



BALTIC JOURNAL OF LAW & POLITICS

A Journal of Vytautas Magnus University
VOLUME 15, NUMBER 2 (2022)
ISSN 2029-0454



Cite: *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics* 15:2 (2022): 631-649
DOI: 10.2478/bjlp-2022-001039

Youssef Al-Hakim, Minister of Justice (acting) from 1926-1928

Haidar mhhde taoek Al-Atabi

Email: Haider4mail@yahoo.com

Prof.Dr: BAYDAA ALLAWI SHAMKHI AL-SHUWAILI

Baghdad University – Faculty of Education Ibn Rushd Humanities - Department of History

Received: July 6, 2022; reviews: 2; accepted: October 28, 2022.

Abstract

Yousef Al-Hakim took over the reins of the Ministry of Justice acting three times from 1926-1928 during the reign of the Damad Ahmad Nami, President of the Syrian government

Many reasons led to the assumption of reins of these ministries by Al-Hakim, the first of which was the competence and professionalism of Al-Hakim, as an experienced and professional judge, as well as his strong relationship with (Damad) Ahmed Nami, who is the brother-in-law of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and also wanted the French Mandate Authority to establish a (sectarian) system in Syria based on sectarianism and regionalism, and considering Yusuf Al-Hakim as an Orthodox Messiah from Lattakia, these tasks were entrusted to him.

Al-Hakim worked during his years of service on the enactment and legislation of a number of laws, as well as arranging the conditions of the ministerial house and its departments, despite the difficulties they faced during that period, from changing the High Representative in Syria to igniting revolutions and uprisings against the Mandate to a partial change in the government more than once.

Keywords

Al-Hakim, Ministry of Justice, Mandatory Authority, Government, Court of Cassation

Introduction

He is Yusuf Ya'qub Elias Mukhail Musa Karam, who comes from an Orthodox Christian family, of the Roman Orthodox community, which is a family of Karam, Karam is a Well-established long Christian family in Lebanon, Yusuf Ya 'qub Al Hakim was born on 1 January 1883 in the city of Latakia, the home of his family and grandparents.

Youssef Al-Hakim held several ministerial positions during his work in the executive authority between 1920-1928, and his positions were divided between trade, agriculture, and beneficial and judicial matters, and his effectiveness in those ministries was clear, and to determine the effectiveness of Youssef Al-Hakim in the ministries he occupied, we will address each ministerial position in chronological order.

Yousef Al-Hakim, Minister of Justice (acting) from 4 May 1926 until 12 June 1926(First Ministry)

The Mandate Authority¹ used harsh methods in treating the Syrian people and took control of the work force of² the Syrian state. The first phase of the Mandate was in fact a period of military dictatorship which was ruled by three leaders of the French army,³ namely, Goro, Weyggand, and⁴ Sarrail, each of whom was a High Commissioner who exercised his powers under a military law.

The French authorities committed the most heinous crime against humanity by bombing the city of Damascus without prior warning. On the evening of 18 October 1925, the revolutionaries entered the capital Damascus and infiltrated the old markets of Damascus and its neighborhoods after they learned that General Sarai had arrived in Damascus by train from Beirut and resided in the Great Palace. Some of the Combatants decided to kidnap General Sarai, as they attacked the palace and set it on fire. There was a fierce battle and Sarai was able to hide in⁵ his cars. As a result, General Sarai lost his senses and ordered General Gamilan⁽⁶⁾ (Gamelin) to bomb the city of Damascus with cannons from the two castles of Damascus and nearby Mezzeh⁽⁷⁾.

The bombing began at 4 p.m. on Sunday, October 18 of the same year, and continued until Tuesday, the twentieth of the same month. In addition to heavy artillery, aircraft and tanks were used⁽⁸⁾.

Thus, the bombing of Damascus continued for three days and most residential neighborhoods were destroyed and many of the people of Damascus were martyred⁽⁹⁾.

As a result, one of the most prominent early results of the Syrian revolution was the summoning of the French government, General Saray, to Paris, and¹⁰ the appointment of Count Henrie De Gouvenel from its senior political men. This appointment indicated its desire to suppress the revolution with politics and understanding with the patriots⁽¹¹⁾.

De Jouvenel took the initiative immediately after his appointment to contact the national figures in order to reach a solution that satisfies all parties and bloodshed⁽¹²⁾, and he made contacts between him and the national leaders outside the country that lasted about nine months⁽¹³⁾, and he met before coming to Syria with the members of the Executive Committee of the Syrian-Palestinian Conference⁽¹⁴⁾ in Cairo, and he also met with the delegations of the Syrian country in Beirut, and he felt that there is a consensus to demand the independence and unity of the country⁽¹⁵⁾, but he found himself in an atmosphere that resembles a vicious circle, as he collided with the French local and military authorities who were opposed to making concessions to the Syrians⁽¹⁶⁾.

Which forced him to follow the policy of his predecessor at work to disperse the strength of the patriots and find gaps between them and among the ranks of the people of one country⁽¹⁷⁾.

De Jouvenel called for the holding of general elections⁽¹⁸⁾ to ensure the progress of administrative work, and General Andrea (Andrea) was appointed as a military governor of Homs, Aleppo and Hama⁽¹⁹⁾ to hold the elections that he divided into two stages, the first to take place on 8 December 1926, and the second phase on 22 December of the same year, and the decision stipulated that the elections should be held in the manner of small electoral districts, as the brigade is one district, which includes the center of the brigade, its case and its subdistricts, and the purpose of this was to break up Syria⁽²⁰⁾.

The patriots rejected this plan, formed election boycott committees, led the popular bailout to boycott it, and extended to various regions of Syria, and there were clashes between the police and the protesters, and many were arrested for spreading rumors⁽²¹⁾, and as a result, de Jouvenel announced martial law and arrested the patriots, as they were placed in a prison on Irwad Island⁽²²⁾.

In the wake of the denial of the Syrian national figures, political matters worsened and became more and more complicated, as the Syrian people staged demonstrations raising protests against Juvenil, and held a civil strike in protest against the arrest of the patriots⁽²³⁾.

In order to contain the explosive situation, de Jouvenel assigned Sheikh Taj El Din El Hassani⁽²⁴⁾ to form the ministry, but he failed to form it, de Jouvenel contacted Hashim El Atassi, and offered him cooperation, but he refused completely unless the French evacuation started and then negotiations followed⁽²⁵⁾.

After de Jouvenel's failure to convince Hashim al-Atassi to form the ministry, and Sheikh Taj al-Din al-Hassani's failure once again to form it⁽²⁶⁾, de Jouvenel offered al-Damad Ahmad Nami⁽²⁷⁾ the formation of the government, and de Jouvenel issued his decision on April 26, 1926 appointing al-Damad Ahmad Nami as head of state, and granting him the power to elect his assistants (Sudarmo & Sari, 2021; Widodo & Hayu, 2021; Yang & Alves, 2021).

The Syrian country received the news of the formation of the ministry with acceptance and welcome, and there was joy throughout the Syrian country, so that the new government may do something to rid itself of the flames of the flames of the Syrian revolution⁽²⁸⁾.

Indeed, Damad contacted the Patriots in order to cooperate with him to form a government, and confirmed that his first purpose is to conduct negotiations with France to reach a treaty similar to the (Iraqi-British) Treaty of 1922⁽²⁹⁾.

Damad formed his ministries on May 4, 1926, and included six ministers, three of whom were from the patriots, namely (Hosni Al-Barazi³⁰) for the interior, Faris Al-Khoury Al-Maarif, Lutfi Al-Hafar⁽³¹⁾ for public works and trade, Shakir Al-Shaabi for finance, Youssef Al-Hakim for justice (agency), and Confident for agriculture⁽³²⁾.

The Ministry's composition in this regard took into account the plan that Damad agreed upon with the men of the national bloc first, then High Commissioner de

Jouvenel, and this plan requires that half of the ministry be from the nationalists known as (extremists), and the other half from the patriots who are called (moderates), so it was the fecalist, the puri and the digger from the first team, and the shaabani and the supporter from the second team, but (Youssef al-Hakim) was a patriot who was not affiliated with a party, either in the Faisali era or before or after⁽³³⁾.

In his memoirs, Yusuf Al-Hakim stated that he apologized for accepting the Ministry of Justice, for his desire to abide by his judicial function, as he was the first president of the Supreme Court of Cassation (Court of Cassation³⁴), but Damad insisted on him to accept the position the saying: "Accept the ministry while keeping your original job, their significance is the same, which is to ensure justice." When Yusuf Al-Hakim repeated his apology, Damad told him: "I will be honest with you, you are the only Christian nominated by the patriots to participate in the ministry and they will have half of the ministerial chairs and the High Commissioner has agreed to this, you may not refrain from our participation in the next national action." Yusuf Al-Hakim accepted his position in the ministry⁽³⁵⁾.

The government met after its composition under the presidency of Damad Ahmad Nami in the Council of Ministers Hall, and the meeting was attended by High Commissioner de Jouvenel, and after long talks and commendation of the ministers to achieve Syrian unity, it was agreed between Juvenil and the government on the government's Agreement and program known as (Damad-de Jouvenel Agreement)⁽³⁶⁾.

It included the call to convert the Mandate into a treaty to be concluded between France and Syria for a period of thirty years, and the call for a constituent assembly to develop the country's constitution, achieve Syrian unity, unify the judicial system on the basis of national sovereignty in a way that preserves the rights of both nationals and foreigners, form a national army so that French forces can gradually evacuate the country, and request the inclusion of Syria in the League of Nations and give it the right of external representation like Iraq, and studied the reform of the monetary system and the restoration of the golden foundation in the country's official currency gradually, and the general amnesty for all political crimes, and the cancellation of war fines for Damascus, and finding a way to compensate for the victims of the revolution⁽³⁷⁾.

This program was the main goal on which the Damad government relied to restore peace and achieve the aspirations of the Syrian country as quickly as possible⁽³⁸⁾.

After the Damad government took office, the first action it took was to issue a decision to abolish the exceptional courts⁽³⁹⁾ pursuant to the first item of the government's platform, those courts formed in the wake of the Great Syrian Revolution⁽⁴⁰⁾.

In the first week after the Syrian government took office, a delegation of Syrians came to visit Damad, who presented him with a petition indicating the atrocious crimes committed by the Director of the French General Security (Bejean) by killing dozens of innocent detainees unjustly, so Damad contacted High

Commissioner de Juvenil immediately, and submitted to him what was stated in the petition, so the High Commissioner dismissed him and appointed a new Director of General Security, Monsieur Vardon, and released the detainees from prison without an arrest warrant in response to the government⁽⁴¹⁾.

The Patriots contacted the rebels in order to stop the fighting and issue a general amnesty, but the rebels continued the revolution, which hindered the government's work and did not achieve the desired success⁽⁴²⁾.

After High Commissioner de Jouvenel agreed with the Damad government on the curriculum that guarantees the rights of Syria and the dignity of France, the High Commissioner travelled to persuade his government to conclude a treaty replacing the Mandate and hold the constitutional elections to draw up a permanent constitution for the country, but he failed⁽⁴³⁾, because he collided with the position of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which did not agree with his plan, justifying that the French army must suppress the Syrian revolution, and as a result, the government met with General Andrea, the new commander of the French army, and Monsieur Pierre Alype, Deputy High Commissioner, and General Andrea explained that with the resignation of the High Commissioner he finds himself obliged to do his military work, and that he will strike the rebels with an iron hand⁽⁴⁴⁾.

In that period, High Commissioner de Jouvenel issued the new constitution of Lebanon on May 23, 1926, and it stipulated that no part of the land of Lebanon may be waived⁽⁴⁵⁾, which prevents the achievement of the Syrian unity that the patriots participated in the ministry to achieve⁽⁴⁶⁾.

In his memoirs, Lotfi al-Hafar stated that in his recent meetings with General Andrea, he tried to convince him of the need to understand with the revolutionaries with deliberation and persuasion, but he insisted on his opinion of the need to suppress it by force, and there was a violent argument between Lotfi al-Hafar and with him Fares al-Khoury and General Andrea on June 12, 1926, and the meeting was at the Government House in al-Saray, and Lotfi al-Hafar and his companions left the meeting room, and they resolved to resign from the ministry⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Indeed, Lutfi al-Hafar, Fares al-Khoury and Hosni al-Barazi resigned from the ministry, and Hosni al-Barazi recounts in his memoirs that they were raided by forces at night and arrested by Fares al-Khoury, Minister of Knowledge, and Lotfi al-Hafar, Minister of Public Works. They were picked up by armoured cars at night and drove to Homs under heavy guard to Hasakah⁽⁴⁸⁾.

After the arrest of the three national ministers, they arrested their comrades⁽⁴⁹⁾, and Damad Ahmed Nami counted his decision No. (79), making the ministry dissolved, as of June 12, 1926.

Minister of Justice (Agency) from 12 June 1926 until 2 December 1926(Second Ministry)

In the wake of the denial of the Syrian national figures, political matters worsened and became more and more complicated, in protest against the arrest of the patriots⁽⁵⁰⁾, and in light of those events, Damad Ahmad Nami reconstituted in the formation of his government on June 12, 1926, and formed from Damad to the

presidency, and the confident of the great supporter of the interior and Acting of Agriculture and Economy, Youssef Al-Hakim for Justice (agency), Sheqib Mayser for Public Works and Trade, Abdul Qader Al-Azim for Finance, and Shakir Al-Hanbali for acquaintances⁽⁵¹⁾, and new ministers have entered the place of the three national ministers, to fill the vacuum that occurred in the ministry after the resignation of the national ministers, where Hosni Al-Barazi mentioned in his memoirs that others who did not resign, remained in the ministry and "failed" at the time they pledged to do so if one of the ministers resigns everyone⁽⁵²⁾.

In July 1926, de Jouvenel travelled to France, and before his trip, Damid Ahmed Nami recommended continuing efforts to implement the program that was agreed upon, and during de Jouvenel's absence from the country, the Damad visited Aleppo and the Brigade of Alexandron⁽⁵³⁾.

Upon his return to Damascus, the ministers were briefed on the results of this visit, foremost of which was the desire of the overwhelming majority for unity and independence. The Council of Ministers held a session in which it discussed the issue of the return of the Iskenderun Brigade to Syria, the disengagement of its direct link with the High Commission, and the need to send some ministers to achieve this in the manner agreed upon with High Commissioner de Jouvenel, which is to obtain the unanimity of the capital government and the representatives of the brigade. The Minister of Justice (Youssef Al-Hakim), and the former Minister of Finance Shakir Nemat Al-Shaabani⁽⁵⁴⁾ were selected to carry out this task.

The two ministers traveled to the Alexandron Brigade, and met with the deputies of the Brigade, and after the search, a seizure was signed, which included the unanimity of their word to include it in Syria and to consider its main government as its highest reference⁽⁵⁵⁾.

As for the national ministers, they stayed in Hasakah in a very hot atmosphere, the temperature was reaching (47) degrees Celsius, and they stayed there for eighty days, and their health worsened during them because of the heat intensity, and then they were transferred to the illiterates of Korra in Lebanon, then they were forced to stay outside Syria⁽⁵⁶⁾.

The Syrian newspapers conducted interviews with the detained national ministers and their companions for the mistreatment they were receiving, and these newspapers pointed to the suffering that the detainees endured when they were in Al-Hasakah during the summer and after transferring them in the early winter to the village of illiterate people in Lebanon, a town that is very humid and cold, as their health worsened and they complained more⁽⁵⁷⁾.

As for the French authorities, they justified the arrest of the ministers for military reasons and the army's interest requires this, and Damad Ahmed Nami and his minister, Youssef Al-Hakim, have disavowed their relationship with the arrest of the ministers, and announced that they did not know about this, and that they were arrested without their knowledge of the matter, but after they learned of the matter, they did not take any action to release them or conduct a meeting on that bad treatment⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Whatever the explanations, Youssef Al-Hakim was able to undoubtedly practice his ministerial work. He issued a number of decisions of a judicial and judicial nature, including the decision to change the rate of conversion of foreign currency types, which included converting the Syrian currency into the types of foreign currency specified in the contracts and writings subject to the relative stamping fee, the legal fees, the fees of the notary public and the fees of the title deed used as the basis for these fees, such as the dollar, the Egyptian pound, the English pound, the gold Ottoman pound, the French pound, gold, the Swiss franc, the Belgian franc and the Italian franc. In this decision, Youssef Al-Hakim confirmed that the units of types of foreign currency that are not mentioned are constantly converting them into the Syrian currency according to the price of a check from a bank drawn on the country whose currency the contract is drawn, on the day and place of the transaction that must be completed⁽⁵⁹⁾.

He also issued a decision on nationality and litigation that is included in all cases if one of the parties acquires a new nationality during a lawsuit filed with the Syrian courts or the composite courts, which allows him to claim the invalidity of one of these courts⁽⁶⁰⁾.

He also issued a decision on the restraining order. which included the establishment of three new centers at the Mixed Judicial Council, and allocated two of them to the interrogation circles, which deal with the same compensation as the head of the book, and appointed a book for seizure in the Mixed Judicial Council⁽⁶¹⁾, and issued a decision on pardon that included all persons sentenced to death whose punishment turns to the penalty of hard labor, and in addition, he issued a decision on foreign defendants, which included if the defendants to the Judicial Council from foreign liability, the acts attributed to them cannot be considered political, but rather considered criminal acts or ordinary crimes⁽⁶²⁾.

As for de Jouvenel, when he arrived in Paris and met with the French ministry again and presented her with the agreement that had been made between him and the Damad, she saw him unfair to the interests of France, and asked him to amend it, he did not accept and chose to resign from his job,⁶³ so the French government appointed Henry Ponsot, a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in his place on September 3, 1926⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Thus, this government continued until 2 December 1926, and during its reign, administrative matters proceeded normally with the French army's heavy impact on the men of the Great Syrian Revolution and their pursuit in the mountain and Ghouta, until it weakened and displaced its men to various Arab countries⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Minister of Justice (Acting) from 2 December 1926 until 8 February 1928 (Third Ministry)

The new High Commissioner, Henry Bonso, arrived in Syria on October 13, 1926⁽⁶⁶⁾, and issued his first statement, in which he announced his intention to cooperate with the Patriots after security had been established⁽⁶⁷⁾, and Bonso wanted to gain time, arrange Syria's internal conditions, and disperse the strength of the Patriots⁽⁶⁸⁾.

When Bonso met with Damad Ahmad Nami, he asked him to form a new government after consulting the opinions of some patriots, and to combine the Presidency of the State and the Presidency of the Ministry, or choose someone he trusts to compose the ministry. He was first charged with (Youssef al-Hakim), but he apologized for reasons that increased Damad's attachment to him and admiring his Zahda in manifestations and standing and loyalty to the homeland and moral principles, and charged Atta al-Ayyubi⁽⁶⁹⁾ and Hashim al-Atasi. They apologized, so Damad failed to convince them to participate in his ministries, as they required the recognition of the independence and unity of Syria⁽⁷⁰⁾.

Therefore, Damad considered that he should retain the unity of the two presidencies, so he composed his (third) ministries on 2 December 1926, and it consisted of Rauf al-Ayyubi for the interior, (Youssef al-Hakim) for justice by proxy, Hamdi al-Nasr for finance, Shakir al-Hanbali for acquaintances, Rashid al-Maadis for public works, Nahwi al-Bukhari for agriculture and trade⁽⁷¹⁾.

Its members were chosen from neutrals who did not belong to any of the political tendencies, and were accepted by the High Commissioner Henry Bonso⁽⁷²⁾.

He started talking between Bonso and Damad Ahmed Nami about the mission of the government, so the first question Bonso asked Damad was saying: "What is the new program of the ministry?" Damad replied to the Cabinet's decision that the transactions required for the election of a constituent assembly must be prepared in accordance with my agreement with de Jouvenel. Bonso asked him saying: "Do you guarantee the election of well-intentioned deputies of the nation who wish to cooperate with the Mandatory State in a sincere way for the good of Syria?" The ministers replied unanimously with one answer, in which Yusuf al-Hakim (in French) "We guarantee the holding of free and fair elections, the result of which, it is hoped, is the victory of the Syrian nation with reasonable representatives loyal to their country, friends of France."⁽⁷³⁾

Bonso said: "If the extremists working with an external revelation win in the interest of neither Syria nor France, what does the work do?" Yusuf al-Hakim replied: "We exclude this after what we saw from the nation's acceptance of the agreement between your predecessor de Jouvenel and the head of state and his first national government." Bonso said: "I will study this issue with my representatives in Syria and his collaborators and inform you of the result before you prepare the election tables"⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Bonso left Syria in February 1927 for Paris and Geneva, to discuss the French Mandate on Syria at meetings of the League of Nations⁽⁷⁵⁾.

At the same time, the Syrian and Lebanese nationalists telegraphed to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to Bonso demanding the unity of the country, the restoration of the lands that were annexed to ancient Lebanon, and the call of the Constituent Assembly to develop the constitution⁽⁷⁶⁾.

However, Youssef Al-Hakim was interested in judicial matters in that period and legal topics. By following up his report in the Ministry of Justice and the Court of Cassation, he notes that Youssef Al-Hakim was following up and expressing

sound opinions on the legal regulations. He was keen to read between the lines of the law. He analyzes the law radically and shows its negatives and errors. He explains the concepts in a scientific way. When discussing (the replacement law), he discussed (the replacement law) any replacement of endowment properties, according to which it is permissible to replace all endowment properties, whether built or not, except for mosques, with cash or another property whose value is equivalent to the replaced property, stressing that this law was found to monitor public endowments in Syria and Lebanon and protect the rights of these endowments.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Despite those concerns, Yusuf al-Hakim over-supported Damad personally, as he walked in his passengers and gave speeches in praise and support of his covenant, which did not leave a good impact on the souls, and came in contradiction to what he likes to be the judge, especially the first judge in the state, of balance and complete neutrality, especially in an era in which the patriots were deported in exile and the national revolution is a list that the French are fighting with their armies, and Damad is walking in their passengers⁽⁷⁸⁾, and the great journalist Najib al-Rayes, the owner of the famous Syrian newspaper (al-Qabas), pointed out that: "This isolated judge and praise poet has been the function of the poet of the Ministry of Justice, in the days of Damad, and his poems were in praising his minister The head of the state is many, he throws it at every party and every holiday, but the damad was a candidate then for the Syrian throne, and these candidates are good enough to sing such silly things"⁽⁷⁹⁾.

Damad ministers were not on a noticeable share of the responsibility, and perhaps Yusuf al-Hakim was the only one of his ministers who could be counted on, because he is a lawman⁽⁸⁰⁾, so he granted al-Damad, Yusuf al-Hakim in his capacity as undersecretary of justice and first president of the Court of Cassation (the Syrian Gold Medal of Merit)⁽⁸¹⁾ of the first class, a gold medal with two branches of palm separating them from a crimson port⁽⁸²⁾, in recognition of the great services he performed, and a reward for his lack of loyalty in the service of the Syrian country⁽⁸³⁾.

On the popular level, the Syrian people continued their protest against the exile of the national ministers, and the nation's word was unanimous that the Damad Ahmed Nami ministry does not deserve to enjoy confidence, and it is not right to be in power⁽⁸⁴⁾, and the opposition has intensified against the Damad government, and was based on that it has been very lenient with France, and must resign and form a government that seeks to achieve Syrian unity, and carry out constitutional reforms⁽⁸⁵⁾, and publications were issued in Damascus demanding Syrian unity, and others demanding the overthrow of the government, and the establishment of a national government in its place⁽⁸⁶⁾.

After Bonso returned to Syria, he broadcast a statement on 26 July 1927, in which he announced his new policy in Syria⁽⁸⁷⁾, which is the interest in achieving the aspirations of the Syrian people of all sects, and that France will stand on the side of neutrality in the conflicts of his sects, and that it will play the role of judge⁽⁸⁸⁾.

As a result, the Syrian patriots held a large conference in Beirut in the period (1925 October 1927), called the National Conference or the Beirut Conference, headed by Hashim Atassi, and included many Syrian national figures, and its work lasted for seven days⁽⁸⁹⁾, and the conference caused a great uproar in the Arab and French circles, because the conference counted the ministry is not representative of the nation, and it cannot be an honest tool for understanding between the Syrian patriots and the Mandate authorities, and the conference issued a lengthy statement submitted to the High Commissioner Bonso⁽⁹⁰⁾, in which they called for the abolition of exile measures without trial, the announcement of amnesty, freedom of the press, and the restoration of the Syrian people's right to rule without the intervention of the French⁽⁹¹⁾.

After Bonso received the statement of the National Conference from Hashim Atassi, he assigned a committee under his chairmanship and the membership of senior French officials to study and submit the necessary proposals, and it was agreed that the elections would be held to enact the Constitution of Syria, and on 23 December 1927, Bonso met with Hashim Atassi and discussed with him the proposals that were submitted to him, and they agreed to hold elections⁽⁹²⁾.

Contacts between the two sides continued until January 28, 1928, and finally after secret negotiations between Bonso, Hashim al-Atasi, and Ibrahim Hanano⁽⁹³⁾ on the one hand, as the two national leaders who have contact with most Syrian politicians, and between Sheikh Taj al-Din al-Husseini on the other hand, and Bonso agreed to make a change in his policy⁽⁹⁴⁾, and it was agreed to form a government that includes the patriots to supervise the election of a constituent assembly, draws up a constitution for the country, and then holds it together with France for a limited period, according to which France recognizes the independence of Syria, and seeks to include it in the League of Nations⁽⁹⁵⁾.

All this took place while Ahmed Nami and members of his government did not know anything, and they knew the news of those meetings from the Lebanese newspapers, which embarrassed them, and made them realize that France does not give them political weight, so they decided to submit a collective resignation on February 8, 1928⁽⁹⁶⁾, in which they said: "We read in the newspapers, especially the Peruvian ones, the news of the summoning by the High Commission of the President of the National Party, Hashim Atassi, and the great leader, Ibrahim Hanano, to negotiate with them on the solution of the Syrian issue definitively, under the supervision of your highness, we, the ministers in your government, after deliberating on the matter, to raise to your highness our collective resignation, in the hope that it will lead to the success of the negotiations..."⁽⁹⁷⁾.

Despite the resignation of Damad on February 8, 1928 and its acceptance on February 14⁽⁹⁸⁾, the negotiations with the Patriots did not lead to a decisive result because of Bonso's retreat from the promises made by his predecessor de Jouvenel to the Patriots, especially those related to the unity and independence of the country⁽⁹⁹⁾. Bonso then tried to reach an understanding with one of the moderate figures, Sheikh Tajuddin al-Husseini, so he assigned him to form an

interim government on February 14, 1928, that would ensure the normal administrative work until a permanent government is appointed ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

The fall of Damad was greeted with great joy by the patriots and the national press, as it was a victory for the national movement and Hashim Atassi ⁽¹⁰¹⁾, because the Damad government has been described as an agent of France, hostile to the national movement and its free press ⁽¹⁰²⁾.

Some newspapers also criticized his minister, Youssef Al-Hakim, and described him as a hypocrite. In this regard, he explicitly referred to this journalist, Najib Al-Rayes, in his speech under the title (the pious minister), in which he said: "Among the advantages of the classification that took place in the judicial districts in 1928, is that it is a far cry from the centers of government, a team of judges who lived at their expense and faked them more than their competence and integrity. Some of these were employees in the annexes, but people used to see them more often in Damascus and in the government house, especially on the second floor, including in front of the hall of the Head of State, Dammad Ahmed Nami. Their hands in their pocks are going to and going until they are authorized to enter His Highness, even if they are honored with this interview by the chief relative (Hammoud Bek Al-Hakim). They took out that which they were carrying in their pocks and if..WhatA poem" of poetry formulated in the praise of His Majesty the Waiting, and they cast it standing in the hands of "His Highness" loudly while (Yusuf Bey Acting) represents the role of" the Righteous "and his master understands the meanings of this poem inspired by this poet judge the poet from the emotions of the nation that awaits with patience the coronation ceremony and calls for His Highness to be king over Syria"⁽¹⁰³⁾.

He also strongly criticized him in another lengthy article under the title (Preaching and Consolation), in which he said: "In the dismissal of His Excellency Youssef Bek Al-Hakim, a sermon that is no longer a sermon. Rather, there is a harsh lesson that the truth sends to those whose lusts have overcome their minds. The lust of Youssef Al-Hakim has prevailed over his mind. He led him to the ministry, not convinced of the presidency of the First Court of Cassation, but rather he liked to gather in his hands the Ministry of Justice and the Presidency of Cassation. He also ridiculed the judiciary for politics and the weak among them, so that they became a machine to support his policy and the policy of Damad and held the throne of his fellow ministers, so that they preferred exile to support ignorance and support the support of the covenants, and work for the throne that he worked for him with all his strength, and the position of the presidency of discrimination and the Ministry of Justice also from the ability to recruit people and make them guards at court. Thus, he was a batter for the saying:" Some souls do not bear the burden of slavery to bear the burden of freedom. ".

The dismissal of Yusuf Bey from office is a historical incident, and if the man protected the law and preserved the honor of the judiciary and justice, he would not be isolated, but he who does not protect the law and justice and harness them to the lusts of politics may not now ask them for protection. "⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

Conclusion

From the above, it is clear to us that the National opposition was not directed to the Mandatory State as much as it was directed to the government of Damad Ahmed Nami and his minister Youssef Al-Hakim, who was subject to all French plans, without any discussion, even if it was on the interests of the Syrian people themselves, which resigned after bitter experiences.

It also seems to us that Youssef Al-Hakim did not reason his steps wisely in the Damad government, as he was not convinced of the presidency of the Court of Cassation, which is the most honorable title in the state and the highest position of every position, but he refused to be the master of all judges and the leader of the protectors of the law in this country, but he refused to be free in his court, so he made this freedom available to his holy and devoted himself to the service of Damad and his delusional throne, and this matter did not appeal to many, and somewhat harsh criticism to evidence of that.

Youssef Al-Hakim accepted to work in the three ministries of Damad from 4 May 1926 until 8 February 1928 in (Acting) except as a living evidence of Al Hakim's agreement with Al-Damad that the position in the Court of Cassation should be occupied by him in the event of resignation from his position, and this is what really happened. When the Government of Damad resigned, Youssef Al-Hakim returned to his work in the Court as a judge first, and here he was certainly caused (jealousy or envy) to lit on some of his colleagues.

The criticisms pointed to Youssef Al-Hakim after his exit from the ministry (resignation of the Damad government) do not mean at all that he was unsuccessful or successful in his ministerial work, but he had a good impact in the legislation of more than (176) different laws in all provisions that lasted for a long time, and was considered by (some) historians or the competent people who passed them previously during personal interviews, that he was one of the most successful ministers who worked in the Faisalic government and followed it from different ministries, despite the short term of those ministries (the Ministry of Al Rikabi, Hashim Alatasi and Aladdin Daroubi) in which Youssef Al-Hakim worked for a total of only (163) days, while the ministries of Damad (the three) the total of its days was (627), from which Youssef Al-Hakim achieved what he achieved, and sometimes failed in different aspects, and this is normal for this service in general.

Footnotes

-
- (1) It is called a special political system, which determines the relations of some strong peoples with other vulnerable peoples who cannot yet (govern themselves), and it is referred to in Article XXII of the Charter of the League of Nations, which is the article that examines mandates and their types. For more information : Fouad Mofarrej, Letter in Mandate (The Idea of Mandate, Abolition of Mandate and its Provisions, Mandate and League Membership), Masdar Press, Beirut, 1933; Hikmat Ali Ismail, French Mandate System on Syria 1920-1928, unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 1992, p. 47.
- (2) Tawfiq Sultan Al-Yazbeki et al., Studies in the Arab World of Revolutionary and Political Movements, 2nd Edition, Dar Al-Kotab Foundation for Printing and Publishing, Mosul, 1975, p. 58.
- (3) He is a French military commander, born in 1876, in the Belgian city of Brussels, enrolled into the military school and graduated from it in 1888, and when the First World War took over the position

- of commander of the 9th Corps in the Battle of the Marne and became the Chief of the Staff of the war, he was granted the rank of General in 1916, he assumed several positions of High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon in 1923, he died in 1965. For more, see: 'Abd-al-Rahman' Abd-al-Karim al-Bitar, *The French Treaty and National Governance in Syria 1936-1939*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 1922, p. 46; Jalal Kazem Mohsen al-Kanani, *The French Administration in Syria (1920-1936)*, Baghdad, 2018, p. 62.
- (4) He is a military commander, born in France in 1856, and he was the oldest High Commissioner who preceded him, and he carried Masonic secular ideas, he was a member of the League for Human Rights, his name emerged in the First World War, especially in the Battle of the Marne and the defense of two individuals who were subsequently appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Thessaloniki, and he was appointed High Commissioner in Syria (1925-1927). For more look: Muhammad Jamil Behm, *convoys of Araba and its processions during the ages*, C2, Dar Al Kashaf Press, Beirut, 1950, p. 30; Jalal Kazim Mohsen Al Kinani, previous source, p. 67.
- (5) Salma Lutfi Al-Hafar Al-Kazbari, LutfiAl-Hafar, *His Memorandums, Life of His Age*, Riad Al-Rayyis Books and Publishing, London, 1997, p. 140.
- (6) A French military commander, he was the chief of the general staff in the period (1931-1975), the inspector general in the period (1935-1937), and the vice president of the Supreme War Council during the period (1935-1940), he was appointed general commander of the Allied forces in September 1935, he was a strong supporter of the defensive war represented by the Maginas line, he was unable to address the deteriorating military situation after the German attack on May 10, 1940, he was arrested by the Germans after the defeat of France. For more, see: 'Abd al-Salam Mutab' Udan al-Rabi 'i, *Jamil Mardam and his Political and Diplomatic Role until 1948*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Arab History and Scientific Heritage Institute, Baghdad, 2002, p. 37.
- (7) Fahmy Ahmed Farhan Saud Al-Janabi, *The National Bloc and its Political Role in Syria 1928-1946*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Anbar University, 2005, p. 28.
- (8) Sabah Mahdi Al-Dulaimi, *The Great Syrian Revolution and the position of Iraqi public opinion on it in 1925-1927*, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Baghdad, 1989, p. 117.
- (9) Khaled Al-Azm, previous source, p. 157.
- (10) He is one of the most prominent French politicians and writers, studied the sciences of war and the art of politics, graduated in political positions, a French senator, one of France's representatives to the League of Nations, the first French civil commissioner, appointed in this position since the beginning of the French mandate on Syria. For more see: Mohsen Ayman, *Lebanon, Image: Memory of the Century*, Arabic Press, Beirut, 1994, p. 22.
- (11) Mahmoud Saleh Mansi, *Contemporary Arab East, First Division*, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Kotob, Cairo, 1995, p. 140.
- (12) Zouqan Karkout, *The Development of the National Movement in Syria 1919-1939*, Talas House for Studies, Translation and Publishing, Damascus, 1989, p. 76.
- (13) Yousef Jibrán Ghaith, *Political Developments in Syria 1945-1949*, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Baghdad, 1983, p. 35.
- (14) The committee was formed in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1921, It consisted of a group of Syrian parties in Syria and the diaspora that called for the independence of Syria and its headquarters in Cairo. For more see: *Jordanian White Paper, National Documents in Natural Syrian Unity*, Amman, DT, p. 11.
- (15) Youssef Sami Farhan Hussein, Lutfi Al-Hafar and his role in the history of Syria 1885-1968, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, Anbar University, 2010, p. 53.
- (16) *British Documents, Middle East Documents*, published in the *Journal of Solidarity*, London, No. 92, 22January 1982, pp. 68-69.
- (17) Suhaila Al-Rimawi, *Party Rule in Syria during the French Mandate, Part 2*, University of Jordan, D.T., p. 265.
- (18) Mohamed Azza Drouze, *About the Modern Arab Movement*, previous source, pp. 36-37.
- (19) W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Documentary Unit, State Documents, Syrian Revolutionary Group, Document NS/5/28, Docket No. 1, p. 41.
- (20) Stephen Hamsley Lonkrik, *Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate*, Translated by: Pierre Akl, 1st Edition, Dar al-Qaqiqa, Beirut, 1978, p. 219.
- (21) W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Documentary Unit, State Documents, Syrian Revolutionary Group, Document NS/5/38, Docket No. 1, p. 42 Al Bayati
- (22) It is a Syrian island located near the coast at a distance of (3) km from the port of Tartous, its length is (800) m and its width is (500) m, and the French have taken it into exile for their opponents in Syria. Ahmed Attia, previous source, p. 46.
- (23) Nasouh Babil, *Syrian Press and Policy in the Twentieth Century*, Riyadh Reyes Publishing, London, 1987, p. 56.
- (24) He is Muhammad Taj al-Din bin Muhammad Badr al-Din, born in Damascus in 1809, who studied religious sciences, and in 1912, he was appointed a member of the General Council of the State of Syria, a member of the Shura Council in the era of Faisal, a member of the Court of Cassation, and a Sharia judge in Damascus in the era of Faisal, on February 15, 1928 he formed his first government, and on August 14 of the same year he formed his second government, and in 1930 he formed his third government, and in 1934 he formed his fourth government, and in 1941 he was appointed President of the Republic, he died in Damascus in 1934. For more, see: Sabah Alam

- Musa, Sheikh Taj Al-Din Al-Hassani and his role in the contemporary history of Syria, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Al-Qadisiyah University, 2007.
- (25) Nasouh Babil, previous source, p. 55.
- (26) Alf B Newspaper, Syria, No. 1681, April 9, 1926.
- (27) He was born in 1878 in Beirut, a descendant of a Syrian family of the Circassian dynasty that belonged to the Emirate of the Caucasian tribe. Syria was settled a century ago, he was associated with the generosity of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, Princess Aisha. He was nicknamed (Damad), i.e., the son-in-law, and he was composed of three ministries in the period (1926-1928). Yusuf Al-Hakim was in all of them, he left Damascus and lived in Beirut, he died in Paris in the 1960s. For more see: Daad Al-Hakim, Papers and Memoirs of Fakhri Al-Baroudi, 1887-1966, Section One, Ministry of Culture Publications, Damascus, 1999, p. 27.
- (28) Zouqan Karkout, previous source, p. 84.
- (29) Wajih Baydoun, Memories and Selections of Speeches, Conversations and Essays of His Excellency the State of Lutfi Al-Hafar, Ibn Zaydoun Press, Damascus, 1954, p. 52.
- (30) He is a Syrian politician, born in Hama, a senior agricultural owner, who holds the Ministry of Interior in the government of Damad Ahmed Nami, who served as Governor of Aleppo until 1949. See: Abdul Wahab Al Kayali and Kamel Zuhair, Political Encyclopedia, 1st Edition, Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1974, p. 70.
- (31) A Syrian politician, born in Damascus in 1888 and studying his primary sciences in it, and completing his university studies in Astana, he was elected a deputy from Damascus in 1924, he assumed the Ministry of Works in 1926, he won the elections in 1928, the Minister of Finance in the government of Jamil Mardam in 1938, he formed the government in 1939, the Minister of Interior in the government of Saadallah Al-Jabri I in 1843, the Minister of Interior in the government of Fares Al-Khoury III in 1945, the Minister of Interior in the government of Saadallah Al-Jabri II in 1945, the Deputy Prime Minister in the Ministry of Jamil Mardam V in 1948, he retired from political life in the last part of his life, he died in 1968 in Damascus and was buried in it. For more see: Youssef Sami Farhan Hussein, previous source, p. 79.
- (32) Al-Fayhaa Newspaper, Damascus, Issue 129, 14 May 1926.
- (33) Youssef Sami Farhan Hussein, previous source, p. 55.
- (34) Hashim Osman, Previous Interview, March 5, 2022, at 7 pm.
- (35) Youssef Al-Hakim, Syria and the French Mandate, pp. 146-147.
- (36) For more on this program, see: Youssef Hussein Abysh and Youssef Quzma, Syrian statements and discussion in the House of Representatives 1918-1958, the Council of Ministers, Damascus, DT, pp. 15-19.
- (37) For more look: Zuqan Qarqout, previous source, p. 278; Najat Kasab Hassan, Mount of Courage until 1945, B-Adib Press, Syria, 1994, p. 136; Salma Lutfi Al-Hafar, previous source, p. 150.
- (38) Mohamed Al-Farhani, Faris Al-Khoury and Wyam, Damascus, 1964, p. 244.
- (39) In September 1925, the government established the first exceptional court in Damascus, consisting of a president, a French judge, and four members, half of them Syrian and half French, to consider the crimes of murder and all crimes against the security of the state, internally and externally, provided that its judgements are final, and assigned the tasks of the public prosecution and the tasks of the investigating judge to two French judges assisted by Syrian and French officers from the Syrian gendarmerie. When the revolution intensified, the government issued a decision requiring the aforementioned exceptional government to rule in each felony committed against the internal and external reassurance of the state, by confiscating the property of the convicted for the benefit of the state. Salma Lutfi Al-Kazbari, previous source, p. 148.
- (40) Ibid., p. 149.
- (41) Mohamed Rajai Rayyan, Political Parties in Syria 1920-1939, Damascus, DT, p. 99.
- (42) Salma Lutfi Al-Kazbari, previous source, p. 155.
- (43) Hanna Khabbaz, previous source, p. 64.
- (44) Mohamed Al-Farhani, previous source, p. 244.
- (45) Melhem Korban, The Modern Political History of Lebanon, Part 1, University Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1981, p. 188.
- (46) Hanna Khabbaz, previous source, p. 64.
- (47) Salma Lutfi Al-Kazbari, previous source, p. 155.
- (48) It is a city on the Khabor River, one of the tributaries of the Euphrates River in northern Syria, the center of Al-Hasakah Governorate (formerly Al-Jazirah), built by the Assyrians, one of the most important commercial centers in the Al-Jazirah region. Al-Hasakah Governorate includes three districts (Qamishli, Al-Malikiyah and Ras Al-Ain), and it is located on the Iraqi-Syrian border. Adapted from : Youssef Farhan Hussein, op. Cit., P. 60.
- (49) They are Saad Allah al-Jabri, Fawzi al-Ghazi, Badr al-Din al-Safadi, Adib al-Safadi and others. For more, see: Ahmed Elgendy, Dhikra Saad Allah Elgabry, Dar Tlass for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, DT, p. 39.
- (50) Waseem Abdel Amerouheib Al-Hasnawi, Saad Allah Al-Jabri and his political role in Syria until 1947, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Qadisiyah University, 2017, p. 54.
- (51) Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Syrian Ministries 1918-1989, Damascus, 1989, p. 56; Mazen Youssef Sabbagh, previous source, p. 73.
- (52) Youssef Sami Farhan Hussein, previous source, p. 61.
- (53) An ancient city on the Mediterranean coast, its name is in French Alexandria, and in English Alexandria, and it is the natural port of Aleppo and northern Syria, which entered under French

- influence since 1919, and France had to preserve it as part of the area it trusted under the Mandate deed, but France donated it unjustly to Turkey under a political deal with it. For more, see: Kamel Al-Ghazi, A Profile of the History of Alexandria, Al-Adat Magazine, Aleppo, No. 5, September 1931, pp. 59-61; Saadoun Al-Amir, International Conflicts and Alexandria, Arab History Magazine, Baghdad, No. 28, 1986, p. 14; Hossam Al-Nayef, Brigade of Alexandria (1876-1939), Political-Economic-Social Study, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Damascus University, 2005.
- (54) Hashim Othman, The History of Modern Syria, Riad Al-Rayyes for Books and Publishing, 1st Edition, 2012, p. 84.
- (55) Ibid., p. 85.
- (56) Abdullah Hanna, Labor Movement in Syria and Lebanon 1900-1945, Damascus House of Printing and Publishing, Damascus, 1973, p. 211.
- (57) W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Special Section, Syrian Information Office, Docket 29, Document No. 132, p. 57.
- (58) Sadiq al-Hamawi, Memoirs of the Mujahid al-Dimashqi Fawzi Hassan al-Bitar, Damascus, 2007, pp. 376-377.
- (59) Yahya Suleiman al-Qassam, Encyclopedia of Syria's Ancient, Modern, World and Religious History, Part 1, 1st Edition, Noor Houran Studies, Publishing and Heritage, Damascus, 2022, pp. 364-365.
- (60) Official Bulletin of Administrative Business, No. 14, July 20, 1926, p. 296.
- (61) Official Bulletin of Administrative Works, op. Cit., No. 21, p. 388.
- (62) The same source.
- (63) He is a professional French diplomat, born in 1877, who does not have any political affiliations. He had a long experience in the diplomatic service, as he was a deputy director of the African department in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then appointed a High Commissioner in Syria to succeed Al-Massi Wadi Juvenil. For more, see: Jalal Al-Kanani, previous source, p. 76; Hassan Al-Hakim, My Memoirs, Pages of Syria's Modern History 1920-1958, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Jadid, Beirut, 1966, p. 48.
- (64) Hashim Osman, The History of Modern Syria, p. 85.
- (65) Yahya Suleiman Qassam, previous source, p. 187.
- (66) Hashim Osman, The History of Modern Syria, p. 85.
- (67) Consul Hole to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Damascus, January 29, 1927, F.O., 371/12303, NO.15
- (68) Walid Al-Moualem, previous source, p. 218.
- (69) A Syrian politician, born in 1877 in Damascus, who studied in Damascus schools, graduated from the Faculty of Law in Syria, practiced law, graduated in political positions during the French mandate, he took over the Ministry of Justice in 1934, he formed the first ministry in 1936, he led the interim government in 1943 for the purpose of holding elections, he died in 1944. For more, see: Abdul Wahab Al-Kayali and Kamel Al-Zuhairi, previous source, p. 123.
- (70) Hashim Osman, The History of Modern Syria, p. 85.
- (71) The Collection of the Decisions of the Government of Syria since the Occupation at the end of September 1918 to the present day, Part 3, Masdar Press, Beirut, 1934, p. 301.
- (72) Osama Rifat Hassan Al Bayati, Hashim Al-Atasi and his Political Role in Syria 1887-1960, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education (Ibn Rushd), University of Baghdad, 2006, p. 46
- (73) Yousef Al-Hakim, Syria and the French Mandate, pp.187-188
- (74) The same source
- (75) It is the first open international organization established in the world after the end of the First World War, to try to find peace and security in the world, and to resolve disputes and disagreements between countries by peaceful means, before the development of the subject into a war, and did not require the state to be independent to be admitted to membership in the League, so we note colonies that obtained membership such as the British colonies, India, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and this League ended after the establishment of the Third World War in 1939. For more see: Ismail Abdel Kafi, previous source, p. 293; Sadiq Hassan Al-Sudani, Pages from the History of the League of Nations, Dar Al-Jawahri for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Baghdad, 2003, p. 5
- (76) Al-Ray al-Amr Newspaper, Syria, No. 4001, February 15, 1927; Al-Istiqlal Newspaper, Baghdad, No. 1016, March 28, 1927.
- (77) Yahya Suleiman Qassam, previous source, pp. 366-369.
- (78) Asaad Al-Kourani, Memories and reflections from what I saw, heard and did, Riad Al-Rais for Books and Publishing, 1st Edition, Beirut-Lebanon, 2000, p. 97.
- (79) Naguib Al-Rayyes, Darkness of the Prison (1920-1952), 1st Edition, Riad Al-Rayyes Books and Publishing Company, London, 1994, p. 104.
- (80) Riyad Al-Jabri, Saad Allah Al-Jabri and Dialogue with History (Luminous Papers), Arab Writers Union Publications, Damascus, 2006, p. 64.
- (81) Capital Newspaper, Damascus, No. 302, 1 May 1927.
- (82) Collection of decisions of the Government of Syria, op. Cit., p. 202.
- (83) Capital Newspaper, No. 302, May 1927.
- (84) W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Special Section, Syrian Information Office, Docket 29, Document No. 92.
- (85) Alam Al-Arabi Newspaper, Baghdad, 1948, August 14, 1927.
- (86) Iraq Newspaper, Baghdad, No. 2224, 22 August 1927.
- (87) For more on data see: Al-Istiklah Newspaper, Baghdad, Issue 1124, 9 October .1927

- (88) Alireza, The story of the national struggle in Syria militarily and politically until the evacuation of 1918-1948, Damascus, 1977, p. 282.
- (89) Suhaila Al-Rimawi, Partisan Rule in Syria, The French Mandate Period 1925-1945, Part 1, Military Press, Amman, 1999, p. 279.
- (90) W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Special Section, Syrian Information Office, Docket 29, Document No. 92.
- (91) Salma Lutfi Al-Hafar Al-Kazbari, previous source, p. 179.
- (92) For more see: Yousef Habib Al-Youssef, Political Power in Contemporary Syria, Its Character and Social and Economic Content 1920-1958, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 1989, p. 67.
- (93) A Syrian national figure, born in 1869 in the town of Kafr Takharim in Aleppo, grew up in a rich family. His father is one of the town's wealthiest people. He received his studies at the School of Law and Administration in Astana. He led the revolution against the French occupation in Syria, and was overcome by the French forces in Syria. He took refuge in Amman in Jerusalem, was arrested there, and presented for trial in Aleppo. The court acquitted him there and released him. He died in Aleppo in 1935. For more on: Hassan Bayda, Media from Aleppo, 1st Edition, Publications of the Ministry of Information, Damascus, 2000, pp. 48-52; Hatem Mohsen Jabr al-Badiri, Ibrahim Hanano and his Political Role in Syria until 1935, Unpublished Master Thesis, Institute of Arab History and Scientific Heritage, Baghdad, 2003
- (94) Osama Refaat Al Bayati, previous source, p. 51.
- (95) Mounir Al-Maliki, from Maysaloun to Al-Ghala, Political Biography, Ministry of Culture Publications, Damascus, DT, p. 154.
- (96) Iraq Newspaper, Baghdad, No. 2375, February 13, 1928.
- (97) The same source.
- (98) Consul Hole to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Damascus, February 23, 1928, F.0371/13074, NO.21.
- (99) Walid Al-Moualem, the previous source, p. 224.
- (100) Consul Hole to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Damascus, February 23, 1928, F.0371/13074, NO.33
- (101) Iraq Newspaper, Baghdad, No. 2380, February 18, 1928.
- (102) Aziz Sharif, The National Struggle in Syria and Lebanon, Damascus, 1945, p. 33.
- (103) Najib Al-Rayes, previous source, p. 103.
- (104) Al-Maqtas Newspaper, Damascus, No. 4991, April 8, 1928, p. 1.

References

First: Published Documents

1. W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Documentary Unit, State Documents, Syrian Revolutionary Group, Document N.S./5/28, Docket No. 1
2. Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Syrian Ministries, 1918-1989, Damascus, 1989
3. W.T.S., Directorate of Historical Documents, Special Section, Syrian Information Office, Docket 29, Document No. 132;29.
4. Official Bulletin of Administrative Business, No. 14, 20 July 1926.
5. Consul Hole to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Damascus, January 29, 1927, F.O.,371/12303, NO.15
6. Consul Hole to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Damascus, February 23, 1928, F.0371/13074, NO.33
7. Sudarmo, & Sari, M. (2021). Exploring the Role of Self-management in Enhancing Employees' Innovative Behavior: Evidence From the Service Industry of Indonesia. *International Journal of eBusiness and eGovernment Studies*, 13(2), 69-84. <https://sobiad.org/menuscript/index.php/ijebeq/article/view/793/83>
8. Widodo, S., & Hayu, R. S. (2021). The role of performance and new services development on sustainable competitive advantage in Indonesian private universities. *International Journal of eBusiness and eGovernment Studies*, 13(1), 117-141. <https://sobiad.org/menuscript/index.php/ijebeq/article/view/484/28>

9. Yang, W., & Alves, J. C. (2021). Impact of HRM Practices on Employee Turnover Intentions Through Organizational Climate: A Social Identity Perspective. *International Journal of eBusiness and eGovernment Studies*, 13(2), 260-280.
<https://sobiad.org/menuscript/index.php/ijebeq/article/view/877/101>

Second: Arabic books and translators

1. Ahmed Al-Jundi, Dhikra Saad Allah Al-Jabri, Dar Tlass for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Dr.T.
2. Ahmed Attia, Political Dictionary, 3rd Edition, Dar al-Nahar al-Arabiya, Cairo, 1968.
3. Asaad Al-Kourani, Memories and reflections from what I saw, heard and did, Riad Al-Rais for Books and Publishing, 1st Edition, Beirut-Lebanon, 2000.
4. Tawfiq Sultan Al-Yazbeki et al., Studies in the Arab World of Revolutionary and Political Movements, 2nd Edition, Dar Al-Kotab Foundation for Printing and Publishing, Mosul, 1975.
5. Jalal Kazem Mohsen Al-Kinani, The French Administration in Syria (1920-1936), Baghdad, 2018.
6. Hassan Al-Hakim, My Memoirs, Pages of Syria's Recent History, 1920-1958, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Jadid, Beirut, 1966.
7. Khaled Al-Azem, Memoirs of Khaled Al-Azem, c. 3, United Publishing House, Beirut, 1973.
8. M.M., The Collection of the Decisions of the Government of Syria since the Occupation at the end of September 1918 to the present day, Part 3, Masdar Press, Beirut, 1934.
9. Daad Al-Hakim, Papers and Memoirs of the Baroudi Honorary 1887-1966, Section I, Publications of the Ministry of Culture, Damascus, 1999.
10. Zouqan Karkout, The Evolution of the National Movement in Syria 1919-1939, Talas House for Studies, Translation and Publishing, Damascus, 1989.
11. Zouqan Karkout, The Evolution of the National Movement in Syria 1919-1939, Talas House for Studies, Translation and Publishing, Damascus, 1989.
12. Stephen Hamsley-Lonkirk, Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate, Translated by: Pierre Akl, 1st Edition, Dar al-Qaqi'ah, Beirut, 1978.
13. Salma Lutfi, Coriander Driller, Lotfi Al-Hafar, His Memoirs, Life of His Age, Riad Al-Rayyes Books and Publishing, London, 1997.
14. Suhaila Al-Rimawi, Partisan Rule in Syria during the French Mandate, C2, University of Jordan, DT.
15. Sadiq Al-Hamawi, Memoirs of Al-Mujahid Damascus Fawzi Hassan Al-Bitar, Damascus, 2007.
16. Sadiq Hassan Al-Sudani, Pages from the History of the League of Nations, Al-Jawahri House for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Baghdad, 2003.
17. Abdullah Hanna, Labor Movement in Syria and Lebanon 1900-1945, Damascus House of Printing and Publishing, Damascus, 1973.
18. Abdul Wahab Al Kayali and Kamel Zuhair, Political Encyclopedia, 1st Edition, Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1974.

19. Aziz Sharif, *National Struggle in Syria and Lebanon*, Damascus, 1945.
20. Al-Farhani, Faris Al-Khoury and Al-Yams memorable, Damascus, 1964.
21. *Jordanian White Paper, National Documents in Natural Syrian Unity*, Amman, D.T.
22. Muhammad Jamil Behm, *Convoys of Araba and its processions during the ages, Part 2*, Dar Al Kashaf Press, Beirut, 1950.
23. Mohammed Izzat Drouze, *About Modern Arab Movement, Part 1*, Modern Press, Saida, Beirut, 1950.
24. Mohammed Ali Al-Ajlouni, *My Memorandum on Syria*, Office of Freedom, Amman, 1980.
25. Mahmoud Saleh Mansi, *Contemporary Arab East, First Division, 1st Edition*, Dar Al Kotob, Cairo, 1995.
26. Melhem Korban, *The Modern Political History of Lebanon, Part 1*, University Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1981.
27. Mounir Al-Maliki, *from Maysaloun to Al-Ghala, Political Biography*, Ministry of Culture Publications, Damascus, DT.
28. Najat Kasab Hassan, *Jabal al-Shu 'a 'until 1945*, B Al-Adib Press, Syria, 1994.
29. Naguib Al-Rayyes, *Ya Darkness of Prison (1920-1952)*, 1st Edition, Riad Al-Rayyes Books and Publishing Company, London, 1994.
30. Nasouh Babil, *Syrian Journalism and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Riyadh Reyes Publishing, London, 1987.
31. Hashem Othman, *The History of Modern Syria*, Riad Al-Rayyes for Books and Publishing, 1st Edition, 2012.
32. Wajih Baydoun, *Memories and Elections of Speeches, Conversations and Essays of His Excellency the State of His Excellency Lutfi Al-Hafar*, IbnZaydoun Press, Damascus, 1954.
33. Yahya Suleiman al-Qassam, *Encyclopedia of Syria's Ancient, Modern, World and Religious History*, 1st Edition, Noor Houran Studies, Publishing and Heritage, Damascus, 2022.
34. Yousef Al-Hakim, *Syria and the French Mandate*, 2nd Edition, Dar Al-Nahar Publishing, Beirut, 1991.
35. Youssef Hussein Abich and Youssef Quzma, *Syrian Statements and Discussion in the House of Representatives 1918-1958*, Council of Ministers, Damascus, DT.

Third: University theses and theses

1. Osama Refaat Hassan Al Bayati, Hashim Al-Atasi and his Political Role in Syria 1887-1960, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education (Ibn Rushd), University of Baghdad, 2006.
2. Hossam Al-Nayef, Iskandaruna Brigade (1876-1939), Political-Economic Study, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 2005.
3. Hikmat Ali Ismail, French Mandate System for Syria 1920-1928, unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 1992.

4. Sabah Alam Musa, Sheikh Taj Al-Din Al-Hassani and his role in the contemporary history of Syria, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Al-Qadisiyah University, 2007.
5. Sabah Mahdi Al-Dulaimi, The Great Syrian Revolution and the Position of Iraqi Public Opinion on it in 1925-1927, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Baghdad, 1989.
6. Abdul Rahman Abdul Karim Al-Bitar, French Treaty and National Governance in Syria 1936-1939, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Damascus, 1922.
7. Abdel Salam Mutab Eidan Al Rubaie, Jamil Mardam and his Political and Diplomatic Role until 1948, Unpublished Master Thesis, Institute of Arab History and Scientific Heritage, Baghdad, 2002.
8. Fahmy Ahmed Farhan Saud Al-Janabi, National Bloc and its Political Role in Syria 1928-1946, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Anbar University, 2005.
9. Waseem Abdel Amerihib Al-Hasnawi, Saad Allah Al-Jabri and his political role in Syria until 1947, Unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Education, Qadisiyah University, 2017.
10. Yousef Jibrán Ghaith, Political Developments in Syria 1945-1949, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Baghdad, 1983.
11. Yousef Sami Farhan Hussein, Lutfi Al-Hafar and his role in the history of Syria 1885-1968, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Arts, Anbar University, 2010.

Fourth: Newspapers and magazines

1. Journal of Solidarity, London, No. 92, 22 January 1982
2. Al-Ba 'newspaper, Syria, Issue 1681, 9 April 1926
3. Al-Fayhaa Newspaper, Damascus, Issue 129, 14 May 1926
4. Journal of the Arab Historian, Baghdad, No. 28, 1986, p. 14.
5. Journal of the Arab World, Baghdad, 1948, 14 August 1927.
6. Iraq Newspaper, Baghdad, Issue 2224, 22 August 1927
7. Al-Ray al-Amr, Syria, issue 4001, February 15, 1927; Al-Istiqlal, Baghdad, issue 1016, March 28, 1927
8. Metropolitan Newspaper, Issue 302, May 1927
9. Al-Maqtis Newspaper, Damascus, Issue 4991, April 8, 1928

Fifth: Interviews

1. Hashim Osman, (Syrian lawyer and historian), March 5, 2022, at 7pm, Syria-Ladhiqiyah.