



# كُلُّ نَائِرَادَا

K U L L U N A I R A D A

كُلُّنَا رَادَا

KULLUNAIRADA

**Civic Organization for Political Reform in Lebanon**

**This is what we stand for:**

## 1- Human Rights and Civic Identity



# Human Rights and Civic Identity

### First – The Current Situation

a- Respecting human beings and preserving their dignity, freedom, and mental and physical integrity are among humanity's loftiest ideals – but they aren't respected in Lebanon.

b- There is an interactive relationship between citizens and their country: the stronger the country becomes, the stronger its citizens and the concept of citizenship become, and vice versa. Unfortunately, the concept of citizenship remains fragile in Lebanon.

c- The public continues to bear the scars and wounds from the fighting, destruction and displacement that took place; rebuilding is possible only if everyone seeks true national reconciliation.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- A citizen's first identity should be a civic one.

b- Citizens are the source of all laws and regulations; they require nothing to “mediate” between them and the government and state institutions.

c- Citizens have rights as well as obligations.

d- Citizenship must be based on justice and equality.

e- National consensus is guaranteed by citizens and the law.

f- The law protects civil liberties, and only the law can limit them.

g- Every Lebanese has the right to reside in any part of the country under the protection of the rule of law. Citizens shall not be labeled, divided, or fragmented based on certain types of affiliation.

### Third – Our Vision

a- To achieve true national reconciliation and catharsis, we must abandon resentment and grudges and prevent the reoccurrence of domestic conflict.

b- To consolidate civic identity now and for the future, we should rely on families, school curricula, and educational and cultural programs. They should warn us about the danger of seeing this civic identity disappear, and about the delusion that it can be replaced. Throughout all of this, people must remain the top priority.

c- We must eliminate any legal protection for acts that are harmful or unfair to women and children, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; this includes amending the citizenship law in order to achieve gender equality.

d- We must prevent any violation of the freedom of expression (written or verbal), publication, assembly, or association, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and civil rights statutes.

e- We must enact a law on missing persons and forcibly disappeared persons; we must meet the needs of families and victims of arbitrary arrest and prolonged torture.

f- We must endorse the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, and join the International Criminal Court.

g- We must improve living conditions in prisons as well as end arbitrary arrests, torture, and human trafficking.

h- We must not pass an amnesty or special amnesty laws in the case of serious crimes.

## 2- The Constitution and the Political System

### First – The Current Situation

a- Lebanon's system of "consociational democracy" paralyzes the state and uses its powers to serve political sectarianism instead of citizens; people seek out favors instead of demanding their rights.

b- Politicizing the state bureaucracy and related institutions exacerbates corruption; it also cripples the bureaucracy on all levels at every political crisis.

c- Weakening constitutional institutions hinders political life; elections and other decision-making processes become existential crises instead of opportunities for the exercise of democracy and a smooth transfer of power.

d- Power is being used outside constitutional institutions; they are abused instead of respected.

e- Current political practice has destroyed any chance at reform and constitutes a danger to the state.

f- The political system lacks a separation of powers, while the system of checks and balances is inoperative. This produces a self-renewing political class that is free of accountability of any type.

g- As the notion of political action becomes distorted, the word "politics" has come to be associated with corruption, abuse, clientelism, and nepotism.

h- Electoral laws have never allowed representation to be based on citizenship; the most recent law remains distant from this objective.

i- Low electoral participation rates indicate people's desperation.

j- Political practice and the laws favor sectarianism, clientelism, and scaremongering.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- The purpose of elections is to represent the will of the citizens, not to favor sectarianism and clientelism.

b- In an election, voters temporarily grant candidates the power to represent and respect them; there is no abdication of a decision-making capacity.

c- Those who are appointed or elected to public office are entrusted with the citizens' interests. These office-holders are subject to the will of the people; they shall be punished in the event that they fail to carry out their duties.

d- It is the duty of citizens and civil society to make their voices heard.

e- Lebanese citizens who desire freedom must first free themselves; freedom may only be taken, not given.

f- An efficient government reassures the public and preserves the country and the environment, as well as the health and security of the citizenry.

g- An efficient government ensures a decent life for citizens; it encourages them to invest in their country through long-term economic projects that create new work opportunities and thereby limit emigration.

h- An efficient government serves as a guarantee for establishing a democratic system and maintaining the nation's sovereignty and its place in the world.

i- Abolishing all types of violence, and adopting constructive dialog while respecting the opinion of others in the process of conflict resolution, are core democratic values.

### Third – Our Vision

a- We must improve and develop the Constitution by adopting mechanisms that prevent the blocking of constitutional institutions.

b- We must improve the separation of powers by preventing people from serving as MPs and government ministers simultaneously, and by introducing term limits for appointed or elected political positions.

c- Politicians shall be held accountable if they disrespect the will of the voters, abstain from performing their duties, or renege on their commitments.

d- We must formulate and strictly apply laws that criminalize conflicts of interest, corruption, squandering resources, and misusing public money.

e- Government decision-making should be re-tooled by adopting a parliamentary democratic system based on majority rule and limiting national unity governments to extreme cases such as wars.

f- We must combat all attempts to block, postpone, or cast doubt on the decisions of the Constitutional Council.

g- We must appoint members of the Constitutional Council and the judiciary based on integrity and qualifications – and not political affiliations – and ensure these bodies' total independence.

h- The independence and professionalism of the media must be enhanced so that it reclaims its position as the fourth estate.

i- We must criminalize the buying and selling of votes during elections and restrict campaign advertising.

j- We must gradually adopt the female quota until equality is achieved in candidates and seats, in order to encourage women to enter the political arena.

k- The voting age should be lowered to 18. A country that fears its young people is a failure; young people represent the winds of change and accountability.

l- People should be allowed to vote where they live instead of where their families have been historically registered.



### 3- Sectarianism

#### First – The Current Situation

a- The sectarian political system has proven unable to produce citizens or a stable country; indeed, it has generated several phases of violence while contributing to the spread of corruption and ineffective accountability and governance.

b- Although most Lebanese wish to change this system, sectarianism has become a part of their culture and a “line” that they are afraid to cross.

c- The sectarian political system has led to power-sharing and a process of “dividing up the spoils” among leading politicians and political parties.

#### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- A civic-minded government represents the path toward re-establishing a modern, productive and just state that protects democratic differences, openness, and acceptance of others.

b- Citizens’ rights should not be replaced by slogans about the rights of sects. The sects are “owned” by those with political capital and their gains are granted to citizens through clientelism and favors. However, citizens have inalienable humanitarian, civil, social, and economic rights. Sickness does not differentiate between sects.

c- Sectarianism does not protect Lebanon and the Lebanese. In fact, citizenship, laws, and justice protect Lebanon and the Lebanese, along with their beliefs, freedom, and dignity.

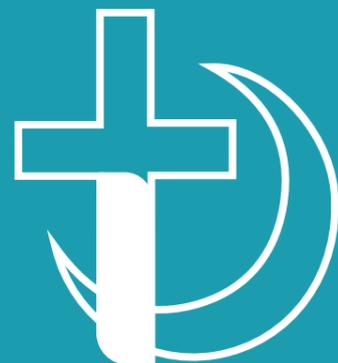
d- Lebanon is based on the concept of comprehensive citizenship and favoring the public interest over any specific individual or class.

#### Third – Our Vision

a- We must consolidate and spread the concept of citizenship through political practice.

b- We must create the pillars of a civic-minded government.

c- Abolishing political sectarianism is a fundamental national goal that should be achieved based on a phased plan.



Sectarianism

### 4- Personal Status

#### First – The Current Situation

a- Personal status laws and their application restrict freedom of belief, which is guaranteed by the Constitution.

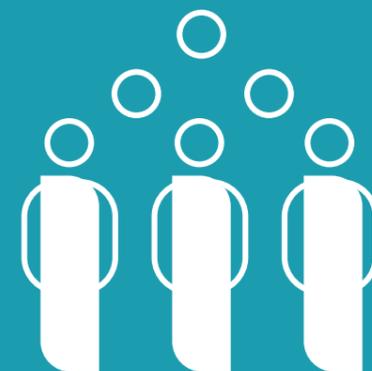
#### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- Freedom of belief and freedom of conscience are as sacred as people’s beliefs themselves.

#### Third – Our Vision

a- We must consolidate freedom of belief by making people choose between a civil or sectarian personal status law.

b- The government and the laws are the first guarantors of citizens’ freedoms and rights.



Personal Status

## 5-Social Justice and Basic Services

### First – The Current Situation

- a- Social justice has never been a priority for the political system, the issue is regressing constantly.
- b- Poverty and need are used to win votes and consolidate clientelism.
- c- Amid rising levels of need in modern society, people are pressured to increase their indebtedness, sell their land and properties, and abandon their dignity.
- d- Most of the time, social services and related assistance do not reach their intended targets.
- e- Public policies do not take the required clear and radical aim at fighting poverty and the rising level of misery in cities.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

- a- Ensuring that people gain respect and a decent living is a priority.
- b- Healthcare, education, and pensions for the elderly are natural rights; the government must provide them for everyone.
- c- The task of providing a decent residence and job opportunities lies at the core of social justice.

### Third – Our Vision

- a- We must adopt laws and public policies that carry out a radical reform of all government pension funds, so that they provide comprehensive healthcare and old age pensions, and so that their funding methods are modified.
- b- The government should adopt a housing policy in order to encourage the establishment of socially-respectable places of residence.
- c- We should enact laws to create an unemployment fund and upgrade the National Employment Office, as well as establish continuous training institutes and institutes to train people for specific jobs as per the labor market's needs, in order to reduce the long-term unemployment rate.

## 6- The Judicial System, Bureaucracy, and Monitoring the Government's Work

### First – The Current Situation

- a- Political intervention seeks to impede the independence of the judiciary and its role as protector of citizens' rights, although some brave judges continue to reject such interference.
- b- Political practice has turned the bureaucracy into a tool that serves the political system and its clientelism.
- c- The mismanagement of human, structural and organizational resources, as well as arbitrary employment practices, have generated a bloated, inefficient, and unqualified public sector. Nonetheless, a considerable number of highly-qualified and efficient public sector employees remain.
- d- Following claims that the government bureaucracy was inefficient, alternative administrations and funds were established in order to perform certain administrative tasks. However, these parallel administrations are not corruption-free, as they are subject to the same type of clientelism.
- e- The role of state regulatory agencies has been severely disrupted and some of them are deeply corrupt; they go so far as to legalize decisions that violate laws and the Constitution.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

- a- A system that doesn't respect the judiciary's independence cannot be considered a democratic system that works for citizens and their dignity.
- b- An employee who enjoys moral and physical respect, and who is immune from political influence, can execute his or her tasks perfectly.
- c- Efficiency, transparency, and accountability are the three pillars that lead to a successful public administration.
- d- The state bureaucracy serves citizens, not the other way around.
- e- Corruption in all of its forms should be fought- this includes financial corruption, conflicts of interest and abuse of power, as well as identifying corrupt elements and enforcing the appropriate penalties.

### Third – Our Vision

- a- Political intervention in the work of the judiciary or the bureaucracy should be strictly criminalized.
- b- We must restructure the central and regional state bureaucracy; we must also reorganize state-held properties and the civil servant salary scale.
- c- The bureaucracy should be computerized in order to manage spending and boost productivity and transparency; the useless routine work of civil servants should be eliminated.
- d- We must enact and implement all international anti-corruption laws and agreements.
- e- MPs, government ministers, category one state employees and senior officials should regularly prepare a statement that includes their properties, their spouses' and children's properties, and bank account statements, and forward this statement to a specialized committee.
- f- We must enhance and implement laws that grant the public access to information.



## Social Justice and Basic Services



## The Judicial System, Bureaucracy, and Monitoring the Government's Work

## 7- The Diaspora

### First – The Current Situation

a- Lebanon's Diaspora is a source of national wealth – while serving as proof of how the country's crises have widened. Large-scale emigration helps aggravate these crises while stripping Lebanon of its finest citizens and harming revenue-generation in the economy.

b- The Lebanese Diaspora has no say in the political system.

c- Political corruption, economic depression, and the sectarian system are making it impossible for people to thrive, which prompts them to leave their country.

d- Corruption and economic policies aren't allowing Diaspora money to be invested in productive industries, which reduces competitiveness.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- New members of the Diaspora play an important and direct role in ending the emigration phenomenon.

b- In order to make Lebanon great again, it's crucial to partner with those who have made foreign countries their home.

c- Émigrés can help facilitate Lebanon's integration into the global and regional economy and improve the competitiveness of local entities.

### Third – Our Vision

a- We must accelerate implementation of the Nationality Law (passed on November 2015 ,12) and provide for political representation for members of the Diaspora.

b- We must enhance economic partnership with the Diaspora as well as boost the role of ministries and concerned institutions in building institutionalized bridges of communication with émigrés.

c- We must establish an independent ministry for the Lebanese Diaspora.

d- We should ensure that members of the Diaspora are organized and represented in political life.

## 8- Education

### First – The Current Situation

a- Quality education has become a privilege and linked almost exclusively to private institutions, whereas public education is in a critical state of constant decline due to the lack of a public education policy.

b- Schools are failing to perform their assigned tasks of building citizenship and national integration.

c- Educational curricula are not adapted to the needs of the labor market and the challenges of modern life.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- Quality education should be compulsory and available to everyone, with no discrimination.

b- Curricula should not only involve the **gaining** of information and skills. They should include cultural education, social cooperation, cultivating critical and creative thinking, accepting others, effective communication, and the culture of citizenship.

c- Making quality education available to everyone in accordance with students' abilities and the needs of the labor market limits unemployment, increases salary levels and encourages sustainable investment.

### Third – Our Vision

a- We must formulate a comprehensive policy that aims at improving educational standards, so that graduates are well equipped to face modern life.

b- We must radically reform the structure of the educational system. This should cement the state's role in organizing, guiding and monitoring the system to guarantee equal opportunity for all, and enhance the notion of citizenship.

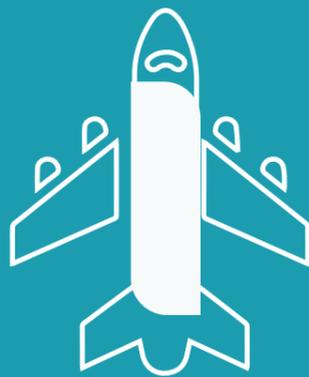
c- We must make public education exemplary at all levels – from kindergarten to the Lebanese University.

d- We must regain the former glory of the teaching profession by establishing guidelines for hiring and promoting teachers and evaluating their efficiency and performance.

e- We should introduce the concept of lifelong education.

f- School hours should be made compatible with the needs of modern life and the labor market.

g- We must focus on new types of technical education, such as digital education, which take into account changes in production methods, Lebanon's human potential and its geographical advantages.



The Diaspora



Education

### First – The Current Situation

- a- Culture, art, and creative industries are among the most distinctive aspects of Lebanon and the Lebanese people; they also serve as a source of national wealth.
- b- The country's diversity makes it a center for cultural and religious interaction.
- c- Lebanon has not developed, diversified or re-worked its touristic potential into a pillar of its economy.
- d- Regulations and laws have historically played an inhibiting role when it comes to the country's creative industries.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

- a- Culture, art, and tourism should be available to everyone and not just to an elite group.
- b- Freedom of expression and the rejection of censorship are critically important to attaining creativity in art and culture and the fight for just causes.
- c- Culture and art should be given the necessary support through education and financial aid, which will develop creative industries.
- d- Cultural exports should be encouraged.

### Third – Our Vision

- a- The government must consider culture, art, and creative industries a necessity and not a luxury – they promote Lebanon abroad and enhance its interaction with foreign countries.
- b- A strategy for the field of art and culture should include creating the appropriate institutional frameworks.
- c- Historical and archeological monuments should be considered part of Lebanon's identity and national wealth.
- d- The tourism sector must be re-developed and repaired, with a number of sub-sectors enjoying particular attention: archeological and recreational tourism; health, educational, and environmental tourism; business and conference tourism.
- e- Sister city agreements based on art and culture should be established with cities throughout the world, relying on the cooperation of the Diaspora, embassies and municipalities.
- f- Domestic tourism should be developed; this will let us become better-acquainted with Lebanon and its various traditions, to boost national integration.



### First – The Current Situation

**a-** Lebanon's wealth depends on its human capital, natural wealth and geographical location.

**b-** Its financial, economic, and legal systems, along with bad governance and the absence of **the** rule of law, have prevented the country from benefiting from its human capital. They also cripple development, economic growth, balanced growth between regions and social justice.

**c-** The political system's leaders have monopolized the country's riches for their own personal benefit and political objectives, such as clientelism.

**d-** The absence of comprehensive and precise statistics on the size of the "informal" economy means that we can't assess the size of the economy or unemployment.

**e-** Inflation in the public sector, its lack of productivity and poor management work to increase production costs and negatively impact the private sector's activity, productivity, and international competitiveness.

**f-** **The** capital is available; however, it is usually invested in unproductive assets such as public debt, financing bonds, and in the rentier economy, without putting human capital or skilled manpower to good use.

**g-** **A** weak infrastructure (roads, transportation, electricity, water, and communication) leads to a decline in productivity, including manpower productivity, and in local and international competitiveness.

**h-** The Lebanese economy is monopolistic, lacks competitiveness and obstructs access to markets. This prohibits the flow of capitals and hinders investment in productive industries.

**i-** The unregulated nature of the foreign labor sector distorts the labor market while presenting local workers with illegal competition.

**j-** Lebanon is not integrated in the international economy through international organizations such as the World Trade Organization; no bilateral and multilateral trade and investment agreements have been signed. This has weakened Lebanon's export capacity and role as a regional and international center.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

**a-** A competitive system of free enterprise is the best solution for economic growth; the government should primarily safeguard citizens' rights and achieve social justice.

**b-** Achieving social justice requires balanced and sustainable economic growth.

### Third – Our Vision

**a-** A long-term strategic economic vision should be adopted; it must encourage productive investments that create job opportunities in order to limit brain drain. The government should promote the growth of the knowledge economy, the digital economy, resource production and added-value services, and by introducing new technologies to agriculture.

**b-** Free zones and model industrial cities should be established; we must formulate the guidelines for making Lebanon an economic, industrial and technological service center based on clusters.

**c-** A smart, parallel development economic policy for areas outside Beirut should be adopted. It should focus on contributing to the development of every region according to its human and natural resources; this will create job opportunities that limit immigration and emigration.

**d-** We should respect the environment for health, psychological and economic reasons; we should also rely on green industries.

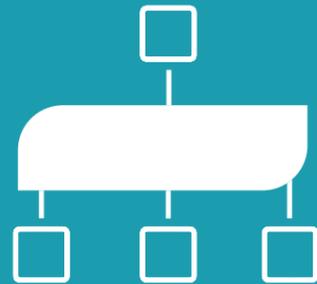
**e-** Lebanon should become a pioneer in clean technologies; the government should encourage research, investments, and production in renewable energy.

**f-** New technologies should be introduced to the domains of traditional and cultural handicrafts, agriculture and industries.

**g-** A wide-scale and comprehensive investment program should be launched for basic and digital infrastructure; this could include a public-private partnership.

**h-** Frameworks for public-private cooperation on all levels of the economy should be formulated; these frameworks should make good use of natural and human resources and generate investment.

**i-** In the event of privatization and public-private partnership, the citizen's interests remain the standard; people should not shift from public monopolies to private ones.



## 11- Financial Policy and the Tax System

### First – The Current Situation

a- Financial policies and the tax system have become inadequate amid the many economic and financial developments for the vision of a future Lebanon.

b- Financial policies distorted the economy and greatly added to the public debt, which has become a structural problem that cripples the government's capabilities and limits the productivity and competitiveness of the economy.

c- The tax system is unfair because indirect taxes constitute the largest portion of tax revenues, meaning that the poor and the middle class have the largest burden, based on their income.

d- The tax system is unfair because taxes are not imposed on many kinds of incomes.

e- The current tax system helps the rentier economy and not a productive economy, which creates sustainable job opportunities.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- Financial policy reform and managing the public debt are two urgent national matters.

b- Financial policy means the following: a fair tax system, efficient collection, useful spending, and good public debt management. It is a fundamental pillar for economic growth, development and social stability.

c- People who do not pay their taxes believe that the government does not represent them; therefore, they respect neither the government nor public properties and natural resources. They fail to monitor government spending or hold the government accountable.

d- There are two conditions for efficient tax collection: a qualified, efficient and fair bureaucracy, and a responsible, cooperative, and mindful citizen.

e- Revenues should be spent to serve sovereign functions, social security networks, investments in infrastructure and human capital, to improve productivity and develop the economy.

### Third – Our Vision

a- We must put a ceiling on the public debt in accordance with GNP (no higher than 90%) and a ceiling on the deficit (no higher than 4%).

b- We must issue a simplified, and comprehensive law that clearly explains and confirms the rights and obligations of taxpayers and the government.

c- We should adopt a fair tax system that encourages investment, creativity and a productive and sustainable economy in order to attain social justice.

d- We should enact reforms that include transparent budgeting, as well as cancel the system of absolute bank secrecy.

## 12- Oil and Gas

### First – The Current Situation

a- Oil and gas riches are non-renewable and new to Lebanon. There is a danger that political parties will handle them similarly to other resources, meaning wasting them or illegally exploiting them.

b- Oil and gas wealth may be positive but if environmental, political, economic, security and geostrategic risks aren't taken into consideration, these riches will become a curse, based on what has happened in other countries.

### Second – Principles and Beliefs

a- Oil and gas riches are the property of the current and future generations of the Lebanese people.

b- Good and transparent governance, proper disclosure, regular and ongoing regulation and accountability are critically important to managing a sector with the potential to positively change the country's socio-economic structure.

c- These riches should be managed as if they are a non-renewable resource that should be invested and not consumed.

### Third – Our Vision

a- We must invest in oil and gas to serve the needs of the consumer in Lebanon, based on feasibility.

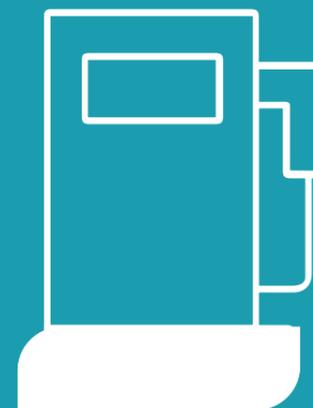
b- We should study the possibility of establishing petroleum manufacturing companies instead of exporting oil as a raw material.

c- All stages of investment, production, and consumption of oil and gas should have the environment and climate change as priority considerations.

d- We should establish a sovereign fund to manage oil wealth, under complete transparency.

e- We must use oil income to develop production capabilities: human capital, infrastructure and production assets. This will lead to solid and sustainable economic growth that serves current and future generations.

f- We should always ensure the independence of the Oil and Gas Authority.



## Oil and Gas



## Financial Policy and the Tax System

## 13- Infrastructure

### First - The Current Situation

- a- The infrastructure does not perform the essential task of serving citizens and the economy; the available infrastructure is not maintained regularly.
- b- Clientelism and electoral considerations, and not scientific planning and inter-government coordination, dominate the execution of infrastructure projects.
- c- The needs of infrastructure are used for clientelism and other corrupt purposes.

### Second - Principles and Beliefs

- a- The government's central roles include: providing a developed and well-maintained infrastructure that is necessary for economic growth, attracting investments, and preserving people's health, dignity, and interests.
- b- Investing in a country with an efficient and developed infrastructure means higher levels of revenues, especially in digital and knowledge-based economies.
- c- A national scientific approach should be used in infrastructure planning, as this will contribute to bringing people closer together and eliminating the obstacles that were placed between them.

### Third - Our Vision

- a- We must provide clean and affordable energy and produce it using natural gas instead of fuel oil; we should rely as much as possible on renewable energy sources such as water, wind, and the sun.
- b- We must adopt a public transport policy for people and goods; we must formulate a strategic plan that relies on rail, air and sea to reduce the never-ending road congestion, and integrates Lebanon into international trade routes. This will create job opportunities and help achieve social justice.
- c- We must wisely use water resources under a comprehensive plan that guarantees good water management and the development of national networks for the distribution of potable water, sanitary drainage, processing, and recycling.
- d- We should develop the telecommunication network by using fiber optics, which are extremely important to the 21<sup>st</sup> century economy.
- e- We should adopt waste treatment measures to prioritize public health and protect nature, while rejecting all projects that do not respect these two priorities.



Infrastructure

## 14- The Environment

### First - The Current Situation

- a- Lebanon is renowned for its beautiful natural areas, archeological monuments, and traditional and modern architectural heritage.
- b- However, the environment is in a terrible state - green spaces are declining, water and air pollution is rising, cement is spreading, and the quarrying and other destructive industries are growing. Zoning and urban planning is weak to non-existent, amid widescale corruption.

### Second - Principles and Beliefs

- a- Preserving nature is important to the preservation of public safety and health.
- b- Adopting zoning and urban planning policies is a necessity.
- c- Preserving natural and architectural heritage gives future generations tangible proof of their identity as well as added value to tourism and the economy.

### Third - Our Vision

- a- We must re-examine laws on the environment, climate change, natural and architectural heritage, and construction, and strictly apply them.
- b- We should evaluate the environmental impact of every law or public works project.
- c- We must encourage construction while preserving historical monuments using modern materials and resources that limit the use of non-renewable energy.
- d- We should establish a new ministry for the environment and climate change.



The Environment

## 15- Foreign and Defense Policy

### First - The Current Situation

a- Lebanon is a founding member of the United Nations and the Arab League as well as a party to international and regional treaties and bilateral agreements.

b- Throughout history, Lebanon has patiently and bravely borne all its commitments; at times, they have been more than the country can handle.

c- Lebanon was and still is subject to external aggression and is at war with Israel.

d- Lebanon has been directly impacted by terrorist attacks and international and regional conflicts.

### Second - Principles and Beliefs

a- It is imperative to respect and abide by the decisions of the United Nations and the Arab League, including the right of return as stipulated in the UN Resolution 194.

b- Lebanon stands with the Palestinian cause except when it violates Lebanese policies, as the Lebanese people believe in fairness and justice.

c- Lebanon should regain its role as a prosperous Arab country, as it is a model of religious and cultural diversity and freedom of speech.

d- Anyone who invades Lebanese territory or violates its sovereignty is an enemy.

e- The army takes orders from the elected political bodies; it has the authority to defend the country, bear arms, and protect the borders.

### Third - Our Vision

a- A policy of neutrality should be adopted in regional and international conflicts, as these conflicts may destroy Lebanon.

b- We should formulate a detailed and phased plan to achieve a capable and efficient government with a strong army, and to make weapons available only to the government and the army.

c- We must implement laws in order to support the army and security forces; they should enjoy the power necessary to perform their duties without nepotism or clientelism.

d- We must work on re-consolidating trust among the Lebanese and between them and governmental institutions through military and civil service programs, among others.



Foreign and  
Defense Policy

## 16- The Syrian Refugee Crisis

### First - The Current Situation

a- Lebanon is hosting more Syrian refugees than it can handle; this is disrupting the country's essential balance.

b- External and regional funding for Syrian refugees does not absolve the international community of its responsibilities toward the Syrian crisis.

### Second - Principles and Beliefs

a- The Syrian refugee issue is a humanitarian one, as most of the refugees are victims of war.

b- In accordance with international laws, Lebanon is morally obligated to contribute within limits that do not surpass its capacities and do not disrupt its national balance.

c- A scientific socio-economic approach should be adopted to solve the refugee issue.

### Third - Our Vision

a- We should formulate a phased plan to help refugees return to Syria.

b- We should create a plan to organize refugee and foreign workers within an economic framework that suits Lebanon.

c- We must end inhuman practices such as unjustifiably banning Syrians from moving around at night, renting out unsuitable residences, establishing camps that do not conform with security standards, and abusing children and forcing them to work.



The Syrian  
Refugee Crisis