



# Resource Guide to Arab Parliaments

2011



This publication was produced with the financial support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).  
It was prepared by the State University of New York / Center for International Development.

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The Program to Strengthen the Lebanese Parliament Through Development of a Legislative Resource Center in Lebanon (PSLP) is a United States Agency for International Development-funded legislative strengthening program designed to strengthen the administrative support services of the Lebanese Parliament and assist the Parliament in the establishment of a resource center which will serve as a leader in information and training in the Arab world. The program is implemented by the State University of New York / Center for International Development (SUNY/CID).

SUNY/CID is a leading university-based international development center enhancing knowledge and practice in the area of governance and policy making. Over the past quarter century, SUNY/CID has provided technical assistance to over 30 parliaments and regional parliamentary associations worldwide.

This Resource Guide to Arab Parliaments provides information on selected books, articles, reports, conference papers and websites on legislative institutions, and governance, in the Arab world. The Resource Guide includes resources from 1993 to date and aims to assist researchers in Arab parliaments by providing them with a compilation of possible reference materials.

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## I Legislative Studies and Legislative Development in Arab Countries

This section provides references and websites on the internal rules and regulations of Arab legislative bodies, evaluation of the institutional performance of some of these legislatures, manuals to enhance legislative work, comparative perspective on the functions of parliamentary committees, overviews on MPs' immunity, studies on parliamentary reform and development and the roles and functions of parliaments in the Arab world.

### a. General Resources on Arab Parliaments and Arab Parliamentary Websites

1) **Arab Parliaments** - [www.arabparliaments.org](http://www.arabparliaments.org)

Provides access to a wealth of parliamentary development resources, such as studies, policy guidance and links to networks and databases related to the Arab world.

2) **Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU)** - [www.arab-ipu.org](http://www.arab-ipu.org)

Provides information on the activities, publications, conferences and workshops held by the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union as well as country profiles of the 22 member countries.

3) **Arab Parliamentary Database.** (2010). Legal texts of Arab legislative bodies. Retrieved from Arab Legal Portal: <http://www.arab-ipu.org/pdb/>

Provides the full text of the constitutions and laws and bylaws that govern the functioning of Arab legislative institutions.

4) **Program on Governance in the Arab Region (POGAR)** - [www.pogar.org](http://www.pogar.org)

Provides access to POGAR's e-library comprising books, articles, reports and news on Arab legislatures and other government institutions.

5) **Arab Parliaments' Websites:** The websites of Arab parliaments mostly provide information on their constitution, internal rules and regulations, members, legislative sessions, laws passed, committees and committee work.

- **The Algerian National Council** - [www.majliselouma.dz](http://www.majliselouma.dz)
- **The Algerian National People's Assembly** - [www.apn-dz.org](http://www.apn-dz.org)
- **The Bahraini Council of Representatives** - [www.nuwab.gov.bh](http://www.nuwab.gov.bh)
- **The Bahraini Shura Council** - [www.shura.bh](http://www.shura.bh)
- **The Comoros Assembly of the Union** - [www.auc.km](http://www.auc.km)
- **The Djibouti Republic, National Assembly** - [www.assemblee-nationale.dj](http://www.assemblee-nationale.dj)
- **The Egyptian People's Assembly** - [www.parliament.gov.eg](http://www.parliament.gov.eg)
- **The Egyptian Advisory Council** - [www.shoura.gov.eg](http://www.shoura.gov.eg)
- **The Iraqi Council of Representatives** - [www.parliament.iq](http://www.parliament.iq)
- **The Jordanian House of Representatives** - [www.representatives.jo](http://www.representatives.jo)
- **The Jordanian Senate** - [www.senate.jo](http://www.senate.jo)
- **The Kuwaiti National Assembly** - [www.majlesalommah.net](http://www.majlesalommah.net)
- **The Lebanese National Assembly** - [www.lp.gov.lb](http://www.lp.gov.lb)
- **The Libyan General People's Congress** - [www.gpccongress.org.ly](http://www.gpccongress.org.ly)
- **The Mauritanian National Assembly** - [www.assembleenationale.mr](http://www.assembleenationale.mr)
- **The Mauritanian Senate** - [www.senat.mr](http://www.senat.mr)
- **The Moroccan House of Representatives** - [www.parlement.ma](http://www.parlement.ma)
- **The Moroccan House of Councillors** - [www.conseillers.ma](http://www.conseillers.ma)
- **The Omani Consultative Council** - [www.shura.om](http://www.shura.om)
- **The Omani State Council** - [www.statecouncil.om](http://www.statecouncil.om)
- **The Palestinian Legislative Council** - <http://www.plc.gov.ps/ar/default.aspx>
- **The Palestinian National Council** - <http://www.palestinepnc.org>
- **The Consultative Council of Saudi Arabia** - [www.shura.gov.sa](http://www.shura.gov.sa)
- **The Sudanese Council of States** - [www.councilofstates.gov.sd](http://www.councilofstates.gov.sd)
- **The Sudanese National Assembly** - [www.parliament.gov.sd](http://www.parliament.gov.sd)
- **The Syrian People's Assembly** - [www.parliament.gov.sy](http://www.parliament.gov.sy)
- **The Tunisian Chamber of Councillors** - [www.chambredesconseillers.tn](http://www.chambredesconseillers.tn)
- **The Tunisian Chamber of Deputies** - [www.chambre-dep.tn](http://www.chambre-dep.tn)
- **UAE Federal National Council** - [www.almajles.gov.ae](http://www.almajles.gov.ae)
- **The Yemeni House of Representatives** - [www.yemenparliament.com](http://www.yemenparliament.com)

## b. Internal Rules and Processes:

- 1) Al Hiti, Naaman Attallah. (2007). **Tashrī‘ al-qawānīn: dirāsah dustūriyyah muqāranah**. Dimashq: Dar Rislān Liṭ-ṭibā‘ah Wan-nashr Wat-tawzī‘.

الهييتي، نعمان عطالله. (٢٠٠٧). تشريع القوانين: دراسة دستورية مقارنة.

Al Hiti, Naaman Attallah. (2007). **Lawmaking: a comparative constitutional study**. Damascus: House of Rislān for Printing, Publishing and Distribution.

*A comparative study of legislative processes and bill drafting across several Arab countries.*

الهييتي، نعمان عطالله. (٢٠٠٧). الأنظمة الداخلية للبرلمانات العربية (الجزءان ١ و ٢). دار رسلان للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع.

- 2) Al Hiti, Naaman Atallah. (2007). **Al-‘anzīmah ad-dākhiliyyah lil-barlamānāt al-‘arabiyyah. (al-juz‘ān 1 wa 2)**. Dimashq: Dar Rislān Liṭ-ṭibā‘ah Wan-nashr Wat-tawzī‘.

الهييتي، نعمان عطا اله. (٢٠٠٧). الأنظمة الداخلية للبرلمانات العربية (الجزءان ١ و ٢). دار رسلان للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع.

Al-Hiti, Naaman Atallah. (2007). **Internal Rules of Arab Parliaments (Parts 1 and 2)**. Damascus: House of Rislān for Printing, Publishing and Distribution

*A full-text compilation of the bylaws of Arab parliaments.*

- 3) Daher, Adnan. (2007). **Ḥuqūq al-na‘ib wa wājibātuh fil-majālis at-tamthīliyyah al-‘arabiyyah: Dirāsah muqāranah lil-‘anzīmah ad-dākhiliyyah lil-barlamānāt al-‘arabiyyah**

**The rights and duties of members of Arab representative institutions: A comparative study of the rules of procedure of Arab parliaments.** Beirut: United Nations Development Programme.

ضاهر، عدنان. (٢٠٠٧). حقوق النائب وواجباته في المجالس التمثيلية العربية: دراسة مقارنة للأنظمة الداخلية للبرلمانات العربية. بيروت: برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي.

*Presents a comparative overview of the rights and duties of Arab parliamentarians as stated in the bylaws of the parliaments of Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Yemen, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; discusses the rights and duties of parliamentarians, their right to join parliamentary committees, speak in general assemblies and committee meetings and submit draft laws; compares Arab parliamentary bylaws concerning oversight, parliamentary immunity, resignation and MPs' duties in attending plenary sessions.*

## EGYPT

- 1) Al Sayed, Karim and Abdel Razek, Ahmad. (2005, January). **Official structures in the service of research and information in the Egyptian parliament.** Paper contributed to the Regional Workshop on Economic Law-Making and Governance, Cairo Egypt.

The study provides an overview of the official structures of research and information services in Egypt's People's Assembly. The study is accompanied by a critical analysis of the service's quality of performance and suggestions for its development.

- 2) Asfour, Jaber. (2009). ). **Al-mar'a al-miṣriyyah al-mu.aṣirah fil-barlamān: sayyidah taftakhir biha miṣr.** Al-majlis Al-'a'la Lith-thaqāfah.

عصفور، جابر. (٢٠٠٩). المرأة المصرية المعاصرة في البرلمان: سيدة تفتخر بها مصر. المجلس الأعلى للثقافة.

Asfour, Jaber. (2009). **Contemporary Egyptian women in parliament: a source of pride for Egypt.** Cairo: Supreme Council for Culture.

*Analyzes the role of women in the Egyptian Parliament.*

- 3) El Sawi, Ali. (2005, January). **Parallel structures for parliamentary research and studies in Egypt.** Paper contributed to the Regional Workshop on Economic Law-Making and Governance, Cairo Egypt. Retrieved from:

[http://www.zef.de/fileadmin/webfiles/downloads/projects/politicalreform/Parallel\\_Structures.pdf](http://www.zef.de/fileadmin/webfiles/downloads/projects/politicalreform/Parallel_Structures.pdf)

*Reviews the parallel information structures of the Egyptian People's Assembly.*

- 4) Feraj, Zein Bader. (2007). **Al-maklamah al-barlmāniyyah: ḍawābet al-kalām tahta qubbat al barlmān.** Al-hay'a Al-masriyya Al 'āmmah Lil-kitāb.

فراج، زين بدر. (٢٠٠٧). الكلمة البرلمانية: ضوابط الكلام تحت قبة البرلمان. الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب.

Feraj, Zein Bader. (2007). **Parliament's regulation of speech.** General Egyptian Book Organization.

*Discusses the rights of an MP to express opinions in the Egyptian Parliament given procedural and legal limitations.*

## MOROCCO

- 1) Al Medouar, Rachid. (2008). **Khaṣā'eṣ ar-raqābah 'ala dustūriyyat al-'anzimah ad-dākhiliyyah lil-barlamān wa-manhajiha fit-taṭbiq al-maghribi.** Majallat Al-Huqūq, 33(1).

المدور، رشيد. (٢٠٠٨). خصائص الرقابة على دستورية الأنظمة الداخلية للبرلمان ومنهجه في التطبيق المغربي. مجلة الحقوق، مجلة النشر العلمي، جامعة الكويت.

Al Medouar, Rachid. (2008). **Characteristics of oversight on the constitutionality of the parliament's bylaws and its practical methodology in Morocco. Journal of Law, 33(1).**

*Studies oversight of the constitutionality of the internal rules of the Moroccan House of Representatives.*

- 2) Al Medouar, Rachid. (2006). **Al-'amal al-barlamāni fil-maghrib: qadāya wa ishkālāt.** Ar-rabāt.

المدور، رشيد. (٢٠٠٦). العمل البرلماني في المغرب: قضايا وإشكالات. الرباط.

Al Medouar, Rachid. (2006). **Parliamentary work in Morocco: Issues and problems.** Rabat.

*Provides an overview of the issues and difficulties faced in the Moroccan Parliament.*

- 3) Al Medouar, Rachid. (2005). **An-nizām ad-dākhili li-majlis an-nuwāb al-maghribi: dirāsah wa ta'liq.** Al-mamlakah Al-maghribiyyah: Majlis An-nuwāb.

المدور، رشيد. (٢٠٠٥). النظام الداخلي لمجلس النواب المغربي: دراسة وتعليق. المملكة المغربية: مجلس النواب.

Al Medouar, Rachid. (2005). **Bylaws of the Moroccan House of Representatives: A study and commentary.** The Kingdom of Morocco: House of Representatives.

*Provides an account of and a commentary on the new rules of procedure in the Moroccan House of Representatives.*

- 4) Bou-Aziz, Mohamed. (2006). **Al-qānūn al-barlamāni al-maghribi: Maṣṭarat at-taṣhrī'- dirāsah naẓariyyah wa taṣhrī'iyyah.**

بوعزيز، محمد. (٢٠٠٦). القانون البرلماني المغربي: مسطرة التشريع للدراسات.

Bou-Aziz, Mohamed. (2006). **Moroccan parliamentary law: The rule of legislation -- a theoretical and legislative study.**

*Provides a structural analysis of the stages of bill drafting and law making in both chambers of the Moroccan legislature.*



- 5) Fontir, Abdul-Ilah. (2002). **Al-‘amal at-tashrī‘i bil-maghrib, ‘uṣūluhu at-tarīkhiyyah wa marja‘iyatuhu ad-dustūriyyah: Dirāsah ta’siliyyah wa taṭbīqiyyah.** (Thalāthat ‘ajzā’). Rabat: Maṭba‘at Al-Ma‘ārif Al-Jadidah.

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Fontir, Abdul-Ilah. (2002). **Legislative work in Morocco, its historical origins and constitutional reference: An epistemological and practical study.** (Volumes 1-3). Rabat: Al-Maarif Al-Jadidah Printing House.

*Discusses the legislative process in Morocco, its historical origins and constitutional foundations.*

### c. Performance of Arab Parliaments

- 1) Al-Markaz Al-‘arabi Li-taṭwīr Ḥukm Al-qānūn Wan-nazāhah. (2007). **Al-barlamān fid-duwal al-‘arabiyyah: raṣd wa taḥlīl: al-‘urdun, lubnān, al-maghrib, miṣr.** Bairūt: Lubnān.

المركز العربي لتطوير حكم القانون والنزاهة. (٢٠٠٧). البرلمان في الدول العربية: رصد وتحليل (الأردن، لبنان، المغرب، مصر). بيروت، لبنان.

The Arab Center for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity. (2007). **Parliament in Arab countries: Monitoring and analysis: Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Egypt.** Beirut, Lebanon.

*A referential framework to monitor and analyze parliamentary performance in selected Arab countries, namely, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco and Egypt.*

- 2) Barnett, Michael. (1993). **Institutions, roles and disorder: The case of the Arab states system.** International Studies Quarterly, 37(3), 271-296.

بارنيت، مايكل. (١٩٩٣). المؤسسات والأدوار والاضطراب: حالة نظام الدول العربية. دار نشر بلاكويل، نيابة عن جمعية الدراسات الدولية.

*Explores the relationship between institutions, roles, and role conflict, examines the destabilizing effects of the coexistence of overlapping international institutions in the context of the Arab Middle East.*

#### EGYPT

- 1) Al Rifai, Faeqa. (2007). **Ru‘yah fi dustūr jumhūriyyat miṣr al-‘arabiyyah.** Maktabat Ash-shurūq Ad-duwaliyyah.

الرفاعي، فائقة. (٢٠٠٧). رؤية في دستور جمهورية مصر العربية. مكتبة الشروق الدولية.

Al Rifai, Faeqa. (2007). **An examination of the constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt**. Cairo: Shourouk International Bookstore.

*Provides a brief history of Egyptian parliamentary life from the 18th Century to 1971; discusses the principles and characteristics of constitutional amendments implemented in 1980 and 2005.*

- 2) Amin, Ahmad Muhammad. (2006). **Ad-dasātīr wa mashrū'āt ad-dasātīr fi miṣr: dirāsah fil-'isalh ad-dustūri was-siyāsī**. Cairo: Maktabat Ash-shurūq Ad-duwaliyyah.

أمين، أحمد محمد. (٢٠٠٦). الدساتير ومشروعات الدساتير في مصر: دراسة في الإصلاح الدستوري والسياسي. مكتبة الشروق الدولية.

Amin, Ahmad Muhammad. (2006). **Constitutions and draft constitutions in Egypt: A study of constitutional and political reform**. Cairo: Shourouk International Bookstore.

*Presents an overview of constitutions and draft constitutions in Egypt from 1923 to 1971 (amended in 1984 and 2005) and investigates possible prospects for constitutional reform.*

- 3) Ghanem, Al Sayed Abdel Motaleb and Al Mashat, Abdel Monem. (2008). **Al-'alāqah bain takwīn al-barlamān wa 'adā'uh: Majlis ash-sha'b al-miṣri fil-faṣl at-tashrī'i 2005-2006**. Al-qāhirah: Markaz Al-buḥūth Wad-dirāsāt As-siyāsīyyah.

غانم، السيد عبد المطلب، والمشاط، عبد المنعم. (٢٠٠٨). العلاقة بين تكوين البرلمان وأدائه: مجلس الشعب المصري في الفصل التشريعي ٢٠٠٥-٢٠٠٦. القاهرة: مركز البحوث والدراسات السياسية.

Ghanem, Al Sayed Abdel Motaleb and Al-Mashat, Abdel Monem. (2008). **The relationship between the parliament's formation and performance: The Egyptian People's Assembly in the 2005-2006 parliamentary session**. Cairo: Centre for Political Research and Studies.

*Examines the Egyptian People's Assembly's political functions, oversight role, internal mechanisms and constitutional limitations during the 2005-2006 session.*

## LEBANON

- 1) **The Lebanese Parliament: Dynamics and assessment, 1997.**

[http://lcps-lebanon.org/resc/democ/97/parliament\\_bk97.html](http://lcps-lebanon.org/resc/democ/97/parliament_bk97.html)

*English abstract of the monograph "The 1992-1996 Lebanese Parliament", published originally in Arabic by the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies. The research focuses on the performance of the*

*Lebanese Parliament as the legislative branch of the government.*

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- 1) Al Medouar, Rachid. (2006). **Al-'amal al-barlamāni fil-maghrib: qadāya wa ishkalāt.** Ar-rabāt, Al-maghrib

مدوّ، رشيد. (٢٠٠٦). العمل البرلماني في المغرب: قضايا وإشكالات. الرباط.

Al Medouar, Rachid. (2006). **Parliamentary work in Morocco: Issues and complications.** Rabat, Morocco

*Provides an overview of the structure of parliament, oversight functions, rules of procedure and parliamentary diplomacy in the Moroccan House of Representatives.*

## THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

- 1) Al Barghouti, Marwan. (2010). **Al'adā' at-tashrī'i war-raqābi was-siyāsi lil-majlis at-tashrī'i al-filsṭīni, 1996-2006.** Bairūt: Markaz Dirāsāt Al-wiḥdah Al-'arabiyyah.

البرغوثي، مروان. (٢٠١٠). الأداء التشريعي والرقابي والسياسي للمجلس التشريعي الفلسطيني (١٩٩٦-٢٠٠٦). مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية.

Al Barghouti, Marwan. (2010). **The Legislative, oversight and political performance of the Palestinian Legislative Council, 1996 – 2006.** Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies.

*Provides insight into the Palestinian parliamentary experience from 1996 to 2006 and assesses the Palestinian Authority's progress in establishing a democratic system.*

- 2) Aoudeh, Jihad Harb. (2004). **Al-majlis at-tashrī'i al-filīstīni lil-marḥalah al-intiqaliyyah: Naḥwa ta'sīs ḥayāt barlamāniyyah.** Abu Dhabi: Dirāsāt Istrātijīyyah. Markaz Al-'imārāt Lid-dirāsāt Wal-buḥūth.

عودة، جهاد حرب. (٢٠٠٤). المجلس التشريعي الفلسطيني للمرحلة الانتقالية: نحو تأسيس حياة برلمانية (دراسات استراتيجية). مركز الإمارات للدراسات والبحوث.

Aoudeh, Jihad Harb. (2004). **The Palestinian Legislative Council for the transitional period: Towards the establishment of parliamentary life (Strategic Studies).** Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Studies and Research.

*Discusses the legal basis of the Palestinian Legislative Council, its social and political composition, its oversight functions and the constitutional development of the political system during the transitional phase in the West Bank and Gaza after the Oslo Peace Agreement between Israel and the PLO (1993-1996).*

## YEMEN

- 1) Saif, Ahmed, A. (2001). **A Legislature in transition: The Yemeni parliament.** Adelshot: Ashgate.

*Examines the development of Yemen's parliament since unification in 1990. It draws on field surveys and interviews conducted during 1998-99, primary documentary sources and Yemeni and Arab media reporting.*

### d. Legislative Process:

- 1) The Lebanese Parliament and The United Nations Development Programme. (2003). **Naḥwa taṭwīr aṣ-ṣiyāghah at-taṣhrī'iyyah lil-barlamānāt al-'arabiyyah: 'awrāq an-nadwah al-barlamāniyyah al-'arabiyyah (bairūt, 4 -6 shubāt/ fibrāyir 2003).** Retrieved from: <http://www.arabparliaments.org/publications/books/devlegdraft-a.pdf>

مجلس النواب اللبناني، برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. (٢٠٠٣). نحو تطوير الصياغة التشريعية للبرلمانات العربية: أوراق الندوة البرلمانية العربية (بيروت، ٤ - ٦ شباط / فبراير ٢٠٠٣). بيروت: برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي.

The Lebanese Parliament and The United Nations Development Programme. (2003). **Developing legislative drafting for Arab parliaments: Proceedings of the "Arab Parliamentary Symposium" (Beirut, 4 - 6 February, 2003).** Beirut: The United Nations Development Programme.

*Provides a collection of articles presented at the Symposium on Improving Legislative Drafting in Arab Parliaments organized by UNDP in Beirut in 2003; tackles issues related to good governance and legislative drafting in Arab parliaments.*

- 2) Barnāmij Ad-dirāsāt Al-barlamāniyyah Bi-Jāmi'at Al-qāhirah. (2008). **Dalīl al-mashrū' al 'arabi li-tamkīn aṣh-shabāb.** The United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved from:

<http://www.arabparliaments.org/publications/books/youthguide-a.pdf>

برنامج الدراسات البرلمانية بجامعة القاهرة. (٢٠٠٨). دليل المشروع العربي لتمكين الشباب. إصدارات برنامج الأمم المتحدة للتنمية.

**The Arab parliamentarians' handbook on empowering youth.** (2008). The United Nations Development Programme.

*A guide for Arab legislators on empowering youth. The guide enables Arab parliamentarians to empower youth.*

- 3) Daher, Adnan. (2005). **Al-muwāzanāt al-‘āmah fid-duwal al-‘arabiyyah: Dirāsah muqāranah ḥawla ’i’dād wa tanfīdh wa murāqabat al-muwāzanah al-‘āmah fid-duwal al-‘arabiyyah.**

The public budget in Arab countries: A comparative study on the preparation, approval, implementation and monitoring of the budget in Arab countries. Beirut: United Nations Development Programme.

ضاهر، عدنان. (٢٠٠٥). الموازنات العامة في الدول العربية: دراسة مقارنة حول إعداد وتطبيق ومراقبة تنفيذ الموازنة في الدول العربية. بيروت: برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي.

*Presents the principles of sound public budgeting measures to promote parliament's role in the process of budget formulation and the obstacles that limit the effectiveness of parliaments in this domain; discusses methods of budget preparation, approval and implementation as well as auditing and monitoring budget implementation in Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, The United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Yemen, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Djibouti, Somalia and Mauritania.*

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*Provides a comparative study on legislative oversight from a Lebanese, Arab and international perspectives.*

- 9) El Sawi, Ali. (2007). **Ar-raqābah Al-barlamāniyyah**. Miṣr: Al-markaz Ad-duwali Lid-dirasāt Al- mustaqbaliyyah Wal-istrātejiyyah.

الصاوي، علي. (٢٠٠٧). الرقابة البرلمانية. المركز الدولي للدراسات المستقبلية والاستراتيجية.

El Sawi, Ali. (2007). **Parliamentary oversight**. Egypt: International Center for Future and Strategic Studies.

*Defines the concept of parliamentary oversight, global developments affecting the oversight role of the parliament and instruments of parliamentary oversight in accordance with law and practice.*

- 10) Lebanese Center for Policy Studies. (2001). **Naḥwa taṭwīr al-‘amal al-barlamāni al-‘arabi: ‘Awrāq an-nadwah al-barlamāniyyah al-‘arabiyyah (bairūt, 16-18 ‘ayyār 2000)**.

Lebanese Center for Policy Studies. (2001). **Towards developing Arab parliamentary work: Proceedings of the Arab parliamentary symposium (Beirut, 16 - 18 May, 2000)**. Beirut: The United Nations Development Programme – Programme on Governance in the Arab Region. Retrieved from: <http://www.arabparliaments.org/publications/books/devarabparl-a.pdf>

المركز اللبناني للدراسات. (٢٠٠١). نحو تطوير العمل البرلماني العربي: أوراق الندوة البرلمانية العربية (بيروت ١٦ – ١٨ ايار/ مايو ٢٠٠٠): بيروت: مجلس النواب وبرنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي.

*Proceedings of the Symposium on Arab Parliamentary Development, held in Beirut in 2000. Presents a comparison between the rules of procedure of Arab parliaments as well as their legislative functions; discusses the oversight role of Arab parliaments and sheds light on Lebanese parliamentary performance.*

- 11) Maliki, Ahmed. (2009, October). **Al-’iṭar al-qānūni lil-raqābah al-barlamāniyyah ‘alal-ḥukūmah fi miṣr, al-jaza’ir, al-maghrib, mūrītāniya, tūnis**.

مالكي، أحمد. (٢٠٠٩). الإطار القانوني للرقابة البرلمانية على الحكومة في: مصر، الجزائر، المغرب، موريتانيا، تونس. ورقة مساهمة في ورشة العمل الإقليمية نحو تعزيز «الدور الرقابي للبرلمانات العربية- تطوير الإطار القانوني» بيروت، لبنان.

Maliki, Ahmed. (2009). **The legal framework for parliamentary oversight of government in Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia.** Paper contributed to the Towards Strengthening the Oversight Function of Arab Parliaments: Improving the Legal Framework - Regional Parliamentary Workshop, Beirut, Lebanon.

Retrieved from: <http://www.arabparliaments.org/publications/legislature/2009/paroversight/malocomplete-a.pdf>

*Provides a description of the legal framework for parliamentary oversight in Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania; provides recommendations on reforms of oversight system and regaining the balance of power between the three branches of government in targeted countries.*

## 12) National Integrity System (NIS)

[http://www.transparency.org/regional\\_pages/africa\\_middle\\_east/studies\\_and\\_reports](http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/africa_middle_east/studies_and_reports)

*Provides country studies and reports on corruption in the Middle East and North Africa.*

## 13) Power, Greg. **Handbook on parliamentary ethics and conduct: A guide for parliamentarians.** Global Task Force on Parliamentary Ethics Chair: Ghassan Mokheiber. Retrieved from: [http://www.arpacnetwork.org/arpdocs/political\\_guidebook\\_20100701.pdf](http://www.arpacnetwork.org/arpdocs/political_guidebook_20100701.pdf)

*Provides an overview of the stages involved in developing parliamentary ethics for parliamentarians, including establishing principles, developing content and mechanisms for regulation and enforcement and training.*

## 14) Salam, Ihab Zaki. (1998). **Ar-raqābah as-siyāsīyah ‘ala ’a’ māl as-sulṭah At-tanfīdhīyah.** ‘Alam Al-kutub.

سلام، إيهاب زكي. (١٩٩٨). الرقابة السياسية على أعمال السلطة التنفيذية. عالم الكتب.

Salam, Ihab Zaki. (1998). **Political oversight of the work of the executive branch.** World of Books.

*Highlights political controls (popular, partisan and legislative) on the workings of the executive authority.*

- 15) Saif, Ahmed, A. (2009, April). **The legal framework of parliamentary oversight in Bahrain, Kuwait, the UAE and Yemen.** Paper contributed to the Towards Strengthening the Oversight Function of Arab Parliaments: Improving the Legal Framework - Regional Parliamentary Workshop, Beirut, Lebanon.

Retrieved from: <http://www.arabparliaments.org/publications/legislature/2009/parloversight/saif-a.pdf>

- 16) World Bank and the Parliamentary Center. (2010). **Parliamentary accountability and good governance: A parliamentarian's handbook.** Retrieved from:

<http://www.parlcent.ca/publications/pdf/sourcebooktext.pdf>

*Contains essays focusing on parliamentary accountability and the role of parliament as a major link in the chain of accountability between government and citizens. Includes a chapter on Palestine and another on Lebanon.*

## EGYPT AND KUWAIT

- 1) Abu Younes, Muhammad Bahy. (2000). **Al-raqābah al-barlamāniyyah 'alal-'a'māl al-ḥukūmiyyah fin-nizāmain al-miṣri wal-kuwaiti.** Al-qāhirah Ad-dār Al-'arabiyyah Lin-nashr Wat-tawzi'.

أبو يونس، محمد باهي. (٢٠٠٠). الرقابة البرلمانية على الاعمال الحكومية في النظامين المصري والكويتي. الدار العربية للنشر والتوزيع.

Abu Younes, Muhammad Bahy. (2000). **Parliamentary oversight government works in the Egyptian and Kuwaiti systems.** Cairo: Arab House for Publishing and Distribution.

*Provides an overview of parliamentary oversight in Egypt and Kuwait.*

- 2) Hashem, Amro (2002). **Ar-raqābah al-barlamāniyyah fin-nuzum assiyāsiyyah: diarāsah fi tajribat majlis aṣh-sha'b al-miṣri.** Al-qāhirah: Markaz Al-ahrām Lid-drāsāt As-siyāsiyyah Wal-istratejiyyah.

هاشم، عمرو. (٢٠٠٢). الرقابة البرلمانية في النظم السياسية: دراسة في تجربة مجلس الشعب المصري. مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية.

Hashem, Amro (2002). **Parliamentary oversight in political systems: A study of the experience of the Egyptian People's Assembly.** Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies.

*Compares political science and constitutional law approaches to parliamentary oversight and discusses various dimensions taken into consideration when studying parliamentary oversight in political systems, namely: parties, aims and means, tools, time and results; It Presents the case of Egyptian parliamentary oversight during the stage of confined pluralism (1976 to 2001).*

- 3) Nassar, Jaber. (1999). **Al-istijwāb ka-wasīlah lir-raqābah al-barlamāniyyah ‘ala ‘a‘māl al-ḥukūmah fi miṣr wal-kuwait.** Al-qāhirah: Dār An-nahḍah Al-‘arabiyyah

نصار، جابر جاد. (١٩٩٩). الاستجواب كوسيلة للرقابة البرلمانية على اعمال الحكومة في مصر والكويت. دار النهضة العربية.

Nassar, Jaber. (1999). **Interpellation as a tool for parliamentary oversight in Egypt and Kuwait.** Cairo: Arab Renaissance Publishing House.

Discusses the importance of parliamentary interpellation in holding ministers accountable and informing the electorate of the general performance of the executive in Kuwait and Egypt.



### III Elections and Electoral Laws

This section provides references and websites on election laws and practices in Arab countries.

- 1) Carapico, Sheila. (1993). **Elections and mass politics in Yemen**. Middle East Research and Information Project.

كارابيكو، شيلا. (١٩٩٣). الانتخابات والسياسة والإعلام في اليمن. مشروع الشرق الأوسط للأبحاث والمعلومات.

- 2) Saad Abdo, Moqalled Ali and Ismail, Issam Nehme. (2005). **An-nuzum al-intikhābiyyah**. Bairūt: Manshūrāt Al-ḥalabi Al-ḥuqūqiyyah.

سعد، عبدو، مقلد، علي، وإسماعيل، عصام نعمة. (٢٠٠٥). النظم الانتخابية. منشورات الحلبي الحقوقية.

Saad Abdo, Moqalled Ali and Ismail. Issam Nehme (2005). **Electoral systems**. Beirut: Al Halabi Law Publications.

*Studies the relationship between electoral systems and political systems from a comparative perspective and explains how incumbent politicians could use electoral laws to alienate opposition groups; discusses various electoral systems across the world.*

#### EGYPT

- 1) Majmu'at Mu'allifin. (2006). **Nuzum 'idārat al-intikhābāt fi miṣr ma' al-muqāranah bi-ḥālāt buldān 'ukhra**. Al-qāhirah: Markaz Al-'ahram Lid-dirāsāt Assiyāsiyyah Wal-istrātijyyah.

مجموعة مؤلفين. (٢٠٠٦). نظم إدارة الانتخابات في مصر مع المقارنة بحالة بلدان أخرى. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية.

Various Authors. (2006). **Electoral systems in Egypt in comparison with other countries**. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies.

*Provides an evaluation of the Egyptian electoral system in comparison with other electoral systems globally.*

#### MOROCCO

- 1) Resende Meyer, Michael. (2008). **Morocco: Is the electoral system unfair?** The Arab Reform Bulletin. 6(3). Retrieved from:

<https://www.carnegieendowment.org/arb/?fa=downloadArticlePDF&article=20520>

*The article studies the Moroccan electoral system and assesses its fairness through examination of the September 2007 elections for the Moroccan House of Representatives.*

- 2) White, George. (1997). **The advent of electoral democracy in Morocco? The referendum of 1996.** *Middle East Journal*, 51(3), 388-404.

## IV Socio-Economic Development

This section provides references and websites on social and economic development in Arab countries. Social and economic studies in selected Arab countries are cited. United Nations studies on economic and social development in the Arab world are highlighted. Studies on economic development, economic reform, poverty and economic growth are provided.

1) **Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia Publications (ESCWA-EDGD)**

<http://www.escwa.un.org/information/pubdetails.asp?division=edgd>

*Provides studies, meeting reports, public information and working papers on: sustainable development and productivity; social development; economic development and globalization; information and communication technology; statistics; and emerging and conflict related issues in ESCWA countries including Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, among others.*

2) Karshenas, Massoud, and Moghadam, Valentine M. (2006). **Social policy in the Middle East: Economic, political and gender dynamics**. Palgrave. Retrieved from:

[http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpPublications\)/DF191B37562898F1C12570E400485BFA?OpenDocument&panel=relatedinformation](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/DF191B37562898F1C12570E400485BFA?OpenDocument&panel=relatedinformation)

*Provides political and economic perspectives on social policy and its evolution in the Middle East and North Africa. Chapters are provided on Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey.*

3) Kienle, Eberhard. (2003). **Politics from above, politics from below: The Middle East in the age of economic reform**. London: I.B. Tauris.

4) The League of Arab States, ESCWA and UNDP. (2010). **The third Arab report on the Millennium Development Goals 2010 and the impact of the global economic crisis**. Retrieved from: [http://204.200.211.31/Update\\_Dec/AMDGR/PR\\_English.doc](http://204.200.211.31/Update_Dec/AMDGR/PR_English.doc)

*Reviews progress made in the Arab region towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals.*

- 5) Oliva, Maria Angels (2000). **Estimation of trade protection in Middle East and North Africa countries.** IMF Working Paper #WP/99/27. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2000/wp0027.pdf>  
*Analyzes the structure and evolution of trade in the Middle East and North African countries in the 1990s.*
  
- 6) Seddon, David. (2004). **A political and economic dictionary of the Middle East.** Europa Publications, U.K.  
*Defines a large number of words used in the Arab world to describe political phenomena and processes as well as biographies of individual political leaders.*
  
- 7) Shehadi, Kamal S. (2002, January). **Lessons in privatization: Considerations for Arab states.** The United Nations Development Programme -- Arab States Sub-regional Facility. Retrieved from: <http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/99E16.pdf>
  
- 8) The United Nations Development Programme. (2009). **Arab human development report (AHDR).** Retrieved from: <http://www.arab-hdr.org/>  
*Draws upon the data and analysis of the global Human Development Reports. Taking the human development approach to the regional level; promotes regional partnerships for influencing change and region-specific approaches to human rights, poverty, education, economic reform, HIV/AIDS and globalization.*
  
- 9) **United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)**  
[http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/\(httpProgrammeAreasForResearchHome\)/F1729B1683C9777AC125760100313644?OpenDocument](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/(httpProgrammeAreasForResearchHome)/F1729B1683C9777AC125760100313644?OpenDocument)  
*Provides reports on diverse topics of social policy, development, democracy and civil society. Also provides a number of publications on religion, culture, politicization, social protection and poverty.*

## EGYPT

- 1) El Laithy, Heba, Lokshin Michael and Banerji Arup. (2003) **Poverty and economic growth in Egypt 1995-2000.**The World Bank Development Research Group; Group-Poverty Team. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/>



IB/2003/07/08/000094946\_03062104301449/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

*Analyzes Egyptian household surveys (1995-96 and 1999-2000) to assess changes in poverty status and inequality between 1995 and 2000.*

## JORDAN

- 1) **Executive Privatization Commission (EPC) of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan** - <http://www.epc.gov.jo/EPC/Default.aspx>

*Provides information on Jordan's privatization strategy, laws and regulations as well as the progress of the privatization process in Jordan.*

## LEBANON

- 1) **Higher Council for Privatization of the Republic of Lebanon** - <http://www.hcp.gov.lb/>

*Offers information and documents about privatization (process and benefits), Lebanon's business environment (the economic system, legislative environment, human capital and infrastructure), privatization legislation (the framework law, the telecommunications sector law and the electricity sector law), and major privatization projects (mobile privatization, Liban Telecom corporatization and power sector reform).*

- 2) Mikhael, Marwan. (2007). **The impact on prices of an increase in transportation costs.** Ministry of Economy and Trade Republic of Lebanon. Retrieved from:

<http://www.economy.gov.lb/MOET/English/EconomicResearchAndPrices/Economic%20Statistics/Documents/Impact%20of%20an%20increase%20in%20the%20transportation%20costs%20on%20prices.pdf>

*Simulates the influence of an increase of 10% of the price of gasoline in Lebanon on the consumer price index.*

## LIBYA

- 1) Otman Wanis and Karleberg, Erling. (2007). **The Libyan economy: Economic diversification and international repositioning.** Springer-Verlag (Berlin Heidelberg New York).

*Provides a thorough analysis of current economic policy, transformation and legislative changes in Libya.*

**UNITED ARAB EMIRATES**

- 1) Biblawi, Hazem. (1990). **The rentier state in the Arab World**. University of California Press, CA, U.S.

*Analyzes the economics of Arab rentier states with a special focus on the UAE.*



## V Governance - General

This section cites references and websites on government institutions (central/regional/local) in Arab countries, government processes and programs (administrative reform, economic reform, budgetary reform and privatization), legal studies and databases, non-governmental and civil society organizations and political institutions in the Arab world.

### a) Government Institutions (Central/ Regional/ Local)

#### 1) Arab Local Government Laws:

<http://www.undp-pogar.org/resources/listlinks.aspx?lid=18>

*Provides the texts of Bahrain's Decentralization Law and Municipal Law, Iraq's Governorates Law, Jordan's Law of Municipalities, Lebanon's Law of Municipalities, Saudi Arabia's Municipal Law and Law of Regions and Yemen's Law of Local Government.*

#### 2) Arab Ministries of Municipal Affairs:

<http://www.undp-pogar.org/resources/listlinks.aspx?lid=34>

*Provides links to the websites of the ministries of municipal affairs of Bahrain, Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Syria.*

#### 3) Egypt State Information Service:

<http://www.sis.gov.eg>

*Provides extensive information on Egypt's people and land, politics, economy, tourism and society in general.*

#### 4) Library of Congress:

<http://www.locweb2.loc.gov>

*Provides links to research on government and law in Arab countries.*

5) **Ministry of National Economy - Sultanate of Oman:**

<http://www.moneoman.gov.om/loader.aspx?view=privatization-pso&type=private>

*Provides an overview of the Omani privatization program objectives, strategy and methods as well as ongoing and future privatization projects.*

6) **Ministry of Economy and Trade, Republic of Lebanon:**

<http://www.economy.gov.lb/MOET/English/Pages/Home.aspx>

*Provides information on projects conducted by the Ministry of Economy and Trade; Also provides statistics, prices and market research as well as publications related to the economy and trade in Lebanon.*

7) Murabit, Fadwa. (2010). **As-sulṭah at-tanfīdhīyah fi-buldān al-magħrib al-‘arabi: Dirāsah qānūniyah muqāranah.** (silsilat ‘uṭrūḥāt al-ductūrah 86). Bairūt: Markaz Dirāsāt Al-wiḥdah Al-‘arabīyah.

مُرَابِط، فَدْوَى. (٢٠١٠). السلطة التنفيذية في بلدان المغرب العربي: دراسة قانونية مقارنة (سلسلة أطروحات الدكتوراه ٨٦). مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية.

Murabit, Fadwa. (2010). **Executive power in the Maghreb countries: A comparative legal study.** (Series of doctoral dissertations 86). Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies.

*Provides a view on the centrality of executive power in the Maghreb countries with specific reference to heads of state; Highlights the weaknesses of legislative institutions vis a vis the strong executive in North African and Arab Countries.*

8) The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies. (2003, November). **Decentralization, democratization and local governance in the Arab region.** Beirut: Author. Retrieved from:

[http://lcps-lebanon.org/web04/english/old/activities/2003/local%20governance/final\\_lcps\\_17Nov.pdf](http://lcps-lebanon.org/web04/english/old/activities/2003/local%20governance/final_lcps_17Nov.pdf)

*Discusses decentralization and local government (definition, forms, degrees and levels of decentralization). Also discusses the relationship between decentralization, democratization and development in the Arab region.*

## b) Government Processes and Programs

### 1) UNDP-Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS):

<http://arabstates.undp.org>

*A UNDP website; provides draft country program documents for 17 Arab countries.*

### 2) Center for Public Sector Projects and Studies - <http://www.studies.gov.lb/>

*Includes all projects and studies related to the development and upgrading of public administrations and agencies in Lebanon. It has more than 1100 studies and projects (in Arabic, French and English) covering: industry, agriculture, interior and municipalities, foreign affairs and emigrants, youth and sports, information, transport, public affairs, tourism, justice and rural and regional development.*

### 3) International Budget Partnership. (2010) - <http://www.internationalbudget.org>

*Provides a large number of publications including key reports, studies and other publications that document the efforts of civil society organizations to improve budget processes and institutions and contribute to expanding international dialogue on the importance of budget transparency and accountability.*

### 4) Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform (OMSAR): <http://www.omsar.gov.lb/>

*Offers a list of publications (annual reports, strategies, charters, guides, programs and projects) related to administrative development and reform in Lebanon.*

### 5) Ouda, Hasan. (2003, June 27). **Public sector accounting and budgeting reform: The main issues involved, with a special focus on the Arab World.** ESCWA. Retrieved from:

<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/unescwa/unpan010849.pdf>

*Provides research on public accounting and budgeting reform in general and in Arab countries in particular; focuses on the main shortcomings of current public accounting and budgeting systems in the Arab world.*

## c) Legal/Legislative Databases

1) **Arab Legal Portal** - <http://www.arablegalportal.org/associations/index.aspx>

*Provides links to databases on Arab banking laws, legal texts of Arab legislative bodies, texts on Arab financial regulations and controls, legislation and court rulings in Egypt, Arab associations' laws and the Arab criminal encyclopedia.*

2) **The Arab Center for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity (ACRLI)**  
-<http://www.arabruloflaw.org/index.aspx?postingID=393>

*Aims at developing and reinforcing the rule of law and integrity and good governance in Arab countries.*

3) **International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) Section on Library and Research Services for Parliaments** - <http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s3/>

*Provides a list of publications, newsletters and information on projects and conferences related to libraries and research services for parliaments; also provides a World Directory of National Parliamentary Libraries.*

4) **Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)** - [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org)

*Provides data on IPU activities (workshops, seminars, books produced and research conducted on parliamentary administration and politics around the world), in addition to web links to parliaments.*

5) **Jurispedia Encyclopedia of Law** - <http://ar.jurispedia.org>.

*Provides a large number of legal references for the majority of countries organized thematically or by country. The website provides links to legal databases of all member countries.*

6) **PARLINE** - [www.ipu.org/parline](http://www.ipu.org/parline)

*Provides data on 265 parliamentary chambers in the 188 countries with parliamentary government.*

## d) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

- 1) Ben Nefissa, Sarah. (2001). **NGOs, governance and development in the Arab World**. UNESCO Management of Social Transformations MOST, 4(15). Retrieved from:

<http://www.unesco.org/most/nefissae.htm>

*Provides the history of the evolution of NGOs in the Arab World, their engagement in charitable work and national politics and their relationship with the political systems of their respective countries.*

- 2) Nasr, Salim. (2005). **Arab civil societies and public governance reforms: An analytical framework and overview**. Dead Sea, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Retrieved from:

<http://www.pogar.org/publications/books/participation/civil-reform-e.pdf>

*Discusses the analytical framework of Arab civil society and provides an overview of its current conditions and role*

## e) Political Institutions

- 1) **Arab Political Parties Studies** - <http://www.appstudies.org/>

*Provides studies and research material on Arab political parties.*

- 2) Al Sururi, Abdel Karim Muhammad. (2008). **Ar-raqābah ash-sha‘biyyah ‘ala sulṭat ra’īs ad-dawlah: dirāsah muqāranah bain an-niḡāmain, ad-dustūr al-mu‘āṣir wal-’islāmi**. Al-iskandariyyah: Dār Al-matbū‘āt Aj-jāmi‘iyyah.

السروري، عبد الكريم محمد. (٢٠٠٨). الرقابة الشعبية على سلطة رئيس الدولة: دراسة مقارنة بين النظامين، الدستور المعاصر والإسلامي. دار المطبوعات الجامعية.

Al Sururi, Abdel Karim Muhammad. (2008). **Popular oversight over the president of the state: A comparative study of modern and Islamic constitutions**. Alexandria: University House Publications.

*A comparative study on popular oversight of the head of state in modern constitutional texts and Islamic Sharia texts.*

3) **National Democratic Institute** - [www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org)

*Provides news, papers and documents on NDI's six programmatic areas: Citizen Participation, Election Processes, Political Party Development, Civil-Military Relations, Legislative Development and Women's Participation. Reports on Legislatures are provided in Arabic.*

4) **Political Resources on the Net** - [www.politicalresources.net](http://www.politicalresources.net)

*Provides detailed information on political parties, elections, government institutions, media and public administration links in Lebanon and globally.*

5) Saad, Antoine A. (2007). **Mawqi' ra'īs al-jumhūriyyah wa dawruh fin-nizām as-siyāsi al-lubnāni qabl wa-ba'd itifāq aṭ-ṭāif**. Bairūt: Manshūrāt Al-ḥalabi Al-ḥuqūqiyyah.

سعد، انطوان أ. (٢٠٠٧). موقع رئيس الجمهورية ودوره في النظام السياسي اللبناني قبل وبعد اتفاق الطائف. منشورات الحلبي الحقوقية.

Saad, Antoine A. (2007). **The status of the President of the Republic and his role in the Lebanese political system before and after the Taif Agreement**. Beirut: Al Halabi Law Publications.

*Examines the status and role of the President of the Republic in Lebanon according to the 1926 constitution and the 1990 (Taif Agreement) constitution.*