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Editorial

Between Fakhreddine's millions and the Medicis

By Jawad N. Adra

For us, the Lebanese, Tuscany assumes particular significance not only for having ushered the Renaissance era in Europe, but because it was the chosen destination of the exiled Prince Fakhreddine II, from where he borrowed architectural features that remain evident in Lebanon today.

Researchers are still studying the origins of the Etruscans who settled before Christianity between the Arno and Tiber Rivers in an area that was later named after them, Tuscany.

Herodotus suggested that the Etruscans came from our homeland, north of Syria- modern day Turkey- a claim that was substantiated by the DNA results of 2007. This account becomes increasingly convincing when one checks the Etruscan carvings and artworks, which date back to that epoch. However, there is also a possibility that the Etruscans did not emigrate from any region but were actually a population indigenous to Tuscany, which adopted Florence as its capital city.

Like some of his modern day counterparts, Fakhreddine wanted to win foreign forces round to his cause. To that end, he attempted to persuade the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into "liberating" the lands from Ottoman domination, so he spent five years in exile in Tuscany and deposited in Monte Di Pietà bank an amount worth billions of dollars by today's market rates. Fakhreddine thought his money would eternalize him so he sent it off to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which somehow managed to confiscate the funds.

The Medicis who ruled Florence from 1434 till 1737 were neither known for their justice nor for their democratic rule or empathy towards the poor. Nevertheless, they left both a cultural and artistic legacy that has afforded them and Tuscany an everlasting reputation.

Notwithstanding their importance, the credit does not go entirely to the Medicis, for Tuscany was also home to Dante (1265-1321) who laid the cornerstone for the Italian language and standardized it as a language for all; prior to which Latin had been considered a language reserved for the elite. Part of the credit goes equally to Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) who rediscovered Cicero's letters, left the monkhood, fell in love with Laura and wrote her letters that were all the rage across Europe. Before becoming the miserable spot it is today, our homeland had once exported through the Franks (Crusaders) art and science to the outer world, which contributed to the birth of humanism. In that land, modern-day Italy, the people witnessed the glory and power of Rome, its democracy and the republics that arose under the city-states.

Humanism, a movement of which Petrarca was a founding father and which resurrected the non-theistic, non-totalitarian traditions that the Church had tried to erase, planted the seeds of Renaissance in Florence. Following the Black Death epidemic, there arose several demographic changes and trade opportunities that opened conducive economic, social and humanist horizons that granted the Medici's the nurturing environment they needed.

Apparently, the Medicis had something that the Zua'ama and the affluent of Lebanon, starting with Fakhreddine, lacked. Fakhreddine fled to Florence taking the money of his people with him (the Lebanon, Syria and Palestine today) but none of his successors could recover it. Today, the rich of Lebanon seem to be walking down the same road. This man was rendered a symbol. But a symbol of what? What is his legacy? The Medicis embraced art, science and architecture. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon embrace?

Despite their alliance with the Pope, the Medicis granted Galileo (1564-1642) refuge when he had angered the Church. It was in Florence that Michelangelo, Botticelli and Leonardo da Vinci made their enduring innovations and the works of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) who built the Dome of the Santa Maria del Fiore Cathedral, launching a magnificent style of architecture that brought back the glory of Rome, can be found. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon launch?

The Medicis, in their early days, bore resemblance to some of Lebanon's bankers and politicians. They descended from somehow modest families and worked in business and trade. They were originally bankers and then decided to go to politics. They bought consciences and engaged in the game of power; they killed and were killed; they allied with the Church, called on Jesus and Mary to rescue them and

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hoarded piles of money. Nevertheless, they helped trigger the Renaissance in Europe and constructed the Laurentian Library, a repository of thousands of manuscripts which was designed by Michelangelo. They invested in science and art- sculpture, painting and music. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon invest in?

There are no known heirs of the Medicis today. Yet, the Mona Lisa, the Statue of David, the Alduomo Dome and the Medici gardens attest to their legacy. In 1471, Lorenzo Medici calculated that since 1434 his family had spent some 663,000 florins (about USD 460 million today) on charity, buildings and taxes. He wrote: "I do not regret this for though many would consider it better to have a part of that sum in their purse, I consider it to have been a great honor to our state, and I think the money was well-expended and I am well-pleased."

In 1616, Fakhreddine II deposited in Monte Di Pietà funds worth roughly USD 111 million by today's standards. A century later, when his inheritor, Prince Haidar, claimed the sum amounting at the time to USD 655 million after calculating the interest, the bank declined to release it arguing that Fakhreddine was indebted to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and his heirs should not forget that the Prince had been exiled there for five years.

The Medici family spent USD 450 million to assist in projects and endeavors that propelled the Renaissance. How did the rich of Lebanon and Fakhreddine spend the funds looted from the people?

There, Fakhreddine learned that there were funds assigned to the Sultan and funds to the state. Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Safadi, one of Fakhreddine's contemporaries who recounted the Prince's life, says:

"From grains and flour, they collected the usual for the Sultan and the usual for the state, as the state had a share on its own. Whatever was sold of the crops, such as wine or others, they would tax it. The city's money was kept in separate records and accounts and was spent on fences, roads and bridges."

There, Fakhreddine discovered that the roads and bridges were maintained. ".. As for their roads, they are organized... and every road has people to look after it."

There, Fakhreddine realized that citizens had access to health insurance. "..In Florence, as well as in other cities, there were 'Bimaristans' (hospitals/clinics) for the sick. Whatever the sick needed, even if they were the most humble of people, physicians were there to help without them paying a penny."

There, Fakhreddine did not mind receiving money from the Duke, although he had plenty of it. "..And they were assigned [i.e. Fakhreddine and his family] ample proceeds."

Here, it is impossible for the researcher not to notice the paradoxical relationship between the educated intelligentsia and the Medici rulers. Those tyrants nurtured the talent of Michelangelo from his tender years onwards. His disobedience, sympathy with those rebelling against the Medicis and the contempt he later developed for them did not prevent them from acknowledging his genius and exploiting his talent in their interest as a ruling power.

The same happened with Machiavelli and other notable figures whom the Medicis jailed yet acknowledged and without whom the Medicis would have been reduced to a bunch of wealthy autocrats, no different from the rich of Lebanon.

Perhaps after his trip to Florence and before the Ottoman Sultan had him executed with his son, Fakhreddine grew attentive to matters that the Zua'ama and the rich of Lebanon still overlook. Fakhreddine constructed a monumental palace that is still standing in Deir El-Qamar today and another in the El-Burj Square that was demolished by the foreigners who spared SOLIDERE the trouble of bringing down yet another architectural landmark. Perhaps he did plant the pine trees of Beirut; perhaps he did understand that public funds did not belong to the Sultan; that roads must be properly maintained; that people deserve access to public properties; that the State must have a budget; that healthcare must be provided for free for those who cannot afford to pay for it. Perhaps the foreigners took the life of Fakhreddine before he could do any of these reforms and perhaps what they should do now (since their instructions are obeyed) is urge the Zua'ama and the rich of Lebanon to live up to such reformative responsibilities before it is, once again, too late.

Had Fakhreddine been able to pass a piece of advice to Lebanon's Zua'ama and wealthiest figures, he would have told them "neither my alliance with the foreign world nor my fortune has done me any good. You have already gone too far! Do all that's in your power to build a state or do us a favor and go home!"



THE RESULTS OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS LEBANON 2016

BEIRUT'S MUNICIPAL Municipal Elections 2016 ELECTIONS 2016 It is no surprise that the municipal elections in Beirut have received the greatest share of coverage. Besides being the capital city, Beirut is a sectarian and political mosaic where the Sunni are a majority and the Future Movement is a significant force. The voter turnout and the voting trends by sect have been the main focus of attention given the political and sectarian indications they convey. Actual Voters **Muslim voters 64%** Registered Voter Turnout 2016 **Beirut** Voters 2016 Sunnis 47% 20.1% 476,021 97,347 **Christian voters 35%** Israeli voters 1% 225,050 Sunni 72,721 \rightarrow Shia'a Voter turnout stood at 20.1% this year compared to 18.1% in 2010 and 24% in 2004. → Druze 5,714 Therefore, the low participation rate was nothing new on the electoral scene of the city. 242 → Alawite Abstention was attributed to several reasons foremost of which was the absence of real Armenian 53,004 competition, as the Beirutis List (coalition comprising the Future Movement, the Amal 24,109 \rightarrow Maronite Movement, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Lebanese Forces, the Phalanges Party, the Tashnag and the Armenian parties) was not running against a politically-backed Greek Orthodox 42,989 rival but against Beirut Madinati, a list representing and supported by the civil society. **Greek Catholic** 18,775

Beirut 1

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90,654 Registered Voters

18,265 Actual Voters

 \rightarrow

→ Israeli

20.1% Voter Turnout

29,220

4,197

The Beirutis List bagged an average of 6,432 votes equaling 35.2% of the total votes in the district. However, Beirut Madinati surpassed its rival by winning an average of 9,082 votes or approximately 50% of the vote.

The inclination of Christian voters to support Beirut Madinati did not apply to Armenian voters as well, as 77% of those voted for the Beirutis List while only 14% favored Beirut Madinati.

Sect	Beirutis List	Beirut Madinati
Maronite	28%	59%
Greek Orthodox	23%	59%
Greek Catholic	27%	60%

Christian minorities



106,988 Registered Voters

18,373 Actual Voters

17.1% Voter Turnout

The **Beirutis List** secured **8942** votes or approximately **49%** of the total vote while **Beirut Madinati** amassed **4150** equaling **22%**. The **Beirutis List** received **76%** of the Armenian votes and **42%** of the Sunni ones. **Beirut Madinati's** share of Sunni votes was only **16%**. **Beirut Madinati** gained greater support than the Beirutis List among Shia'a voters, gaining **33%** of the total vote against **20%** for its rival.

	[Tw	o Complete	Lists
	ة \$ البيارتة	لائد		
	Averag The Beiru	tis List		The
	43,095 vote	44.3 %		29
1	Mohammad Fatha	46,740		Ibra
2	Hoda El-Osta	46,396		Nad
3	Yussra Sidani	46,265		Mo
4	Jamal Itani	45,756		Ama
5	Bilal Masri	45,132		Ahn
6	Abdullah Darwish	44,543		May
7	Imad Baydoun	43,999		Rita
8	Matilda Khoury	43,882		Ηοι
9	Fadi Chahrour	43,697		Mai
10	Khalil Choukair	43,395		Serj
11	Rami Ghawi	42,815		Wal
12	Aram Malian	42,753		Nad
13	Hagop Terzian	42,506		Mai
14	Suleiman Jaber	42,476		Tare
15	Antoine Siryani	42,467		Abd
16	Joseph Rophael	42,328		Ran
17	Joseph Trabolsi	42,272		Nad
18	Isaac Kishishian	42,264		Car
19	Gabriel Fernainy	42,116		Mai
20	Moughir Sinjaba	41,549		Fara
21	Adnan Oumeirat	41,333		Naji
22	Elie Andrea	40,466		Leo
23	Ragheb Haddad	40,235		Yor
24	Elie Yahchouchi	38,908		Ima

The Beirutis List won amassing an average of 43,095 votes or 44.3% of the total vote.

ists بیرویتی 2 Average The Beirut Madinati List				
29,353 vote	30.2 %			
Ibrahim Mnaimneh	31,822	1		
Nadine Labaki	31,723	2		
Mona El-Hallak	30,786	3		
Amal Sharif	30,136	4		
Ahmad Qaabour	30,050	5		
May Daouk	29,942	6		
Rita Maalouf	29,290	7		
Houssam Kamil Hawa	29,260	8		
Maria Manok	29,245	9		
Serje Yaziji	29,161	10		
Walid El-Ali	29,151	11		
Nada Dallal	29,134	12		
Marwan Tibi	29,106	13		
Tarek Ammar	29,096	14		
Abdul Halim Jabr	29,048	15		
Rana Khoury	28,976	16		
Nada Sehnaoui	28,943	17		
Carole Shebli	28,873	18		
Marc Géara	28,788	19		
Farah Koubaissi	28,557	20		
Najib Al-Deek	28,546	21		
Leon Telvizian	28,340	22		
Yorgui Teyrouz	28,318	23		
Iman Al-Hassan	28,171	24		

Beirut Madinati ranked second with an average of 29,353 votes or 30.2% of the total vote. 8,143 votes separated the lowest vote vote on the winning list and the higher scorer on the losing one.

Beirut 3

268,322 Registered Voters

60,709 Actual Voters

22.6% Voter Turnout

The Beirutis List obtained an average of 27,782 (46%) votes against 16,194 (26.6%) for Beirut Madinati. The Beirutis List attracted 51% of the Sunni vote (an average of 24,684 votes) and 18% of the Shia'a vote (an average of 887 votes) while Beirut Madinati secured 50% of the latter, equaling an average of 2,475 votes. However, Beirut Madinati ranked first among Greek Orthodox voters, amassing 66.5% of their votes (1,777 votes) against 20% (524 votes) for the Beirutis List.



Municipal -Elections 2016

ZAHLE'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2016

Owing to the heated competition that marked the municipal elections in Zahle and to the nature of the rival political and partisan forces running for office this year, the 2016 electoral battle in the city was dubbed once again the "mother of all battles", as was the case during the municipal elections in 2009. In addition to the Christians represented by the Lebanese Forces, the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), the Phalanges, the Popular Bloc and MP Nicolas Fattoush, the local players also included Hezbollah and the Future Movement, especially among the Shia'a and Sunni voters.

The municipal race resulted in a sweeping victory for the coalition of Christian forces, which won all 21 seats. Upon issuance of the polling station results by the Ministry of the Interior and Municipalities, *Information International* examined the findings and mapped out the votes by sect.

Zal	hle		Vote	isterec rs 201 ,62 3	6 2016	/oter Turn 41.6 9	
		Registered Voters	%			Registered Voters	%
\rightarrow	Greek Catholic	19,468	30.1	\rightarrow	Armenian Orthodox	3,243	5.0
\rightarrow	Maronite	14,412	22.3	\rightarrow	Syrian Catholic	1,028	1.6
\rightarrow	Greek Orthodox	7,687	11.9	\rightarrow	Armenian Catholic	716	1.1
\rightarrow	Shia'a	6,936	10.7	\rightarrow	Evangelical	713	1.1
\rightarrow	Syrian Orthodox	5,376	8.3	\rightarrow	Chaldean Catholic	410	0.6
	Sunni	4,147	6.4		Latin, Israeli and Christian minorities	487	0.7
	Christian 83%	Mus	slim 1 7	7%			

Results broken down by sect

Sect	# of voters	%	Zahle Development	Zahle Al-Amana	Zahle Deserves
Greek Catholic	7,800	40	3,570	2,200	1,180
Maronite	6,655	46.1	3,740	1,420	1,040
Greek Orthodox	2,512	32.7	1,300	660	500
Syrian Orthodox	2,350	43.7	1,210	510	450
Armenians and Christian minorities	tian 1427	21	296	350	430
Shia'a	3,878	56	250 (without FPM candidates)	1,550	1,850
Sunni	2,264	54.5	220	1,240	555
Total	26,886	41.6	10,586	7,930	6,005

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Municipal Elections 2016



10,157 votes

37.8%

Antoine Joseph Abou Younes	11,768
Robert George Abed Dayem	11,495
George Joseph Doummar	11,480
Tony Wadih Samaha	11,354
Pauline Antoine Balaa Zouki	11,341
Maha Anis Maalouf El-Qassouf	11,208
Jean Rashid Arabi	11,170
Asaad Zoughaib	10,815
Charles Rizkallah Saba	10,446
Antoine Ibrahim El-Ashkar	10,419
Kamil Antoine Amoury	10,417
Georgette Salim Zaatar	10,377
Ghassan Philip El-Murr	10,310
Michel Haikal Abou Abboud	10,266
Joseph Elias Jalkh	10,257
Said Jedaoun	10,220
Khalil Fraiji	10,207
Philip Elie Melhem	10,168
Fadi George Skaff	10,063
Sami Ahmad Maarabouni	9,418
Ali El-Khatib	9,115

The Zahle Development List swept the elections in Zahle grabbing an average of 10,157 votes or roughly 37.8% of the total number of votes cast. The FPM-backed candidate Antoine Boulos ranked first and the Shia'a candidate Ali Khatib last with 9,115 votes, although his name was not officially on the list. Most noteworthy is that the head of Zahle Development List Asaad Zoughaib came in the eighth place.

Average Zahle Al-Amana

29.5 %

7,930 votes

Youssef Skaff 9,104 Rola Ghantous Abou Khater 8,892 Elise Estfan Tamer 8,836 Jossan Maalouf 8,793 Edward Zaatar 8,575 Kamil Jraissati 8,543 Joseph Qabalan 8,400 Nader Zeineddine 8,292 Youssef Qeraawni 7,790 Samir Mello 7,758 Hisham Jeha 7,619 Tony Sassine 7,565 Elias Chamoun 7,530 Nadim Abou Dib 7,515 Elias Machaalani 7,515 Sami El-Tineh 7,485 Edward Hatem 7,462 Elie Trad 7,379 Wadih Noumair 7,347 Pierre Rouhana 7,184 Abdo Hassne 6,961

Second in line was the Zahle Al-Amana list, which obtained an average of 7,930 votes, accounting for 29.5% of all the votes cast. The head of the list, Youssef Skaff, was the top vote-gainer in the list, falling short of a tie against the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list by only 11 votes.

Average Zahle Deserves

6,005 votes

22.3 %

Moussa Fattoush	7,315
Antoine Mrad Maalouf	6,914
Jean Abou Oubaid	6,885
Nassif Khoury Ghanem	6,760
Chantale Shalhoub	6,677
Antoine Choueiry	6,590
Nabil Haddad	6,519
Chadi Afara	6,388
George Saadeh	6,066
Mark Noumair	5,849
Nabil Srour	5,741
Claude Msallem	5,681
Najib Keedi	5,678
Kamal Kharrat	5,651
Antoine Houjaij	5,527
Wissam Karam	5,491
Fadi Maalouli	5,376
Jamil Abd Dayem	5,370
George Abou Habib	5,321
Nayef Melhem	5,242
Louay Chehadeh	5,077

The Zahle Deserves List ranked third with an average of 6,005 votes or roughly 22.3% of the total votes. Moussa Fattoush was the highest vote-gainer with 7,315 votes.

The most significant independent candidates scored as follows:

Toufic Al-Hendi: 916 votes Tarek Ali Hawa: 133 votes Ghassan Hatem: 118 votes Elissar Samaha: 361 votes (Mouwatinoun Wa Mouwatinat) Elias Skaff: 120 votes

Municipal -Elections 2016

JOUNIEH'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2016

The municipal elections in Jounieh gained an importance so great that it transcended the city with its political and familial makeup to assume a wider dimension and became, as dubbed by some, a battle for the presidency of the Republic. Others went even as far as calling it a 'global' battle that thrust the Vatican state into the fray. Jounieh's race was portrayed as a do-or-die battle for the Maronites; the winner shall bolster their Maronite leadership and the loser shall lose their position. These hyperbolic assumptions were ridiculed by those who believed that loss or victory were not tied to an 18-seat local council elected by no more than 18,000 voters, for Maronite and Christian leaderships can only be decided at the national level, not at a local, narrow one.

Joun		Vo	egistered oters 2016 6,524	Actual Voters 2016 9,995	Voter Turnout 2016 60.4%	Voter Tur 2010 539	C
Neighborhood	# of eligible voters	# of actual voters	Turnout rate %			Registered Voters	%
> Sarba	5,805	2,579	44.4	\rightarrow Maronite		13,820	83.6
→ Ghadir	5,429	3,094	57			548	3.3
Haret Sakhr	3,672	2,221	60.5				
→ Sahel Alma	1,618	1,101	68	\rightarrow Greek Orthodox		234	1.4
Total	16,524	9,995	60.4	ightarrow Armenian and Cl	nristian minority	1,922	11.6
Jounieh's 18 municipal		5 seats n Sarba		6 seats in Ghadir	4 seats in Haret Sakh		seats Alma
seats							

The parties backing each list were able to secure the majority of votes for their respective list in their neighborhoods and areas of influence according to the following:

Neighborhood	No. of Voters	Average votes for Jounieh al-Tajaddod		Average votes od for the Dignity of Jou	
		#	%	#	%
Sarba (varied partisan and familial influence)	3,579	1,414	39.5	1,576	44
Ghadir (influence of Mansour El-Bon)	3,094	1,572	50.8	1,293	41.8
Hare Sakhr (influence of the Frem family)	2,221	1,073	48.3	962	43.3
Sahel Alma (influence of Juan Hbeish)	1,101	319	29	704	64
Total	9,995	4,378	43.8	4,535	45.4

	Average The Dignity of Jounieh					
	4,535 votes	45.5 %				
1	Juan Hbeish	4,808				
2	Ziad Chahine Roy El-Hawa	4,775 4,685				
4	Nayla Raad	4,639				
5	Jack Rashed	4,615				
6	Roger Oudaimy	4,604				
7	Souhad Bou Shabake	4,584				
8	Youssef Bassil	4,549				
9	Rolland Chehwan	4,496				
10	Chadi El-Beaino	4,485				
11	Silva Hajj	4,473				
12	Dory Abi Safi	4,470				
13	Sami El-Bourji	4,464				
14	Nicole Risha	4,461				
15	Ramzi El-Ashkar	4,447				
16	Charbel Qadi	4,379				
17	George Mhanna	4,375				
18	Tanios Matar	4,327				

The Dignity of Jounieh List, headed by the former Head of Municipality Juan Hbeish and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Phalanges Party won 14 seats and lost four. The losing candidates were Nicol Risha, Charbel Qadi, George Mhanna and Tanios Matar.

Average Jounieh al-Tajaddod

4,378 votes	43.8 %	
Silvador El-Kosti	4,647	1
Fouad El-Bouari	4,570	2
Fadi Fayyad	4,469	3
Rodrigue Fenianos	4,465	4
Francis Abi Nakhoul	4,431	5
Charbel Bou Lehdo	4,430	6
Fawzi Baroud	4,393	7
Issam Richa	4,381	8
Rabih Boueiz	4,379	9
Tarek El-Ashkar	4,358	10
Toufic Matar	4,330	11
George Awde	4,317	12
Youssef Elias Bashir	4,314	13
George Beaino	4,302	14
Ziad Shayeb	4,300	15
Nathalie Moubarak	4,293	16
Eddy Njeim	4,242	17
George Abi khalil	4,186	18

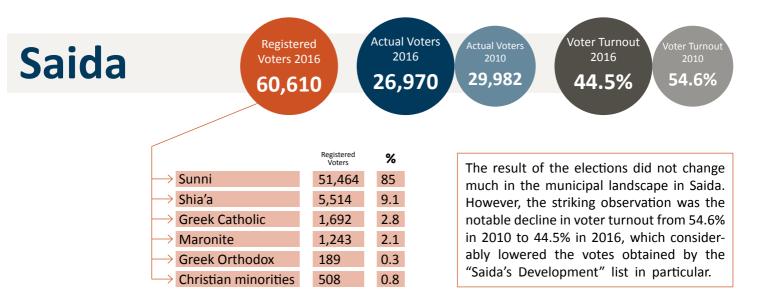
The Jounieh al-Tajaddod List, headed by the current deputy Head of Municipality Fouad El-Bouari and backed by the Frem family and the former MPs Haykal El-Khazen and Mansour Ghanem el-Bon won four seats. The winners were Fouad El-Bouari, Fadi Fayyad, Silvador El-Kosti and Rodrigue Fenianos. It was said that the List was also supported by the Lebanese Forces.

The average difference between the two lists was 157 votes and only 30 to 50 votes separated winners from losers, meaning that an additional 15 to 20 votes could have increased the seats of Jounieh al-Tajaddod in the municipal council.

Municipal – Elections 2016

SAIDA'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2016

A heated electoral competition unfolded in Saida this year. Three lists contested the election, two of which had run for office in 2010- the "Saida's Development" list backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Gama'a and the former head of municipality Abdul Rahman El-Bizri and the "Voice of People" list backed by the Popular Nasserite Organization. The third list- the list of Islamists headed by Ali Sheikh Ammar, a previous Islamic Gama'a leader- entered the electoral scene for the first time this year and some of its candidates were alleged supporters of Salafist Sheikh Ahmad Al-Assir.



2016 Elections

The "Saida's Development" list

Amassed an average of 14,283 votes, down by 4,410 votes from 2010 or 23.5%

The "Voice of People" list

Gained 7,950 votes down by 825 votes from 2010 or 9.4%.

Mohammad Al-Saoudi, the top vote gainer on the "Saida's Development" list, obtained 15,436 votes against 8,443 for his counterpart on the rival list Fouad Solh, i.e. a difference of around 7,000 votes.

2010 Elections

"The Loyalty and Development" list headed by Mohammad Al-Saoudi

Backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Gama'a, and the former head of the municipality Abdul Rahman Bizri (16 members on this list were re-elected to the new council this year and their names are marked with the letter (R) in the table below.)

Amassing an average of 18,693 votes or 62% of the total vote

"The Popular Will" list headed by Abdul Rahman Al-Ansari

Backed explicitly by the Popular Nasserite Organization and implicitly by Hezbollah and the Amal Movement

Amassing an average of 8,772 votes or 29.2% for the rival list.

The difference was thus 9,921 votes. Al-Saoudi scooped 19,145 votes and Al-Ansari 9,381, i.e. a difference of 9,764 votes.

Average Saida's Development Saida Moving Forward

102 votor

E2 0 0/

	14,283 votes 52 .	9 %
1	Mohammad Al-Saoudi (R)	15,436
2	Hazem Badih (R)	14,508
3	Kamel Kozbur (R)	14,425
4	Ibrahim Bsat (R)	14,384
5	Mohammad Rafqi Abou Dahr (R)	14,354
6	Hassan Shammas (R)	14,334
7	Mostafa Hijazi (R)	14,326
8	Metaa' Majzoub	14,311
9	Nizar Al-Hallak (R)	14,300
10	Mohammad Hassib Bizry (R)	14,241
11	Mohammad Qobrosli (R)	14,219
12	Ali Dali Balta (R)	14,219
13	Ibrahim Hariri	14,199
14	Abdallah Kanaan (R)	14,194
15	Nasser Hammoud	14,178
16	Mohammad Shraiteh (R)	14,173
17	Mohammad El-Baba (R)	14,156
18	Wafaa Choeib (R)	14,027
19	Ibrahim Ali El-Rai	14,016
20	Michel Tohmeh	13,992
21	Arabiah Raad (R)	13,964

Average The Voice of People

7,947 votes 29.4 %

Fouad Solh	8,443
Bilal Shaaban	8,195
Majid Abdul Jawad	8,134
Hassan Zaatari	8,104
Souhad Aafara	8,015
Mostafa Hassan Saad	8,001
Samer Jaradi	7,993
Maha Hijazi	7,992
Adnan Balouli	7,988
Tareq Bashasha	7,941
Radwan Al-Qotb	7,895
Rania Ramadan	7,878
Khalil Matbouli	7,870
Firas Majzoub	7,864
Abdul Halim Antar	7,862
Zahiya Abboud	7,833
Mariam Dirani	7,819
Ibrahim Haddad	7,805
Muhieddine Maatouk	7,790
Ibrahim Mohammad Ali El-Rai	7,787
Atef Al-Ebrik	7,764

Average Al-Ahrar				
2,277 votes	8.4 %			
Ali Sheikh Ammar	2,748			
Mohammad Naamani	2,372			
Muhieddine Antar	2,287			
Zainab Kiwan	2,260			
Youssef Msallamani	2,231			
Khaled Dimassi	2,229			
Ali Iskandarani	2,197			
Houssam Nasser	2,185			
Hassan Awkal	1,997			

By not summoning the people of Saida who live outside the city to return home to vote was, according to MP Bahiya Hariri, the main reason behind the significant decrease in the votes favoring the "Loyalty and Development" list. The third list secured an average of 2,277 votes.

It is noteworthy that in the predominantly Shia'a neighborhood of Rijal Al-Arbaeen, the "Saida's Development" list could only muster an average of 990 votes whereas its rival amassed 1,730. Municipal -Elections 2016

TRIPOLI'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2016

The fourth and final round of the municipal and *ikhtiyariah* elections held on Sunday, May 29, 2016 in Tripoli yielded an entirely unforeseen and resounding result that took everyone by surprise. The Tripoli's Choice List backed by former Justice Minister Ashraf Rifi scooped up 16 seats of Tripoli's 24-member municipal council, leaving only six seats to the For Tripoli List backed by a broad coalition of major political players including the Future Movement, former Premier Najib Mikati, former ministers Mohammad Safadi and Faisal Karami as well as the Islamic Jama'a and the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects.

Rifi's stunning win triggered an outpouring of analysis and debate on the new political weights in the city and their implications on Tripoli's political landscape as well as on the upcoming parliamentary elections and subsequently the premiership.

Tripoli	Registered Voters 2016 176,000	Registered Voters 2016 156,098	20	Voters Actual Voters 2016 380 38,510	201	.6 2010
		Sunni	Alawite	Greek Orthodox	Maronite	Others

	Neighborhood	# of voters	Sunni	Alawite	Greek Orthodox	Maronite	Others
	Neighborhood		82%	11.3%	3.5%	2%	1.2%
\mapsto	Tebbaneh	53,062	36,687	15,946	258	98	73
\mapsto	Haddadine	33,076	32,282	356	267	140	31
\mapsto	Qebbeh	22,379	15,218	3,350	1,711	1,764	336
\mapsto	Sweiqa	19,596	19,506	-	-	-	90
\mapsto	Hadid	11,964	11,930	6	21	-	7
\mapsto	Nouri	11,880	11,356	47	209	168	100
\mapsto	Zahriyeh	7,466	2,997	59	2,569	692	1,149
\mapsto	El-Tall	6,792	4,756	143	820	575	498
\mapsto	Remmaneh	5,015	4,547	48	266	54	100
\square	Mhetra	4,534	4,504	-	6	24	-
	Total	175,764	143,783	19,955	6,127	3,515	2,384

2010 elections

Registered voters totaled 156,098 in 2010 with an approximate 24.6% - 38,510 voters- casting their ballots. The percentage stood at 46.3% in the 2009 municipal elections.

The Tripoli Consensus List including the Future Movement, Premier Omar Karami, Premier Najib Mikati, minister Mohammad Safadi and the city's deputies emerged victorious in the municipal elections of 2010. It obtained an average of 14,738 votes accounting for 38.3% of all the votes. The rival list backed by former MP Omar Majid El-Rafei garnered 10% while the remaining votes, totaling roughly 20,000, were distributed among 25 independent candidates.

Average The Tripoli's Choice List

(Backed by Ashraf Rifi)

	16,475 votes	36.3 %
1	Khaled Tadmouri	19,144
2	Riadh Yamak	18,360
3	Ahmad El-Marj	17,952
4	Khaled El-Wali	17,907
5	Ahmad Qamareddine	17,755
6	Zaher Sultan	17,719
7	Jamil Jeblawi	17,212
8	Samih Halawani	17,177
9	Ahmad Badawi	16,871
10	Toufic El-Etr	16,718
11	Mohammad Ayyoubi	16,676
12	Bassel El-Haj	16,623
13	Mohammad Tamer	16,603
14	Yehia Fattal	16,411
15	Louay Mouqaddam	16,010
16	Ahmad El-Qassir	15,982
17	Ahmad Abdallah	15,889
18	Ibrahim Dardari	15,774
19	Farah Issa	15,763
20	Ahmad Fakhoury	15,732
21	Rabih Abboud	15,074
22	El-Mereebi	15,054
23	Nicolas Suleiman	13,903
24	Rabih Jehjah	13,102

Average The For Tripoli List

(Coalition including Mikati, the Future Movement, Karami, Safadi and Islamic Jama'a)

15,427 votes	34 %
Ahmad Hamzi	17,162
Azzam Ouwaida	16,957
Chadi Nashabe	16,901
Rasha Sankari	16,779
Saffouh Yakan	16,732
Muhieddine Baqar	16,494
Abdul Hamid Kraimy	15,941
Bassem Bakhash	15,914
Omar Hallab	15,710
Zein Wahibeddine	15,532
Ghina Mawas	15,491
Rabih Kabbara	15,243
Wahib Debliz	15,243
Abdul Karim Baroud	15,198
Najib Manla	15,130
Walid Mobayyed	15,105
Zaher Kabbara	14,916
George Zeblit	14,700
Chawkat Haddad	14,655
Rami Abdul Hay	14,510
Elias Khalat	14,489
Arin El-Hassan	13,980
Bassam Trabolsi	13,744
Ziad Hmouda	13,725

Average The Tripoli Capital List

(Backed by Mesbah Ahdab)

1,975 votes **4.3** %

Mesbhah El-Ahdab	4,976	1
Abdul Khaleq Abdul Khaleq	3,700	2
Ahmad Ferdaous	1,949	3
Ibrahim el-Ghazal	1,918	4
Rabih Nadiri	1,824	5
Amer Kamali	1,655	6
Taleb Kabbara	1,623	7
Ziad El-Qari	1,537	8
Imad Mousallem	1,534	9
Wouroud Sharif	1,527	10
Mostafa Moussa	1,449	11
Nasr Shamma	1,448	12
Ziad Trad	1,443	13
Youssef Malak	1,069	14

Independent candidates

Free Patriotic Movement Mohammad Said Baroudi (429 votes)

The Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla movement (Citizens within a State) Rami Assoum (945 votes)

Arabi Khalil Akkawi (4,411 votes) down from 20,711 votes in 2010 when he outshone the head of the list Nader El-Ghazal who received 17,354 votes.

2016 elections

88 candidates ran for office in Tripoli's municipal elections in 2016. The candidates were mainly divided among two complete lists (For Tripoli and Tripoli's Choice lists) and two incomplete ones (the Tripoli Capital List comprising 14 candidates and the 2022 List comprising four candidates who cooperated with the Tripoli Capital list.)

The voters who turned out for the elections totaled 45,380 or roughly 25.8% compared to 24.6% in 2010. This slight increase reflects apathy among Tripoli's voters vis-à-vis the contesting lists, for 60% of those voters live in Tripoli, contrary to the case in Beirut.

The Tripoli's Choice List amassed an average of 16,475 votes- roughly 36.3% of all the votes- dominating 16 seats in the municipal council. On the other hand, an average of 15,427 votes equaling 34% was gained by the For Tripoli list, which thus secured eight seats. The difference between the two lists amounted to 1,048 votes, a number that indicates an intense competition.

Compared to the 2010 electoral results, one can observe a decline in the popularity of the Tripoli Consensus List (named For Tripoli this year) by roughly 4% (it obtained at the time 14,738 votes or roughly 38.3%), which is the reason behind its loss. Conversely, the Tripoli's Choice List was able to assemble all the votes that were scattered in 2010, thus achieving victory.

By sects and neighborhoods, the results broke down as follows:

9,245 voters cast their ballots in Haddadine where Tripoli's Choice surpassed For Tripoli by 71 votes by garnering 3,277 votes against 3,206.

Voter turnout among the Alawite voters in Tebbaneh (Jabal Mohsen) was somewhat low, with only 3,087 voters (20%) heading to polling stations.

In Qebbeh where the percentage of Christian voters (Greek Orthodox and Maronite) is fairly high, only 950 voters (25%) out of 3,820 participated in the electoral process. For Tripoli was slightly ahead of its rival in the Qebbeh's polling stations.

Results broken down by neighborhood

For Tripoli proved superior in Zahriyeh, Mhetra and El-Tall while Tripoli's Choiced advanced in Sweiqa, Hadid and Qebbeh. Scores were pretty close in Haddadine, Nouri, Remmaneh and Tebbaneh.

Neighborhood	For Tripoli		Tripoli's Decision	on
	Average of votes	%	Average of votes	%
Haddadine	3,206	33.9	3,277	34.6
Nouri	1,177	31.9	1,178	32
Remmaneh	466	34.6	451	33.5
Tebbaneh	4157	30.6	4,225	31
Hadid	1,073	31.3	1,322	38.4
Sweiqa	1,759	33.8	2,419	46.5
Zahriyeh	641	40	325	20.2
El-Tall	634	36.6	517	29.9
Mhetra	492	35.3	442	31.6
Qebbeh	1,819	29.7	2,335	38.2

Results broken down by sect

Trpoli's Choice advanced by 68% among Sunni voters. For Tripoli advanced by 11.1% among Christian voters. For Tripoli advanced by 32.6% among Alawite voters.

Sect	For Tripoli		Tripoli's Dec	ision
	Average of votes	%	Average of votes	%
Sunni	12,660	31.5	15,389	38.3
Christian	1,294	36.7	902	25.6
Alawite	1,472	3.77	200	5.1

Municipal – Elections 2016

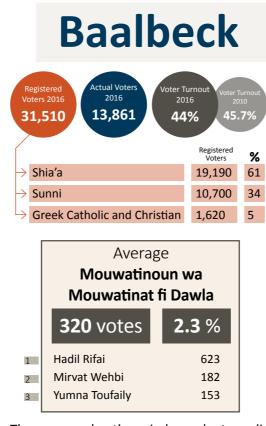
BAALBECK'S MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 2016

In Baalbeck, a few hours after the ballot boxes were closed and the process of counting votes began on Sunday, May 8, figures started to surface suggesting that the Development and Loyalty List backed by the Amal Movement, Hezbollah and the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects had won all 21 seats in the city's municipal council, thus out-voting Baalback Madinati- the rival list supported by the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families- by a narrow margin of 150 votes. The results triggered several comments and analyses that underlined the decline in Hezbollah's popularity in the city of the sun and the local dissent held to undermine the dominance it exercises over its decisions. However, the assiduous examination of the official results proved otherwise as it turned out that the Development and Loyalty List had captured 55.2% of the total vote against 35.2% for Baalbeck Madinati.

Average **Development and**

Loyalty

	7,404 votes 55.	2 %
1	Suheil Zakaria Raad	7,809
2	Younes Zakaria Rifai	7,671
3	Nassri Said Othman	7,627
4	Sami Hussein Ramadan	7,565
5	Mostafa Avdullah El-Shel	7,561
6	Mohammad Faisal Makieh	7,535
7	Antoine Assaf Alouf	7,523
8	Hamad Ali Hassan	7,485
9	Khaled Mohammad Shmali	7,471
10	Hussein Ali Sharafeddine	7,449
11	Nayef Hamoud Toufaily	7,447
12	Firas Fadlallah El-Jammal	7,432
13	Mostafa Mohammad Ali Saleh	7,432
14	Fadl Ahmad Mortada	7,393
15	Mohammad Ahmad Awada	7,393
16	Bilal Samir Hlaihel	7,387
17	Mohammad Saleh Taha	7,352
18	Hussein Ali Laqqis	7,206
19	Ali Fayyad Yaghi	7,149
20	Mohamad Nayef Al-Outa	7,055
21	Fouad Mohammad Balouq	6,544



There were also three independent candidates running in Baalbeck. The first, Suleiman Ramadan, obtained 1,069 votes while Zakariya Solh and Abbas Othman gained 377 and 102 votes respectively.

.2 %	
5,537	1
5,252	2
5,226	3
5,170	4
5,165	5
5,123	6
5,103	7
5,050	8
5,037	9
5 <i>,</i> 005	1
4,983	1
4,950	1
4,950	1
4,905	1
4,852	1
4,850	1
4,836	1
4,801	1
4,761	1
4,656	2
	5,537 5,252 5,226 5,170 5,165 5,123 5,103 5,050 5,037 5,005 4,983 4,983 4,950 4,950 4,950 4,852 4,850 4,852 4,850 4,801 4,801

In 2010, the Development and Loyalty List won in its entirety, amassing an average of 6,988 votes that constituted 55.2% of the electorate. Baalbeck Madinati scored an average of 4,464 votes (35.2%), which put the difference at 2,524 votes. The least vote gainer on the winning list (6,499 votes) defeated the top scorer (4,968 votes) on the losing list by 1,531 votes.

in 2016, the difference between the two major two lists contesting the elections was 2,346 votes while 1,007 votes separated between the top vote gainer on Baalback Madinati list and the lowest scorer on the Development and Loyalty List

Although the variance between the two major rivals decreased by roughly 178 votes compared to that in 2010, it nevertheless remained fairly high (2,346 votes) thus refuting all preliminary predictions about a narrow win.

18

Qoubayyat's Municipal Elections Battle over Maronite Leadership

18 members

The electoral battle in Qoubayyat went well beyond being a mere municipal competition and was instead portrayed as a juncture that would establish and consolidate the Maronite leadership in the town, especially since the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces engaged in fierce battle against the former MP Mikhael Daher and MP Hadi Houbeish, who allied with each other after decades of hostilities. However, an electorate of only 9,500 voters can by no means establish or put an end to Maronite leadership.



A relatively high percentage

2010 Elections

Two lists ran for the municipal council's 18 seats in 2010:

- The "Towards a Better Qoubayyat" List, headed by Abdou Abdou and backed by the Lebanese Forces, MP Hadi Houbeish, the Phalanges and part of the Abdou family. It won fifteen seats.

- The "Decision of Qoubayyat" List, headed by the former Director General of Education George Neemeh and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, former MP Mikhael Daher, former candidate Joseph Mikhael and part of the Abdou family. It won three seats.

However, the elected council proved to be short-lived. In 2013, halfway through its term, the council, headed at the time by Abdou Abdou, dissolved following the resignation of over half of its members. However, Abdou Abdou and his list won again in the elections that followed, backed this time by the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Daher in the face of his former allies.

- 2016 Elections	The Qoubayyat Decides List		_	The People of Qoubayyat List	
The previous alliances changed drastically in 2016, reconciling between historical rivals. The lists running for municipal office were the following: - The "Qoubayyat Decides" List, headed by the head of the municipality Abdou Abdou and backed by MP Hadi Houbeish and his former rival MP Mikhael Daher as well as the Phalanges Party. - The "People of Qoubayyat" List, supported by the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement. The race was highly competitive resulting in close electoral results. The first list won an average of 2,714 votes (49% of the total votes) securing 16 seats in the council against two seats for the second lists which amassed an average of 2,616 votes (47.2% of the total vote), meaning a win by only 98 votes.	Abdou Abdou Joseph Khattar Marwan Hamwi Mounir Jabbour Laurette Daher Jean Hakmeh Tony Bayssari Joceline Demian Charbel Ghosn Jamile Gemayel Elie Zaribe Jean Maarbas Michel Fahed Rola Fazah Dany Moussa Michel Abdou George Abboud Salim Shallita	2,718 2,773 2,670 2,726 2,797 2,689 2,720 2,734 2,681 2,647 2,713 2,636 2,711 2,728 2,745 2,745 2,745 2,705 2,739		Tony Mikhael Jean Chidiac George Hakmeh Tony Daher George Smaha George Elias Najla Iskandar Fadi Abdou Fadi Breidy Atallah Tohmeh Aziz Abdou Charbel Ghouzairy Daniel Khoury George Habqa Jihad Semaan Boutros El-Raii Elie Kanaan Ziad Bechara	2,666 2,569 2,708 2,592 2,674 2,552 2,588 2,605 2,645 2,608 2,659 2,625 2,626 2,623 2,511 2,545 2,512

Tannourin's Municipal Elections No Acclamation and Harb Triumphs

18 members

Unlike in 2010, the municipal council in Tannourin was not elected by acclamation this year. Instead, there was a cutthroat competition between the Tannourin-born MP Boutros Harb and a coalition consisting of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement.



In 2012, the Free Patriotic Movement separated Shatin, where it has great popularity, from Tannourin. An independent 12-member municipality was introduced in Shatin pursuant to Decision no. 282 dated February 24, 2012 whereas the Tannourin municipality maintained its eighteen seats.

-2010 Elections

All sixteen members in Tannourin Al-Fawqa (11 candidates), Tannourin Al-Tahta (three candidates) and Shatin (two candidates) won uncontested in 2010 and competition was limited over the two seats earmarked for Wata Houb. The list that won at that time was supported by MP Boutros Harb and the Lebanese Forces.

-2016 Elections

Following the alliance of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement, the electoral scene shifted from acclamation into a battle fought by the contestersminister Boutros Harb, the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement- to validate their weight in the area.

The lists running for municipal office were the following:

- **Decision of Tannourin:** a list backed by Minister Boutros Harb and the Phalanges and headed by Bahaa Harb and his deputy Sami Mrad. The presidency was to be rotated between the two.

- **Tannourin Brings Us Together:** a list headed by the retired Brigadier general Ayoub Harb and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces.

With an average of 2,509 votes (56.6% of the total vote), the Decision of Tannourin list won the elections by a margin of 885 votes against its rival which obtained 1,624 votes or roughly 36.7%.

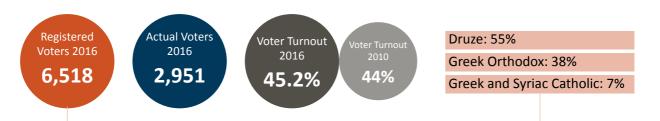
The lowest vote gainer on the winning list surpassed the top vote gainer on the losing one by 660 votes, a number indicating the fervor of competition and the voters' commitment to their lists.

Tannourin Brings Us		Decision of Tan	nourin
Together			
	4 770		2 (52
Rita Malhame	1,773	Bahaa Harb	2,652
Ayoub Harb	1,699	Sami Youssef	2,618
Gracy Faddoul	1,674	Charbel Nohra	2,549
Milia Ghazal	1,665	Michel Eid	2,539
Lisa Khoury	1,650	Ziad Yazbek	2,537
Jihan Tarabay	1,643	Ziad Tarabay	2,524
Rania Bou Lattouf	1,635	Adel Shalhoub	2,513
Rafic Rouaidy	1,627	Rawad Ibn Raad	2,511
Nathem Tarabay	1,617	Walid Matar	2,498
Pierre Karam	1,611	Antoine Harb	2,495
Antanios Qoumair	1,608	Jawad Dagher	2,493
Elie Youness	1,605	Joseph Youness	2,481
Dani Rouaidy	1,588	Tony Faddoul	2,475
George Youness	1,585	Joseph Harb	2,471
Dory Saab	1,570	Charbel Qoumair	2,465
Wajdi Khalil	1,564	Diaa Karam	2,464
Joseph Boutros	1,555	Massoud Rizk	2,453
Charbel Yaacoub	1,552	Boutros Antonios	2,433

Rashaya's Municipal Elections

Jumblatt defeats his contenders

The municipal elections in Rashaya were characterized by competition between MP Walid Jumblatt and his rivals in the town, especially the former head of the municipality Ziad Al-Aryan, former MP Faisal Daoud and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. The elections resulted in victory for the list backed by Jumblatt.



2010 Elections

Two lists contested over the 15-seat municipal council of Rashaya in 2010.

- The "Youth and Change" List backed by the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP).

- The "Development of Rashaya" List headed by Ziad Al-Aryan and backed by former MP Faisal Daoud, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Free Patriotic Movement.

The first list won the elections scooping an average of 1,389 votes (52.2%) against 1,156 (43%) for the rival list, that is a win by an average of 233 votes. The votes separating the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the top vote-gainer among losers was 58.

- 2016 Elections

The same scenario recurred in 2016 between the two following lists:

- "Youth for the Development of Rashaya", a PSPbacked list headed by Bassam Dalal

- **"The People of Rashaya"**, a list headed by Ziad Al-Aryan and backed by former MP Faisal Daoud and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The PSP-backed list emerged victorious bagging an average of 1,709 votes (57.9% of the total vote) compared to an average of 1,055 votes (35.8%) for the rival list, i.e. a margin of 654 votes, up from 233 in 2010. The top vote-gainer on the losing list obtained 398 votes less than the lowest scorer on the winning one.

The results demonstrated the growing electoral force of both MP Walid Jumblatt and minister and MP Wael Bou Faour in Rashaya. The results dissected by polling stations and sects revealed that the Youth for the Development of Rashaya list proved superior among the Druze voters while the People of Rashaya predominated among the Orthodox and Catholic ones.

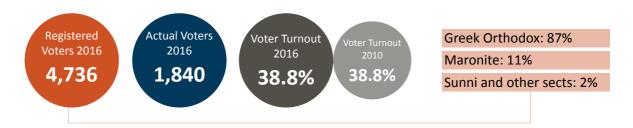
Youth for the			The People of				
Development of Rashaya			Rashaya				
Bassam Dalal	1,819		Ziad Shebli Al-Aryan	1,203			
Saleh Abou Mansour	1,799		Souhail Al-Qadamani	1,185			
Ihab Mhanna	1,753		Hamza Abou Ibrahim	1,181			
Fawzi Tannouri	1,748		George Nemr	1,102			
Talal Ghosn	1,737		Youssef Houjeily	1,059			
Joey Saad	1,728		Elie Maalouli	1,059			
Imad Zaki	1,699		Hayel Bitar	1,042			
Bahaa Abou Hjeily	1,698		Farid Zaki	1,039			
Reshrash Naji	1,694		Abdallah Lahham	1,020			
Adel Elbi	1,693		Makram Barakat	1,013			
Fadi Talayeh	1,676		Ahmad Syour	1,002			
Dany Zoughaib	1,668		Atef Mhanna	991			
Antoine Maalouli	1,666		Fadi Ghosn	989			
Feryal Saab	1,655		Tarel Elbi	973			
Joseph Hajali	1,601		Marwan Naji	971			

15 members

Kousba's Municipal Elections Fierce competition won by the Lebanese Forces

15 members

Despite its sectarian homogeneity (roughly 87% of the electorate are Greek Orthodox), the town of Kousba has a heterogeneous political and partisan mixture including the Lebanese Forces, the Marada Movement, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Ghosn family. This amalgamation turned the municipal election in Kousba into a political battle par excellence.



2010 Elections

Two lists contested the municipal elections in Kousba in 2010:

- The "Kousba Development" List headed by Akl Jreij and backed by the Lebanese Forces and MPs Nicolas Ghosn and Farid Habib.

- The "Loyalty to Kousba" List supported by former MP Fayez Ghosn, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Marada Movement.

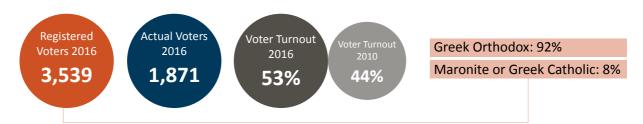
The Kousba Development List won in its entirety, gaining 935 votes or roughly 52.5% of the total vote, whereas the rival list amassed an average of 781 votes, equivalent to 43.7%. The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 58 votes.

	The Kousba Al-Gha	d list	The Kousba for A	ll list
 - 2016 Elections The same scene played itself out in 2016 with one difference, which was the transition of the Free Patriotic Movement from the list of Fayez Ghosn into the rival list. - The "Kousba Al-Ghad" list headed by the Head of the Municipality Akl Jreij and backed by the Lebanese Forces, the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Nicolas Ghosn. 	Akl Jreij 1 Ziad Farah 1 Lydia Farah 9 Salim Mansour 9 Michel Khoury 9	,,033 ,,009 ,,003)99 998 973	Mario Isaac Tarek Habib George Khoury Anthony Khoury George Toum Aref Rostum Malaki Hakim	840 808 782 774 773 771 763
 The "Kousba for All" list backed by former MP Fayez Ghosn, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Marada Movement. Kousba Al-Ghad won all seats in the municipal council, amassing an average of 954 or 51.9% of the total vote. The rival list obtained 751 votes, i.e. 40.8% of the final vote, a result slightly lower than that of 2010. Nineteen votes separated between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one. 	George Abdullah9Bassam Abdullah9Najwa Wakim9Victor Antoine9Elias Zaidan9Christel Habib8Habib Ibrahim8	154 1552 1551 1334 126 1394 1394 1379 1359	Salim Habib Elie Farah Kebbeh Elie Moussa Elie Fadel Mariam Nassar Youssef Yaacoub Jacque Shiri Christel Akkari	753 751 740 736 706 699 692 674

Kfaraaqa's Municipal Elections A presidential or familial wrestle?

15 members

The municipal election in Kfaraaqa took on a significant political dimension. While some emphasized the local and familial aspect of the battle, others viewed it as a "presidential wrestle" between the Free Patriotic Movement and the Marada Movement. The list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces won a majority of ten seats in the local council while the rival list secured five in what was described as a heated electoral battle.



2010 Elections

Two lists competed for municipal office in 2010:

- Kfaraaqa, Solidarity and Development: the list was backed by the head of the municipality Fares Boulos, the Lebanese Forces and MP Farid Mkari.

- Kfaraaqa for All: the list was backed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Marada Movement and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The first list won the elections by securing 53% of the vote (an average of 809 votes) while its rival gained an average of 617 votes or 40.5% of the vote. The margin between the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the highest vote-gainer among losers was 44 votes.

- 2016 Elections ————————————————————————————————————	Kfaraaqa Brings u Together	IS	Kfaraaqa, My Town Belonging	n and	
The alliances formed in 2010 changed in 2016 and the two lists that contested the elections were the following: - "Kfaraaqa Brings us Together", a list headed by Elias Sassine and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Lebanese Forces and the Phalanges.	Nadim Metri93Elie Atallah93George Saad93Sayed Horkous93	025 79 72 54 39 33	Philip Boulos Yaacoub Nassif Rodolph Matar Edward Jreij Bassam Saad Jamil Khoury	994 893 891 872 871 844	
 "Kfaraaqa, My Town and Belonging", a list headed by Philip Boulos and backed by the Marada Movement, Deputy Speaker Farid Mkari and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. "Kfaraaqa Brings us Together" gained an average of 899 votes (48% of the total vote), thus securing ten seats in the municipal council against five for the rival list, which garnered 44.8% of the vote, i.e. an average of 839 votes. 	Elie Farah89Jihan Ibrahim81Emile Jreij81Mike Matar82Michel Chehade82George Farah82	32 99 74 70 54 21 16 10	Emile Fayad Rafiq Semaan George Makdissi Khalil Jbour Fernando Mkhayel Mounir Mkhayel Yaacoub Matar Michel Farah Lara Khoury	835 822 820 810 809 801 780 772	

Rahbeh's Municipal Elections Capitalist Contest and the CP Triumphs

15 members

Rahbeh is one of the largest Orthodox-majority towns in the Akkar Mohafaza. Two main lists ran for municipal office in the town, each headed by a notable figure with political and financial clout. The Lebanese Communist Party headed by Hanna Gharib, Rahbeh's townsman and the LCP new Secretary General, proved to be the strongest player in the electoral contest.



2010 Elections

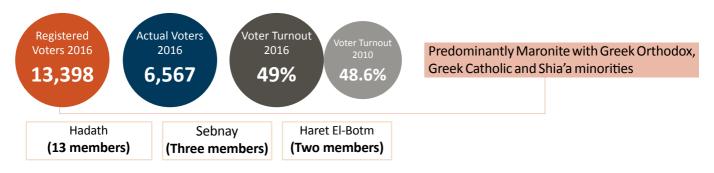
There was no real competition in Rahbeh in 2010. In fact, the race for the town's 15-seat council was won by quasiacclamation as the list sponsored by former deputy Prime Minister Issam Fares and headed by his business manager Sajeeh Atieh included representatives of all political forces- the Free Patriotic Movement, the Phalanges, the Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party- against a number of independent candidates that chose to run on familial grounds. The first list achieved a sweeping victory gaining an average of 1,250 votes or 62% of the total vote.

~ 2016 Elections ─────	Reconciliation Developme		The List of Rahbeh		
Quasi-acclamation morphed into a fierce electoral battle owing to the changing position and choices of the Communist Party which decided to confront Sajeeh Atieh's	Fadi Barbar Wissam Mansour Allam Khoury	1,745 1,683 1,678	Sajeeh Atieh Jean Fayyad Bassam Skaff	1,265 1,287 1,274	
list and the forces backing it. Thus, two lists were formed: - The List of Rahbeh: a list headed by the Head of the Municipality and businessman Sajeeh Atieh and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Phalanges, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and former Deputy Prime Minister Issam Fares.	Salvador matar Jamil Hanna	1,675 1,663	Riadh Nasim Samir Rizk	1,249 1,241	
	Eli Gharib Kamal Harb Samar Saad	1,649 1,645 1,644	Kamil Ghazoul George Harb Jeries Mansour	1,229 1,214 1,195	
 Reconciliation and Development List: a list headed by businessman Fadi Barbar and endorsed by the Lebanese 	Bassam Khoury Kamil Hayek	1,642 1,635	Husni Khoury Saad Isaac	1,193 1,188 1,187	
Communist Party, supporters of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and former MP Abdallah Hanna. This list won in its entirety.	Elia Nehmeh Walid Matar	1,632 1,632	Jean Saba Ghassan Qeraawi	1,186 1,174	
	Adelle Hannah Joseph Bayeh Saadallah Saba	1,603 1,586 1,573	Rizkalla Salloum Mahmoud Rifai Amer Matar	1,127 1,106 1,065	

Hadath's Municipal Elections An FPM vs. LF showdown and the former triumphs

18 members

Contrary to what happened in several Christian towns and villages, the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic movement failed to ally together in Hadath. Instead, the two headed for a faceoff that resulted in a landslide victory for the list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement.



2010 Elections

The 2010 electoral battle in Hadath was a cutthroat competition. It was considered an opportunity to settle scores between the Free Patriotic Movement and the March 14 Forces, particularly the Lebanese Forces and the National Liberal Party. The contesting lists were the following:

- The "Solidarity of Hadath" list headed by George Aoun and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement.

- The "So that Hadath Lives On" list headed by the head of the municipality Antoine Karam and backed by the Lebanese Forces.

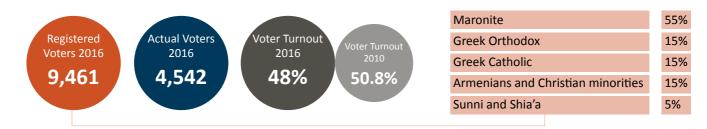
The first list won all seats gaining an average of 3,310 votes or 53% of the total vote compared to 43.6% (2,698 votes) for the rival list. The margin between the last among winners and the first among losers was 404 votes.

- 2016 Elections	lections Solidarity of the Youth of Hadath			h
It was not uncommon to see the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement ally together in several towns this year. However, Hadath was an exception as the two parties ran against each other in two lists: - The "Solidarity of the Youth of Hadath" list headed by the Head of the Municipality George Aoun and baked by the Free Patriotic Movement and Al-Qaad Party. - The "Unity of Hadath" list headed by the former Head of the Municipality Antoine Karam and backed by the Lebanese Forces, the Phalanges and the National Liberal Party.	George Aoun Sami Jamous Suleiman Abi Rizk Qezhayya Bou Khalil Roger Shartoun Abdou Sherfan Antoine Matar Pascale Asmar Dina Haddad Ibrahim Barbari Antoine Asmar	4,383 4,355 4,313 4,292 4,274 4,268 4,262 4,244 4,232 4,229 4,229	Patrick Sneifer Antoine Karam Fadi Khalifeh Elias Haddad Ziad Matar Imad Barbari Elie Asmar Joseph Abou Khalil Najib Barbari Joseph Dib Wissam Barbari	2,156 2,148 2,142 2,136 2,122 2,111 2,108 2,098 2,098 2,093 2,088
National Liberal Party. Scooping 63.5% of the total vote or an average of 4,231 votes, the first list achieved a sweeping victory over its rival, which only obtained 2,019 votes accounting for approximately 31.4% of the total votes. 1,863 votes separated the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the highest vote-gainer among losers, which shows the advancement of the Free Patriotic Movement at the expense of the rival Christian forces.	Ziad Souma Samir Tarraf Said Shebli Ziad Choueiry Youssef Barbari Fadi Dawalibi Jerji Haddad	4,219 4,208 4,207 4,200 4,179 4,141 4,019	Fouad Asmar Tony Zeraoui Joseph Antoine Wanis Elie Jamous George Debbas Bassam Rahhal Janin Sherfan	2,078 2,078 2,078 2,055 2,048 2,046 2,007

Sin El-Fil's Municipal Elections The LF-FPM alliance flops

18 members

The alliance of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement failed to achieve victory in the municipal elections of Sin El-Fil. There were many reasons for their defeat foremost of which the parties' non-abidance by the list that the alliance endorsed and the fact that there were some partisan candidates running on the rival list headed by the Head of the Municipality Nabil Kahhaleh. Kahhaleh's list won in its totality by large margin.



2010 Elections

In 2010, two lists competed over the municipal seats in Sin El-Fil:

- Towards a Better Sin El-Fil: a list chaired by Nabil Kahhaleh and backed by the Phalanges, the Lebanese Forces and MP Michel El-Murr.

- An Opportunity for Change: a FPM-backed list

The first list won 2,791 to 1,482 or roughly 50.8% to 32.1% of the total vote.

2016 Elections —	Sin El-Fil for a E Tomorrow		Sin El-Fil Brings us Together	
This year, the Lebanese Forces joined with the Free Patriotic Movement in confrontation of the Head of the Municipality Nabil Kahhaleh who was backed by the Phalanges, MP Michel El-Murr and some of the LF and FPM supporters. Two lists were formed: - Sin El-Fil for a Better Tomorrow: a list headed by	Nabil Kahhaleh Victoria Khoury Jean Ghazal Kamal Sfeir Rafqa Maatouk Nadim Tarabay Abdou Azzam	2,926 2,855 2,822 2,822 2,815 2,814 2,810	Joseph Shaoul George Houeis Dory Azar Semaan Abi Nader Charbel Mardini George Abou Antoine Christine Ghazal	1,824 1,823 1,822 1,822 1,814 1,811 1,809
Nabil Kahhaleh. - Sin El-Fil Brings Us Together: a list headed by Joseph Shaoul and backed by the LF and the FPM.	Elie Matar Joseph Abi Rashed Elias Hakim Robert Abi Khalil	2,805 2,802 2,793 2,793	Fadi Atwi Antoine El-Khazen Pascale Khalil Raymond Saliba	1,796 1,794 1,791 1,791
The first list won in its totality obtaining an average of 2,794 votes accounting for 61.5% of the total vote against 40.1% for its contender, which gained an average of 1,820 votes, meaning 974 votes less than the winner compared to a difference of 1,309 votes in 2010.	Gabriel Atallah Edward Farah Michel Sfeir Assaad Qassis Nicolas Azar Odyss Yaramian	2,792 2,783 2,766 2,757 2,754 2,700	Kamil abou Qors Mardo Kojokian Badih El-Mnayyar Joseph Farah Dany Attieh Elias Massaad	1,782 1,756 1,749 1,749 1,747 1,747

Deir El-Kamar's Municipal Elections No longer a "Chamounian Emirate"

Deir El-Kamar is one of the largest Maronite towns in Mount Lebanon. It is symbolic for being the hometown of Camille Chamoun, one of the most prominent presidents of the republic and Maronite leaders. In the past, Deir El-Kamar was a pivotal political center from which Mount Lebanon was governed. The municipal battle in the town was therefore highly important in gauging the general Maronite mood in El-Shouf. The results proved very disappointing for MP Dory Chamoun who could only secure one seat against an alliance including the Free Patriotic Movement and the Progressive Socialist Party.

2010 Elections -

Two lists ran for municipal office in 2010:

- The "Deiri Consensus" list backed by the National Liberal Party, the Lebanese Forces and some dignitaries such as Brigadier general Adonis Nehmeh.



- The "Deir El-Kamar" list headed by the head of the municipality Fadi Hnein and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, former Minister Naji Boustany and a number of the town's dignitaries.

The first list obtained 1,329 votes or 45.5% of all the votes cast thus snatching thirteen seats against five seats for the rival list which amassed an average of 1,232 votes constituting 42.2%. The council elected Antoine Boustany as Head of the Municipality and Pierre Jamil Adwan (brother of MP George Adwan) as his deputy. However, the disputes soon erupted in the council resulting in the resignation of over half of its members (11 members known to be supported by the LF and the NLP resigned following disputes with Naji Boustany's supporters) and subsequently the dissolution of the council in May 2014.

2016 Elections

There was a shift in alliances in 2016 as the Lebanese Forces united with the Free Patriotic Movement in the face of a coalition including former minister Naji Boustany, Dory Chamoun and the former Head of the Municipality Fadi Hnein. The following two lists were formed:

- Deir El-Kamar Baldati: a list headed by former ambassador Melhem Mesto and backed by the LF, the FPM, the PSP and a number of families.

- The Decision for Deir El-Kamar: a list headed by the former Head of the Municipality Fadi Hnein and endorsed by Naji Boustany, MP Dory Chamoun, the Phalanges and Tracy Chamoun, who is close to the FPM.

Deir El-Kamar Baldati won an average of 1,556 votes (47.2% of the total votes) securing 12 seats in the council against six seats for the second list, which amassed an average of 1,436 votes (43.6% of the total vote). It was striking that Pierre Adwan ranked among the foremost losers and that the share of MP Dory Chamoun was restricted to only one seat. On the "Deir El-Kamar Baldati" list, two PSP candidates passed through along with three LF candidates, two for the FPM and five independents from different families.

The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 404 votes.

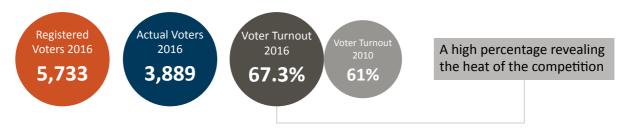
The Deir El-Kamar Baldati List			The Decision fo El-Kamar Lis	
Melhem Mesto	1,741		Fadi Hnein	1,751
George Yazbek	1,939		Adel Abou Rjeily	1,632
Elias Renno	1,777		Walid Boustany	1,600
Jihad Chalhoub	1,692		Nadim Assaf	1,529
Habib Nehmeh	1,653		Wissam Moussa	1,582
Antonios Farah (PSP)	1,623		George Jurdi	1,528
Ghassan Bou Saba	1,539		Sobhi Boueiz	1,413
Antoine Saad (PSP)	1,606		Elie George Khoury	1,464
Fadi Sheniara	1,481		Nada Akl	1,403
Pierro Jurdi	1,577		Elias Akl	1,424
Semaan Boueiz	1,566		Charbel Nassif	1,419
George Hannah	1,532		George Youness	1,309
Boutros Adwan	1,347		Sami Habib	1,304
Iskandar Trabolsi	1,461		Carla Chamoun	1,274
Souheil Tabet	1,405		Joseph Tabet	1,269
Abdo Moussa	1,346		Cyril Chamoun	1,252
Abdo Chaaya	1,410		Patrick Oudaimy	1,370
Najib Elias Ghrayeb	1,315		Wissam Baddoura	1,329

18 members

Kfar Rouman's Municipal Elections Communist Victory

15 members

Kfar Roumman is amusingly dubbed "Kfar Moscow" in reference to the large number of communists and their supporters in the town. The Zein family used to enjoy the greatest clout in Kfar Roumman in the past but the family's leadership declined as the Amal Movement and Hezbollah emerged onto the political stage. Nevertheless, the Communist Party maintained its active and efficient role in the town, which allowed it to engage in strong confrontation against the list backed by the Amal Movement and Hezbollah in the most recent municipal elections.



- 2010 Elections

The 2010 contenders were the following:

- The "Loyalty and Development" list backed by the Amal Movement (seven candidates), Hezbollah (five candidates), MP Abdul Latif Zein (two candidates) and the Nasserites (one candidate).

- The "Kfar Roumman for All" list backed by the Communist Party.

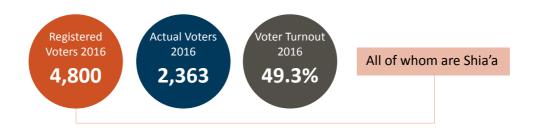
The first list won in its entirety amassing an average of 1,800 votes or roughly 59% against 1,075 votes for the rival list accounting for 35% of the total vote.

- 2016 Elections	Development and Loyalty			Kfar Rouman Al-Gh	ad
2016, but proved to be much bigger and fiercer this time, raising turnout levels and resulting in a partial win for the list backed by Hezbollah, Amal and MP	Yasser Ali Ahmad	1,852		Ahmad Baalbaki	1,228
	Mohammad Najdi	1,805		Majed Mouallem	1,959
	Mohammad Mouheidly	1,790		Mohammad Ali Shakroun	1,574
	Ali Saad	1,738		Hatem Ghabris	1,441
- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed	Haitham Abou Zeid	1,689		Hussein Ali Rizk	1,411
	Hassan Hamzeh	1,676		Rajaa Fakhreddine	1,407
amassed an average of 1,584 votes equaling 45.5%	Ali Daher	1,642		Waddah Abou Zeid	1,404
of the total vote.	Mohammad Salemeh	1,533		Karim Daher	1,344
- "Kfar Rouman Al-Ghad" list backed by the	Ossama Bilal	1,530		Hasan Hassan Hamzeh	1,327
Communist Party, the Democratic Left Movement,	Rim Farhat	1,480		Ossama Farhat	1,323
and Al-Baath Party. It garnered an average of 1,338 votes or 39.7% of the total vote. The results indicate	Mohammad Qassem	1,459		Hussein Daher	1,323
a progress for the Communist Party compared to	Hassan Ghabris	1,453		Ali Abou Zeid	1,332
the 2010 results, as it was able to clinch three seats	Afif Hussein	1,402		Moussa Ali Ahmad	1,322
from the rival Shi'a coalition despite the latter's	Youssef Mouallem	1,376		Ghaleb Saleh	1,192
remarkable electorate.	Issam Daher	1,338		Mirna Salemeh	1,179

Bazouriyeh's Municipal Elections The Communist Party challenges Amal and Hezbollah in Nasrallah's Hometown

15 members

Unlike the uncontested victory in 2010, the Bazouriyeh municipal election was marked this year by intense competition between the Communist Party and the Amal-Hezbollah coalition. Despite being the hometown of Hezbollah's Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's popularity is far lower there than that of the Amal Movement and the Lebanese Communist Party.



-2010 Elections

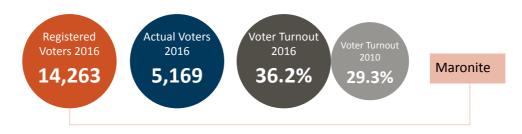
In 2010, the list backed by the alliance of the Amal Movement (four candidates including the head of the municipality and his deputy), Hezbollah (six candidates) and the Communist, Syrian Social Nationalist and Baath Parties (five candidates) won by acclamation.

2016 Elections	The Development a Loyalty list	and	The Bazouriyeh list			
	Moussa Nasrallah	1,158	Ali Diab	602		
In 2016, the Communist Party departed from the previous alliance of 2010 and formed instead a list with the families of the town, thus imposing a competition between two major lists:	Hussein Ayyash	1,740	Bassem Srour	876		
	Khalil Watfa	1,645	Ibrahim Faraj	814		
	Rida Nasrallah	1,613	Abdullah Nisr	750		
	Mohammad Hassan Srour	1,602	Jaafar Watfa	745		
- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed by the Amal Movement, Hezbollah	Mohammad Hadraj	1,547	Ali Jaffal	720		
	Hussein Jaffal	1,456	Mohammad Ahmad Damerji	614		
and the Syrian Social Nationalist and Baath	Fadl Hadraj	1,364	Mohammad Qarouni	591		
backed by the Amal Movement, Hezbollah	Bahij Husseiny	1,356	Ali Deeb	589		
	Hassan Srour	1,339	Hussein Delbani	504		
- "The Bazouriyeh" list backed by the	Ali Awada	1,255	Samir Husseiny	502		
Communist Party and local families.	Mahmoud Damerji	1,237	Fraiha Hadraj	487		
	Hussein Nisr	1,191	Mohsen Jaffal	437		
The first list won 1,342 to 662 votes, or 56.8% to 28.1%.	Yehia Diab	1,134	Mariam Ayyash	426		
JU.0/0 LU 20.1/0.	Adnan Deeb	1,122				

Bsharri's Municipal Elections Non-political faceoff with the Lebanese Forces

18 members

The Lebanese Forces Party enjoys great popularity in Bsharri, as the city is the birthplace of both its leader Samir Geagea and his wife Strida. Although the city's notable families do not fare worse in terms of popular recognition, they have often refrained from running head-to-head against the LF and the municipal elections were frequently won by quasi-acclamation. The equation changed in 2016 as some of the families decided to contest the elections and confront the LF-backed list.



- 2010 Elections

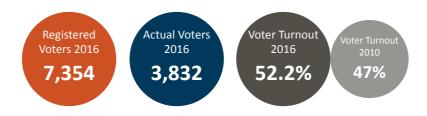
In 2010, the LF supported the "Bsharri Progresses" list chaired by Antoine Khoury Tawq against eight candidates who were backed by some of the Bsharri families. The LF-backed list achieved a sweeping win scooping 60.4% (an average of 2,439 votes) of the total vote. The last winner on the LF list defeated the top losing candidate by a margin of 528 votes. The difference between the average votes of the winning list and those of the rival candidates amounted to roughly 1,450 votes.

2016 Elections	Development and Loyalty for Bsharri			Bsharri Mawten	Qalbi
This year, two lists contested the municipal elections:	Assaad Kairouz Ziad Tawg	3,198 3,127		Joseph Khalifeh	2,086
- The LF-backed "Development and Loyalty for	Peter Khoury	3,117		Fadi daher Tony Tarabay	2,053 2,003
Bsharri" list headed by Freddy Kairouz.	Kamil Rahmeh Antoine Rahmeh	3,115 3,111		Hany Kairouz	1,999
- The "Bsharri Mawten Qalbi" list headed by Joe Khalifeh Rahmeh and backed by Bsharri's families	Gaby Tawq	3,102		Jean Claude Lotm Antoine Tawq	1,990 1,981
and a number of LF supporters who challenged the	Boutros Geagea	3,085		Rana Fakhri	1,966
LF list.	Marianne Saad	3,077		Micheline Sukkar	1,951
The "Development and Loyalty for Bsharri" list won all seats in the municipal council, amassing an	Freddy Kairouz Elie Fakhri	3,072 3,070		Elie Fakhri Charbel Tawq	1,933 1,922
average of 3,016 votes or 58.3% of the total vote.	Charles Chidiac	3,063		Eliane Fenianos	1,914
The rival list obtained 2,010 votes, i.e. 38.9% of the	Rola Nahhas	3,055		Gaby Soukkar	1,911
final vote. 931 votes separated the lowest vote-	Pascale Rahmeh	3,046		Elias Tannous	1,907
gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one and 1,006 between the two lists.	Mansour Lawn	3,045		Haitham Tawq	1,902
	Tony Imad Tawq	3,045		Rima Tawq	1,891
	Charbel Soukkar	3,044		Fatek Chidiac	1,886
	Tony Torry Tawk	3,040		Elie Hanna Geagea	1,867
	Youssef Fakhri	3,017		Richard Geagea	1,867

Halba's Municipal Elections Familial Contest Tinged with Politics

18 members

Halba is the capital of the Akkar Mohafaza. Over 65% of its residents are Sunni, thus making them a majority while the Greek Orthodox and Maronite account for 35% of the population. Politically speaking, Halba is home to a mixture of political parties including the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a, the Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. In addition to its political diversity, the families of Halba play an active and efficient role. The importance of the municipal elections in the town lies in that they served as an indicator to the power dynamics in the Mohafaza of Akkar.



- 2010 Elections

was limited to 568 votes or roughly 14.8%.

In 2010, the "Decision of the People of Halba" list- a list backed by the SSNP and the Communist Party and headed by the Head of the Municipality Said Halabi competed against the "Future of Halba" list headed by Abdul Hamid Halabi and backed by the Future Movement.

The first list won the elections with an average of 1,594 votes (52%) compared to 1,314 votes (42.7%) for its rival.

The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 124 votes.

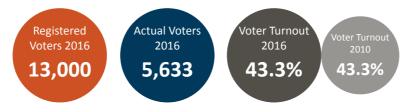
- 2016 Elections	Halba's Development		-	Halba's Decision		_	Halba Al-Ghad	-	
Three lists contested the municipal elections in Halba this year.	Abdul Hamid Halabi	1,763	:	Said Halabi	1,508		Mohammad Zoobi	755	
Although the contest appeared to	Mohammad Abdallah	1,666		Siham Halabi	1,409		Dany Oubaid	694	
be among families at face value, it	Othman Qaddour	1,644		Ahmad El-Hassan	1,406		Salaheddine Hammoud	672	
was in fact tinged with politics:	Imad Yaacoub	1,642		Bassam Mansour	1,406		Tamam Hammoud	665	
	Khaled Ibrahim	1,618		Mariam Hammoud	1,391		Ibrahim Ayyash	651	
 The "Halba's Decision" list headed by the Head of the Municipality Said 	Bassam Hallak	1,599		Abdul Salam Melej	1,383		Alaa Ibrahim	641	
Halabi.	Carlosk Achkar	1,595		Mounir Yaacoub	1,378		Mohammad Hammoud	636	
	Yassine Metlej	1,587	:	Said Naim	1,366		Nour El-Hoda Rajab	607	
- The "Halba's Development" list	Khaldoun Halabi	1,579		Barakat Makhoul	1,364		Imad Hallaq	580	
headed by the previous Head of the	George El-Sheikh	1,577		Joseph Oubaid	1,361		Mazen Abdallah	571	
Municipality Abdul Hamid Halabi.	Imad Oubaid	1,563		Abdou Baghdadi	1,350		Ali Tarfi	570	
- The "Halba Al-Ghad" list headed by	Mourad Hammoud	1,558		Walid Qaddour	1,345		Khalil Achkar	561	
businessman Mohammad Zoghbi.	Amer Makhoul	1,551		Mohammad Rajab	1,337		Ghassan Suleiman	547	
The "Halba's Development" list won 17	Fahd Tarraf	1,548	:	Salem Sheikh	1,327		Moussa Yaacoub	545	
seats in the council thanks to an average	Mouhammad Ayyash	1,546		Joud Achkar	1,302		Abdul Karim Qaddour	533	
of 1,588 votes or 41.4% of the total vote.	Jerjes Chami	1,532	:	Sarkis Bou Daher	1,297		Samar Tarraf	517	
Halba's Decision amassed an average	George Tadros	1,530		Talal Ali	1,288		Nabil Rachkidi	481	
of 1,359 votes (35.5%) and managed to snatch one seat. The share of the final list	Mostafa Ali	1,481		Robert Chami	1,259				

Sheba'a Municipal Elections The Future Movement allies with its rivals under one list

18 members

Sheba'a, the largest among the Arkoub towns, assumes considerable importance due to its location on the Lebanese-Israeli borders and its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict over the past few decades. The municipal elections in the town acquired a familial character. Nevertheless, the political background did not vanish from the picture, especially amidst the political divisions clouding the country.

The Future Movement announced that it would be sitting on the fence, affording its supporters ample freedom to make their own voting choice. However, scratching beneath the surface shows that the Future Movement was covertly backing the Loyalty and Dignity list, which was equally supported by the rivals of the FM- against the Islamic Jama'a endorsing the Sheba'a for All list.



2010 Elections

home to participate in the polls.

Three lists engaged in the 2010 electoral rivalry:

The Free Decision list headed by Mohammad Saab and backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families. The Sheba'a for All list headed by the outgoing head of the municipality Omar Zouhairy and partially backed by the Future Movement and a number of families. The list was incomplete consisting of only 15 candidates.

The Decision of Sheba'a list headed by William Saab and supported by the Arkoub Inhabitants Commission (close to Kamal Shatila). The list was incomplete consisting of 12 candidates.

The first list won obtaining an average of 2,455 votes or roughly 51% of the total vote compared to an average of 1,178 and 980 votes for the second and third lists respectively.

Sheba'a for All

Qassem Nabaa

2,272

1,831

	- 2016 Elections					
		Mohammad Saab	3,084	Adnan Khatib	2,685	
	In 2016, the competition was limited to two	Mohammad Asaad Hachem	3,076	Chehab Daakour	2,672	
	lists:	Mohammad Qassem Awwad	3,072	Safi Nassif	2,387	
	- The "Sheba'a for All" list gaining the support	Issam Qassem Ghader	2,857	Ibrahim Serhan	2,371	
	of the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families.	Bassem Mohammad Hachem	2,837	Mohammad Asaad Farhat	2,348	
	- "The Loyalty and Dignity" list headed by the	Khalil Zoghbi	2,820	Abdullah Saadi	2,316	
	Head of the Municipality Mohammad Saab and	Hassan Zahra	2,722	Mohammad Ali Daher	2,303	
	gaining indirect support from by the Future	Qassem Fares	2,637	Salim Ghader	2,254	
	Movement and directly from March 8 parties.	Mohammad Nabaa	2,620	Ali Qaadan	2,249	
		Mohammad Qassem Hamdan	2,594	Khaled Khaled	2,238	
	- The Loyalty and Dignity list dominated 16	Akram Kanaan	2,591	Mostafa Markiz	2,225	
	seats in the council obtaining an average of	Mohammad Zein Daher	2,581	Mohammad Hamad	2,166	
	2,680 votes equaling 47.6% of the total vote whereas its rival managed to snatch two seats	Radwan Hamad	2,571	Ismail Youssef	2,103	
	with an average of 2,230 votes or 39.6%. Only	Omar Saadi	2,569	Samer Chantaf	2,051	
	450 votes decided the balance, suggesting a	Omar Serhan	2,494	Hussein Hachem	2,003	
	tight competition in which financing parties	Mohammad Fouad Markiz	2,467	Asaan Mohammad Hamdan	1,994	
	had allegedly brought the expatriates back	Moussa Ghader	2,374	Bassem Ghader	1,946	
1						

Mohammad Shariha

The Loyalty and Dignity

32

Srifa's Muncipal Elections The Communist and Syrian Social Nationalist Parties vs. Amal and Hezbollah

The Amal Movement and Hezbollah formed electoral lists in the majority of towns in South Lebanon and Beqa'a where they have a large sphere of influence. Although their alliance swept the election in most towns, they were occasionally opposed by active rivals who were able to gain traction and to achieve partial wins against Amal and Hezbollah in several towns, such as Srifa.



2010 Elections

In 2010, two lists ran against each other in Srifa:

- The "Loyalty and Development' list including nine candidates for the Amal Movement and six for Hezbollah.

- The list consisting of the Communist Party and SSNP alliance.

The first list secured 13 seats in the council whereas the second won two, therby defeating two Amal Movement candidates. The first scored an average of 1,051 votes accounting for 45.8% of the vote and the second 701 votes or 30.6%.

2016 Elections –

The same scenario played out in 2016 with two lists contesting the election:

- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed by the Amal Movement and Hezbollah.

- An incomplete 12-member list backed by the Lebanese Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The first list won nine seats to six. It amassed an average of 1,186 votes or roughly 39.7% against 875 votes or 23.4% for the second list, a score that implies a decline in support for Hezbollah and Amal compared to 2010.

Development and Loyalty

CP and SSNP

15 members

Wadih Najdi	1,212
Samir Alaeddine	1,103
Ali Eid	728
Qayssar Fakih	910
Mahmoud Moussa Nazal	909
Mohammad Karim Nazal	1,053
Mahmoud Kamaleddine	839
Talal Najdi	982
Mohammad Jaber	969
Kamal Hamoudy	1,613
Ali Haidar	1,385
Ahmad Ramadan	1,491
Fouad Anbar	1,272
Abbas Nazal	1,789
Ahmad Najdi	1,530

Ali Said Mahmoud Abdul Hussein Nazal Hassan Badih Najdi	521 815 1,243
Nazal Hassan Badih Najdi	
	1 2 4 3
	1,245
Samih Hamoudi	1,167
Hassan Abdul Hussein Najdi	1,310
Abdul Meneem Said	760
Ali Ahmad Arzouni	1267
Khalil Jaber	642
Ali Hawi	1,035
Jaafar Najdi	1,119
Mohammad Ramez Kamaleddine	125
Mohammad Kamel Najdi	500

Municipal – Elections 2016

34

JEZZINE'S PARLIAMENTARY BY-ELECTION 2016

After a 21-month delay, the Lebanese government finally conducted the parliamentary by-election in Jezzine on May 22, 2016 to fill out the Maronite seat which had become vacant on June 27, 2014 following the death of MP Michel Helo. According to Article 41 of the Lebanese Constitution, the election of a successor has to begin within two months from the date of the vacancy.

Although the term of the new MP is going to be a short one, not exceeding 13 months, the by-election was marked by real competition between four candidates, particularly between Amal Abou Zaid and Ibrahim Azar. Jezzine's by-election was considered a prelude to the general parliamentary elections expected before June 20, 2017 and a sequel to the electoral battle that characterized the Qada'a in 2009 particularly between the Free Patriotic Movement and Speaker Nabih Berri.

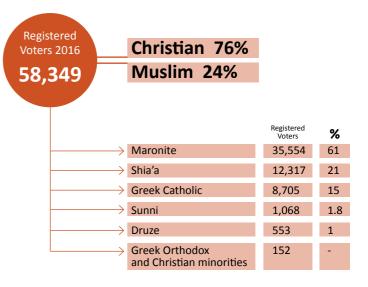


2009 Parliamentary Election

In 2009, the major rivalry was between the list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Samir Azar, the candidate backed by Speaker Nabih Berri. Voter turnout amounted to 53.6% and the FPM emerged victorious. The 2009 electoral results broke down as follows:

- Ziad Aswad (Maronite): 15,648 votes
- Issam Sawaya (Greek Catholic): 14,914 votes
- Michel Helo (Maronite): 13,291 votes
- Samir Azar (Maronite): 10,792 votes
- Antoine Khoury (Greek Catholic): 5,220 votes
- Kamil Serhal (Maronite): 5,403 votes
- Edmond Rizk (Maronite): 7,399 votes
- Ajaj Haddad (Greek Catholic): 6,498 votes
- Fawzi El-Asmar (Maronite): 4,338 votes

The large number of votes obtained by Samir Azar was credited to the Shia'a vote. The Shia'a electorate totaled 10,467 in 2009 with 5960 casting their votes. Of those, 4990 voters or 83.7% voted for Azar. The Maronite and Greek Catholic candidates on the FPM list received 52.2% which decreased the votes for Michel Helo.



2016 Parliamentary By-Election

Four candidates contested the by-election in 2016. Amal Abou Zeid won convincingly with 14,653 votes or 53.5% of the total vote. Second in line was Ibrahim Azar who amassed 7,759 votes equaling 28%.

The results are remarkable because the votes received by Amal Abou Zeid were fairly close to those received by the winners in 2009 while Ibrahim Azar's votes were lower than his father's in 2009 by 3,000 votes.

The distribution of votes by area is illustrated in Table 1 and shows the supremacy of Azar over Abou Zeid by roughly 400 votes in the city of Jezzine (Azar's hometown).

Table 1: Distribution of votes by area

Distribution of # of eligible voters by area	# of actual	Amal Hekmat Aou Zeid		Salah Nqoula Jobran		Patrick Elias Rizkalla		Ibrahim Samir Azar		
	voters	voters	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
City of Jezzine	8,007	3,820	1,509	39.5	183	4.8	36	0.9	1,941	50.8
Towns of Jezzine	48,603	23,580	13,144	55.7	2,959	12.5	364	1.5	5,818	24.7
Qada'a of Jezzine	56,610	27,400	14,653	53.5	3,142	11.5	400	1.5	7,759	28.3

By sect, Abou Zeid surpassed his rival among Christian and Shia'a voters while Azar fared better among Sunni voters as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of votes by sect

Distribution of	# of eligible	# of actual	Amal Hekmat Bou Zeid		Salah Nqoula Jobran		Patrick Elias Rizkalla		Ibrahim Samir Azar	
votes by sect	voters	voters	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
Maronite	29,623	14,287	7,449	52.1	1,717	12.0	243	1.7	4,152	29.1
Shia'a	9,663	4,291	2,589	60.3	159	3.7	32	0.7	1,168	27.2
Greek Catholic	5,392	2,518	1,449	57.5	371	14.7	29	1.2	564	22.4
Maronite & Greek Catholic	4,292	2,185	1,194	54.6	293	13.4	27	1.2	581	26.6
Greek Catholic & Maronite	1,300	1,154	516	44.7	363	31.5	19	1.6	216	18.7
Shia'a & Maronite	1,150	419	226	53.9	13	3.1	3	0.7	134	32.0
Maronite & Sunni & Shia'a	1,162	494	357	72.3	59	11.9	2	0.4	80	16.2
Maronite & Shia'a	1,031	559	204	36.5	82	14.7	23	4.1	207	37.0
Maronite & Sunni	964	576	293	50.9	40	6.9	18	3.1	202	35.1
Maronite & Druze	898	450	229	50.9	20	4.4	3	0.7	173	38.4
Sunni	772	301	60	19.9	25	8.3	1	0.3	209	69.4
Druze	363	166	87	52.4	0	0.0	0 0.0		73	44.0
Total	56,610	27,400	14,653	53.50%	3,142	11.5%	400 1.5%		7,759	28.3%

LBP 505 MILLION: FINES BY POLITICIANS AGAINST MEDIA OUTLETS

MAJOR GENERAL JAMIL SAYYED, GENERAL MICHEL AOUN AND THE LEBANESE FORCES TOP PLAINTIFFS Because the freedom of press in Lebanon is a right embodied in the Constitution and the rules and regulations in force, media outlets- written, audio and visual- operate as platforms addressing the stances and performance of the political class and daring critical coverage. Sometimes, political authorities detect libel and slander in the posted media material and subsequently resort to the Court of Publications to prosecute the outlet or the journalist in question for what they consider to be defamatory statements. The court either refutes the claims and grants acquittal or convicts the defendants sentencing them to prison or imposing fines in favor of the plaintiffs. The fines imposed by the court in recent years have amounted to LBP 505 million as illustrated in Table 1.

It is noteworthy that the highest fine worth LBP 100 million was imposed on *Ad-Diyar* in the lawsuit brought against it by former PM Saad Hariri.





Michel Aoun (Three Lawsuits) LBP 68 million





Table 1: Fines imposed by the Court of Publications on media outlets in favor of the politicians.

Source: Court rulings published by Lebanese newspapers

Plaintiff	Defendant	Publication date	Date of ruling	Court ruling
Major General Jamil	Ayman Jezzini, Future Move- ment Website	-	2/11/2011	Case dismissal
Sayyed	Fares Khashan- Youqal Net Website	20/1/2010	25/10/2010	A fine of LBP 10 million and a compen- sation for damages amounting to LBP 10 million
	Owner of <i>Ash-Sharq</i> newspaper Awni Kaaki and responsible director Yehia Jaber	2/6/2014	9/12/2015	A fine of LBP 3 million and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
	An-Nahar newspaper/ Jour- nalist Antoine Khoury Harb and responsible director Habib Shlouq	20/4/2013	24/6/2014	Fining the columnist LBP 2 million
	Maria Maalouf during an interview on LBC	1/3/2012	9/7/2015	Fining Maalouf LBP 36 million including LBP 10 million to be paid to Jamil Sayyed as compensation and publishing the court ruling in Al-Mouttaham talk show on LBC as well as in three local newspapers.
Lebanese Forces leader Samir Geagea	Al-Akhbar newspaper- Ibra- him El-Amin as well as the responsible director, the general manager and the columnist.	6/10/2008	13/2/2013	Fining columnist Antoine Khoury Harb LBP 10 million and Nader Sabbagh LBP 6 million as well as a compensation for dam- ages amounting to LBP 6 million.
	Al-Anbaa's journalist Hamza Al-Khansa, the newspa- per's responsible director Mohammad Akl and the national company for media, owner of Al-Anba'a	7/10/2010	4/1/2014	Fining the columnist and the managing director LBP 6 million each as well as a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 10 million and publishing the court ruling.
	Al-Jadeed TV station and its Chief News editor Mariam al-Bassam	2/2/2013	20/4/2015	Fining the defendant LBP 6 million, impos- ing a compensation for damages worth LBP 6 million on al-Bassam and Al-Jadeed and broadcasting a brief summary of the court ruling.
	Al-Jadeed TV station, journalist Ghada Eid and Chief News Editor Mariam al-Bassam	2/12/2013	20/5/2015	Fining al-Bassam LBP 5 million and a com- pensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million
Lebanese Forces Party and MP Strida Geagea	Al-Akhbar newspaper and columnist Ghassan Saoud	14/12/2012 and 13/8/2012	12/1/2016	Fining Saoud LBP 9 million and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
General Michel Aoun	<i>Ash-Sharq</i> newspaper, its owners and columnist Alfred Nawwar.	4/10/2012 And 12/10/2012	2/12/2014	Fining Nawwar LBP 12 million and the newspaper LBP 10 million in each of the two cases against them, i.e. a total of LBP 44 million.
	<i>Al-Mustaqbal</i> Newspaper/ Journalist Carla Khattar	23/10/2012	24/6/2014	Fining the responsible director and the columnist LBP 3 million each and a compensation of LBP 1 million.
	Al-Mustaqbal newspaper	2011 and 2013	2/12/2015	Fining each of the five journalists who wrote the articles object of the trial LBP 3 million

Plaintiff	Defendant	Publication date	Date of ruling	Court ruling
Minister of Energy and Water Gebran Bassil	Future TV, the chairman of its board of directors and news directors Hussein Al-Wajeh and Imad Assi	4/4/2013	2014	Fining Hussein Al-Wajeh and Imad Assi LBP 4 million each and a compensation worth LBP 6 million.
MP Sami Gemayyel	Al-Akhbar's newspaper and its digital site as well as the newspaper's directors and the columnist Rola Ibrahim	23/4/2013	9/12/2015	A fine of LBP 1 million, a symbolic com- pensation of LBP 1000 and acquittal of Akhbar Beirut S.A.L. and its chairman Ibrahim Al-Amine
	<i>Al-Akhbar</i> 's digital site and the columnist Rola Al-Amine	30/5/2013	22/4/2015	Fining the columnist and the head of board of directors Ibrahim Al-Amine LBP 1 million each and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
Former Minister Ibrahim Najjar	Ash-Sharq newspaper- Di- rector Yehia Jaber and own- ers Awni and Wafiq Kaaki	19/8/2011	-	Fining the managing director LBP 10 mil- lion and imposing on the director and the newspaper's owners a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 15 million.
	Al-Akhbar newspaper and the columnist Radwan Mortada	20/8/2013	22/4/2015	Fining the newspaper and Mortada LBP 2 million each
Former Minister Elias Skaff	The Phalanges Party's website managed by Nadim Yazbek	-	5/6/2012	Imposing a fine of LBP 8 million and post- ing the court ruling on the party's website
Retired Judge Assem Safieddine	Al-Jadeed TV station and journalists Ghada Eid and George Bashir	7/3/2008	2/6/2015	Fining Ghada Eid LBP 6 million, George Bashir LBP 3 million and Al-Jadeed LBP 4 million
Former ISF Chief Ali el- Hajj	<i>Ash-Shiraa</i> magazine, its owner Hassan Sabra and the managing director Ghazi Al-Maqhour	21/3/2011	15/2/2016	Fining Ghazi Al-Maqhour LBP 1 million and acquitting Hassan Sabra
Former minister Tarek Mitri	Al-Akhbar newspaper/ Jour- nalist Asaad Bou Khalil		16/5/2013	Fining the columnist and the newspaper LBP 6 million each and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million
MP Hassan Yaacoub	An-Nahar newspaper, its responsible director, edi- tor-in-chief and the colum- nist Mohammad Abi Samra and Mahmoud Sadeq Yaghi	28/9/2008	28/6/2011	Imposing an LBP 6 million fine on Yaghi and LBP 3 million on each of Abi Samra and An-Nahar's responsible director Habib Shlouq. A compensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million is to be paid by the three of them.
Former PM Fouad Se- niora	The Free Patriotic Move- ment's website, the web- site's responsible director Patrick Bassil and Paul Bassil.	31/12/2012	2013	Fining them LBP 6 million each.
MP Oukab Saqr	The Free Patriotic Move- ment's website, the web- site's responsible director Patrick Bassil and media coordinator Qassim Henoud	26/2/2011	2013	Fining Bassil and Henoud LBP 6 million each and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 12 million
Head of the State's Shura Council Judge Shukri Sader	Al-Jadeed TV station, its Chief News Editor Mariam al-Bassam and journalist Ghada Eid, presenter and editor of Al-Fasad talk show		30/10/2009	Fining al-Bassam and Eid LBP 20 million each as well as a compensation worth LBP 30 million, i.e. a total of LBP 70 million.
Former PM Saad Hariri The judge head of court who issue	Ad-Diyar newspaper, its owner Charles Ayoub and the responsible director Youssef Houwayek		20/10/2009	Fining the newspaper's owner and the responsible director LBP 50 million each, that is a total of LBP 100 million

The judge head of court who issued the ruling is : Rukoz Rizk

N.B: This list does not include lawsuits brought against politicians by other politicians, nor lawsuits brought against normal people.

THE FOREIGN WORKFORCE IN LEBANON:

210,000 WITH WORK PERMITS INCLUDING 155,000 DOMESTIC WORKERS

Unemployment rates have risen to 25% in Lebanon. At least 300,000 Lebanese out of a total labor force of 1.3 million are currently unemployed. In contrast, the foreign workforce- excluding Syrians and Palestinians- has recorded a clear increase in employment numbers.

Foreign Labor

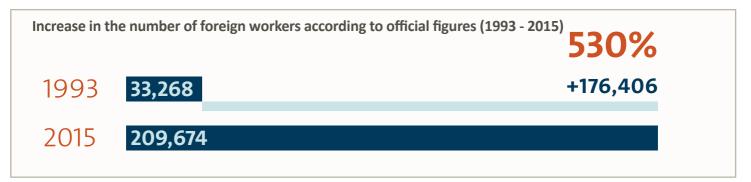
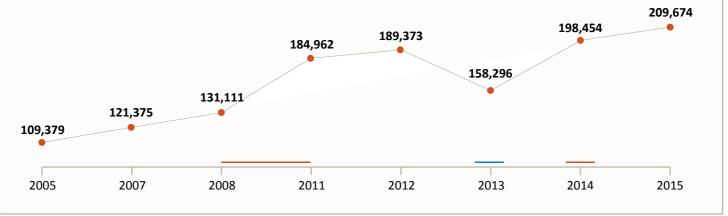


Table 1 illustrates the growth of the number of foreigners holding work permits in Lebanon between 1993 and 2015 according to official figures. It is noteworthy that the years **1996-1997** saw the highest increase at **60%**. A fairly high increase was also registered between **2008** and **2011** with foreign labor growing by **53,851** workers or **41%**. Compared to **2012**, foreign labor decreased in **2013** by **16.4%**, only to rise again in **2014** by **25%**.



The growth of the number of foreigners holding work permits in Lebanon between 2005 and 2015 according to official figures.



Some estimates suggest that there are **50,000** to **60,000** foreign nationals residing and working **illegally** in Lebanon, which increases the total foreign labor to **270,000**.

Ethiopians on top

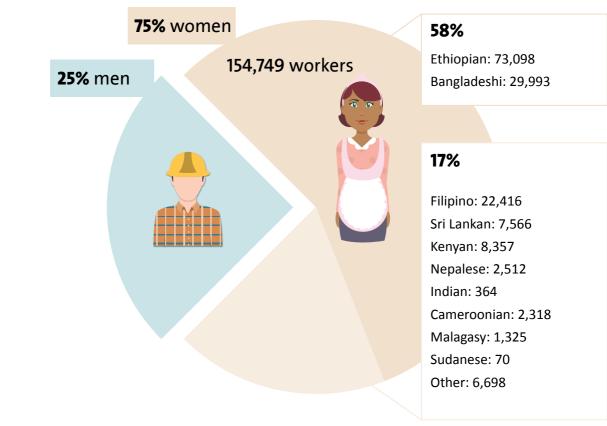


Table 2: Evolution of the number of foreign workers by nationality

Source: Ministry of Labor

Nationality/Year	2005	2007	2011	2014	2015
Ethiopian	-	36,859	44,987	66,411	73,419
Bangladeshi	-	7,063	40,380	44,677	49,136
Filipino	27,675	22,997	29,141	23,462	23,606
Sri Lankan	37,578	21,297	14,053	9,818	8,867
Egyptian	10,632	17,055	23,167	17,130	18,457
Indian	5,104	5,294	7,367	7,372	7,414
Sudanese	559	1,496	1,870	1,736	1,689
Nepalese	-	2,468	9,542	3,368	2,668
Kenyan	-	-	1,000	7,395	8,372
Malagasy	-	-	2,864	453	1,330
Others	27,831	6,846	10,591	16,632	14,716
Total	109,379	121,375	184,962	198,454	209,674

COST OF RETIREES 10% OF BUDGET EXPENDITURE

The number of state employees has seen a huge increase, particularly in security apparatuses where over 100,000 people are employed, and consequently the number of retirees has risen in parallel. In the 2015 draft budget law the retirees cost the Lebanese state roughly LBP 2200 billion, accounting for 9.4% of the total public expenditure. This figure compares to LBP 200 billion in 1994 when their cost accounted for 4.8% of the total expenditure. If the figures are to continue at the same rate, spending on pensions is likely to reach roughly 20% by 2035. This by no means implies that the cost of the retirees must be reduced or their rights undermined, it simply underlines the need to come up with a well-thought-out plan to reduce the current number of employees and subsequently the number and cost of pensioners.



Cost of military retirees

Table 1 illustrates the cost of pensions and end-of-service indemnities between 1994 and 2015. Military pensions and indemnities accounted for 70% to 83% of the total cost of retirees.

Table 1: Pensions and end-of-service indemnities (LBP billion)

Source: Draft public budgets in the respective years

Year	1994	2000	2004	2010	2012	2015
Public budget expenditures	4,106	8,590	9,400	19,537	21,063	23,362
Pensions & end-of-service indemnities	200	875	1,000	1,400	1,830	2,200
+						
Percentage of Public Expenditure	4.8%	10%	10.6%	7.2%	8.7%	9.4%

Military	Pensions	-	-	489	941	1,080	-
	End-of-service indemnities	-	-	212	175	440	-
Civil	Pensions	-	-	171	259	270	-
	End-of-service indemnities	-	-	128	25	40	-

Military retirees' cost distribution

Pensions account for 75% of the cost of military retirees and end-of-service indemnities account for the remaining 25%. The Lebanese Army dominates roughly 52% of this cost followed by the Internal Security Forces at 20% as illustrated in Table 2.

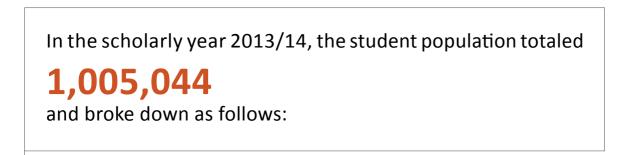
Table 2: Military retirees' cost distribution (LBP billion)

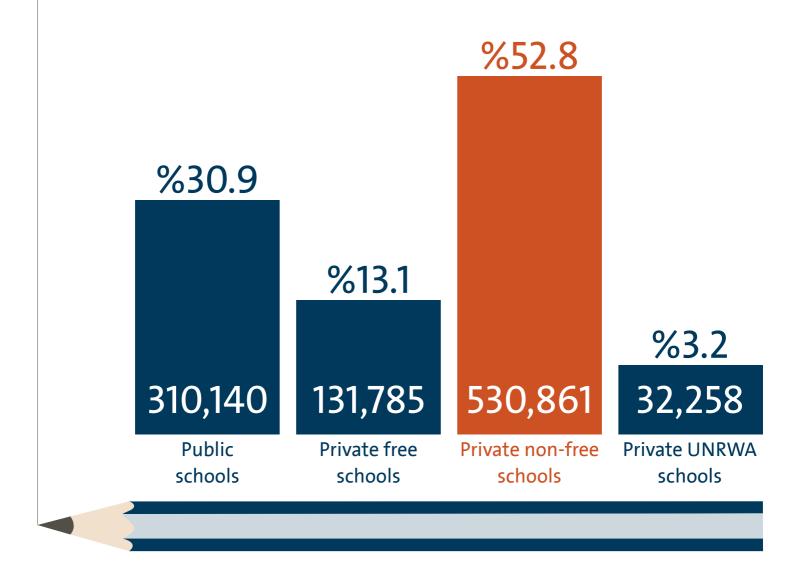
Source: Draft public budgets in the respective years

Pensions and end-of-service indemnities	2004	2010	2012
Pensions	660	200	1350
Parliament Police	5	7.5	8
State Security	15.5	30	35
Lebanese Army	325	610.5	657
Internal Security Forces	105	217.5	300
General Security	38.5	75	80
Civil Administrations	171	259.5	270
End-of-service indemnities	340	200	480
Parliament Police	4	4	6.5
State Security	8	6	9.5
Lebanese Army	115	100	289
Internal Security Forces	65	35	80
General Security	20	30	55
Civil Administrations	128	25	40

SCHOOLS ARE CHRISTIAN AND STUDENTS ARE MUSLIM

Decades ago, hundreds of schools were established by monks and nuns across different Lebanese regions. Affected by the movements of migration and displacement which marked Lebanon over these decades, these schools recorded declines in their student population. The number of Christian students dropped to alarmingly low rates in some schools. In some cases, Christians were even on the verge of completely disappearing from school records, which became dominated by Muslim students. Yet, those schools persisted in their mission far from any sectarian or religious considerations. 45





Christian schools alone have 207,000 students including 28,000 in private free schools and 179,000 in non-free schools.

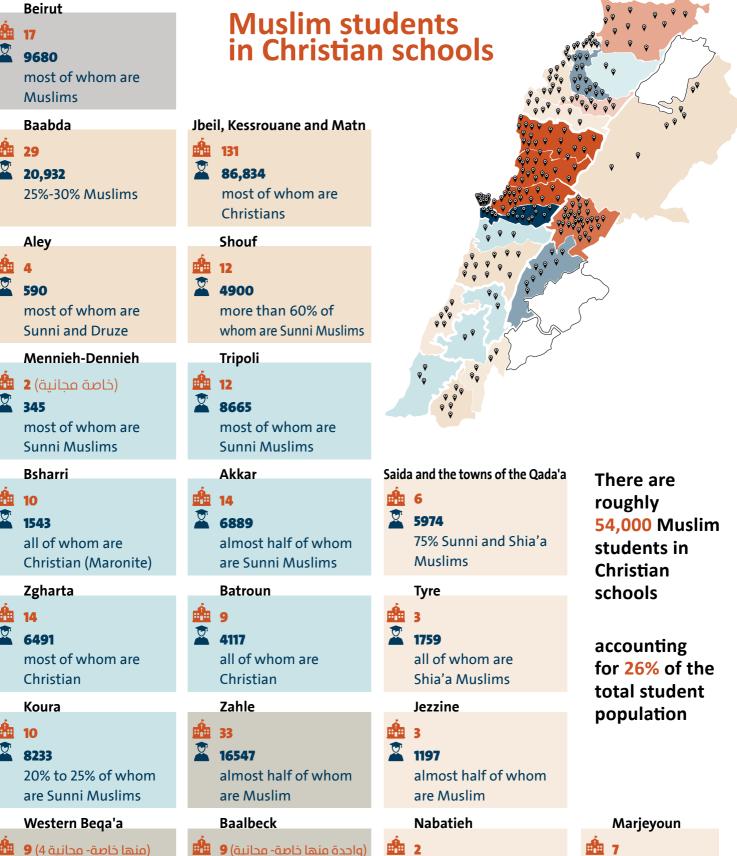
Distribution of Schools by Qada'a

These schools are distributed across all Lebanese Aqdiya; some of them are present in Christian Aqdiya with a majority of Christian students; some in mixed Aqdiya with students from different sectarian backgrounds and the remaining schools are located in Muslim areas and accommodate a majority of Muslim students.

Table 1: The distribution of private Christian schools- both free and non-free- and the number of students in the scholarly year 2013/14.

Source: School Guide issued by the Center for Educational Research and Development

Qada'a	# of private non-free Christian schools	# of students	# of private free Christian schools	# of students	Total # of schools	Total # of students	
Beirut	30	20,564	5	2,018	35	22,582	
Jbeil (Byblos)	10	7,393	4	740	14	8,133	
Kessrouane	32	26,973	12	3,678	44	30,651	
Matn	54	42,888	19	5,162	73	48,050	
Baabda	24	19,415	5	1,517	29	20,932	
Aley	2	293	2	297	4	590	
Shouf	11	4,564	1	336	12	4,900	
Tripoli	7	5,939	5	2,726	12	8,665	
Mennieh-Dennieh	-	-	2	345	2	345	
Akkar	8	4,082	6	2,807	14	6,889	
Bsharri	6	909	4	634	10	1,543	
Batroun	6	3,550	3	567	9	4,117	
Zgharta	10	4,890	4	1,601	14	6,491	
Koura	7	7,258	3	975	10	8,233	
Zahle	25	14,710	8	1,837	33	16,547	
Baalbeck	8	1,800	1	413	9	2,213	
Hermel	No Christian schools						
Rashaya			No Christian scho	ols			
Western Beqa'a	5	709	4	598	9	1,307	
City of Saida and the towns of the Qada'a	6	5,974	-	-	6	5,974	
Tyre	3	1,759	-	-	3	1,759	
Jezzine	2	744	1	453	3	1,197	
Nabatieh	2	2,125	-	-	2	2,125	
Bint Jbeil	5	1,676	2	897	7	2,573	
Marjeyoun	3	880	1	165	4	1,045	
Hasbaya	No Christian schools						
Total	266	179,095	92	27,766	358	206,861	



2125

are Muslim

almost half of whom

2573

60% Shia'a

Muslims

Image: height of the sector of the sector

There are no Christian schools in the Aqdiya of Hasbaya, Rashaya and Hermel.

Myth / Fact

Was Napoleon Bonaparte a 'shorty'?

Myth

In addition to being recognized as a mighty emperor with tactical savvy and military prowess, Napoleon Bonaparte is still widely remembered for an even more popular trait: his short stature. However, was the "Little Corporal" really as short as commonly believed or is this just another historical myth perpetuated by misleading narratives?

Fact

The Short Man Syndrome- so-called Napoleon Complex- has allegedly been named after Napoleon and suggests that short men usually develop an inferiority complex and attempt to overcompensate for this perceived shortcoming. Many believed that Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Europe as a form of overcompensation for his lack of height. Interestingly though, Napoleon was far from short by the standards of his time.

It is believed that the confusion stems from miscalculations caused by the difference in English and French units of measure. Napoleon's autopsy, which was carried out by Napoleon's doctor, Frenchman Francesco Antommarchi and signed off by a number of British doctors, recorded his height as 5'2" (1.57m), which may be the source of much of the confusion. The French pouce ("inch") of the 19th century was slightly longer (2.71 centimeters) than its British equivalent (2.54 centimeters). In modern international units, Napoleon was just under 5'7" (1.70m) tall—not a giant by modern day standards but slightly taller than the average Frenchman of his era. At the time in France, the average height for an adult male was 5'5".

As for his nickname, the Little Corporal (le petit caporal), it does not refer to his small size as is mistakenly thought but to his little-known status when he rose to prominence at the 1796 Battle of Lodi. This battle was a turning point in Napoleon's career and, according to Napoleon himself, contributed to convincing him that he was superior to other generals. The nickname was in fact used as a term of affection rather than an insult, but British propaganda capitalized on this term to portray him as short in stature as a way of attacking and undermining him. The myth was also perpetuated by the fact that Napoleon was often surrounded by much larger soldiers and bodyguards and thus he must have seemed smallish in comparison.



MLIKH: MADE IT TO PARLIAMENT

A tranquil town in the Qada'a of Jezzine, Mlikh made headlines when its resident Amal Abou Zeid won one of the Maronite seats in the Qada'a, breaking- although not for the first time- the long established norm that the Qadaa's MPs should be from the city of Jezzine.

Etymology

In his book, *Names of Lebanese Towns and Villages*, author Anis Fraiha suggests that the word is of Aramaic origin and means salinity and a barren land unable to produce crops. However, this does not apply to the town's fertile lands. It is also possible that 'mlikh' is the root of the word 'malak', i.e. king.

Location

Mlikh is located in the Qada'a of Jezzine at an altitude of roughly 1000 meters above the sea level. It is 70 kilometers from Beirut and stretches across 400 hectares. The town may be reached by heading from Beirut to Saida to Jezzine then to Kfarhouna or from Beirut to Nabatieh and then to Loueizy.

Population and houses

The people in the town's personal status register total 2800. However, permanent residents do not exceed 400. There are 250 houses and the town's sectarian makeup is as follows: 55% Shia'a and 45% Christian (Maronite and a Greek Orthodox minority).

Voters

In 2000, there were 2,000 eligible voters in Mlikh, 455 of which turned out for the elections. The number rose to 1,781 in 2009 with 903 casting their ballots. This year, 1,964 voters were registered of whom 933 actually voted.

Voters are distributed over the following families: Maronite

- Abou Zeid: 643
- Qostantin: 45
- Zaidan: 45
- Boutros: 35

Greek Catholic

- Matta: 45 voters
- Ibrahim: 40

Shia'a

- Abou Melhem: 103
- Hassan: 100
- Suleiman: 77

- Abdullah: 66
- Mostafa: 66
- Mouqaddam: 66

Mlikh

- Amin: 50
- Mantash: 48
- Khalil: 48

Local Authorities

Local authority is vested in a municipal council of 12 members.

Economic Life

Residents rely on minor jobs and agriculture to earn a living.

Problems

The displacement of the residents due to the Israeli occupation in 1982 remains a major concern as the majority of those did not return despite Mlikh's liberation in 1999. Most of them visit during the weekends or summer vacations.

KHADEM AND KHADDAM FAMILIES

Sunni and Alawite in the north

'Khadem' is the Arabic for 'servant' or any person who helps or serves others in the various spheres of life. However, the widespread use of this word that particularly refers to domestic workers who help with cleaning and menial tasks around the house, the office or in restaurants, has downgraded the sense of the word. In Lebanon, there are families named 'Khadem' and 'Khaddam', probably because their forefathers used to be in service jobs.

Khadem

There are 63 Khadem members all of whom are Sunni living in the Nouri, Qebbeh and Hadid neighborhoods of Tripoli.

Al-Khadem

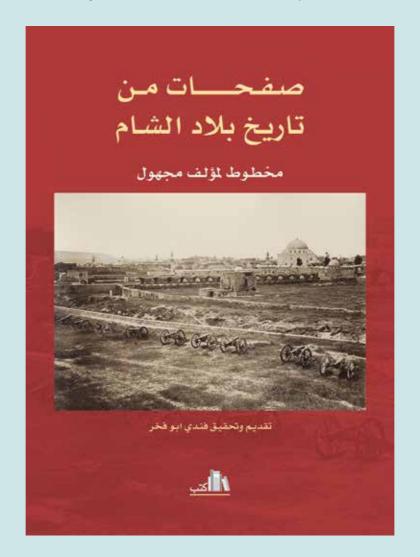
The Al-Khadems amount to 115 members, all of whom belong to the Sunni community, and live in Ras Beirut, Beirut and the Tebbaneh and Qebbeh neighborhoods of Tripoli.

Khaddam

120 members make up the Khaddam family in Lebanon. The Khaddams are Alawite and live in the Tebbaneh neighborhood of Tripoli.

PAGES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LEVANT

Pages of the History of the Levant is the third book published by Dar Kutub for Fandi Abou Fakhr. The book, which is a manuscript by an anonymous writer dating back to the Ottoman era, chronicles the historical facts and occurrences that unfolded in the Levant and particularly in Lebanon between 1697 and 1809, a period that was rife with crucial junctures. Maintaining an anonymous identity, the author diagnoses the features of the public life under the Chehabi Emirs and presents an account of the ordeal that the people suffered as a result of the feudal conflicts over power. Abou Fakhr obtained a copy of the manuscript from the Berlin State Library and, without compromising the style of the author or the spirit of the text, he added some punctuation marks and made linguistic corrections, where necessary, so as to facilitate comprehension.



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