualified and free from the pressures of political influence and material needs. The judiciary shall be a flexible organization, that would meet the needs of the litigants.

This shall be done by:

A--Specifying the rights and duties of the judge.

*The judiciary being the highest profession, in the state, only qualified persons shall be selected to fill its positions.

*Guaranteeing the judge freedom from worldly needs.

*Giving the judge protection against the administrative authorities by providing that he cannot be removed from office or transferred except for grave cause.

*Making it possible to promote a judge without consideration to the court he presides over.

(A judge of a court of First-Instance may be promoted to the rank of president of Court of Appeal and yet continue to sit in his court of First-Instance.)

*Making judges responsible for their own serious legal mistakes, which are assumed to be indications of bad faith on the part of the judge.

B--Insuring a system of continuous inspection which shall inquire into:

- *The behavior of the judge.
- *His observance of regular working hours.
- *His legal qualifications.

C--The Court System:

- *A decentralized system.
- *Judges appointed in each district.
- *A higher judicial authority to be the source of judicial precedents.

D--Insuring that litigation will lead to justice, so that:

- *The laws shall not be exploited to produce legal battles. The judge shall direct the hearing and draw attention to what action will lead to establishing justice.
- *Technical formalities shall not impair justice. The law being the instrument of justice.
- *Lengthy delays in court pleadings and procedures shall be eliminated.
- *Any person who misuses his right to institute court action shall be penalized.

E--Insuring the quick enforcement of court decisions:

- *Written obligations shall be enforced without court decision by executive proceedings subject to certain restrictions.
- *Objections shall not be entertained against executive proceedings.

5--The enactment of an electoral law which shall especially include:

- *Compulsory voting.
- *Smaller electoral districts.
- *A larger number of voting centers (polls) as a facility for the voters.
- *Election results certified by judicial authorities.

6--The Administration shall be based upon:

- *Simplified procedures.
- *Decentralization.
- *Fuller delegation of authority.
- *Clearly determined responsibility.
- *Employment of qualified and specialized personnel.
- *Continuous independent inspection.
- *Recognition of ability and the independence of the employee by means of adequate regulations.

7--Non-sectarianism in government, which shall nevertheless respect the freedom of beliefs. The abolition of the political confession-
alism system.

8--Totalitarian and anarchist systems shall not be permitted as the state should be a consultative democracy which has the duty to provide guided supervision and not control the exploitation of the activities of the people.

- 9--Educate the people politically and socially in order to attain a stable democracy that would be the outcome of the voluntary development of "discipline" among the citizens.

Part Two--The Society

- 1--Strengthening the concept of the family by encouraging early marriages, by respecting the sanctity of marriage and by providing care for mother and child.
- 2--By requiring medical examinations before marriage, by scientific methods of combating disease, by fighting moral degeneration and also work out ways to protect the offspring and maintain the strength, vitality and the superior genius of the human race.
- 3--Have the people integrated into a complete social unit. Recognizing religion to serve as a basic foundation for a superior society, and welcoming the work of the clerics in spreading the principles of the ideal man.
- 4--Recognizing that society is not only a plurality of individuals, but an organic whole which derives its vitality from its diversity. In each profession lies dignity, and one profession is not better than another for they exist to insure the continuity and stability of society and its progress toward perfection.
- 5--Rejecting classes and feudalism and working toward developing real leaderships and the awakening of the feeling of social solidarity and responsibility.
- 6--Adopting a compulsory social services program.
- 7--Maintaining a balance between country and city dwellers to preserve the sanctity of man's linkage with the soil.
- 8--A step by step village development program based upon a system of migration to and from the village and city, the development and encouragement of village industries to serve as an important source of income, and by village development laws, insure that each village shall have its roads, water systems, electricity, sewage system, school, library, sports club and postal services.
- 9--Activate society by giving full regard and attention to the heritage of the district as expressed in celebrations, festivals, folklore, traditions, story telling, ballads and in developing the village trades.
- 10--Adopting and implementing the motto that: "this nation shall be a happy one", so that the citizen shall have the right to education, work and have his future insured against old age,

unemployment and sickness by means of a system of social security for all.

Part Three---Health Care and Assistance

Health care and public health are recognized as essential for an energetic society. The following action shall therefore be taken:

- *Safeguarding the health of the citizens.
- *Elimination of all venereal diseases.
- *Protection against all communicable and epidemic diseases.
- *An effective program for fighting disease and providing medical services to all citizens.

1--In the field of public health:

- *The methods of prevention of disease, immunization and ways of maintaining good health shall be dissiminated among the people by means of education or propaganda.
- *Fully supervised and adequate action for the continuous enforcement of health protection in all fields.
- *City, village and town planning shall insure to the people the proper population density and adequate sun and fresh air.
- *Regulations shall provide the necessary health rules in the offices, places of work, and public places.
- *Strict application of regulations designed to protect the health of the citizen against adulteration of foodstuffs.
- *Provision for continuous compulsory health protection for children and the youth during all stages of education and vocational training.

2--In the field of veneral diseases:

- *Persons who want to get married must be in possession of a medical certificate.
- *No person may enter educational, technical or professional institutions or be employed by a public or private institution housing more than ten people, or an industrial institution, unless he is in possession of a medical certificate.
- *Compulsory treatment for venereal diseases.

3--For the prevention of communicable diseases and epidemics:

- *Health centers armed with wide powers, shall be opened in all districts.
- *Potable water shall be supplied to all populated areas, with constant health controls maintained over it.
- *Swamps shall be drained, and contaminated water shall be purified.
- *Proper drainage and filtration systems shall be operated in populated areas.
- *The mandatory notification of all cases of contageous diseases and the isolation of such patients.
- *Preventive quarantine measures as have been scientifically proved

shall be applied.

*Health control centers shall be established at the borders of the country.

4--For the treatment of patients:

*Make available:

Specialized hospitals

Clinics in the districts

Medical teams to inspect health conditions.

*Organize:

Compulsory medical services in public and private bodies which employ more than ten persons.

Cooperative or unions' operated medical services with the assistance of the government.

Free medical aid to the poor.

5--The medical profession--shall be organized on the following bases:

Upgrading the standard of medical instruction.

Persons who study medicine must be of the best character.

A proper recognition of qualifications.

Establishment of research institutes and laboratories to foster scientific research.

Part Four--Economy and Finance

Develop the economy by adopting an economic and financial system that would guide the economy to the attainment of the following goals:

1--Improving and stabilizing the standard of living and social security by developing the quality and quantity of production, reducing the cost of living, and balancing payments. This shall be attained by:

A--Technical improvements in production:

*By educating the workers to become skillful and conscientious workers.

*By providing administrative training and better research and technical facilities for managers and business directors.

*By better selection of employees, based on qualifications and experience.

*By better production techniques as applied to both production and labor, by further use of machinery, and by standardizing production.

B--Encouragement of personal initiative and will to work, and inventiveness in scientific, technical and administrative fields through:

*A suitable tax law; a policy of credits and supervision for industry; and the utilization of the natural resources and the land. (putting fallow land under the plow, and planting fruit

trees).

*Establishment of educational and research institutes.

*Scholarships and financial assistance to qualified persons.

C--The maximum use of the talents of the citizens, and the planned scientific use of the natural resources:

*Hydro-electric power sufficient to meet the needs of irrigation, natural and chemical fertilizers, and industry.

*Skill and creativeness in crafts.

*The utilization of the climatic attributes and variations in the geography of the country, tourism and the development of summer and winter resorts.

*How best to exploit the soil and climate in agriculture.

*How best to utilize the geographical location of the country and its traditions as a commercial country.

D--The useful sectors of the national economy should be encouraged, and properly directed, so that:

*In agriculture, there should be specialization and high quality products that will meet the needs of the market, and increase production by means of specialization.

*In the field of tourism, and summer and winter resorts: By providing better buildings, better treatment of tourists, and by providing adequate recreation, and sports activities.

*In industry: Only those crafts and industries which deserve to remain producing for the local and foreign markets.

E--Lowering the cost of living, thus increasing the purchasing power, and at the same time, raising the wages level to add to this increase in purchasing power. This shall be done by:

*Lowering the costs of production.

*Reducing indirect taxes to the minimum.

*Wholesale reduction if not complete elimination of customs duties on consumer goods not produced in the country.

*Making transportation facilities cheaper, adequate and faster.

*Forbidding all excessive and unexcusable profits, especially those of the middle man, the usurer and the profiteer, and the actual confiscation of such profits.

*Effective utilization of the administration.

F--The balance of trade should be balanced by adopting:

*On the national front, a policy which leads to economic security and lowers the cost of living.

*On the foreign front, a policy which secures markets, thereby equalizing production and demand.

*On the international front, better international relations coupled with a policy of economic justice and stability and welcoming foreign capital provided that it is utilized in the interest of the country, and only responds to the policy of the nation.

2--To prepare and put into effect an equitable code of law for ownership, capital, and employment that will insure harmony among them and in this way utilize their social and economic functions to bring about general prosperity.

A--In the present stage of the evolution of the nation, private ownership is the fulcrum of the freedom, security, and the initiative of the individual and the preservation of his family. It also motivates production and is an incentive for personal initiative, provided that it does not lead to the freezing or sterilization of wealth, or produce social parasites and laxness, or be turned into an instrument of pressure or authority, and should not conflict with public ownership when such ownership is necessary.

B--Work is the code of human life and an expression of its supremacy. It is the paramount condition for effective production and a worthwhile society (for he who is able to work, yet does not, should not have the right to eat).

C--These principles shall be implemented through:

- *Public ownership: Nationalization of institutions which perform public functions or which are of special significance to the economy of the country or its political or social life.
- *The liquidation of private government property.
- *The confiscation of all neglected real estate and agricultural property, and its distribution to the citizens. A progressive inheritance tax shall also be imposed.
- *Large agricultural estates shall be divided and sold to share croppers and farm hands with the price paid in long term installments. The share cropper system should be completely eliminated because it is a medieval feudal system. Efforts must be made to strengthen farmers cooperatives and to work out a good agriculture credits system.
- *Use taxes to limit excessive high incomes which are the cause of hoarding and sterilizing capital and immovable property.
- *Adopt a policy of monetary stability and security which while removing the cause for stock exchange speculation and the freezing and sterilization of capital will yet encourage the investment and flow of capital. Also establish a national currency board.
- *Permit free competition and action provided they come within the limits set down by the national economic policy, professional etiquette and social good.
- *Cartels or monopolies will not be permitted to wipe out or threaten these freedoms in pursuance of private interests.
- *Give workers an interest in the success of their work and this especially by having them share in the profits. The worker is a partner of the employer, and while he receives his salary, the net profits must be divided between the worker and the employer in accordance with a just formula.
- *Provide the workers, as much as this is possible, with machinery

to increase production and to decrease the number of working hours of all workers.

- 3--Use taxes and public spending as factors in state economic planning, and as a means of producing stability and social justice. (Strong currency and full utilization of appropriations in the most effective and economical way in accordance with an economic plan). The taxes and finance program must be based on the principle: "The tax liability must be based on the ability of the tax payer to pay, and spending based on need."
- This shall be assured with the following measures:
- *Reforming the whole tax system, so as to insure the financial ability of the state to implement the governmental development and social programs.
 - *Basing revenues on direct taxation and as much as possible eliminate indirect taxes.
 - *Allocating most of the state spending to productive projects.
 - *No budget allocations shall be made to projects not subject to audit.
 - *Government revenue should be handled in accordance with correct economic principles.
 - *Creation of an independent accounting and audit office.
 - *Creation of a general inspection office.
- 4--International cooperation on the basis of reciprocity and justice for controlling and fully developing international trade, through international organizations or bilateral or multilateral agreements.

Part Five--The Intellect

We declare that knowledge is important and should be accorded full respect together with the human intellect. Every action should be taken to insure that knowledge thrives for the good of the individual, the nation and the human race.

- 1--Knowledge must be considered a value in itself, a source of human dignity and the center of human endeavor. Knowledge stands as a measure of every human activity and a source of freedom and satisfaction. Therefore the party requires:
- *Complete freedom of thought in order to seek and attain the truth.
 - *Knowledge needs no mediator, so there can be no restrictions on spreading knowledge.
 - *Knowledge is the right of the individual, and he has a duty to declare it.
- As a result, the following goals must be achieved:
- *Compulsory and free elementary and secondary education, and free higher education.
 - *Opening of night schools for elementary, secondary, high and vocational education.

*Education must seek to disseminate the truth, the natural codes of character, and social values; and free and develop the mind to seek in all phases of life the realization of the complete man as an individual, and citizen, and in so doing fuse the powers of intelligence, judgement, sensitivity and character into a well balanced whole, that will train the body to become an ideal machine at work.

Have persons attain complete knowledge by:

A--Working out a teachers' program which will define the rules of the profession:

*By adopting plans to train teachers through developing their intellect and character. This shall be particularly accomplished by opening a higher teachers' college which shall serve as the center for those apostles of knowledge.

B--The training and development of the mind. This shall be an approved gradual plan based on:

*A feeling of acquiring personal, and national benefits.

*A feeling of pride in contributing to world progress.

*At the elementary education level, to use cordiality as a basis for inducing understanding, and to stress the value of accomplishment and artistic tastes.

*At the secondary school level, knowledge must be sought for the sake of truth and as a result of its full acceptance resulting from its gradual comprehension by the mind.

*Higher learning must be oriented towards the feeling of spiritual happiness resulting from conquest by the mind and pride in contributing to the development of world civilization, then both will serve as the basis for the intellect, and insure that knowledge is sought for its own sake and not for personal motives.

C--Education generally must be based upon:

*Developing the intellect and not the storing of information, for it is said "An orderly mind is better than a stacked mind." This can be attained:

at the elementary level by:

*Awakening the personality and the feeling of responsibility.

*Having the youth gradually become acquainted with the heritage of man.

*Establishing kindergartens for all children. At the secondary school level.

*By arming the student with the power of the mind and training him to seek more of that knowledge which is the cream of the spiritual and mental heritage of man, so that he may become an instrument of both acquiring and creating at the same time.

*Developing the taste of the student by awakening in him the appreciation of beauty and love for truth.

*Completing this period of education with a year of education so vital and rich that it would serve as a link between

education and the needs of life, and which shall also lead him to adjust himself to this life.

At the higher education level:

In the field of higher learning:

*Developing the intellect as a whole by a broad liberal education coupled with specialization in order to put the intellect at a maximum advantage. The person should be trained to place the different branches of learning in their proper place within the overall structure of knowledge. As otherwise specialization will become an evil not an asset.

*Establishing a model university in addition to establishing and encouraging special higher institutes of learning for philosophy, the sciences and the arts, and supplying them with:

Philosophy: periodicals and clinical psychology laboratories
 Sciences: museums, collections, laboratories, experimental stations, accredited correspondents abroad, and institutes for research and technology for students and researchers who will be provided with the necessary facilities to serve society, civilization and science

The Arts: museums, permanent showrooms, theaters, an opera house, and cinema studios.

D--Center the program for the development of personality and a balanced character on a responsible, well-guided program.

This is why the education program should be based on:

*The cultivation of the spirit of initiative and responsibility in the child by providing the opportunity for freedom of action and the shouldering of responsibility.

*The cultivation of respect for freedom and human dignity as two sources of responsibility.

*Full control of the self and subjecting its total creativeness to a balanced life.

*Accepting the principle of "a sound mind in a sound body," so both the mind and the body must be developed together.

*Stressing the sanctity of the body and the upgrading of man's powers to make of them creative, social and spiritual forces.

*Developing in the child the habit of full care of his body.

*Introducing health and physical training as two subjects of instruction and examination in schools.

*Encouraging the youth to partake of physical exercise to help him develop a sound body and character and give him a feeling of happiness.

*Returning physical exercise to the atmosphere of nature, and have it seek the molding of those duties of the body which lend themselves to such molding, so as to foster their growth and purify them.

*Stressing the close links between sports and happiness.

*Explaining the relationship between the body and the spiritual forces that one leads to the development of the other.

*Stressing the individual and group benefits resulting from the growth of sportsmanship.

- *Signaling out the beauty of sports.
- *Making of the sports season a subject of pride for the group.
- *Requiring every young man and woman to belong to one or more clubs.
- *Opening athletic clubs which shall provide all forms of sports, and prepare programs for the clubs.

3--Treating knowledge as a social catalyst and a force of national strength.

A--Consider the age of youth to be the age of heroism, that is the age in which man can be activated as individuals and groups and that this force can be organized and used in a planned program in the following manner:

- *An organizational plan that would ensure the maximum flowering of the chivalry of youth.
- *Cultivating in youth love, the value of chivalry, the spirit of research and love for work.
- *Have the youth serve as an example to the nation in everyday life and in times of trials, and that they stand at the lead any time there is need for individual or group action.
- *Insisting on the need for social responsibility and cooperation.
- *Using the fine arts, particularly the radio, cinema, theater and music in cultivating and developing the artistic tastes of the people.

B--Strengthening the social spirit in the youth and this, by maintaining in every village and quarter, a people's home wherein the people can meet to acquire the different patterns of culture and come to know the variety of social duties. Also to stress the need for direct action in the different levels of the compulsory education system, particularly in the field of practical instruction and in so doing make the citizen more capable of action for his good and the good of society. This shall particularly be accomplished by:

- *A system of vocational and crafts training in the elementary schools of the towns.
- *A system of vocational, specialized and applied instruction in the industrial and arts schools and other vocational centers whose purpose is to train foremen for the national production.
- *Encourage the training of artisans in addition to the training of industrial crafts instructors.
- *Encourage students at the secondary and higher education levels to learn a craft as this will bring them closer to their fellow countrymen whose work requires the use of skills.
- *Civics should be a subject of instruction in which the students will have to pass an examination. They shall also be taught the social rights and duties of the individual and the citizen and etiquette in dealing with others.
- *Providing instruction in the history of the nation provided that it be taught as part of the history of progress of the

world.

*Providing instruction in the geography of the nation and be used to enlighten the student about the value and potentialities of the country and in this way direct his activities to the fields of the intellect, research, and the economy of the country.

C--Develop and cultivate the maximum flowering of the mind by:

*Discussing the explaining the value of education and its problems to the people, and in this way, the people will even from a distance be aware and appreciative of this and the work of thinkers.

*Send out missions to specialize in the sciences and the arts and then make full use of such men by providing them with institutions in all their fields of activity.

*Establish prizes, and hold local and international exhibitions of the products of their minds.

*Strengthening the ties between men of letters and science in the country and their colleagues in other parts of the world and to do so particularly by having them participate in private and international research and cultural institutions and by convening scientific, cultural, and international conferences.

Part Six--The Press

Introduce a basic plan of reform of the radio and publications organizations which will be compatible with their importance as an effective link between public opinion and government and a vehicle for propagating the truth.

APPENDIX C*

This questionnaire is a part of a thesis being written on the Progressive Socialist Party. You will note that neither your identity nor name of the town in which you live is required. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Type of your party membership.
 Elder member Active member Associate member
2. Place of residence (Please write the name of the district only).
District _____
3. How long have you been a member?
 1-5 years 5-10 years 10-15 years
4. What is your profession?
 labourer student farmer merchant
 Government employee
If your profession is not listed above, please write: _____
5. For which of these reasons did you join the party?
1-- your belief in socialism
2-- your loyalty to the party president
3-- your disapproval of other Lebanese parties
4-- all the above reasons
6. Do you believe that socialism is
1-- a first step toward communism.
2-- capable of realizing all the people's needs without necessarily making the state communistic.
7. Do you want to see Lebanon
1-- unite with all the Arab states without any conditions.
2-- stay in its present position.
3-- unite with Arab states of socialist regimes only.
4-- become neutral like Switzerland.

*Translated from the original Arabic by the author.

8. Do you believe that the Progressive Socialist Party has not progressed and developed in Lebanon more than it has because of one of the reasons listed below?
- 1-- () the influence of confessionalism on Lebanese society
 - 2-- () capitalistic beliefs which are still dominate
 - 3-- () the association of the party with the Druze community
 - 4-- () the 1956 division in party leadership
9. Would you like to see the party include members
- 1-- () from outside Lebanon in general.
 - 2-- () not Lebanese alone, but restricted to Arabs.
 - 3-- () members of other leftist parties or movements.
10. The history of the party is full of active political and ideological struggle. What, in your opinion, has been the most important achievement of the party since its foundation?

APPENDIX D

Biographical Data on Some of the Progressive Socialist Party Leadership

- As'ad Akl ---labor leader and chairman of the Labor Liberation Front. He comes from Al-Matn, and is concerned with the labor struggle, and with socialism for Lebanon.
- Dr. Bishara Al-Dahan --- a member of the Board of Director, who joined the party at the time of its founding. He is by profession a doctor, who help and aid to the poor is well-known in Lebanon. On the door of his clinic is the announcement "For an appointment, 25 Lebanese pounds for the rich and free for the poor." He served in the Palestinian War and was one of the leaders of the 1958 revolt. He is concerned with and works for the solution of the Palestinian problem and Arab problems.
- Salim Farah --- member of the Board of Directors, comes from the Al-Matn district. He is in his forties and works with the Port Company of Beirut. He believes in socialist ideology, but is relatively moderate in his views.
- Fadlou Abu Haidar --- First Vice-President of the party, in his fifties. He is a prominent attorney from Baalbeck, and believes in and works for the party's principles. He is moderate in his revolutionary attitudes and has been a member of the party since its founding.
- Adel Hatoun --- an attorney from Aley. At present he is the P.S.P. Commissioner of Justice and is moderate in his views and ideas.
- Farid Jibran --- the Second Vice-President of the party, in his fifties. He owns an accountants firm, and at present is a parliament deputy from Beirut who represents the minorities. He has always identified himself with popular movements, and in parliament voted in favor of all socialist legislation. He is a revolutionary socialist.

- Kamal Junblat--- presently Minister of Public Works and a deputy from the Shuf district. He was educated in Lebanon and France, and is an attorney by profession, though he is not now practicing law. He has also taught economics and sociology at the Lebanese Academy. He has been the President of the Progressive Socialist Party since 1949.
- Abbas Khalaf --- the General Secretary of the party and Commissioner of External Affairs. He is in his late thirties, and holds an M. A. from the American University of Beirut. He is employed by the American Life Insurance Company in Beirut. He is a progressive socialist, and favors Arab unity.
- Khaled Khayyat --- Commissioner of Social Affairs, he is the principal of a technical institute in Tripoli.
- Ghaleb Nammour --- Commissioner of Labor, from the Shuf district. He works in the office of administration of the American University of Beirut, and is one of the leaders of its union. He is the editor of the labor column of the party newspaper, Al-Anba', and has represented the party and labor in international labor conferences.
- Shukrallah Nasrallah --- a prominent attorney from the western party of Al-Biqā'. He has worked in the party for many years, and is a moderate in his ideas.
- Labieb Sahlani --- Commissioner of Internal Affairs, in his late thirties, and a member of the Labor Liberation Front. His home is in the western part of Al-Biqā'. He owns and manages a company for polishing and cutting diamonds. He did not participate in the Lebanese revolt, although he believes in progressive socialism. He has represented labor more than once in international labor conferences.
- Shakir Shayban --- an attorney, in his sixties. He has engaged in party's activities since the party's founding, and is a moderate.
- Afif Shaykhani --- member of the Board of Directors, and Commissioner of Civics and Education in the party. He is from the Northern part of Al-Matn, and is a university teacher. He is concerned with socialism more than with Arab and Palestine problems.

Muhammad Abbas Yaghi --- a parliament deputy from the Baalbeck district, he is in his early forties. He is a progressive, and is more concerned with helping develop his home district, which is relatively below the standard of the rest of Lebanon, than in international problems. He is moderate in his views, as well as in his demands for improving the area. Much of his popular support stems from traditional disputes among the people of the area: those who support him are usually the young, educated, and political enemies of his traditional opponent Sabry Hamadah.

APPENDIX E

List of the Progressive Socialist Party Branches*

Beirut Province
(P.S.P. Center)

Al-Batriarkiah
Sakiat Al-Jangeir
Wata Al-Mouseitbeh

Al-Biqua' Province

Al-Istable	Ein al-Tineh
Al-Karoun	Ghazzah
Al-Mansourah	Housh al-Harimeh
Al-Marj	Kamed al-Lose
Al-Mishirpneh	Mashghara
Baalbeck	Qub Elias
Beit Mari'	Ras Baalbeck
Deir al-Ashayer	Rashayyah

Mount Lebanon Province

Aley District

Al-Benney	Aynab	Kfar Matta
Al-Damour	Ba'lishney	Majd al-Ba'na
Aley (4 branches)	Baysour	Mijdlayya
Al-Fsaquine	Bdadoun	Mi'srieteh
Al-Ghaboun	Bedghan	Sharoun
Al-Kmatieh	Bhamdoun	Shouayfat
Al-Ma'roufieh	Bishamoun	Soufar
Al-Mishirpneh	Btater	Souk el-Gharb
Al-Na'meh	Ebey	Qaubr-Shmoun
Al-Ramliyat	Ein Enoub	
Aramoun	Eytat	

*Compiled from announcements in Al-Anba' of official visits to the various branches by the Commission of Internal Affairs or the Inspector General.

Al-Matn District

Al-Abbadayah	Bikfayyah	Qubay'
Al-Hilaleyah	Btikhnayh	Ras al-Matn
Al-Khalwat	Bzehdein	Rwayset al-Ballout
Al-Krayeh	Faloughah	Salima
Al-Mtein	Karnayel	Shweit
Al-Shibaneyeh	Kfar Silwan	

Shuf District

Al-Azyonieh	Batloun	Jba'
Al-Barouk	Bitmeh	Jdaidet al-Shuf
Al-Jahlieh	Breih	Kfar Heim
Al-Khayleh	Deir al-Kamar	Kfar Nabrakh
Al-Mazra'ah	Dmeit	Kfar Quatra
Al-Mukhtara	Einbal	Mazra't al-Shuf
Al-Werhaniyeh	Ein Darah	Mu'aser al-Shuf
Ammatour	Ein Quanyeh	Naidar al-Tamb
A'nount	Ein Wa-Zein	Niha
Ba'kline	Ein Zhelta	Shehin
Barja	Ghariefeh	
Ba'tharan	Harat al-Na'meh	

North of Lebanon Province

Akkar District

Al-Minnie
Bebnein

Al-Batroun District

Ajdira
Batroun
Hadthoun
Jarran
Ra's Muhash
Shakka

Tripoli District

Al-Mina'
Bab al-Tabammah
Da'deh

South of Lebanon Province

Al-Klayleh
Al-Nabateyeh
Hasbayyah
Majdel Zoun
Sidon (Siada)
Tyre (Sour)

Vita

Monhem Naim Nassereddine

Candidate for the Degree of

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