

We propose to you a Pact for Stability, an engagement towards you that we shall, by all means, honor and respect. It holds a spirit of persistence regarding righteousness and the will to develop political sense and to revolt against iniquity and corruption. It is a path to the light of modernism in the darkness of oppression and poverty.

This Pact for Stability overrules the *the facto logic* and the stand-still mentality, unlocking the era of prosperity.

Stability could only exist by creating tranquility and peace of mind through building a State that is able to protect people from external threats and internal dangers.

Stability could only exist by the steadiness of ruling, based on strong and untarnished institutions, through reforming the administration and extending the State's sovereignty to all territories.

Stability could only exist by establishing social and political ethics, binding the citizen to his State, reconciling him with politics and helping him return to his country.

Stability could only exist by unleashing prosperity. This could be achieved by setting free the individual and collective capacities, aiming at building a knowledge economy, boosting growth and adopting Productive Economy alongside Service Economy.

Stability could only exist by improving and developing the environment we live in.

Stability could only exist by counting on the rise of the State, the responsible participation of the private sector and the development of individual initiative.

We will explore all these issues in 7 chapters: “The stability of Entity and State: The exclusivity of sovereignty”, “The political stability: Develop the system and reconcile the citizen with politics”, “Stability towards the outside: Give us peace and we will amaze the world”, “The stability of security: Security above all”, “The stability of the individual and society: For a State that preserves the dignity of all Lebanese citizens”, “The economic stability: Prosperity through the state of law” and “The stability of urbanism and environment: Our environment is our identity”.

There is no order of priority between these chapters as each of them is a link in a strong and cohesive chain, and the whole is determined in relation to the part and vice versa.

This is the Pact for Stability. This is the pledge of free Men.

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## Chapter One

### The stability of Entity and State: The exclusivity of sovereignty

The principle of sovereignty is a basic constituent of a state. There is no State without sovereignty. Sovereignty is defined by the capacity of the State to enforce the rule of law on all its territories, without any competition. Whenever it fails in this domain, it is dispossessed of its quality of capable State, and there is no capable State in the absence of sovereignty. Despite the evacuation of Israeli forces in 2000 and the withdrawal of Syrian troops in 2005, the sovereignty of Lebanon hasn't been fully recovered for 3 reasons:

- A- The Lebanese army hasn't been completely and effectively armed. It wasn't allowed to deploy on the South borders between 2000 and 2006.
- B- The Palestinian factions inside and outside the camps are still armed and these regions impenetrable for the legitimate Lebanese forces.
- C- The Islamic Resistance system remains with its complete security and military apparatus. At times, it's linked to the issue of Shebaa farms, at other times to the defense of Lebanon or even the final resolution for the Palestinian question.

The general principle which forms the entity of a country presumes the ruling of the State, which means that all armed groups, including the Islamic Resistance, should abide by the rules of Public Order. The Resistance is a means that aims at serving a unique purpose: the liberation of Lebanon. Once this mission accomplished, its *raison d'être* disappears. Consequently, the stability of Entity and State relies on achieving internal and external sovereignty.

#### First- Achieve external sovereignty

This could be accomplished through the demarcation and control of borders, along with a plan to protect Lebanon and reinforce its army.

##### 1- The demarcation of borders

- The demarcation should cover the land and the sea borders, using all available means including satellites. From now on, this operation shouldn't be prevented or avoided by any pretext or excuse.
- Scan the territories near the borderline, in order to determine the property of its owners.
- Use all defensive, preventive and diplomatic ways to recover Shebaa farms, the hills Kfarchouba and all Lebanese territories determined after demarcation. The first step in this initiative is the cooperation of Syria with the resolution of the Security Council which urges it to submit to Lebanon and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the documents that prove the Lebanese property of these territories.

2- The control of borders:

- Apply the requirements of the UN resolution 1701 concerning the control of all crossings between Lebanon and Syria.
- The international border should be under surveillance with a reinforcement of the Lebanese troops all over it, in application to Armistice Agreement of 1949 and resolution 1701.

3- The defense plan:

- Issue a White Paper that addresses the issue of national defense and determines the Lebanese priorities in this field. It would stress on the fact that the decision of war and peace is the exclusive prerogative of the Lebanese State and that no security or military groups shall prevail outside the framework of legitimacy.
- Carry on the national debate about the arms held by the Islamic Resistance in order to prevent this force's military and security activities and make it subject to the State of law.
- Develop the culture of defense in the society, in order to unite the nation regarding external dangers.

4- Strengthen the Lebanese army:

- Continue to arm the military units as the army has proven in crucial stages that it could handle the situation whenever it is given the full authorization by the political authority. Doubting the ability of the army to fulfill its responsibilities and defend Lebanon opens the door to some organizations which try to reduce the role of the military institution. Arming the Lebanese army is a claim and a national need that consolidates sovereignty and reinforces the independence of Lebanon.
- Diversify the sources of arms procurement for the Lebanese army in order to liberate it from any ideological or political complex, putting therefore Lebanon's security above all else. Lebanon shouldn't buy weapons from a few specific countries; and every help in the matter is welcomed, disregarding its source, as long as it isn't associated to a particular political aspiration.

**Second- Achieve internal sovereignty**

This could be achieved through extending the Lebanese authority and the control of its own forces over all its territories, including the Palestinian camps, and making it the exclusive arm holder.

### 1- Extend the authority of the State

- Deploy the Lebanese army in all the regions, with no exception, in order to put them under the control of the Lebanese sovereignty.
- Enhance the democratic mechanism of surveillance of the military institution performance. The commission of defense and security within the parliament as well as civil society organizations could be entrusted with this task.

### 2- The Palestinian camps

- Consider the camps as populated regions and put them exclusively under the control of the State and its services.
- Consider the Palestinian bases outside the camps as outlaw regions and impose the State's authority over them by force, if necessary.

### 3- Limit arms possession

- Limit arms possession to the Lebanese legitimate forces which have the exclusive prerogatives that allow them to defend the Lebanese territories and protect the Lebanese people and the inhabitants of these lands. This implies the urgency to remove all the illegitimate Lebanese and non-Lebanese arms spread in the security squares, the Palestinian camps and the military bases that are out of the State's control.

## **Chapter two**

### **The political stability: Develop the system and reconcile the citizen with politics**

The Lebanese system is characterized, in its legal aspect, by the modern principles founded on the separation of powers, participation, righteous ruling and the State of law. On the other hand, it is distinguished by its human aspect based on a unique spiritual heritage which enriches a renewed civilization. Constitutional mechanisms should be implemented in order to prevent any obstruction to the functioning of the constitutional institutions and to guarantee the stability of politics, economy and security in the country. We should consider that any aspiration for a fair and solid Lebanese State with a strong future should only start with constitutional reforms.

The Doha agreement, held last May, occurred upon the invasion of Beirut during the constitutional presidential vacuum in order to end the ongoing political crisis between rivals and take them from the chaotic streets to the heart of the institutions.

It is an interim agreement that was imposed by particular circumstances and it will expire once the parliamentary elections will take place in June 2009. The agreement has extended the political crisis and drowned it in an endless and continuous debate on the controversial issues. It has therefore exposed Lebanon to the risk of entering the unknown, threatening its security and its existence. Consequently, initiating the

development of the institutions is substantial if we want to leave the Doha agreement period and pave the way for a new political stage that reconciles citizens with politics.

### **First- It's time to modernize our institutions**

This mission aims at reconciling the citizenship requirements with pluralism. Citizenship necessitates equality in rights and duties between all citizens, whereas pluralism calls for the effective and balanced participation of all Lebanese groups. This could be achieved through handling the issues of identity, personal status and distribution of Powers.

#### 1- Identity and personal status

Accomplish the modern and democratic civil State based on the following conditions:

- Initiate an explicit differentiation to the extent of separation between religion and State. In this context, we adopt what was stipulated in the 1<sup>st</sup> Chapter of “The charter of the political action in the light of the church’s teachings and Lebanon’s specificity- article 8”: The separation between religion and State requires the establishment of a civil State that respects religions and maintain the freedom of belief and worship, while it handles exclusively the management of political, economic, financial and military affairs. The religion will be entitled to give its ethical judgment concerning the actions taken by this administration and its performance when it comes to its moral and human consequences. As for the State, it is urged to take into consideration the position and the role of religion in the prevailing spiritual principles that revive the social life which could be easily damaged.”
- Reconsider the Nationality law in Lebanon in order to preserve the specificity of the Lebanese society and to stop the disorder and negligence which have accompanied this file for decades. Reform starts with:
  - Annul the naturalization decree that was issued in 1994 and apply the rule of the Shura Council which considers some of the decree’s stipulations to be void.
  - Initiate the national campaign that aims at re-granting the Lebanese nationality to persons of Lebanese descent, through the Ministry of Interior for those who are Lebanese residents, and the Ministry of Foreign affairs for immigrants, with the collaboration of Lebanese embassies and consulates around the world. Note that special centers could be created for this purpose in countries where Lebanese embassies and consulates are located far from the

immigrants' residencies, in order to facilitate the files' treatment and avoid any discrimination generated by geographical distance.

- Work on the repatriation of Lebanese refugees in Israel in a way that guarantees their full political, civil and human rights as well as their dignity. Then help them reintegrate the Lebanese society particularly in public administrations and government departments.
- Establish a clear mechanism to guarantee the right application of the law on foreign ownership for non-Lebanese, preventing anyone from evading or dodging it. Since Lebanon has suffered a big loss of its territories all along the coast, the mountain and the plain, certain measures and methods should be implemented to impede the ambitions of controlling Lebanon gradually through taking possession of its territories. This legal mechanism should be accompanied by an awareness campaign that targets prosperous Lebanese residing in Lebanon or in foreign countries and encourages them to become land owners and real estate investors in Lebanon.

## 2- Distribution of Powers

### Central Authority

- The prerogatives of the President of the Republic: consolidated them, allowing him to have an effective role in leading the Lebanese State. The President guarantees the respect of the principle of separation of Powers and the democratic life that establishes the ruling of the people. Furthermore, strengthening the position of the President is a step forward towards the abolition of the political Troika, adopted to found the system of quotas and favoritism in all the public institutions. It is necessary to secure and consolidate the President's prerogatives as a guardian of the balance within the executive Power and between the constitutional institutions. He is the keeper of the national unity and the minorities' rights as he understands their fears and obsessions. He also guarantees the effectiveness of the government's performance based on the mechanisms stipulated by the constitution. Consequently, the government can't take any crucial decision without his approval.
- Establish a Senate to institute and manage the Lebanese society.
- Parliamentary and governmental functions shouldn't be combined in order to allow the Member of Parliament to dedicate himself to legislating and communicating with the people in his region, in addition to the principle of separation of Powers. As for the minister, he will dedicate his time to managing the affairs related to his ministry, disregarding the mentality of clientelism and patronage, and preferring the regional interest to the public one.

- The Parliament: revise its internal system as for the prerogatives of its president, in terms of scheduling and calling for various plenary meetings. The prerogatives of the vice president of the Parliament should also be defined.
- The Council of Ministers: endorse its internal system and define the prerogatives of its vice president.

#### Decentralized authorities

- Initiate the process to establish the extended decentralization based on territorial units: each unit is entrusted with an administrative role and a role of development on the basis of an elected council. A few measures should therefore be implemented:
  - Revise the current administrative divisions.
  - Generalize the principle of positive competition on the schedules of local councils, aiming at encouraging the collective initiative within the council and enhancing creative competition on development issues between the councils.
  - Grant the local councils wide prerogatives in terms of decision-making in the administrative and financial domains, including the right to determine and collect local taxes.
  - Create an independent organization to control the performance of the members of the local elected councils, holding them responsible for their actions. This will prevent administrative corruption, reduce financial waste and guarantee the proper application of the local laws and the citizens' welfare.
  - Put an end to the funds and generic bodies working in parallel to ministries and replace them with a Ministry for Planning.

#### **Second- Reconcile the citizen with politics**

The animosity that people have towards politics is based on objective reasons. It is related to corruption, the incapacity to govern, clientelism, political succession, financial feudalism and the subordination to other countries. All these sources of nuisance were enhanced under the Syrian occupation whose goal was to undermine the project of a capable and modern State in Lebanon.

The Cedar Revolution requires the eradication of all these problems once and for all, by embracing the standards of political ethics and righteous ruling.

## 1- The standards of political ethics

- Combine the requirements of political action with moral principles and values of life in harmony.
- Live up to the spirit of generous and impartial service, the one that defies temptations, despicable maneuvers, lies, misappropriation of State funds and the use of illegal and immoral methods with the sole purpose of acceding to power, preserving the position and extending it at any cost.
- Show human values particularly through a simple way of life and a dedication to the common good. Cherish values such as the love of the poor and the spirit of sacrifice.
- Commit to the cause of peace which should be the fruit of justice and the result of the individual and the community's development. Consolidate the peace on the basis of truth, love, justice and freedom, rejecting violence, terrorism and the militarization of politics.
- Spread the culture of reconciliation and forgiveness on the spiritual level with oneself and God, and on the social level through solidarity, understanding, helping the poor and people in need and achieving distributive justice.
- Give the priority to public interest and consider it above all private and groups interests. Engage in holding the civilian officials responsible and accountable for their actions (The charter of the political action in the light of the church's teachings and Lebanon's specificity).
- Have moral courage and freedom of conscience in choosing the members of parliament, then hold them accountable on due date.
- The candidate should engage in a clear program that evolves around the person.

## 2- The righteous ruling

Building a modern State should be based on a commitment to the principles of righteous ruling. This could be achieved through the struggle against illicit enrichment, corruption, unjustified expenses and organized crime. In addition to the fight against drugs and monopolization in order to protect the consumer, develop the public administration, revise the structure of the Public Office and enhance it, reconcile the culture of Public Office with the requirements of the modern administration and finally, enhance the administrative control system.

### **Fight illicit enrichment**

- Apply the law on illicit enrichment and develop it
- Make employees declare their movable and immovable goods.
- Put a new line in service at the Ministry of Finance to collect information about the operation of illicit enrichment.

- Apply the legal provisions that aim at asking every elected person, on a local or national level, as well as ministers, to submit a declaration on their financial status including capitals, movable and immovable goods.

### **Fight corruption**

- Establish a public policy whose goal is to fight corruption and treat its sources in order to better define it and face it.
- Ratify the United Nation treaty of 2003 related to corruption and put it into effect.
- Develop the legal provisions which aim at defining the framework of the idea of traffic of influence, abuse of authority and misappropriation of public funds. The following step is to inform the judges, the lawyers and the public about the true meaning of this idea.
- Guarantee the transparency of public markets through publishing data on the Internet.
- Adopt the necessary legislation in order guarantee the right of every citizen to have access to information held by the official authorities and facilitate this task.
- Apply tax measures stipulated by the law on taxes related to commissions paid by companies.
- Adopt unified and reduced standards and tax regulations to prevent the employee's management from assessing it, which will stop any attempt of corruption and abuse of power.
- Launch a national office, responsible for ethics in business, including the private and the public sectors. Its objective is to control corruption once it has declared the material standards of corruption approved worldwide.
- Launch a national office whose objective is to counter cheating.

### **Fight unjustified expenses**

- Control the procedures of permanent and contractual employment in Public Office.
- Control the development programs using the services of an independent controller during all stages of the project, going from planning to delivery.
- Found a national committee, based on the principles of International law, to investigate the reasons behind the Lebanese public debt.
- Adopt and apply the international legal instruments in fighting organized crime.

### **Fight monopolization and protect the consumer**

- Establish a database on the unhealthy, counterfeit and stolen products.
- Control the marketing of the previously mentioned products on the local or international market.
- Verify the brand on the products that are displayed in the market and its conformity with the advertisement which promotes it.

- Adopt procedures to facilitate the purchase operation for the administration through the Internet.

### **Develop the Public Administration**

- Complete the automation of Customs Authority and other administrations, specially the ones related to business companies.
- Launch the electronic social security card.
- Automate the declarations of revenues.
- Develop a detailed plan to found an electronic government with a defined schedule.
- Establish the unique electronic counter.

### **Restructure the Public Office**

- Examine in a neutral and impartial way the condition of the Public Office in order to reach a perfect structure and raise the standard of employees in this sector.
- Redistribute the human and financial resources of the State in order to enhance the weak central administrations.
- Reorient the workers and employees in ministries that are overloaded to the regional administrations, based on the results of the assessment.
- Increase the employees' knowledge level through the programs that are designed to each category and published by the National Institute of Administration and the Civil Service Council. Adopt a system of evaluation with grades which is essential for promotion inside the administration.
- Cut the number of employees in the public administration for a better efficiency and fight the logic of quotas.
- Adopt an active policy instead of the policy of waiting and observing which was stipulated in Paris 3, inciting the State to wait until 2017 when 45% of employees will have reached the age of retirement.
- Develop an Audit program concerning the offices in public administration.
- Propose early compensations to employees who have almost reached the age of retirement, and cooperate with international organizations particularly the World Bank and the International fund for the financing of retirement, as instruments to stimulate economy and increase the effectiveness of income.

### **Activate the Public Office**

- Consider merit as the main criterion in recruiting and promoting inside administrations.
- Assign the publication of the results of administrative competitions to an independent jury.

- Promote employees on the basis of the grades decided by the supreme president and their success in administrative competitions that are related to the administrative rank and category they aspire to.
- Develop the structure and important procedures that are required to evaluate the work that is achieved, in a direct and transparent way, in addition to the adoption of a clear moral law that every employee should be aware of.
- Organize the administrative competitions in accordance to available positions. Facilitate the promotions and the fast change in wages, guaranteeing a frequent change of positions among employees.

### **Reconcile the culture of Public Office with the requirements of the modern administration**

- Combine the upgrading programs of the National Institute of Administration with education in the culture of the Public Office through the application of the legal provisions stipulated for this purpose, especially those which deal with independence and neutrality.
- Initiate a culture of citizenship based on the respect of Public Office.
- Consolidate the bases of administration with well defined goals and schedule.
- Establish standards of individual responsibility, in addition to indicators of effectiveness.
- Organize short training periods for employees.
- Promote the vocational awareness among employees.
- Establish a communication mechanism allowing the employee to get in contact with his superiors on a regular basis; and facilitate for the employee the process of expressing a different opinion than his superior. Guarantee all his rights and promote him commonly.

### **Enhance the administrative control system**

- Revive the project of the “Lawyer of the People” known under the appellation of ombudsman along with the conditions of the right of prosecution.
- Provide the Lawyer of the People with a team of lawyers trained on the practices of alternative ways to resolve conflicts.
- Develop the culture of alternative settlements of disputes (without resorting to judiciary).
- Invite the citizens to participate in the control of the employees’ allocations through a single window of complaints.

## Chapter 3

### Stability towards the outside: “Give us peace and we will amaze the world”

Lebanon has turned into an open field where foreign countries fight for their own interests, thus the necessity to draw a clear strategy that determines the Lebanese foreign policy. The latter should preserve the internal interests and build bridges for positive and effective cooperation with the neighboring countries and other nations and populations, serving Lebanon’s message of freedom, democracy and human respect.

This orientation is based on 5 topics: Positive neutrality, Lebanon the land of dialogue, Lebanon the land of immigration, the question of settlement and the relations with Syria.

#### First- Positive neutrality is powerful neutrality

The National Pact, signed in 1943, established the principle of neutrality and no allegiance to “West or East”, reassured all the Lebanese, Christians and Muslims, on the concept of the finality of Lebanon and preserved the internal fabric of society.

As a result, neutrality is a principle that is part of an agreement and a constituent condition of the independence of the country. It is in the core of the social contract on which has built the State of Lebanon. For this purpose, we demand to:

#### **Declare the positive neutrality of Lebanon as an essential constituent of the National Pact**

This means that we are engaged in:

- The Arab causes when they benefit from a unanimous Arab agreement and we adopt a neutral position if their opinions diverge.
- The support the Palestinian cause.
- The application of the Armistice Agreement of 1949.
- The Adoption of a policy of defense that allows Lebanon to face all the attacks on its sovereignty.
- All the International resolutions related to Lebanon and issued by the Security Council from resolution 425 voted in 1978 until resolution 1701 voted in 2006; the objective is to bring peace to Lebanon, protect its sovereignty and establish prosperity.
- The Arab Peace Initiative (declared in Beirut in 2002).

#### Second- Lebanon a land of dialogue and communication with the world

- Launch the project of Lebanon, a space for dialogue between cultures- which is a recognition by the International community of the value of Lebanon in terms of a cross-point for civilizations, a land of cohabitation and a haven of peace. This

- recognition will lead to the adoption of an international customized system for Lebanon, elevating it to the rank of the States which hold a universal message.
- Participate in a permanent and active way in the International institutions and forums; and ask them to found a maximum of libraries, affiliated to them in Beirut.
  - Revitalize the Lebanese democracy and make it more effective in order to continue the implementation of the international resolutions; and convey the image of Lebanon as a land of pluralism and liberty to all the populations of the world.
  - Develop a vigorous economic diplomacy that would attract direct foreign investments of Lebanese origin.

### **Third- Lebanon a land of immigration**

**“Lebanon will be universal or it wouldn’t be at all”.**

The attachment of Lebanon to its citizens, spread all over the world, is fundamental for its independence. It’s also a source of cultural and financial enrichment, thus the necessity to strengthen the partnership between Lebanon and its Diaspora by adopting the following measures:

- Separate the Ministry of Immigration from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Launch a Lebanese Brain bank in order to get information about the Lebanese capacities and talents in the world and establish accurate numbers of the Diaspora.
- Create a fund, listed on Beirut and international stock exchanges, in order to collect funds from immigrants and invest in Lebanese companies. This fund will have the responsibility of setting the administrative and financial basis. Its management encompasses experts and is supervised by delegates from the immigration.
- Adopt a management policy that incites immigrants to invest in Lebanon.
- Endorse the right of immigrants to vote in 2013, by issuing the decrees of implementation without delay.
- Organize a national campaign to encourage immigrants of Lebanese origin to register their children in the Lebanese records.
- Ensure occasional visits for Lebanese immigrants in order to create strong bonds with the land of ancestors and to be in touch with the Lebanese heritage and tradition.

### **Fourth- The question of settlement**

The problem of Palestinian refugees who were expelled to Lebanon in 1948 is a key issue in the Lebanese political, demographical, social, economic and cultural strategy. Lebanon has experienced tensions, conflicts and wars in which the Palestinian factor played a major role from the moment the Cairo Agreement of 1969 was signed until this day,

despite the annulment of the Cairo Agreement by the Lebanese parliament. This issue has always been a source of confusion and a reason for all excesses, and the file was totally neglected for the past 30 years. However, in 2005, the Lebanese Palestinian relations were guided by a new vision which generated the creation of the “Lebanese Palestinian dialogue committee”. This initiative is based on the convergence of the Lebanese and Palestinian legitimacies, the necessity to rebuild bridges of trust and openness, enhance diplomatic efforts to support the right of return, and insist on the responsibility of the International Community in improving the conditions of Palestinian refugees until their return to their State (in application to resolution 194) which should be established (in conformity to resolution 181). Based on this, it’s fundamental to:

- Insist on the principle of the entire sovereignty of the Lebanese State, on all its territories. Disarm the Palestinian groups outside and inside the camps.
- Declare the Palestinian refugees camps as inhabited regions under the exclusive authority of the Lebanese State and its military forces. Establish military centers for the army inside all the Palestinian camps to avoid keeping them “no-go zones” that aren’t subject to the Lebanese rule of law. The presence Lebanese troops inside the camps takes out the excuse of the Palestinians self-defense and the necessity for them to say armed. The Lebanese army is the exclusive guardian and protector of all people living on the Lebanese territories.
- Initiate studies and procedures to count the Palestinians and evaluate their condition in Lebanon including all demographical, legal and economic aspects, in order to develop a Lebanese position based on tangible facts.
- Launch an international conference on the Palestinian refugees’ problem in Lebanon, based on the principle of the right of return, in order to reach a global plan allowing us to share the burdens of the Palestinian presence with all the friendly nations.
- Work on opening labor and specialized markets for Palestinian refugees in several Arab countries depending on the absorption capacity of each one of them.
- Grant the Palestinian refugees all their human rights, in conformity with the principle of non-settlement stipulated in the Lebanese constitution. These rights aren’t subject to the principle of barter or negotiation as they are part of the stability of Lebanon and its respect of human rights: Lebanon is a founding member in the League of the Arab States and the United Nations and a participant in setting the Bill of Human Rights.
- Rebuild the Lebanese-Palestinian relations on the base of openness and mutual reconciliation, in addition to the respect of Lebanon’s sovereignty, stability and independence.
- Improve the diplomatic representation between Lebanon and Palestine.

#### **Fifth- The relations with Syria**

It’s about time to reassess seriously the nature of the relation that Lebanon wishes to establish with the State of Syria, based on the respect of both countries’ sovereignty, independence, security and free will. We insist on the urgency to resolve all the outstanding issues between the two countries, no exception whatsoever. Readjusting the relation with Syria starts within the Lebanese sovereign institutions and focuses on the

sources of the damaged relation and the consequences of the Syrian occupation which generated material, human and moral losses. The objective of revealing the truth is to leave the age of mutual accusations of collaboration between Lebanese to enter the era of reviving the collective memory, paving the way for the rehabilitation of a friendly and direct relation with Syria, like the relations of Lebanon with the States of his Arab environment. Rectifying and readjusting this relation encompass all the issues that harm the Lebanese sovereignty and the Lebanese people economic, social and human rights. This includes in particular:

- **Resolve the issue of Lebanese detainees in Syrian prisons**

This is a joint international-Syrian- Lebanese responsibility:

- International: Detention is a clear breach of human rights and this question prevents sound relations between Lebanon and Syria. Lebanon has the right to call for the help of the International Community in order to retrieve its detainees' rights, captured during the Syrian occupation of Lebanon.
  - Syria: Syria has the responsibility to free all living prisoners and return the remains of those who passed away. Consequently, it's fundamental to pay compensations to those prisoners in conformity to the special Protocol between both countries.
  - Lebanese: The Lebanese government has to provide material and moral compensation to the prisoners, whether they've been released or not, and their families.
- 
- Revise all the Lebanese-Syrian agreements and improve them because they derive of unequal negotiations between an occupying and an occupied State.
  - Abolish the Syrian Lebanese higher council which has no reason to exist between the 2 countries. The relation between Lebanon and Syria will be limited to the action of diplomatic missions, excluding all private canals that still exist today.
  - Annul the security and defense agreement between the 2 countries and implement coordination plans instead, in conformity with the diplomatic protocol and within the framework of the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the league of Arab States, especially those related to fighting terrorism and resolution 1701.
  - Demarcate the northern and southern borders of Lebanon with Syria under the supervision of the UN, in application of resolution 1701.
  - Urge the Syrian State to submit written documents to the UN, proving the identity of the Lebanese Shebaa farms. This will lead to the withdrawal of Israeli troops from these territories as they will fall under UN resolution 520 and not 242.
  - Lift the Syrian security cover on Palestinian military and security zones.
  - Purge the joint memory and establish future-oriented sound relations by launching a Lebanese-Syrian joint committee. Declare the results of its work in a joint historical document including, particularly, a joint investigation led by the

- Lebanese and Syrian armies about the massacres of 13 October 1990 and determining the fate of the army's martyrs.
- Commit to the diplomatic protocol and insist on its implementation by all parties in both countries.
  - Organize the Syrian labor access to Lebanon: adopt a special policy which set boundaries to the Syrian labor entering the Lebanese territories, in order to protect the Lebanese labor harmed by illegal competition.
    - Make the Syrian worker, who wishes to work in Lebanon, aware of his responsibilities and treat him equally with any other Arab worker by granting him a limited period visa, subject to renewal, and which determines the nature of his unique job and set the period of his stay in Lebanon.
    - Make the Syrian workers pay taxes to the Lebanese State like all other foreign workers, which will provide an income to the State treasury.
    - Lebanese employers should inform the concerned Lebanese authorities when they recruit a Syrian worker, in application to the law, as it is the case with all other foreign workers.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The stability of security: security above all**

The fight against terrorism and organized crime in Lebanon requires to:

- Set up a global policy for internal security that defines the major orientations of the Lebanese national security, detailing, with accuracy, the nature of the threat and the means that should be adopted to counter it. Establish a mechanism which ensures a democratic control and a transparent implementation of these measures.
- Reinforce the municipal police by increasing its human and logistic capacities.
- Commit to all international conventions and resolutions related to the struggle against terrorism.

### **First- Enhance the security forces**

- Improve the security forces capacities, especially concerning the judicial police, providing it with the best available technology, which will allow it to anticipate criminal acts and repress them more efficiently. It will become, consequently, a model of citizenship in conformity to human rights and general liberties.
- Provide the security forces with human and technical resources that benefit from multiple competencies and insist on learning foreign languages in order to facilitate the cooperation with the Interpol and the Europol and to better control crisis in Lebanon, in collaboration with the national and UN cells.

## **Second- Fight drug trafficking and addiction**

- Apply the principles contained in the UN treaties of 1967, 1971, 1988 and those of the preparatory committee for the special meeting of the General Assembly of the UN.
- Consolidate the cooperation in order to implement the standards of prevention that are internationally adopted in respect to the smuggling of chemical stimuli and other products used in drugs.
- Provide the necessary training for agents who are responsible for the application of the related law.

## **Third- Fight money laundering**

- Initiate a transfer of information on money laundering, on a regular basis, between Lebanon and International organizations.
- Apply the recommendations of the General Authority for Investment and Free Zones.
- Apply all the legislative texts in order to fight money laundering and the financing terrorism, in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council related to the fight against terrorism.

## **Fourth- Activate civil defense**

- Train all residents on civil protection techniques and develop the centers which correspond to the closest field level.
- Launch a national plan for civil protection in order to better face natural or industrial catastrophes and create a center for crisis management.

## **Five- Increase Citizen Awareness**

- Develop the means that allow the implementation of “peaceful security” by orienting all the sectors in this sense, following the logic of the long-term remedy for crisis.
- Launch a program of awareness towards citizenship to counter all kind of threats, in addition to a simplified security structure in the communication domain such as a common phone number.

## Chapter 5

### **The stability of the individual and society: For a State that preserves the dignity of all Lebanese citizens**

Liberty is the *raison d'être* of Lebanon. It has the objective of guaranteeing the freedom and the dignity of the person. It could only exist through a political, legal and cultural framework that allows the Lebanese citizen to live in dignity in his homeland. For this purpose, we work on providing the components of civil peace, above all the return of the displaced. We also incite the State to adopt an educational policy based on the democracy of education and to ensure the appropriate environment to exercise cultural pluralism in the respect of the other. We seek to fully apply human rights, equality between men and women and children rights. We attach great importance to those who have special needs and call for a social policy that guarantees equal opportunities, rights to workers and a health policy that preserves the safety of people and society.

#### **First- The return of the displaced**

The displaced issue is an absolute national priority and resolving it constitutes a key element in achieving civil peace. Consequently, it is fundamental to:

- Pay the remaining dues of the total amount of compensation for displaced belonging to different Lebanese regions and villages, in the requested period of time, and pay all the acquired rights to finally take out the topic of displaced rights from the political debate.
- Finance the projects for the return of displaced to all the Lebanese regions and improve their social and economic conditions encouraging them to stay in their lands. Enhance the infrastructure in the concerned regions and ensure all kinds of services and basic supplies for living, such as hospitals, clinics, schools, universities...
- Facilitate small and medium sized loans to finance basic development projects in the deserted villages in order to encourage investment and create job opportunities. This will slow down migration to the cities and then maybe immigration, in addition to land sale, particularly in the abandoned villages.
- Grant soft loans to build residents in the mountains with very low interest and tax exemptions, helping people to stay in their villages instead of migrating to the city.

#### **Second- Education policy**

Lebanon has always been the hub for the schools and universities in the Middle-East, disseminating knowledge and culture all over the world, through its intellectuals and educated youth. The main goal now is to adopt a modern Education policy, one which could end chaos in the educational institutions that lack a defined structure and

orientation, in order to turn Lebanon into a vivid creative lab full of experiences and talents.

### 1- History book

- Found an independent national committee whose mission is to give approval on school History books, allowing historical facts to appear and reflect the different view points of the pluralistic Lebanese society. They should reject any remoteness or rigidity which could only serve narrow religious and political interests.
- Grant all public schools, in addition to educational and instructional institutions, the liberty to choose their own History book, approved by the committee.
- Strongly prohibit books that have been unapproved by the national committee.

### 2- Comprehensive Education

- Comprehensive Education is three dimensional being spiritual, civic and nationalistic.
- Spiritual Education allows students to understand the true sense of religion through a comparative study of different religions.
- Civic Education helps initiating righteous citizenship, the spirit of forgiveness, the respect of right to difference and diversity and the sense of responsibility in a student's culture. We should insist on removing all sex discrimination from the educational programs, in order to support the principle of equality between men and women. A compulsory course about Human Rights and Public Freedoms should be then integrated in school and university curricula.
- Launch National Socialization by amending the book of National Education, allowing it to be in line with the liberation of Lebanon. Include in the book the standards of progress, the culture of openness, respect of other's specificities and attachment to national values. This is essential in terms of preparing future generations to take the reigns of responsibility and preserve Lebanon highest interests.

### 3- Education decentralization

- Lebanese University: the reform issue of the Lebanese University is a key element in establishing a sound education policy. The Lebanese University is supposed to reflect the country and to constitute a lab for different groups and communities of Lebanese youth to meet and cohabitate. Its educational mission should consequently be improved and its capacities enhanced, with an effort to keep it out from the logic of polarization between the parties and political forces by:

- Handle at once the vacuum situation in the national university represented by the absence of deans, and its lack of budget and constructive projects.
  - Preserve the independence of second branches and build regional complexes for the LU to help resolving transportation and service problems among students, taking into consideration the educational specificities in the local university complexes.
  - Increase the budget to develop and modernize the LU.
  - Improve the teachers' academic and financial conditions as teachers in Lebanon don't benefit from the needed support to have a decent life during their career and upon retirement. We should then seriously work on providing social and health security similar to the one supplied in civilized countries. One of the main rights is a comprehensive health security, without any restraint, ensuring security for families and descendants, due compensations and an old age security.
- School:
    - Pay a great attention to public school and work on its rehabilitation and equipment. The democracy of education, in other terms the guarantee of education for all, doesn't mean the collapse of quality in the land of knowledge.
    - Provide teachers with a complete health security, without any restraint, ensuring security for families, due compensations and an old age security.
    - Provide financial support to students enabling them to continue their studies, as part of a global national policy.

#### 4- The State's central role

- Develop the reputation of the Lebanese education: Control the licenses granted to universities and prevent the graduation of clearly future unemployed persons, by privileging the universities and programs that answer the Lebanese market's needs.
- Control the level of education in private universities.
- Adopt a global national policy for education planning and awareness, with the participation of representatives from economic sectors, civil society and educational institutions, in addition to government representatives. The objective is to establish a global planning for the future, guide the capacities of youth toward the needed specializations on the labor market.
- Support the integration between general, vocational and higher education by setting the adequate legislations.

- Support the sustainable upbringing of parents, through specialized and quality programs, allowing them to keep pace with the development of science in all fields.
- Apply the law on compulsory education for children of less than 15 years old.
- Set a global vision for research and sign interface agreements with foreign universities to acquire expertise.
- Support private higher education and consider private schools and universities as public good institutions.

### **Third- Cultural pluralism**

The interaction between pluralism in the country and the rest of the world is a source of richness for human civilization in general. We should, by all means, preserve our Lebanese identity. For this purpose, we claim the necessity to:

- Show the Lebanese religious heritage and revive it through public and private institutions, like for instance: establish a religious library that contains all the publications and researches related to Lebanese communities affairs. This will lead to better understand the other's culture and communicate with him more easily.
- Endorse Lebanon as the International Capital for Dialogue between Cultures as previously mentioned. Use 3 languages in the education curricula, with French and English next to Arabic. Encourage also the learning of the Diaspora's languages (Spanish, Portuguese...).
- Encourage the street theater and raise awareness among people living in far villages using artistic means.
- Support artistic production for talented people among the Lebanese youth.
- Back Lebanese directors to promote Lebanese movie production and rehabilitate it to face international competition.
- Promote culture and literature.
- Build cinemas in the villages.
- Establish public libraries in the villages.
- Enhance the Lebanese cultural production and integrate it to international distribution networks.
- Organize international literature exhibitions.

### **Fourth- Human, women and children rights**

Lebanon being the land of distinction and dignity, protecting Human rights is one of the main challenges that we have to face in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: on the one hand, we have to uphold the Bill of Rights issued in 1948 and on the other hand, popularize this human culture and apply to all aspects of social life. Based on the fact that Lebanon is a pluralistic country, composed of Lebanese who belong to various cultural groups and diverse social classes, the law should urge all citizens to apply even the simplest human rights. Lebanon will then be part of the civilized countries which respect the persons and treat them as citizens with a lot of dignity.

Human rights becoming Lebanese rights, the State and the society have the entire responsibility of preserving these rights vigorously.

When the Lebanese citizen is deprived of his rights, Lebanon loses his *raison d'être* and his nature will change deeply. For this purpose, we insist on ending all irregularities committed on account of Human Rights in Lebanon, whether they concerned Lebanese or foreign citizens. Improving human conditions in Lebanon should be done through the preservation of public freedoms, prisoners' rights and equality between women and men; preventing discrimination against children and taking care of people with special needs.

#### 1- Public freedoms

- Create an independent organization to control electronic freedoms, develop and apply legislations for the protection of private data.
- Put a term to all abuses against citizens and apply thoroughly the Lebanese laws.
- Close down the Ministry of Information and revise the mission of the National council for Information in order to preserve the liberty of expression in written and audiovisual media; as we believe in the role of the 4<sup>th</sup> power in freely transmitting opinions and positions with no need, whatsoever, for any control or suppression from the executive authority.

#### 2- Protect prisoners' rights

Great irregularities are committed during the period of detention previous to court judgment- period of investigation and trial- and later on in prison. These misdeeds are accompanied by a great number of abuses against the right of the accused such as physical and moral torture, during investigation, and the prisons' conditions which are generally contrary to the most basic humanitarian standards.

We propose to:

- Put this issue on the table in the parliamentary forum and call for the participation of Human Rights institutions asking them to suggest solutions to stop torture in all prisons on the Lebanese territory, in application to "Convention for the Prevention of Torture" joined by Lebanon in July 2000.
- Abolish the death penalty and replace it with the penalty of hard labor in line with the right of each person to life and personal safety.
- Find a solution to overcrowded prisons which generate epidemics and diseases harming the prisoners and which are contrary to public morality especially when prison time lasts for months or years before going to court. Resolving this problem starts with an official will to end sustained issues and a decision to deport all foreign prisoners on the State's account if the patrons, or those who employed them illegally, fail to do so.
- Found organizations necessary for the reintegration of former prisoners in the social and economic life.

- Develop alternative measures for incarceration particularly training workshops and probation and other measures that allow convicted people to have a second chance.
- Improve the Code of Criminal Procedure on the basis of “Innocent until proven guilty”.
- Proscribe arbitrary arrest and arrest by prosecutors’ phone call.
- Work on reducing a year of incarceration to 9 months.
- Complete the project on convicted probation following the principle of unintentional fault; rehabilitate the individual instead of making him pay for the totality of the fault and create a special committee to study the subject of probation.

### 3- Equality between men and women

Achieving a total and complete equality between men and women is a national priority because Lebanon has regressed in women’s rights after it has granted them their complete political rights 50 years ago. Consequently, we propose to:

- Give the Lebanese woman the right to pass on her nationality to her children, independently of their age, and amend the nationality law set in November 1<sup>st</sup> 1960.
- Abrogate the laws related to the crimes of honor, in particular clause 562 of the Penal Code.
- Develop the laws for the protection of women from all forms of domestic violence and give them the right to file a civil claim against their husbands in order to preserve their rights and human dignity.
- End the discrimination between the divorced man and the divorced woman concerning the custody of children.
- Initiate the logic of quota for women in all public positions to ensure equality in public and politic life (the participation of women in the legislative authority in Lebanon doesn’t exceed 5% vs 6% in the Arab region, the lowest level in the world).
- Confirm the role of women in economic and social growth and adopt tangible measures in order to reduce the difference of wages between men and women.
- Amend the laws that stipulate sex discrimination in the Labor Law.
- Acknowledge the status of the woman, head of her household, by the social security, and revise the legislations related to women and family and endorse them to prevent any discrimination.
- Support the publication of programs related to women and children rights in schools and Medias. Define an information strategy to raise awareness among women about their rights and priorities.
- Cut the percentage of illiteracy among women, particularly in rural regions, through special education programs.
- Found private centers to encourage manual work among housewives.

- Take effective measures to prevent any advertisement that could humiliate women.
- Create specialized institutes, within Lebanese universities' campus, for studies related to women, including social programs that aim at improving women's condition in Lebanon.
- Establish a system to separate underage girls who have breached the law from adult women offenders.

#### 4- Children rights

Adopt national measures to counter all kind of discrimination against children like ill-treatment and exploitation for work, and encourage cooperation between the government and non governmental organizations to achieve this purpose. We propose to:

- Resolve the growing problem of children employment in the Lebanese society by adopting the legal frameworks that allow the pursuit and arrest of all related networks. This initiative should be completed by centers, financially handled by the Ministry of Social affairs, aiming at accommodating the children who lost their family's wage earner and suffered from a lack of educational, health and social services, necessary for their insertion in society and the settlement of their legal status.
- Assign a hotline for children, victims of violence at school or at home.
- Apply the law 2002 on the protection of minors exposed to danger.
- Work on the recognition of illegitimate children and grant the adulterine child the same rights as the legitimate one.
- Join the international convention on the protection of children rights and apply its provisions, in particular those related to children employment.
- Boycott and inform about local and international companies which employ minors.
- Amend article 186 of the Penal code, in order to modify the meaning of the term "to discipline".
- Open private educational centers addressed to street children and victims of physical and moral violence, in order to rehabilitate them and insert them, in a later period, in labor markets.
- Grant every child of Lebanese parents his nationality whatever his birth conditions may be.
- Establish a permanent dialogue between the government and non governmental organizations in order to collaborate on tangible initiatives towards children who suffer hard conditions: street children, non-scholarized children, children with particular moral or physical needs, etc....

#### 5- People with special needs

The society should assist people with special needs and facilitate their insertion in the social and professional life by:

- Provide the favorable conditions allowing them to have access to public office and private positions and establish fiscal and monetary incentives addressed to private company owners when recruiting people with special needs.
- Allocate 10% on public office positions to people with special needs.
- Introduce, in each legislation, a clause related to handicapped people, as an integral part of Human Rights.
- Adopt a law which protects people with special needs in Lebanon from injustice and inequality, in terms of infrastructure necessary for their transportation to public and private institutions.

#### **Fifth- The role of youth in society**

- Restructure the Ministry of Youth and Sports as stipulated in the law.
- Support the development of exchange programs between the youth in Lebanon and the rest of the world.
- Insist on the role of young people in establishing civil peace and promote intermixing through sustainable and public good projects.
- Launch the Liberty camp represented by a symbolic tent in the Freedom square downtown which will become a meeting point for permanent dialogue between young people.
- Initiate the Youth Parliament with a stable secretariat and its own characteristics.
- Set a Lebanese-International program to finance small and medium development projects. This will incite young people to launch limited capital projects and will encourage them to stay in Lebanon.
- Establish a national plan inciting young people to acquire goods in Lebanon, thanks to loans that are backed by public or private banking institutions. Promote the role and mission of the institutions which are already supporting residential property.

#### **Sixth- Health policy**

Every Lebanese citizen has the full and unconditional right to benefit from all health care services, disregarding his/her financial and social situation. In view of the deteriorating conditions of Lebanese citizens' health due to family and living pressure, the State should revise its health agenda in order to answer their claims. It should provide them with the needed health services without any discrimination related to social class or geography. It should be based on the following points:

- Health security is an integral part of the Health policy which falls on the Lebanese State and the patrons. They have to work on its organization including the reforms that should be adopted, such as:
  - Adopt the law on old age security which ensures free previews, laboratory tests and surgeries for the elderly, above 65 years old, in the public and private hospitals existing on the Lebanese territories.

- Propose legal amendment on the Employment Law which must fit the requirements of health cover for employees and those who are legally in their care, including the period following retirement. The measure reduces health expenses for the elderly, in other terms, people who most need this care.
  - Unify guarantee funds for all employees in the public and private sectors and preserve the characteristics of security services in military institutions (army, security forces...). Take into consideration the necessity of an objective study on the percentage of health cover required by the guarantee funds to avoid extra expenses on the patients.
  - Control private insurance companies and mutual funds by adopting laws that serve the patient's interest above all.
  - Launch the health card for those who don't benefit from social security and determine the State's contribution based on a prior budget. This allows the patient to benefit from hospital services at low costs in both public and private hospitals.
  - Ensure a health and social cover for people with special needs based on the budgets of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Social affairs.
  - Ensure a planned cover for expenses which result from chronic and expensive diseases and medicines, allowing the patient to get it for a symbolic price.
- Administrative reforms represent a start toward improving health services and generalizing it to public institutions. The latter have the responsibility to launch preventive campaigns with the objective of protecting citizens from diseases:
    - Organize and improve the relations between private hospitals and public institutions with the social security bodies on all levels, and grant them their long-lasting and due rights, knowing that hospital capacity shouldn't exceed 50% of the required number of beds.
    - Continue to establish governmental hospitals and health centers in all the Lebanese regions.
    - Apply a decentralization policy, encouraging local authorities to build and manage non profit public hospitals that propose high-quality services with a bed capacity of 25%.
    - Launch a network of highly equipped ambulances on the administrative region level.
    - Initiate administrative reform through the automation of all the centers of the national fund for social security in Lebanon, ensuring rapid service to all citizens.
    - Enact a modern law to organize the study and practice of the medical profession in Lebanon as it is the case in developed countries, on the social and medical level.
    - Ask the Ministry of Health to issue a decision to prevent the advertising of tobacco products on televisions and billboards; Followed by an official

decision to forbid smoking in public institutions, public places, schools and universities.

- Apply a strict medical supervision on workers in that field. The reforms include the following:
  - Establish a governing body which gathers people working in the medical field and whose objective is to oversee the proper functioning of work within the health sector, and to apply existing laws, in addition to working on their improvement.
  - Found a public institution for medicines in conformity with international standards in terms of drugs' importation and production for the Lebanese market.
  - Adopt a strict and scientific control policy on alternative medicine and combination medicines by preventing misleading advertising campaigns and imposing a fine on importers and dealers of this kind of drugs which could be harmful to patients.
  - Verify the brand on the products that are displayed in the market and its conformity with the commercial which promotes it.

## Chapter Six

### **The economic stability: prosperity through the state of law**

The Lebanese economy has experienced during the past years hard-hitting political crisis, national security emergencies and economic and social pressures that negatively affected economic growth. Lebanon also bears the burdens of the main financial crisis due to an imbalanced budget, a significant public debt and its service which accounts for the large part of treasury income and public budget. The economic sector was entirely mobilized - agriculture, industry, tourism, banking and business- in order to resist to the dangerous situation. It became the hostage of politic polarization and narrow interests, preventing the State from enforcing the required economic reforms.

The absence of politic consensus on economic reforms has revealed that a global economic vision was completely non-existent, which will always cause a permanent instability in Lebanon, a regression in the standard of living and the erosion of the middle class. A balanced growth and job opportunities could only exist through a certain harmony in the productive economic sectors which should only serve Lebanon and its people's interests. Knowing that the world economy is now part of globalization, Lebanon has to revise its economic structure to move from an Economy of Consumption to a Productive Economy which is based on the power of knowledge and the progress of technology. Human resources are the main component in that strategy, as no growth could be achieved without investing in scientific competencies. Most of the reforms that we propose are related to the public debt, the review of Arab and international economic agreements, the improvement of economic growth, the enhancement of production and service sectors and the adoption of a policy that guarantees social justice.

## First- Public debt and fiscal policy

Public debt is one of the major challenges in public finance and in the Lebanese economy for years to come, especially that it has reached at the end of 2008 around 47 billion dollars: 54% of it is issued in Lebanese pounds vs. 46% in foreign currencies. Consequently, it represents a major priority in the reform strategy. As for the budget policy and the financial and fiscal policy, a series of financial and economic measures should be taken in order to reduce the burden of public debt on future generations:

### 1- Public debt and how to manage it

- Insist on the principle that condemns borrowing to cover current expenditures, such as the wages and salaries of the public sector employees and continuous deficits in the budget of the Electricity of Lebanon.
- Install transparency in public finance which will allow the State to recover the trust of its citizens and the International community. We should note that public finance include two types of expenditures (current spending and investment spending). Whereas borrowing is justified for investment and reconstruction, it is not acceptable when it comes to pay salaries in the public sector and cover the electricity's deficit (Income earned from electricity bills should be enough to cover expenses); knowing that the financial deficit has reached around 33% of public expenditure and 50% of public revenues.
- Found an organization in charge of managing public debt and restructuring in order to reduce interests and protect public finance of any deterioration of the exchange rate. It is also entitled to investigate the causes behind the Lebanese public debt.

### 2- The fiscal policy

- Improve the policies related to the control of public finance in order to prevent fiscal evasion. Establish a special office whose task is to end the waste in public expenditure, improving, in consequence, tax collection in all regions.
- Review the fiscal policy in a way that ensures a greater social justice through cutting indirect taxes, such as the Value-Added Tax which could be compensated by the improvement in direct tax collection and a progressive tax on corporate profits. Support financial control in all the public institutions and impose taxes on exchange operations
- Assign tax collection to the elected councils in accordance with decentralization. This allows a fair redistribution of fiscal revenues-which is in the interest of citizens- and achieves a balanced growth, in addition to the adoptions of transparency standards.
- Apply progressive taxation on all wages and salaries to achieve social justice.
- Take the necessary and rapid measures to recover and preserve public, semi-public and joint properties (earth, maritime or municipal) seized by certain groups

- who have breached the law, for political or others reasons, during wartime and the following periods when the State and its institutions were absent.
- Establish a unique counter to collect and organize contributions from overseas and supervise their fair distribution, using them to finance major projects, based on an agenda of priorities and a well defined calendar.

## **Second- Review of Arab and international economic agreements**

Review Arab and international economic agreements signed by Lebanon and adopt the principle of reciprocity in trade liberalization. The latter has been used in an arbitrary way causing serious damage to local production sectors, due to unequal competition. Lebanon's economic interest in signing these agreements lies in the establishment of a control organization that would supervise their proper application, preventing exceptions an ensuring reciprocity by the member countries. The mentioned organization supervises:

### 1- The specifications

- Set compulsory specifications on products imported to Lebanon with conditions as strict as those imposed on the Lebanese production that aims at entering foreign markets.
- Standardize the specifications and speed up the process of mutual recognition of the conformity certificate issued by the Arab countries.
- Develop and equip agricultural quarantine centers, enabling them to detect products that are entering the Lebanese market and guarantee the required manpower for their own management.

### 2- Protection of local production

- Speed up the enforcement of the law on the protection of local production and issue the related decrees for its implementation. Enforce the law against dumping voted on august 28 1967, according to the legislative decree number 31 which stipulates in its first article the necessity to apply this law in dumping and open export situations. Back the situations that are considered as dumping and cases related to products imported to Lebanon. Adopt all the measures that are approved by the World Trade Organization to counter dumping.
- Apply an equal charge on Arab imports of products which are also produced in Lebanon, by adopting the preventive measures stipulated in WTO texts, especially when it comes to sectors that could experience a real threat in case of dumping; in other terms, approve specific charges on some products, based on defined conditions and for a limited period.
- Demand the application by the government of the reciprocity principle in order to prevent all arbitrary practices against Lebanese products.

### Third- The Agricultural Sector

Undertake structural reforms that allow reviving the sector of agriculture, the main source of supply to thousands of Lebanese villages in all the regions. Around 300.000 Lebanese families live fully or partially from agriculture- in other terms 40% of the Lebanese population. This sector comprises around 25.000 permanent workers. The lasting crisis which affects the sector of Agriculture in Lebanon leads to economic and social instability. It is represented by an increasing migration of population toward the cities and a slow desertion of villages followed by the sale of properties. We should note that the capacity of competition of the Lebanese agriculture, among Arab and international markets, could increase if it is subject to reforms and to modern technology, in harmony with the workers' rights in the sector. We propose the following measures:

#### 1- The Agricultural Policy

- Carry out and enhance the policy that supports and develop export agricultural products. Train farmers and introduce advanced techniques in all stages of agricultural production in order to match international standards. This medium-term transitional step will prepare the sector for agricultural market liberalization and competition with international markets.
- Set a 5 year program to generalize the GAP (good practice of agricultural goods) on all Lebanese farmers, defining the basic conditions to develop agricultural means. Raise the percentage of agricultural production in a first stage, paving the way for the application of Gap Global or Gap Europe.
- Launch a technical independent office managed by a team of experts whose task is to do the follow-up on signed agreements and implement them, especially the convention on Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

#### 2- Agricultural laws

- Adopt the law on organic agriculture along with the related decrees of implementation and the conditions and specifications of organic production. Set the necessary conditions to launch national control bodies for the generalization of organic agriculture within national programs that take into account the sectors' specificities
- Enact a law to establish agricultural centers for the circulation of pesticides, fertilizers and agricultural seeds. This will organize the work of farmers during each season and will prevent any fraud which may put the products at risk.
- Promulgate a law for brands and geographical indications and apply it within a national plan that goes beyond Lebanon embracing Chambers of Commerce and Lebanese economic forces outside Lebanon. Its main goal is to define Lebanese products and promote them in foreign markets.

#### **Fourth- The Industrial Sector**

Industry represents a productive economic sector characterized by a fixed investment which copes with all kinds of security, political or economic situations unlike other service sectors. However, it is still in Lebanon the economic sector which is the most affected by economic policies adopted by the Lebanese State, in terms of production cost, sector's development and enhancement of competition with foreign markets. The program "Industry for Lebanese Youth 2010", established by martyr minister Pierre Gemayel, includes all necessary measures for the improvement of the industrial sector. Nevertheless, these reform measures weren't implemented after his assassination, which urges us to insist on their application, in addition to some other initiatives:

- Execute immediately the required measures, putting an end to the industrial sector's regression. This could be achieved through an action plan- covering a specific period of time – that starts with compulsory charges which prevent the disastrous dumping effects caused by imported similar products with low production cost.
- Establish a joint Lebanese-European fund that guarantees loans for small and medium companies; long-term and low interest funds which will revive production with a lower investment cost.
- Create a unified network that combines the different stages of production, distribution and marketing- straight from producer to consumer- which will cut expenses and the profit margin between production costs and selling prices.
- Impose international ISO standards particularly those related to health, safety, and environment protection.
- Launch projects to discover and invest in oil and natural gas resources, and allocate a special budget for this operation.
- Create industrial zones which will stimulate economy and growth, equally distributed between regions, and create job opportunities, answering Lebanese expertise and talents.
- Reactivate oil refineries in North and South Lebanon.
- Adopt a global strategy taking into consideration the international standards in relation to statistics and market studies for the production sectors, in order to boost growth in the specific markets.
- Set the required legal mechanisms in order to counter counterfeit products in the productive sectors.
- Enhance industrial initiatives and competitiveness by adopting a policy of reduced taxes for creative industries and Start ups, and develop business with reduced industrial tariffs.

#### **Fifth- The Social Policy**

Labor and Trade union policy represents a priority in the establishment of social and economic stability. For this purpose, it should be subject to a series of reforms:

- Ask for the participation of civil society in decision making by enhancing the Social Economic Council and grant the civil society bodies consultative qualifications in the parliament.
- Achieve a complete legislative reform in order to modernize the non-governmental organizations, political parties, syndicates, associations and all the civil society organizations.
- Ensure the right to organize Labor syndicates, particularly those related to the public sector employees.
- Abide by the international conventions related to work.
- Organize the business market in order to preserve workers' rights.
- Align wages on the cost of living and adopt a new policy for them taking into account the qualifications and standards of social equity.
- Approve the "Basic Principles of Labor", in particular convention 87 and 98 of the International Labor Organization.
- Unify the organizations and funds for social security. Modernize and rehabilitate the National fund for Social Security.
- Set a program to found a "National center for Productiveness".
- Adopt the "Social Contract" between social partners.

## Sixth- The Electricity Sector

It goes without saying that any reformative economic program should include a section in relation to plans that may resolve the crisis in the Lebanese sector of Energy.

With inexistent final solutions on the electricity level, in addition to increasing debts on the Electricity of Lebanon which also suffers political quotas, the process of reform and development has been impeded and obstructed. The measures that we propose to resolve the crisis of the sector of Energy in Lebanon are the following:

- Separate in the Electricity chain of production the stages of energy production, transport (high voltage) and distribution, and establish a legal framework for each one of them.
- Allow the private sector to produce energy, based on standards and prices determined by the ministry and the EOL which will be grant the exclusive privilege of buying the produced energy.
- Launch tenders to companies in order to activate and improve the performance in the power plants.
- Set a global strategy to produce renewable and alternative energy with the participation of the private sector and international organizations, knowing that Lebanon is characterized by a strong potential in the wind, water and solar energies.
- Transform the distribution into a competitive process between 2 companies in order to sell energy at competitive prices and prevent monopolization. This will

pave the way to the privatization of electricity, except for power transport which will stay within the public domain.

- Enact the law that authorizes partnership between the public and private sector to set the means of funding for the Energy reform plan, through the access of the Lebanese State to private capitals and partnerships in the production of energy with the private sector.
- Change the conditions of money collection by providing all consumer units with electronic meters and initiate the possibility of paying dues through a pre-paid card linked to one of the 2 energy distribution companies. This way, any attempt of fraud will be intercepted and the deficit resulting from the failure of some citizens to pay their dues will be covered.
- Establish centers to receive people's complaints all week long, linking the producer to the consumer, in order to improve the service, constantly provide electric power and prevent any discrimination against lower social classes.

### **Seventh- The Telecom Sector**

The telecom sector plays a major role in reviving the Lebanese economy and providing the necessary services for citizens and investors. It is included in the public sector, thus managed by the State, and suffers from administrative, technical and structural problems. Consequently, its growth is slowed down by the traditional performance of the State and the absence of competitiveness in providing related services. The latter has particularly hampered the progress of the sector and affected Lebanon's competitiveness with the neighboring states which attract foreign investors with low cost communications.

Based on the importance of this sector and the necessity of introducing radical reforms to it, communication services should be provided to all classes of Lebanese society. We insist on the necessity to start reforming and modernizing this sector by placing it at the center of the economic structure. It will be a source of income to the Lebanese Treasury and will cover the growing deficit. For this purpose, we should introduce modern technology to it; this will help build knowledge economy in Lebanon and pave the way to substantial reforms, such as:

- Prepare a file for the privatization and liberalization of the Telecom sector, on the legal and legislative level, that will pull it out from polarization and monopolization and guarantee the best service for the consumer.
- Support the independence and effectiveness of the Telecommunications governing body, allowing it to manage competition in that field, regulate radio/cellular waves, organize the telecommunications' infrastructure and make it accessible to private companies.
- Speed up the founding of "Liban Telecom" which will manage and develop the fixed-line network; launch the third network for cellular phones to create real competitiveness.
- Deploy the fiber optics network on all the Lebanese territories, following a 3-stage plan, with the objective of creating balanced growth and a growing

economy. This infrastructure is also imperative to provide all Lebanese with broadband internet access.

- Adopt the WiMax technology in distant and rural areas to guarantee fast internet connection.
- Propose 2 licenses for a 2 cellular networks of the 3G generation through public auctions.
- Authorize the launch of commercial cellular companies that don't own a private network (using the existing ones), in order to increase competition in the sector.
- Impose tariff plans on cellular companies to reduce the cost on the user and give him/her a larger choice in choosing the appropriate prices for his/her consumption.

## **Eighth- The Tourism Sector**

The tourism sector is the main source of revenue for the national economy and should therefore be developed without any spirit of regional and political favoritism. The required reforms are based on the efficiency of the Ministry of Tourism and its capacity to highlight the tourist seasons in Lebanon, drawing the attention to them in different countries. In addition to establishing a national tourist policy which directly links the work of the ministry with the tourist centers that should exist in all the Lebanese regions. The measures to be taken are the following:

### **1- Tourism promotion**

- Ensure the required financial allocations for a global tourism promotional campaign, planned by the Ministry and implemented by all tourist sectors and institutions. Empower the role of embassies and consulates in tourism promotion and communicate with immigrants to establish promotional programs in different countries.
- Create local tourist centers for tourist affairs management and ask for the participation of local economic actors to promote tourism and develop private services in all tourist regions in Lebanon. This initiative will create work in tourist facilities, neglected by the official authorities, and launch a local workshop based on a transparent policy in managing tourism income.
- Review tourism services in terms of quality and prices. This requires the modernization of legislations related to the investment in hotels and tourism institutions in the basis of ISO Certification Quality Standards, with the collaboration of the World Tourism Organization.

### **2- Laws on Tourism**

- Enforce the decision issued on 30/5/2007 under number 2/988 concerning the payment of indemnities to the hotels which were damaged during the war, in

order to promote tourism in villages and regions recommended for summer vacation.

- Create a syndicate for hotel investors in conformity with a related law. This will help organizing hotel management business which became nowadays an art, requiring talents and certificates from higher institutes.
- Promote religious tourism through a special book that highlights all the religious locations in Lebanon.

## **Ninth- The Transport Sector**

Due to its unique geographical location, standing between East and West, Lebanon depends on transport- by land, sea and air- as a key sector directly linked to all economic sectors. However, in the absence of an official policy that would regulate and develop its facilities, the transport sector suffers from a lack of clear vision and little chance to make economic profit from it. In addition, the chaos of transport by land affects negatively people's daily life, thus the urgency to review the State's plan in order to boost economy, by cutting expenses, and facilitate transport making its operations safer. The measures we propose are the following:

### 1- Transport by air and sea

- Reactivate Kleat's airport for civil aviation, and equip and expand Riaa' military airport, which will stimulate economy.
- Rehabilitate Jounieh's port and open it to maritime traffic for transportation and tourism, as a first step towards to the generalization of this strategy to Tyr's, Sidon's and Tripoli's ports, for the same purpose.

### 2- Transport by land

- Regulate the transport by land to reduce truckers' violations and guarantee public safety. Determine the appropriate timing for trucks' circulation; control their cargos and the safety of the vehicle, knowing that any violation will be subject to strict prosecution.
- Set a plan to improve work within road networks in all regions and clarify the mission of local authorities by inviting them to participate in paving and maintaining internal roads.
- Restructure road networks in conformity to international standards for Public Safety, especially when it comes to road lighting.
- Set a long-term plan to improve means of transport and especially joint transport services to prevent traffic jams and protect the environment. Start to adopt maritime transport which links Lebanese coastal cities through a joint transport network that will reduce traffic in the city and help develop this sector.
- Enact a law for the organization and control of transport from/to Lebanon in order to prevent private and public vehicles, crossing the Lebanese-Syrian borders from the North and the Bekaa, from entering Lebanon without being subject to required customs transactions and work on the application of the principle of reciprocity.

- Rehabilitate railways and the tramway, in addition to founding a public institution for the construction and the management of infrastructure. Open the organization and management of transport operations to competition in the private sector.
- Approve reforms for the car rental sector by stimulating legal competition and stop illicit speculation by some car rental agencies operating without permits.
- Impose a regular mechanical inspection on army and security forces' vehicles to preserve Public Safety.
- Stop illicit speculations and close illegal rental shops by suppressing them effectively.

## Chapter 7

### The stability of urbanism and environment: our environment is our identity

The catastrophic situation of the environment in Lebanon and all the hazardous consequences that may derive from it, endangering human, plants and animals' life, is extremely alarming. Based on this, we believe that official authorities should be seriously concerned and should work in collaboration with environmental organizations and the civil society. Conserving Lebanon's natural resources is an integral part of preserving the national identity which faces winds of destruction that might eradicate the cultural heritage and the natural beauty of Lebanon. Official authorities should consider environmental affairs as a national priority issue which requires a clear action plan and a financing for concerned services, allowing them to counter environmental problems. It goes without saying, that any political polarization in that domain should be excluded.

The environmental project is, in consequence, a political tool deriving from a global national vision whose goal is to confirm the multi-cultural Lebanese identity. The Lebanese Kataeb party insists on the fact that environment is a binding element which ensures sustainable development in all the country. Consequently, it is obviously necessary to give it our full attention through the following reform measures:

#### First- Urbanism

The sound organization of cities and villages along with a strict management of the lands are essential for the preservation of national resources and natural sources. It guarantees an optimal access and answers the current and future population's needs, ensuring economic progress and prosperity, in addition to the protection of environment and preservation of public safety. In Lebanon, urbanism should be subject to law reforms and development, such as:

- Organize cities and villages and define the use and classification of all lands.
- Empower and enforce the laws related to the classification of archaeological and heritage buildings, knowing that hundreds of them have been declassified in Beirut for investment purposes, in the last few years.
- Organize the facilities (factories, abattoirs, mines, ports, airports, fuel stations).

- Regulate construction and infrastructure.
- Sort out natural and archaeological sites.
- Manage public properties (rivers, beaches, archaeological regions, historic patrimony buildings, maritime properties, natural sites, valleys).
- Regulate the use of natural resources and national possessions (the extraction of stones and dust from the sea and rivers, the use of public property's water, groundwater, stone quarries and oil exploration).
- Establish the Ministry of Planning and Urbanism composed of experts in charge of communication and task assignment between their ministry and other public administrations, especially the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Energy and Water and municipalities.
- Adopt the bill submitted by MP Pierre Amine Gemayel for the anticipation of natural catastrophes and create a fund to pay compensations to citizens who suffered damages.
- Set a legal framework and increase human and technical resources (laboratories, domains of expertise...) in administrations in order to carry out studies on the effects of economic and construction projects on the environment.
- Adopt clear environmental standards and conditions such as the green buildings, characterized by their capacity to reduce energy consumption.
- Protect the natural sites which are endangered because of deterioration and pollution, knowing that we have 8 natural reserves, 10 protected natural sites, 14 forest reserves and 4 marine protected areas in Lebanon. The required measures to rectify this situation start with the promulgation of a law on the protection of natural and cultural resources from distortion due to construction, and the imposition of a tax on all citizens who contravene the law.
- Enhance the role of the Ministry of Culture allowing it to show the civilized and pluralistic nature of Lebanon by launching a workshop of archaeology exploration and restoring archaeological heritage in all the Lebanese regions, with the help of researchers and experts.

## Second- Stone quarries

- Regulate the work of stone quarries and stop all violations that damage the environment, knowing that we have currently in Lebanon 710 quarries (active and inactive), including 46% unlicensed quarry. We insist on the necessity to:
  - Enforce at once the law by closing unlicensed quarries and compel their owners to participate in the rehabilitation of the quarry site.
  - Define the conditions and environmental criteria related to the environment management of solid and liquid waste generated by quarries.
  - Define the conditions and the highest standards approved for air and sound pollution.
  - Determine the operation of construction material transportation and store it in a way that guarantees air and groundwater safety.

- Control the operation by employing qualified cadres who will supervise the respect of the required conditions; and by defining the available means of control and the persons responsible for the mission.

### **Third- Waste**

Find a solution for the problem of solid waste which is not sorted, suffering from a lack of vision regarding its management. Development has to consider laws for the following measures:

- Assign particular locations and establish all sorts of waste dumps, defining the conditions of exploitation and the related technical standards.
- Determine what to do with unusable waste along with the control procedures.
- Lay foundations that allow policies of recycling and use, mitigation and recovery, and extraction of energy from waste, which will consequently reduce the load of waste that needs final disposal.

### **Fourth- Forest resources**

- Work within the Ministry of Environment on the appropriate environmental policies, starting with the action of reforestation of damaged areas due to fire, in order to extend green areas in Lebanon. Define an emergency plan to counter and stop environmental and climate hazards. We propose for this strategy:
  - Create a trained and equipped security apparatus under the name of “Environment Police” whose sole mission is to protect natural resources and heritage from destruction. This security service should benefit from high expertise and communicate with local councils in order to incite all citizens to protect local resources: limit access to the forests and prevent grazing on their vegetation, stop deforestation in forest reserves and prohibit fires within the boundaries of the protected areas.
  - Organize permanent patrols to control forests by forest guards and controllers who are part of the technical unit responsible for this mission.
  - Create control centers to guarantee early warning in case a fire takes place and help discover it and contain it.
  - Found the Green Public Prosecution.

### **Fifth- Sea Resources and Beaches**

Despite the fact that Lebanon benefits from great sea resources, drought situations increase year after year due to climate change and different natural factors, while there’s no clear national strategy to manage these resources. With the gradual decline in rainfall due to global climate disruption, Lebanon’s demand for water is expected to grow, while water coming from 14 Lebanese rivers flows towards the sea, causing a loss of 200 million cubic meters. We should work hard to stop this waste, manage groundwater and protect it from pollution and ensure the required infrastructure to benefit as much as possible from water resources, through the following measures:

- Guarantee safe drinking water to all houses in cities and villages. This way, citizens wouldn't have to spend money on buying bottled water.
- Ask for the participation of the private sector in financing policies for projects and plans and manage the cross-border basins in conformity to the principle of water-sharing established by the UN.
- Introduce techniques for water management to universities curricula.
- Set a technical manual for the management of water sources in terms of quantity and quality.
- Impose a tariff on water consumption based on real consumption, and equip the consumer units with meters.
- Scan the available sources and infrastructures.
- Set conditions for the investment of ground and surface water.
- Organize the exploitation of beaches and the work of industrial institutions on them. Adopt the techniques for clean production particularly in Salaata, Chekka and Dora, in order to protect sea water from pollution.
- Enforce the law on marine properties to preserve the Lebanese State's properties, while it is exploited for personal interest.
- Protect the fishery resources from pollution and unorganized fishing which could endanger the species. Ask for the serious participation of the Ministry of Agriculture which will have the mission to apply water fishing laws and organize it.