

## Lebanon' Attitude towards the Establishment of the United Arab Republic

Nabil Al-Sayed El-Tokhey<sup>a</sup>, Enas Fares Yehia<sup>b</sup>, Mahmoud SaadyAhmed<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> History Department, Faculty of Arts, Minia University

<sup>b</sup> Tourist Guidance Department, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, Minia University

---

### Abstract

The relation between Egypt and Lebanon had been as old as 3200 B.C, it was of political and economic nature. This article discusses the political relation between Egypt and Lebanon during that difficult phase of the Arab modern history, especially with regard of the famous incident of Lebanon crisis 1958. The results of Lebanon crisis were difficult on Lebanon as it was on its way to lead Lebanon to be divided into two countries, but because of the role of Egypt and president Nasser who tried much to end this crisis and tried to make Lebanon live in peace and the role of Egypt was so clear in helping Lebanon to get its independence.

**Key Words:** Egypt- Lebanon- United Arab Republic- Nasser

---

### Introduction

It's a pity that there are not many writings about Lebanon from the first times of the Islamic caliphs because Lebanon as a country was not clear with its geography as nowadays Lebanon, but we can say that the real appearance of Lebanon and its contacts with the Arab was on the time of khaled Ibn Al Walid who opened Baalabak in 13 A.H and then on the time of Al Wali Amr Ibn Al Aas who opened Beirut and Sida. Then on the ottoman era Lebanon was in safe as the people pay Al Jizzeh to the ottoman government, this system continued till the time of Mohammed Ali family as Egypt and Lebanon had good relationships, especially during the era of king Farouq who helped Lebanon much in its economy crisis and he sent much donations to build mosques and churches in Lebanon.

---

(\* ) The mountainous nature in Lebanon played its role as a refuge for minorities. These minorities gathered in their own communities and

formed the current Lebanese nature, which can be divided into four regions according to the sects in which they are located. However, this division is political in its origin, since it is rarely to see a sect y that is gathered in one area without the other, and the other sects are found in all parts of Lebanon, but in different proportions, but in general, sects in Lebanon can be divided into four main regions<sup>1</sup>:

- 1) The north-western region, which extends from the coast to the top of the mountains and includes Tripoli, Akkar and Sir al-Dinah and most of the inhabitants of this region are Sunni Muslims.
- 2) The area of Mount Lebanon, which includes south of Tripoli, Al Sham, the city of Zahle, central Beirut and most of the population of this region are Christians and most of the Maronites.
- 3) The eastern northern region where the slopes of eastern Akkar Mountains, the northern Bekaa, which includes Baalbek and Hermel and most of the inhabitants of the region are Shiites.
- 4) The southern region where the slopes of Mount Sheikh east to the coast of Saida and Tire in the west and most of the population of this area of the Druze Shiites.

Since the beginning of the 18th century, Lebanon, like other countries in the East, has been subjected to Western interventions to secure the Western countries' trade routes that pass through this region of the world. These countries have found fertile ground to break up the region. As usual, European countries sought to divide Lebanon into regions and sects and didn't concern with what may happen for this country and its inhabitants, but were primarily interested in their trade, and hence Lebanon became, from the half of the nineteenth century, an environment of turmoil and internal wars.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Werner Schmucker ,Krise und ErneuerungimLbanesischenDrusentum , ( Harrsowitz ,Bonn ,1979

<sup>2</sup>محمود حسن عبد العزيز الصراف ، الطائفية اللبنانية من النشأ حتى الازمه ، ( دار الهدايه ، سوهاج ، 1987 ) ، ص9

However, the Egyptian-Lebanese relations developed further in the era of Muhammad Ali Pasha (\*), the founder of modern Egypt's renaissance. Muhammad Ali had given special attention to Lebanon and Syria. This began in the 1930's when the governor of Egypt wanted to annex Lebanon, Syria and Palestine to Egypt. Actually, the Egyptian armies achieved large victories and succeeded in occupying Lebanon and Syria entirely and continued to march to Anatolia<sup>3</sup>.

Ibrahim Pasha (\*) was supported by the inhabitants of Lebanon, especially the Christians and Maronites, where taxes and protect fees (Jizyah) were abolished and there was equal treatment among the Christian population to become like Muslims performing their duties and taking their rights. Moreover, the Christians entered the army to carry out the military service, but the high taxes imposed to finance the war as well as the repeated calls for the military mobilization made the mountain inhabitants resist Ibrahim Pasha, since the Druze at South of Lebanon in 1938 revolted against the Egyptian control, but Ibrahim Pasha succeeded in eliminating this uprising. However, in 1940, when Egypt wanted an agreement with the High Sublime Port to ensure controlling Syria and Lebanon, the Ottoman Empire rejected and supported by Britain, Austria, and Russia and attacked the Egyptian army that was defeated<sup>4</sup>.

---

(\*) Mohamed Ali pasha :He is the founder of modern Egypt , was born in Macedonia in 1769 , Mohamed Ali ruled Egypt from 1805 till 1848 A.D , in his era Egypt was a big country on the economical and the military side,he died in Alexandria in 1849 .

(\*) IbrahimPasha: IbrahimPasha lured the Lebanese Christians and minorities by exempting them from paying taxes and the Jizayah ,so the Christian population were equal to the Muslims performing their duties and taking their rights ,Ibrahim was born in 1789 ,he leded a military campaign to the Arab island and demolished the first Saudi country, Ibrahim pasha had leded Egypt to many victories and in his time the Egyptian control was about on the borders of Istanbul , he died on 10 November 1848.

<sup>3</sup>مرفت أسعد عطالله ، العلاقات بين مصر ولبنان في عهد محمد علي ، ( الهيئة المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القايره ، 2006 ) ، ص44  
<sup>4</sup>تيودور هانف ، لبنان .نعاش في زمن الحرب . من انهيار الدوله الي ائبعاث الأممه ، نقله عن الألمانیه موريس صليبا ، ( مركز الدراسات العربي الأوروبي ، باريس ، 1998 ) ، ص84 .

Egypt always had been seeing Lebanon as Arab country that must be supported, and the Lebanese communities were always in contact with King Farouk, where the King often supported many of the facilities in Lebanon.

The Lebanese associations also requested the support of King Farouk, including the Association for the Construction and Restoration of Mosques in Lebanon, which sent to the ruler of Egypt on October 20, 1937, seeking help from His Majesty King Farouk for its immortal work regarding the construction and restoration of mosques<sup>5</sup>. As result, King Farouk visited Lebanon on September 16, 1946 and the Lebanese newspaper paid a great attention to this visit, since Al Nahar newspaper confirmed that the visit of the King is not entertainment but is a political visit on the first place<sup>6</sup>.

This study is important because it discuss the relation between Egypt and Lebanon in adifficult time on the modern history, this time which was full with many complicated accidents as Baghdad impact, Eisenhower Doctrine, war of 1956 and crisis of 1958 in Lebanon.

This search depended on two old studies, the stance of the United Arab Republic towards Lebanon crisis 1958-1961, master search for Dr/Mohamed Ismail Alhashash , and the explosion of the eastern Arab for Dr/ Georg Qadam .

## **The relationship of Egypt and Lebanon with Syria**

The Egyptian-Syrian relations went through a stalemate before the rule of President Nasser. When Syria went to the liberal and multi-partisan system in 1954, Egypt was in rapid succession towards the absolute individual rule after the revolution of 1952, during which there was the

---

<sup>5</sup> تيودور هانف ، لبنان. تعايش في زمن الحرب . من إنهيار الدوله الي إنبعاث الأممه ، نقله عن الألمانيه موريس صليبا ، ( مركز الدراسات العربي الأوروبي ، باريس ، 1998 ) ، ص 84 .  
<sup>6</sup> وثائق عابدين ، محفظه 125 ، ملف رقم 12 ، الموضوع : مذكره موجز تقرير صحفي للمفوضيه الملكيه في بيروت بشأن الرحله التي قامبها جلاله الملك للبنان .

power struggle between Muhammad Najib and Gamal Abdel Nasser which was ended with Nasser's victory at the end of 1954<sup>7</sup>.

Most of the Syrian parties tended to Muhammad Najib. Hence, the relations between the two countries went through a period of stalemate. During this period, Syria was close to joining the Western and foreign alliances. Had it not been for the idea of neutrality in most sectors of the people within the two countries as soon as the Syrians realized that the Egyptian- British treaty is only an interim agreement, and then the lines between Egypt and Syria converged, and this rapprochement ended with the declaration of the two countries that put forward the idea of military cooperation between them<sup>8</sup>.

The relationship between Lebanon and Syria since the declaration of the two countries had passed many conceptual and political dilemmas since it had always been repeated that Lebanon is a land for the Syrian occupation, that Lebanon is made by the colonial West, and on the other side, there was a common saying, namely, (Amawya Syria who wants to control Lebanon). The difference in attitudes resulted in sharp political and ideological differences between the governments of the two countries and even the Lebanese themselves about the relationship with Syria; this has led to separation and division in the national unity. Unfortunately, all this gives a picture that is not suitable for one people in two states<sup>9</sup>.

After the defeat of the Arab armies in the 1948 war, the Arab peoples revolted against their corrupt regimes, which were considered as the first responsible for the defeat. Political assassinations and military coups began to sweep the Arab countries. President Gamal Abdel Nasser appeared on the scene and the Arab public saw him as the person qualified to lead them, and Abdel Nasser saw that the Arab power lies in their unity as the world is about various conglomerates, such as the Soviet and American blocs, the Commonwealth of English, China and India. There is no room for the survival of the small countries, so Nasser

---

<sup>7</sup> صلاح العقاد ، المشرق العربي المعاصر ، ( مكتبة الانجلو المصريه ، القايره ، 1992-1993 ) ، ص 101  
<sup>8</sup> صلاح العقاد ، المشرق العربي المعاصر ، ( مكتبة الانجلو المصريه ، القايره ، 1992-1993 ) ، ص 101  
<sup>9</sup> علي الجرباوي واخرون ، فلسطين وجنوب لبنان . معركة الاستقلال والتحرير ، الطبعة الأولى ، ( مؤسسسه عبد الحميد شومان للنشر ، الاردن، 2001 ) ، ص 174

sought to unite the Arab countries and launched the slogans of national unity and nationalism<sup>10</sup>. His relation to Syria relates to his study years in the secondary stage since he said in one of his sermons that the pioneers of Arab consciousness had always been in his mind since he was a student. His feelings were vibrating and interacting with everything that was going on in the Arab world, especially with regard to the brutal crimes committed by the French in Syria<sup>11</sup>.

The Egyptian-Syrian rapprochement began during the period of the Cold War and the emergence of foreign alliances in the region. Egypt and Syria agreed to abide by the principle of neutrality and non-adherence to foreign alliances whose hidden goal was to interfere in the policy of the Arab countries. The two countries also opposed the Lebanese position on the Eisenhower Doctrine; the coherence in visions between the two countries in the political issues related to the Arab region had been emerged in the case of the Egyptian-Syrian Union<sup>12</sup>.

The idea of establishing unity between Egypt and Syria was a focal point in the Lebanese interest and defining the attitude towards Egypt, the unity between Egypt and Syria backs to 1954 when Syrian President Shukri al-Quwatli to prepare a full project to achieve unity with Egypt, in which he emphasized that defending the Arab nation would be impossible without unity between Egypt and Syria confirms the strength of the Arabs and defends their issues<sup>13</sup>.

After the entry of Iraq into the Baghdad alliance and going away from Arab countries, the Egyptian-Syrian rapprochement intensified. On March 2, 1955, the two countries signed a joint declaration confirming their rejection of foreign alliances and that they would seek the establishment of the Arab Economic Defense and Cooperation Organization. However, the rapprochement between Egypt and Syria did not satisfy Lebanese President Camille Shimon, who sought to

---

<sup>10</sup> هشام قبيلان ، لبنان ازمه وحلول ، الطبعه الأولى ، ( دار الافاق الجديده ، بيروت، 1978 )، ص26

<sup>11</sup> هشام قبيلان ، لبنان ازمه وحلول ، المرجع السابق ، ص.ص26-27.

<sup>12</sup> سعيد عبد الرازق يوسف ، جمال عبدالناصر ودوره في السياسه المصريه ( 15 يناير 1918م حتي نهايه عام

1956 ) رساله دكتوراه ، ( جامعه الزقازيق ، 1992 ) ، ص389.

<sup>13</sup> سعيد عبد الرازق يوسف ، جمال عبدالناصر ودوره في السياسه المصريه ، مرجع السابق ، ص389.

undermine the cooperation between Egypt and Syria and urged Syria to make concessions before signing any agreement with Egypt. However, President Shimon's attempts failed. Egypt and Syria signed the Military Agreement on October 20, 1955 and established a supreme council of the two countries consisted of the ministers of defense and foreign affairs in the two countries and to form the War Council of Chiefs of Staff of the two countries<sup>14</sup>.

During the visit of the President of the Syrian Parliament to Cairo, the new Arab Charter was signed between Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia in 1955, and President Nasser did not leave a suitable occasion for the Syrian people but participated in it. He also declared in one of his speeches that the pain of Egypt is the pain of Syria, and that Egypt, the whole army and people, will be ready to help the people of Syria and stand and cooperate with them against aggression<sup>15</sup>.

These unions were formed because these Arab people realized the importance of creating Arab allies to have more effective role in the region and the world<sup>16</sup>.

There was a state of uncertainty in the pre-unity period between Egypt and Syria, so Nasser warned in the preliminary talks with the Syrian leaders in 1958 and emphasized on the need that unity should be founded on one political leadership, one army and one parliament and so it was necessary to put some controls and conditions even There is a central unit, not a federal union, that all the existing political parties must dissolve and the delegation of Syrian leaders agreed on these conditions<sup>17</sup>.

On February 1, 1958, President Gamal Abdel Nasser and President Shukri al-Quwatli signed a document for establishing the Arab unity

---

<sup>14</sup> محمود رياض ، مذكرات محمود رياض ، ( دار المستقبل العربي ، القاهرة ، 1980 ) ، ص 102-123  
<sup>15</sup> عباس حسن ، مجموعه خطب وتصريحات وبيانات الرئيس جمال ، القسم الرابع ( مصلحه الإستعلامات ، القاهرة ، فبراير 1962 - يونيو 1964 ) ، ص ص 271-273 .  
<sup>16</sup> يوسف هيكل ، نحو الوحدة العربية ، ( دار الجيل للطباعة والنشر ، القاهرة ، 1988 ) ، ص 4.  
<sup>17</sup> مالكولم كير ، عبد الناصر والحرب العربيه الباردة ، ترجمه عبد الرؤوف احمد عمرو ، الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهرة ، 1997 ، ص ص 37-38 .

between Egypt and Syria in the presence of Syrian Prime Minister Sabri al-Asali, Akram al-Hourani, Speaker of the Syrian Parliament, Abdul Latif al-Baghdadi, Abdul Hakim Amer and Zakaria Mohieldin. They agreed that the name of the new state would be the United Arab Republic and its capital is Cairo. There should be one political leadership represented in the democratic presidential system of government. The head of state should have the executive authority, assisted by ministers appointed by him, who will be accountable to him. The republic will have one flag, one army and one parliament. Referenda had already been conducted on the foundations of unity and the person of the president<sup>18</sup>.

The referendum was called on the unity of Egypt and Syria in one country under the name of the United Arab Republic and its President, based on the decision of the President of the Republic issued on 6 February 1958 to call for the referendum<sup>19</sup>.

In a historic session at Qasr al-Qubba on 1 February 1958, President Gamal Abdel Nasser and President Shukri Al-Quwatli met with representatives of the Republics of Syria and Egypt to finalize and put the final touches of the unity process. Among the attendees were (Sabri Al-Asali, Abdul Latif Al-Baghdadi, Mohsen al-Din, Fakhir al-Kilani, Maamoun al-Kizbari, Hussein al-Shafei, Asaad Harun, Abdul Hakim Amer, Salah al-Din al-Bitar, Kamal al-Din Hussein, Saleh Aqil, Mahmoud Fawzi, and Ali Sabri)<sup>20</sup>.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser issued a decree for suspending the governmental authorities works and ministries throughout the republic on Sunday, 13 Rajab 1377, corresponding to February 1, 1958 to celebrate the establishment of unity between Egypt and Syria<sup>21</sup>. The referendum was held on the unity between Egypt and Syria and its President in

<sup>18</sup>محاضر مجلس الأمة المصري ، مضبطه مجلس الأمة ( ديسمبر 1957-فبراير 1958 ) ، جلسته إعلان قيام الجمهورية العربية المتحدة ، الرئيس عبد الناصر أمام المجلس ، ص2059  
<sup>19</sup>الوقائع المصرية ، عدد غير إعتيادي ، العدد 2-18 ، يناير وفبراير 1958 ، الصادر في 1 فبراير 1958 ، العدد ( 10 ) مكرر ( أ )  
<sup>20</sup>محمود زهدي موسي وآخرون ، الوزارات المصريه 1953-1961 ، الجزء الثاني ، ( الهيئة المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ، 1989 ) ص 145 .  
<sup>21</sup>الوقائع المصرية ، عدد غير إعتيادي ، العدد 2-18 ، يناير وفبراير 1958 ، الصادر في 1 فبراير 1958 ، العدد ( 12 ) مكرر ( ب ) ، ص 1 .

accordance with the law on the exercise of political rights. The referendum was approved by the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the people of Syria on unity and announced the establishment of the United Arab Republic. President Gamal Abdel Nasser was elected as the President of the United Arab Republic. The Syrian people and the people of Egypt will not forget what Syrian President Shukri al-Quwatli and Egyptian President Gamal had done in order to achieve the Arab unity and strengthen the Arab ranks and their efforts to achieve that wish for the Arabs and the future of Arab countries<sup>22</sup>. The people of Syria and the people of Egypt will not forget what was done by Syrian President Shukri al-Quwatli and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in order to achieve Arab unity and strengthen the Arab ranks and their efforts to achieve this security for the Arabs and the future of Arab countries.<sup>23</sup>

However, the unity with Syria was not only a military and political one but was a unity at all levels, where Cairo and Damascus worked to preserve the Arab cultural heritage during the period of Ottoman Turkish rule. Syria also followed the same economic policy as in Egypt, so the two countries thought to establish the unity between them since the economic interests of the two countries support the idea<sup>24</sup>.

### **Lebanese attitude towards the announced of the UAR.**

On declaring the establishment of the United Arab Republic in February 1958, Lebanon was at that time the most difficult stage in modern history as a result of the Lebanese crisis where the Lebanese were divided into two sections, one of them wants to liberate from the West and the direction to the policy of neutrality and proximity to its Arab neighbors and another section wants to cooperate with the West and see that his interest of Lebanon would be in dealing with the West was due to the

---

<sup>22</sup>محمود زهدي موسي واخرون ، الوزارات المصريه 1953-1961 ، مرجع سابق ، ص 16 .  
<sup>23</sup>محاضر مجلس الأمة المصري ، مضبطه مجلس الأمة (ديسمبر 1957- فبراير 1958 ) ، الفصل التشريعي الأول ، دور الإنعقاد العادي الأول ، مضبطه الجلسة 45 ، المجلد الثالث ، ، كلمه عبد اللطيف البغدادي رئيس المجلس يوم الأربعاء 5 فبراير 1958 ، ص2056  
<sup>24</sup>محمد مصطفى صفوت ، وحده مصر وسوريه ، ( مطبعه جامعه الإسكندريه ، جامعه الإسكندريه فبراير 1958 ) ، ص 27 .

mistakes of the Lebanese political system in the bias to one of the two superpowers in the Middle East.<sup>25</sup>

As a result, when the unity between Egypt and Syria responded to the anti-Lebanese government group and the Arab national unity and the Arab unity represented by deep meanings and noble feelings, as for the other team and the government and the Lebanese government that tends to the west direction, it had received the news of unity between Egypt and Syria and the United Arab Republic much Of concern, where only Egypt and Syria will inevitably followed by dragging Lebanon into this unity, which will affect the independence of Lebanon and the Lebanese government and its press began to create crises with the United Arab Republic and submitted many complaints to the Arab University and the United Nations<sup>26</sup>

The Lebanese reactions differed on the official, partisan and popular levels towards the establishment of the United Arab Republic.

a- The official situation

There is no doubt that the United Arab Republic contradicted with the desire of the Lebanese President Camille Chamoun, who felt that the Egyptian-Syrian unity was a threat to Lebanon's existence. Lebanese President Camille Chamoun rejected the unity and was fully supported by his foreign minister, as the Lebanese president hoped that the Syrian Council of Representatives disapproved the establishment of the Egyptian-Syrian Union and he depended on the Syrian opposition, but ultimately their plans failed<sup>27</sup>.

The Egyptian ambassador in Beirut, Abdelhamid Ghalib, explained in his speeches to Cairo that the Lebanese president hides hatred for this unity, as he did not comment on any word after announcing his visit to President Shukri al-Quwatli to Egypt to declare the unity and

---

<sup>25</sup>سليم حداد ، قوات الأمم المتحدة المؤقتة العامله في لبنان... ظروف انشائها... تنظيمها..  
<sup>26</sup>احمد يوسف أحمد واخرون ، أربعون عاما علي الوحدة المصريه السوريه ، 1958 ( مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسيه والأستراتيجيه ، القايره ، 1999 ) ، ص 97 .  
<sup>27</sup>أنتوني ناتنج ، ناصر ، ترجمه: شاكر إبراهيم سعيد ، ( الطبعة الأولى ، دار مكتبه هلال ، بيروت ، 1985 ) ص

he continued to keep his reservation and silence after the declaration of unity and that he was communicating with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq to prevent the signing of an agreement even he did not express his opinion or joy and remained in contact with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq until the referendum on unity was conducted, but after the unity and support of the Arab peoples and the spread of celebrations in Lebanon expressing their joy with the news of the unity, President Shimon had to show his supports the Arab unity and sends his congratulations to President Abdel Nasser.<sup>28</sup>

As for the Lebanese government, its reaction was different, despite the statement of Prime Minister Sami al-Solh in response to the Lebanese government's ban on pro-unity demonstrations. "Lebanon does not object to the unity between Egypt and Syria but supports it because it involves the right to self-determination), but it was clear that the position was the same as the position of President Shimon, where the United Arab Republic was on contrary to the Lebanese government's desire<sup>29</sup>.

This was clear from the actions of the Lebanese Foreign Minister Charles Malik during his meeting with US Secretary of State McClintock, where he expressed concern and dissatisfaction with the unity between Egypt and Syria. He explained to the American ambassador that this unity would have a great danger and a negative impact not only on Lebanon but on the region as a whole. He explained also that Syria did not accept unity only after the great pressure exerted by Egypt on Syria. The position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was clear during the meeting of the Lebanese parliamentary when the subject of unity was put between Egypt and

---

<sup>28</sup> وثائق وزارة الخارجية المصريه ، الأرشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 863 ، ملف 33 ج1 (بيروت) ، كتاب السفير المصري في لبنان الي وكيل وزارة الخارجيه ، بشأن مقابله السيد كميل شمعون يوم 1958/1/31 ، 1058/2/1

<sup>29</sup> ابراهيم محمد ابراهيم ، مقدمات الوحده المصريه السوريه 1943-1958 ، كتاب رقم 127 ، سلسله تاريخ المصريين ، ( الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القايره ، 1998 ) ، ص225.

Syria, where deliberately ignore the subject and not to express his opinion about it<sup>30</sup>.

Cairo was aware that the Lebanese government was not satisfied with the unity with Syria. However, it was waiting to be sure of the official position of the Lebanese government through its recognition of the United Arab Republic. It was also mentioned that the Egyptian-Syrian Unity Document was signed on 1 February 1958. The referendum and electing the president was conducted on February 21, 1958, but the Lebanese government officially recognized the United Arab Republic only on February 27, 1958, despite the rapid recognition by the Lebanese government of the Hashemite Union between Iraq and Jordan, where the Lebanese government was quick to offer congratulations even before the parliamentary in the two countries voted for this unity.

In addition, there was speed recognition and acceptance by the Lebanese government of the Eisenhower project. Thus, It is clear that the delay of Lebanon's recognition of the United Arab Republic confirms its unwillingness to recognize the United Arab Republic but was forced to do so as a result of the pressures of the members of the Lebanese Parliament and the opposition Lebanese parties, as well as the celebrations of the Lebanese people alone<sup>31</sup>.

In spite of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's continuing assertion that the United Arab Republic will defend Lebanon against any foreign interference and that the independence of Lebanon concerns the United Arab Republic, President Nasser was keen in his statements to reassure the Lebanese about Lebanon's independence and affirmed its commitment to defending Lebanon and the interests of its Arab people. His instructions were clear to his assistants that he must preserve Lebanon's borders and sectarian diversity and warned against trying to tamper with this entity. However, Lebanese

---

<sup>30</sup> وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الارشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 578 ، ملف 8/139/140 ج 2 ، كتاب السفير المصري في لبنان الي وكيل وزاره الخارجيه ، بشأن صدي اعلان الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده في لبنان 1958/2/3 ،

<sup>31</sup> حسين السيد حسين سالم ، العلاقات السياسيه بين مصر ولبنان 1943-1958 ، مرجع سابق ، ص 141

President Camille Chamoun and his government had a conservative attitude towards the establishment of the United Arab Republic, as the Lebanese president wrongly thought that the Egyptian-Syrian unity represents a threat to the independence of Lebanon and his entity<sup>32</sup>.

In spite of the position of Lebanese President Camille Chamoun against the Egyptian-Syrian unity and his hostility to President Nasser, he sent his cable to Abdel Nasser and Shukry Al-Quwatli congratulating the Arab unity and congratulated Abdel Nasser on his election as President of the United Arab Republic. He wished unity and prosperity for unity, and in his message, he emphasized the strong relationship between Lebanon and the United Arab Republic and the joy of the Lebanese people with this unity.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Lebanese parties' attitude towards the Egyptian-Syrian union**

The Lebanese parties differed with regard to the Egyptian-Syrian unity, but it can be said that most of the Lebanese parties were supportive and welcoming in the formation of the United Arab Republic, not only the Phalangist Party, which was characterized by its hostility to the unambiguous unity. This was reflected in the statements of its president, Pierre Gemayel, who said that "it is necessary to unify the hearts before borders", as well as the Syrian National Party, whose president launched a sharp attack on the unity on 20 February 1958. Otherwise, most of the Lebanese parties agreed to welcome the unity between Egypt and Syria. The parties were at the forefront of these parties was Najdah Party, which confirmed its support for the Arab United Republic through the statements of its President Adnan al-Hakim, who sent two messages, one addressed to President Abdel Nasser, congratulating him on the unity and wishing further progress and prosperity for the people of the United Arab Republic, the other was directed to President Shukri al-Quwatli,

---

<sup>32</sup>عباس حسن ، مجموعه خطب الرئيس عبد الناصر ، مرجع سابق ، ص73.

<sup>33</sup>محمد اسماعيل الحشاش ، موقف الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده تجاه الازمه اللبنانيه 1958-1961 ، موقف الجمهوريه العربيه تجاه الازمه اللبنانيه 1958 ، رساله ماجستير ، ( جامعه طنطا ، 2005 ) ، ص 140 .

congratulating him on the establishment of the Arab unity and a reminder that history will not forget his efforts to unite the Arab nation and the Arab word. The Najdah Party also provided material support to the United Arab Republic in providing free transport to Syrians living in Lebanon so that they could go to Syria to vote in the referendum and return to Lebanon.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, the Communist Party announced its support for the Arab unity between Egypt and Syria as long as it fights colonialism and seeks to eliminate it. As for the Socialist Progressive Party, its president, Mr. Kamal Jumblatt, sent his message to President Gamal Abdel Nasser to congratulate him and expressed the joy of the party and his support for the establishment of the United Arab Republic. The National Authority Party held large festival during which it called for the heads of parties to celebrate the establishment of the United Arab Republic<sup>35</sup>.

As for Al-Tahrir Party, a speech was delivered by its president Rashid Karamiduring which raised the enthusiasm of the audience for the Arab unity in which he praised the efforts of Presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Shukri al-Quwatli in the unity and stressed that history will not forget them, and the National Union Front considered the unity between Egypt and Syria as just the beginning of the Arab reunification in order to realize the great unity which is the hope of the Arabs<sup>36</sup>.

Following the declaration of the Arab unity, the Arab nationalists met with the members of the Lebanese Baath party and agreed that Lebanon's interest in joining the Egyptian-Syrian unity and its need to get rid of the enemies of Arab nationalism and pro-Western, and that the Arab unity did not satisfy the United States and the Western powers, which has colonial objectives in the region. They saw that the Arab unity will strengthen the countries of the region politically and economically, making it difficult to control the region by the west and will hold the

---

<sup>34</sup>حسين السيد حسين سالماني ، مرجع سابق ، ص145

<sup>35</sup>وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الارشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 578 ، ملف 139/140 ج2 ، كتاب السفير المصري في لبنان الي وكيل وزاره الخارجيه ، بشأن رد فعل قيام الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده لدي الحزب الشيوعي في لبنان ، 1958/2/11.

<sup>36</sup>حسين السيد حسين سالماني ، العلاقات السياسيه بين مصر ولبنان 1943-1958 ، مرجع سابق ، ص 144

process of monopoly of oil and gas fields. As result, the United States worked to develop a plan to eliminate the Arab unity and relied on King Saud, who began to conduct a conspiracy to overthrow the government in Egypt and to topple Abdel Nasser, this conspiracy was carried out by (Mustafa Maraghi, Mohammed Salah al-Din) who were arrested and sentenced to prison after discovering the conspiracy of King Saud and his cooperation with the West<sup>37</sup>.

Thus, it is clear that the Lebanese parties are in favor of the United Arab Republic. Some parties have provided moral and material support to the United Arab Republic. Some party leaders have sought to expand the circle of unity to include other Arab countries in order to unite the Arabs to face the colonialism that threatens their land.

### **C) The Lebanese parliament and the public's attitude:**

The Lebanese Parliament was in favor of establishing the United Arab Republic, since the parliamentary \ Ahmad Osseiran on 3 February 1958, sent a letter to Gamal Abdel Nasser and Shukri Al Quwatli congratulating them on the occasion of the Arab unity. During Abdel Nasser's visit to Syria after the referendum on unity, the masses of the Lebanese people went to Syria to watch Gamal Abdel Nasser and hear his speech. In addition, Lebanese delegation under the presidency of the Prime Minister Rashid Karami went to meet with him on February 26 and addressed a speech in which he stressed that the United Republic would be the protective shield for Lebanon from any foreign intervention and that the United Arab Republic will provide the material and moral support to Lebanon in the event of any threat to security and stability. Lebanon<sup>38</sup>.

The people supported the conversion because of the love they felt in the words of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who always called on the Arab unity to face the colonialism and its allies when determining the unity between Egypt and Syria. The celebrations filled the Lebanese street

---

<sup>37</sup>الجمهورية ، 1515 ، 9 / 2 / 1958 ، ص 4 .

<sup>38</sup>احمد حمروش ، ثوره 23 يوليو ، مصر والعسكريون مجتمع جمال عبد الناصر ، عبد الناصر والعرب ، الجزء الاول ، ( الهيئة المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ) ، 1992 ، ص1059.

where the schools and universities had been suspended and the pupils and students went out in a humiliating demonstration of Arab unity applauding Gamal Abdel Nasser and the students of the American University in Beirut congratulated President Nasser and President Shukri Al-Quwatli on the occasion of the unity<sup>39</sup>.

The Maronite Patriarch also praised the efforts of President Gamal Abdel Nasser to establish the Arab unity, in a statement to the Lebanese newspaper lauding the policy of President Gamal Abdel Nasser in his fight against colonialism and the quest for reform and unification of the Arab ranks<sup>40</sup>.

At the time of the Lebanese crisis, the Lebanese government imagined that the United Arab Republic was behind the opposition. This led to the deterioration of the relations between the United Arab Republic and Lebanon. During the period of President Shimon's rule, there were differences and contradictions. It reached a conflict between Lebanon and the United Arab Republic within the Arab League and the Security Council resulting in the American intervention in Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese President and thus developed the idea of internal crisis between the Lebanese themselves as a result of the policy adopted by of President Shimon and his attempt to renew his rule term, the matter that had led to a dispute between the Arab nationalism and the Lebanese entity. Thus, the States anti-United Arab Republic and the policy of President Abdel Nasser could make the armed revolution in Lebanon, a struggle over the fate of Lebanon and its entity, as result, the natural relations between the two countries didn't return but after the end of Shimon's rule<sup>41</sup>.

Unfortunately, President Abdel Nasser, the Syrian people suffered from bad economic conditions, where the prices of all goods had risen

---

<sup>39</sup> محمد اسماعيل الحشاش ، موقف الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده تجاه الازمه اللبنانيه 1958-1961 ، 2005 ، مرجع سابق ، ص 138 .  
<sup>40</sup> وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الأرشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 34 ، ميكروفيلم 23 ، ملف 5 ، كتاب سفاره الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده ببيروت للسيد وكيل وزاره الخارجيه بشأن تصريح البطريرك الماروني عن جهود الرئيس عبدالناصر في قيام الوحده العربيه .

<sup>41</sup> حمدي الطاهري ، سياسه الحكم في لبنان ، مرجع سابق ، ص 492 .

significantly as a result of economic restrictions and increased customs duties on imported goods, in addition to the drought that hit Syria for three consecutive years. In addition, President Abdel Nasser had sent Abdel Hameed al-Sarraj as the head of the Syrian territory Council to impose his influence on the Syria, but his administration was not at the level of the aspirations of President Abdel Nasser and therefore, he sent someone who trust him as a special representative of President Abdel Nasser and authorized him to use the force to extend his control over the territory. These methods have raised the anger and resentment among the officers of the Syrian army, as they felt dissatisfied with their subordination to the Egyptian officers, and despite the fact that the marshal\ Abdul Hakim Amer was wise and patient in dealing with the situation in Syria, but that did not work where the Syrians felt isolation due to their lack of participation in political life, especially after the dissolution of the Baath Party. All these circumstances illustrate the magnitude of suffering that the Syrian people lived there. All of this affected the popularity of President Nasser and the Arab unity. There was great resentment in the ranks of the Syrian army. Some of the officers arrested Marshal\ Abdul Hakim Amer on September 28, 1961 and sent him to Cairo and then announced the secession from the United Arab Republic<sup>42</sup>.

Several regional and international powers have worked to end the Egyptian-Syrian unity. These parties were concerned about the increase of Egyptian influence. There were several organizations in the Syrian army that were formed to end the unity; they were four organizations (Haider al-Kubbari, Abdullah Al Sheik Attaya, AkramDiry and Abd al-Karim al-Nahlawi organization). A group of officers managed to carry out the coup d'état on the night of September 28, 1961. Before the evening came, Syria announced its withdrawal from the unity.

Jordan's quick response to support the Syrian secession under the leadership of King\ Hussine and expressed its happiness and recognized

---

<sup>42</sup> مالکولم کیر ، عبدالناصر والحرب العربيه الباردة 1958-1970 ، مرجع سابق ، ص 53-54 .

of the new Syrian government<sup>43</sup>. Jordan's situation confirms beyond doubt Jordan's knowledge of the movement of the officers and its coup plan in advance and even its support. However, Jordan made clear that Jordan's recognition of Syrian secession was not as fast as President Nasser's recognition of the separation of the Hashemite Union. According to British documents, Jordan helped to the secession with the money and supported them by issuing statements supporting the secession. King Hussein delivered a speech in October 1961, in which he stressed most of his support for Syrian secession from unity and that what Syria did was a true expression of freedom and that Syria has begun to regain its true status as the heart of Arabism. In addition, Jordan has moved its army on the Syrian border. The British ambassador has seen that Jordan's aim is to prevent the Egyptian president from thinking about a military attempt to restore Syria once again to the unity and overthrow the coup. King Hussein also announced his readiness to help the Syrians if the need is to be<sup>44</sup>.

President Nasser said that the lesson we got from the fall of the unity is that the unity has enemies not only Israel, but other allies from the heart of the Arab nation who hide hostility to it because the unity threatens their ally Israel to disappear and that the enemies of unity are colonialists and his collaborators of reactionaries and opportunists and agents and these elements join hands with Israel to undermine the unity<sup>45</sup>.

Syria's secession from Egypt and its departure from the United Arab Republic was the first of the Egyptian-Arab political crises. The Syrian separation from Egypt followed by a violent attack on the Egyptian regime from the Arab countries, especially Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq. Therefore, President Nasser had to abolish the Confederation between Egypt and Yemen, The withdrawal of Egypt from the Arab League, but this decision has not been implemented and these decisions have a negative impact in the hearts of Egyptians, who were

---

<sup>43</sup> جمال زكريا قاسم ، مصر الحديثه ، دوريه سنويه ، ( مطبعه دار الكتب والوثائق القوميہ ، القاہرہ ، 2013 ) العدد 12 ، ص 323.

<sup>44</sup> عبد الحميد عبد الجليل شلبي ، موقف الاردن من انفصال الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده 1961 ، دوريه سابقه ، مصر الحديثه ، ص 323 .

<sup>45</sup> حسن عباس ، مجموعہ خطب وتصريحات وبيانات الرئيس جمال عبدالناصر ، مرجع سابق ، ص 27-28.

hoping to reunite the Arab on a single word to face the challenges and dangers facing the region<sup>46</sup>.

The division of the Syrian people towards the issue of secession, where a category of the Syrian people felt the psychological comfort of the secession incident, which is the same category that was supported by the Arab unity and to President Nasser and this category was interested in the continuation of unity, but what it suffered from the level of economy and cost impact on its opinion in unity. The second category of the Syrian people was not in favor of secession, although their proportion is few compared to the other category, and the Syrian secession was a major challenge to the Syrian leaders who had lost their popularity on which they depend, and Syria lost its balance Internationally, it also faced a fierce attack from Cairo and its media campaigns, which Syria presented to the Arabs as a state that does not care or take the Arab unity seriously.<sup>47</sup>

The political leadership in Cairo and Damascus agreed to hold a series of meetings to resolve the existing dispute between them and to work on the establishment of a new Arab unity on the basis of strong grounds. The negotiation began with Abdul Karim Zuhour, leader of the Baath Party, but Nasser refused and insisted that the negotiations must be with Salah al-Din Bitar and Michel Aflq, since these two men represent the Baath Party in Nasser's opinion, and the initial meetings between the parties interested in clearing the air and Abdel Nasser has insisted that before talking on the foundations of a new unit y, the fact must appear which indicates that the Baath Party and its members are those who betrayed the Egyptian Syrian unity. The leaders of Baath party have already recognized that the separation from Egypt was a fundamental betrayal of the principles. Abdel Nasser asserted that there was a mistake in the Syrian political parties and that the Baath party was fighting the United Arab Republic in various ways even though they had proposed the dissolution of the parties. The Baathists encouraged the ministers to resign from the government unity, and the resignation of Salah al-Bitar in

---

<sup>46</sup> رفعت سيد احمد علي ، ثوره الجزائر قصه جمال عبد الناصر كامله من الميلاد الي الموت 1918 – 1970 ، ( دار الهدى ، القاهره ، 1993 ) ، ص412-413 .  
<sup>47</sup> مالكولم كير ، عبد الناصر والحرب العربيه الباردة ، مرجع سابق ، ص74 .

December 1958 with others from the Baath Party and made their resignations in a provocative and without giving reasons, and when the secession was made, the two leaders of the Baathist Salah al-Bitar and Akram al-Hourani were among the signatories to the statement in favor of separation was to put pressure on Abdul Nasser<sup>48</sup>.

In spite of all the above accusations directed by Abdel Nasser to the Baath Party and their involvement in the failure of unity and separation, but the leaders of the party had tolerated Nasser and sometimes his arrogance because they were in need of a quick rapprochement with Cairo to gain the legitimacy of their regime in Syria and the negotiations continued between Nasser and the members of the Baath Party, but Nasser was worried as a result of the insistence of the Baathists in Syria and Iraq that the unity must be integrative and not a tripartite alliance. Nasser was occupied by the thinking the matter, since it was not clear at the same time who governs Syria and Iraq, and Syriawitnessed difficult stage at home where the conflict between Baathists and a group of army officers. This period witnessed also the formation of more than one government, but the situation was quiet in 1966 when Nasser called the Syrian Prime Minister (Zein) to Cairo and the signed a joint defense treaty with which the political relations between the two countries returned to the previous status. In fact, this agreement had been made after That Egypt noticed that it Israel may attack Syria, so that Egyptcooperated with Syria in order to deter Israel from attacking Syria which is in an alliance with Egypt<sup>49</sup>.

On 26 May 1964, President Abdel Nasser and President Abdel Salam Aref signed a political coordination agreement between Cairo and Baghdad stipulating the formation of a joint presidential council to study and carry out the necessary steps to implement the unity between the two

---

<sup>48</sup> عبد اللطيف البغدادي ، مذكرات عبد اللطيف البغدادي ، الجزء الثاني ، ( المكتب المصري الحديث ، القاهرة ، 1977 ) ، ص.ص66.65  
<sup>49</sup> مالكولم كير ، عبدالناصر والحرب العربيه الباردة 1958- 1970 ، مرجع سابق ، ص219-220 .

countries. Despite the meetings held between Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad to achieve the new unity, It did not appear to the light.<sup>50</sup>

## Conclusion

According to the above mentioned, it is clear that there was a division in Lebanon's position towards unity between Egypt and Syria, since the Lebanese people, national parties and opposition saw that the unity between Egypt and Syria represents a victory for the Arab nation as well as the celebrations and demonstrations supporting the Arab unity that spread in the Lebanese cities and streets. However, the Lebanese President Camille Chamoun, despite his western trends, supported the Arab unity at the beginning, although the support ostensibly since he was always conducting conspiracies against the United Arab Republic in cooperation with the United States and the West

## Bibliography

### A – Documents of the Egyptian ministry of foreign affairs

وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الأرشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 34 ، ميكروفيلم 23 ، ملف 5 ، كتاب سفاره الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده ببيروت للسيد وكيل وزاره الخارجيه بشأن تصريح البطريك الماروني عن جهود الرئيس عبدالناصر في قيام الوحده العربيه .

وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الارشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 578 ، ملف 139/140 ج/2 ، كتاب السفير المصري في لبنان الي وكيل وزاره الخارجيه ، بشأن رد فعل قيام الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده لدي الحزب الشيوعي في لبنان ، 1958/2/11 .

وثائق وزاره الخارجيه المصريه ، الأرشيف السري الجديد ، محفظه 863 ، ملف 33 ج 1 (بيروت) ، كتاب السفير المصري في لبنان الي وكيل وزاره الخارجيه ، بشأن مقابله السيد كميل شمعون يوم 1058/2/1 ، 1958/1/31

### B – Abdeen Documents

وثائق عابدين ، محفظه 125 ، ملف رقم 12 ، الموضوع : مذكره موجز تقرير صحفي للمفوضيه الملكيه في بيروت بشأن الرحله التي قام بها جلاله الملك للبنان .

<sup>50</sup> ملحم قرمان ، تاريخ لبنان الحديث ، الجزء الأول ، الطبعة الثانيه ، ( المؤسسه الجامعيه للدراسات والنشر والتوزيع ، بيروت ، 1981 ) ، ص 106

### C- Egyptian Council

محاضر مجلس الأمة المصري ، مضبطه مجلس الأمة ( ديسمبر 1957-فبراير 1958 ) ، جلسته إعلان قيام الجمهورية العربية المتحدة ، الرئيس عبد الناصر أمام المجلس ، ص2059

### D – Periodicals

-عبد الحميد عبد الجليل شلبي ، موقف الاردن من انفصال الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده 1961 ، مصر الحديثه.

-جمال زكريا قاسم ، مصر الحديثه ، دوريه سنويه ، ( مطبعه دار الكتب والوثائق القومييه ، القايره ، 2013 ) العدد 12 .

-الوقائع المصريه ، عدد غير إعتيادي ، العدد 2-18 ، يناير وفبراير 1958 ، الصادر في 1 فبراير 1958 ، العدد ( 12 ) مكرر ( ب ) .

-الوقائع المصريه ، عدد غير إعتيادي ، العدد 2-18 ، يناير وفبراير 1958 ، الصادر في 1 فبراير 1958 ، العدد ( 10 ) مكرر ( أ ) .  
الجمهوريه ، 1515 ، 1958 / 2 / 9 .

-سيد محمد عبد العال ، مجله كليه الآداب بقنا ، الدراسات الإنسانيه ، ( دوريه أكاديميه علميه ، العدد الخامس عشر ، 2005).

### E – Personal Notes

-عبد اللطيف البغدادي ، مذكرات عبد اللطيف البغدادي ، الجزء الثاني ، ( المكتب المصري الحديث ، القايره ، 1977 ) ،

### F – Foreign References

Werner Schmucker ,Krise und ErneuerungimLbanesischenDrusentum , ( Harrsowitz ,Bonn ,1979).

### G –TranslatedReferences

أنتوني ناتنج ، ناصر ، ترجمه: شاكِر إبراهيم سعيد ، ( الطبعة الأولى ، دار مكتبه هلال ، بيروت ، 1985 )

تيودور هانف ، لبنان . تعايش في زمن الحرب . من إنبهار الدوله الي إنبعاث الأممه ، نقله عن الألمانية موريس صليبا ، ( مركز الدراسات العربي الأوروبي ، باريس ، 1998 ) .

-مالكولم كير ، عبد الناصر والحرب العربيه البارده 1970 – 1958 ، ترجمه عبد الرؤوف احمد عمرو ، (الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ، 1997 .

## H – Arabic References

احمد حمروش ، ثوره 23 يوليو ، مصر والعسكريون مجتمع جمال عبد الناصر ، عبد الناصر والعرب ، الجزء الاول ، ( الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ) .

-أحمد يوسف أحمد واخرون ، أربعون عاما علي الوحده المصريه السوريه ، 1958 ( مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسيه والأستراتيجيه ، القاهره ، 1999 ) .

- حسن عباس ، مجموعه خطب وتصريحات وبيانات الرئيس جمال عبد الناصر ، الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده ، القسم الرابع ( مصلحه الإستعلامات ، القاهره ، فبراير 1962 – يونيه 1964 ) .

-حمدي الطاهري ، سياسه الحكم في لبنان ، ( دار النهضه العربيه ، القاهره ، 1968 ) .

-رفعتسيداحمدعلي ، ثوره الجنرال قصه جمال عبد الناصر كامله من الميلاد الي الموت 1918 – 1970 ، ( دار الهدي ، القاهره ، 1993 ) .

-سليم حداد ، قوات الأمم المتحده المؤقتة العامله في لبنان... ظروف انشائها... تنظيمها... والمهام الموكله إليها ، ( المؤسسه الجامعيه للدراسات والنشر والتوزيع ، بيروت ، 1953 ) .

-صلاح العقاد ، المشرق العربي المعاصر ، ( مكتبه الانجلو المصريه ، القاهره ، 1992-1993 ) .

-علي الجرباوي واخرون ، فلسطين وجنوب لبنان..معركه الاستقلال والتحرير، الطبعة الأولى ، ( مؤسسه عبد الحميد شومان للنشر ، الاردن، 2001 ) .

-كميل شمعون ، مراحل الإستقلال...لبنان ودول العرب في المؤتمرات الدوليه ، ( مكتبه صادر ، بيروت ، 1949 ) .

-محمد مصطفى صفوت ، وحده مصر وسوريه ، (مطبعه جامعه الإسكندريه ، جامعه الإسكندريه ، فبراير 1958 ) .

- محمود حسن عبد العزيز الصراف ، الطائفيه اللبنانيه من النشأ حتي الازمه ، ( دار الهدايه ، سوهاج ، 1987 ) ،

- محمود زهدي موسي واخرون ، الوزارات المصريه 1953-1961 ، الجزء الثاني ، ( الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ، 1989 ) .

- مرفت أسعد عطاالله ، العلاقات بين مصر ولبنان في عهد محمد علي ، ( الهيئه المصريه العامه للكتاب ، القاهره ، 2006 ) .

- يوسف هيكل ، نحو الوحده العربيه ، ( دار الجيل للطباعه والنشر ، القاهره ، 1988 ) .

- عبد العزيز سليمان نوار ، تاريخ لبنان الحديث ، ( مكتبه سعيد رأفت ، القاهره ، 1974 ) .

- هشام قبلان ، لبنان ازمه وحلول ، الطبعه الأولى ، ( دار الافاق الجديده ، بيروت ، 1978 ) ،

### K – University Thesis

- حسين السيد حسين سالماني ، العلاقات السياسيه بين مصر ولبنان 1943-1958 ، رساله ماجستير ، غير منشوره ، كليه الأداب ، جامعه عين شمس ، 2008 .

- سعيد عبد الرازق يوسف ، جمال عبدالناصر ودوره في السياسه المصريه ، ( 15 يناير 1918م حتي نهايه عام 1956م ) رساله دكتوراه ، جامعه الزقازيق ، 1992 .

- محمد اسماعيل الحشاش ، موقف الجمهوريه العربيه المتحده تجاه الازمه اللبنانيه 1958-1961 ، رساله ماجستير ، جامعه طنطا ، 2005 .