

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT

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Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri's experiment constituted an important phase in Lebanon's modern history. It is impossible to chronicle this phase, which lasted more than twenty years since its beginning in the 1980s, without linking it to the name Rafiq Hariri and his politics.

Prime Minister Hariri emerges as among the first to perceive the global changes that emerged from the end of the Cold War and emergence of globalization, as well as their effects on Lebanon and the Arab world. At a time when Lebanon was still plagued by Israeli occupation and internal wars, Hariri offered a new, forward-looking approach to rehabilitating Lebanon and preparing it to handle the ongoing changes.

His plan was based on the following:

**FIRST. AN END TO
THE WAR AND OF THE
ISRAELI OCCUPATION**

Rafiq Hariri worked to end the war, playing a central role in convincing rival factions to hold discussions and support most attempts at reconciliation. He played an effective part in summits held in Geneva (1983) and Lausanne (1984). But his most important contribution was to the Taef Accord that ended the Lebanese war; an agreement he had worked on for two years before it was reached, using his connections with rival Lebanese parties and nations with influence in Lebanon.

Rafiq Hariri exerted an extraordinary effort to resist Israel's occupation of Lebanese land. This effort predated his election as Prime Minister in 1992, as he had supported resistance against the occupation since the Israeli invasion in 1982.

Prime Minister Hariri's approach to national liberation was always based on two entangled principles: Economic revival and its role in creating the conditions for resistance, and the national unity required to maintain the resistance in the face of the Israeli occupation.

Lebanon's history bears witness to Prime Minister Hariri's critical role on this front and his unprecedented efforts to carry the country's voice across the world in a campaign to end Israel's operation 'Grapes of Wrath' against Lebanon. This culminated in the April Accords, the first such regional and international agreement, which legitimized resistance to the Israeli occupation and paved the way for the liberation achievement in 2000.

**SECOND. REBUILDING
LEBANON**

Prime Minister Hariri put forth a comprehensive plan to rebuild Lebanon after all the destruction, civil wars and Israeli attacks it had endured. His plan did not focus solely on physical reconstruction, but rather on the implicit dimension of the national reconstruction in terms of politics, economy, culture, education as well as the requirements of a comprehensive revival.

Early in his program, Prime Minister Hariri emphasized education and knowledge as the basis for economic improvement and modernization. To this end, he gave thousands of young men and women the chance to obtain a university education, supported educational and social welfare institutes, and helped to modernize facilities in several Lebanese universities.

THIRD. BUILDING A MODERN STATE

Rafiq Hariri worked to build a modern state in the face of sectarian gangs, believing that Lebanon's problems could only be addressed by emphasizing equilibrium: equilibrium among all Lebanese in their rights and duties as well as in rebuilding and development; balance between loyalty to Lebanon as the final homeland of its citizens and a greater Arab identity; and balance in Lebanon's relations with other states.

Such a goal was not an easy one in a country emerging from a devastating war, riven by sectarian disputes, and faced with an aggressive Israeli occupation, as well beset by economic and social problems and shadowed by a local power that used any means to keep Lebanon divided and weak.

Rafiq Hariri considered the implementation of the Taef Accord to be the cornerstone in his political and developmental program upon his accession to the Premiership in 1992. He announced his program as: the country's reconstruction and economic revival, the building of the Lebanese state, the liberation of its land from Israeli occupation, and the return of Lebanon to the Arab and World stages.

His experience encompassed successes and failures. In the face of the political pressures and the facets and paradoxes of the Lebanese political structure a political, national, economic and social program for the modern state took shape. In parallel, a popular movement emerged and expressed its framework in two edicts: the first was 'Governance and Responsibility' and the second 'A National Program', These embodied the Hariri experiment and were the first of their kind in Lebanon to offer solutions to the political, economic and social difficulties facing us that were realistic, given the conditions and international changes in and around Lebanon.

FOURTH. THE REVIVAL OF ARABISM

Among Rafiq Hariri's most important contributions was the revival and modernization of Arabism and shaping it into a tolerant, democratic and inclusive idea free from a past in which it was used as a tool in regional conflicts for over half a century.

Arabism according to Prime Minister Hariri is embodied in the principle of Arab cooperation as the path to restoring the Arabs' position in today's world. In an interview given two months before his death (13 December 2004), Hariri said: "We will succeed by overcoming two challenges facing us:

- The challenge of determining the goals we wish to achieve over the next term and a half and planning a future founded on Arab reform and self-improvement
- The challenge of moving past slogans to action so that we may gain trust and credibility in the eyes of the world

If we do not outline goals and move from words to actions, we will live in a permanently reactionary condition. It is past time for the Arabs to move from reacting to acting, form a role as a recipient to one as a partner and leader not only in determining the future of our region and people but also in shaping the fate of our world.

We want to spread democracy according to a broad understanding of it based on the following freedoms: freedom of opinion and expression in a responsible and accountable manner, because accountability is the foundation of democracy. We want democratic regimes that respect human rights and strive to improve people's standard of living through a system based on the division of powers and the independence of the judiciary. For in the absence of democracy, there can be no rule of law, no way to pursue genuine reform and sustainable development and, thus, no possibility of improving people's lives.

The call for democracy must be translated into action; we must not say one thing and do another, nor should we use democracy as a slogan to cover up unpleasant realities. What we are calling for is genuine democracy that fulfills people's aspirations and addresses the historic responsibilities we face."

Prime Minister Hariri saw globalization as both a challenge and an opportunity for the Arab world: a challenge to the weak and fearful regimes, and an opportunity for the strong and intrepid ones, affording them the chance to form a political and economic union allowing them to have fair instead of one-sided relations with the world.

[From his first day in government, Rafiq Hariri's programme to rebuild Lebanon was the target of an exhausting war, waged by those who found it threatened their hegemony over the country.](#)

Thus, the programmes for administrative, economic, judicial and educational reform were aborted, as were all other attempts at reform. The Lebanese were prevented from reconciling so that they would be kept divided and in conflict.

Rafiq Hariri fought a tough, bitter daily battle against these forces, who entered Lebanon under the pretext of saving it, and subjected its people to domination, oppression and theft.

When the Lebanese-Syrian security regime tried to make permanent its hegemony over Lebanon by extending the mandate of the President in violation of the Constitution and against the wishes of the majority of Lebanese, Rafiq Hariri launched a campaign to restore Lebanon's independence, announcing that "the Prime Minister of Lebanon does not take orders from anyone, and that the next President must be elected by the Lebanese above all else" (22 February 2004). He began organizing the ranks of the opposition to wage an electoral battle in the Lebanese elections. As the opposition grew and attracted Lebanese from all sides, the security regime restored to the politics of terrorism, killing Rafiq Hariri for working for Lebanese independence.

In his death, Rafiq Hariri accomplished what no one had expected: the reconciliation of the Lebanese. The reconciliation was launched at the site of the Prime Minister's burial led to the "Independence Uprising," which restored Lebanon's freedom and crafted a Lebanese national identity that did not hold the interests of one sect above others' and, at the same time, was compatible with the country's sectarian pluralism. Thus, his death revived the idea of justice in a country where more than 150,000 persons had been killed, without the truth being known once.

The banners of sovereignty, independence, freedom and democracy raised in the Cedar Revolution on 14 March 2005 were the expression of a united Lebanese reply to the murder of Prime Minister Hariri. They must not be abandoned, as so many other Lebanese dreams were, regardless of the intensity of differences. This requires abandoning our prejudices and broadening the nation such that all citizens are made equal in their rights and duties under the law and Constitution and progress and development become our goals, so that Lebanon can experience a new awakening take its place in the Arab world.

Al Mustaqbal's programme is an embodiment of the ideas of Rafiq Hariri, his conduct and his experience in Lebanese national life. It is a key component in an independence movement based on the principles of freedom, moderation and coexistence. We confirm our consistent and unrelenting adherence to it.

NATIONAL PRINCIPLES

The Future Movement is an inclusive national movement present across all Lebanese territories and in countries with a Lebanese expatriate presence. It adheres to the following national fundamental principles:

- Lebanon is a sovereign, independent nation and a final home for its citizens, united at the popular, territorial and institutional levels and Arab in identity and allegiance. Lebanon's Arabism is shaped by its uniqueness and its religious and social diversity within a framework of coexistence.
- 'Lebanon is a democratic, parliamentary republic based on the respect of public freedoms, social justice and equality between all Lebanese'. It embodies a deep belief in the free market, the constitution, the law and human rights, and a culture of tolerance conducive to reconciling differences through dialogue and a respect for other viewpoints.
- The memorandum of National Accord, as outlined in Taef, outlines the secure means for preserving civil peace in Lebanon. The memorandum [?] included several political reforms that redistributed political prerogatives within the state, determined Lebanon as Arab in identity and allegiance, underscored parliamentary democracy as the basis of government, and established the primacy of liberties and the free market
- The memorandum of National Accord is not the property of any particular Lebanese faction, nor did it empower any specific group over another. Rather, it is a bridge that we cross together on the path to civil and national peace and a free and egalitarian state.
- Liberal democracy constitutes the basis of the modern Lebanese state. Protecting it system and its civic and constitutional institutions is equivalent to protecting the state and its sovereignty and national unity. Undermining the fundamentals and well-being of liberal democracy is akin to threatening Lebanon's sovereignty and liberty. The Lebanese democratic system is founded on the separation of powers and cooperation and balance between them. Thus, advances by one power at the expense of another constitute a violation of the constitution and national cohesion and a threat to the role of institutions in implementing the law and guaranteeing equality among citizens.
- The independence of the judiciary and its separation from executive power, as well as the resistance to any intervention, direct or otherwise, in the affairs of the judiciary and related institutions. The judiciary must not under any circumstances become a tool in the hands of political authorities. The executive and legislative branches are responsible for providing the legal basis for the independence of the Lebanese judiciary and its ability to deliver justice free from any intervention.
Justice in upholding the law is integral to the pursuit of liberty; there can be no justice without law, and no liberty without justice.
- Lebanon is a founding and active member of the Arab League and adheres to its charter. It plays its role in serving legitimate Arab causes, first and foremost the Palestinian cause and all that implies in terms of nationalism, humanitarianism, morals and culture. The Palestinian cause is the central cause of the Arabs and the focus of their historical struggle and sacrifices for the Palestinian people to establish an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital and secure their right of return.

- Lebanon is a founding and active member of the United Nations and adheres to its charter and a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference Organization. The Lebanese state embodies the principles of these organizations in all avenues and without exception.
- The Future Movement rejects any partitioning of Lebanon or naturalization [of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon]. It considers Israel an enemy of Lebanon that has occupied its land and waged war on its people, state and institutions. No peace will be established with Israel until a just solution is reached, based on the peace proposal presented at the Arab League summit in Beirut and the return of occupied Arab lands.
- The Future Movement reaffirms that the view of Lebanon as both a final homeland for its citizens and an Arab country allows a reconciliation between ‘Lebanon-ism’ and ‘Arabism’. It rejects the logic that considers affiliation to Lebanon as isolationism from the Arab world, or that an Arab affiliation is a blow against loyalty to Lebanon. The Future Movement is a key strategic proponent of Arab moderation and seeks to remain a face of modern Arabism and an avenue for genuine reconciliation between the Lebanese identity and Arabism. Thus, ‘Lebanese nationalism’ does not contradict an Arab identity or affiliation, nor does ‘Arabism’ clash with the idea of a sovereign, independent Lebanon.
- The Future Movement is committed to strengthening Lebanon’s relationship with the Arab world, including rectifying relations with Syria, focusing on common interests between the two brotherly peoples and on forming ties based of mutual respect and historic links. The Future Movement supports the role of the Arab League, the improvement of its institutions in the service of relations between the countries, and the establishment of free trade agreements as a means to Arab economic unity and the formation of a cooperative Arab market.
- The Future Movement renounces all extremism, violence, and religious and factional strife and considers pluralism and diversity essentials of Lebanese democracy. An open pluralism leads to national cohesion, diversity and creativity, whereas a closed one leads to division. Diversity is Lebanon’s means to political innovation and evolution and to a deepening of an inclusive nationalism. This is Lebanon’s civilization message to its Arab homeland and to the world.
- The Future Movement affirms that education plays a central role in improving and renewing Lebanese political life, and that it can only do so through the educated themselves and their organizations and associations. They represent the means to innovation and intellectual and political liberty and must be protected, under any circumstances and in all fields including teaching, art, literature, theatre, film, media, and audio-visual, written and electronic press as a path to civic and national progress. Lebanon must remain a center of modern Arab thought, a capital of intellectual freedom and an arena for free publication and innovation.

The Future Movement affirms its commitment to a state project for a second Lebanese independence; a modern, just and democratic state, and a civic state that lives up to the principles of religions and does not resort to sectarian strife: a progressive state that protects the individual and collective rights of its citizens.

The Future Movement, arising from the national and political experience of the Lebanese in the March 14 movement and deriving its principles from the path of Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, affirms its commitment to ‘Lebanon first’, a banner of the march towards a comprehensive national vision that reflects the aspirations and dreams of the Lebanese.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL REFORM

In accordance with the views of Prime Minister Hariri, the Future Movement believes that political reform is the only protection against a repeat of the past and guarantor of coexistence and a secure and honorable future for all Lebanese. The reforms sought are based on the establishment of a capable state that is sovereign, democratic and modern:

FIRST

A capable state is one that is able to provide security for all Lebanese, individually and communally. To this end, the state must enjoy a monopoly over the use of armed force. The state cannot consolidate sovereignty except through the implementation of the Taef Accord and international resolutions including Resolution 1701, which established an operational framework for securing Lebanese sovereignty and protecting Lebanon from Israeli attacks and border violations. The state alone has the right to make decisions that affect all Lebanese, without foreign intervention, be it direct or through militant or political proxies.

SECOND

A capable state is a civil state that does not resort to factional or sectarian strife and cannot be parceled out to self-proclaimed representatives of their sects. It is able to reconcile two central dimensions of Lebanese affiliation: the individualism upon which the idea of civic identity is based and the social dimension reflecting the country's sectarian diversity. It is a state that is:

- Non-sectarian, in that it recognizes rights of citizens only on the basis of equality and justice, without which diversity becomes a source of conflict leading to violence that, in turn, would destroy diversity.
- Non-secular, according to the traditional understanding of secularism. It does not exist in tension with the country's sects and does not take decisions to threaten the existence or freedom of sects.

The establishment of a civic state, free from sectarianism, releases factions from the 'fear of the other' that lies at heart of all sectarian politics. Thus, the one party emerges not as a relentless and permanent enemy posing an existential threat to the other, but as a key component of it. Under this vision, fear and anxieties will no longer be the main engines of Lebanese history.

THIRD

A capable state is one protected by an independent judiciary and its consideration as:

- A prerequisite for a democratic system, which cannot exist without the rule of law, a system of accountability and the application of justice for all Lebanese including those in power.
- A prerequisite for the preservation of citizens' rights through public freedoms, human rights and justice.
- A prerequisite for the preservation of peaceful coexistence through the principles of the constitution, general political rights, and the dissipation of feelings of injustice and exclusion.

FOURTH

A capable state must be based on the principle of competence and subject to meaningful supervision. This would allow it to end the prevailing clientism based on the distribution of political posts between self-proclaimed representatives of their sects, who claim prerogatives and services for themselves in the name of the sect and in turn distribute them to citizens in an exchange of 'services for loyalty'

FIFTH

A capable state is one that ensures the broadest participation of its citizens in their affairs, based on the tools of cooperation outlined in the Taef Accord, of which the hegemonic regime rejected some parts and insisted on the implementation of others. This requires:

- The establishment of an electoral law “based, as outlined in the Taef Accord, on principles that guarantee coexistence and effective political representation for all groups”
- Economic and social participation pursued through an economic and social council once its role and scope have been revisited
- Participation at the location level for the pursuit of administrative decentralization as agreed in the Taef Accord and its utilization as a means to comprehensive development
- Participation at the communications level through a National Media Council, following a revision of its role to being a means of improving communications media and their competitiveness.

SIXTH

A capable state is one that controls its territories:

- It is a state able to participate in the ongoing battle in the Arab world to escape political and ideological alignments imposed by the Cold War on the state for more than half a century, and to regain the ability to shape its own destiny and future.
- It is able to absorb and support an ongoing evolution in the Arab world through which a new Arab regional order is emerging along with a tone devoid of the previous demagoguery. This evolution was underscored by the ‘Riyadh Declaration’, issued at the end of the Arab Summit in March 2008, which formed, for the first time, an ‘Arab basis’ for the idea of ‘integration’ to fight that of ‘division’ which still prevails in the region today. It also ascertained that ‘Arabism is not a racial idea but a cultural one (...) based on spiritual, moral and humanitarian values, enriched by diversity, pluralism, and an openness to other human cultures alongside rapid advances in education and technology’...
- It is a country able to turn the page in its relations with Syria and normalize relations with it on the basis of the recognition of Lebanon’s independence and respect for its sovereignty through the exchange of ambassadors and the delineation of the Lebanese-Syrian border.
- It is a country able to move past the painful past between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, on the same basis outlined by the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the ‘Declaration on Palestine in Lebanon’ (January 2008), which constituted the first criticism of the past Palestinian experiment in Lebanon, thus opening the way to a meaningful Lebanese-Palestinian dialogue, especially as it promised ‘full respect for the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon under its laws and to refrain from any intervention in its internal affairs’, insistence on the ‘right of return and rejection of naturalisation’, and emphasis that ‘Palestinian weapons are subject to the control and laws of the Lebanese state in accordance with the national interest as perceived by the legitimate Lebanese authorities’.

SEVENTH

A capable state is one that adopts a culture of peace, co-existence, and reconciliation with the other in the place of the culture of violence and division that still prevails today in Lebanon and the region and sees the marginalization of the other to point of extinction as the only means of self-assertion.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON THE ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

Based on the inevitable link between liberal democracy and economic and social well-being, the Future Movement supports a liberal and open economy, based on the principles of a market economy and policies that support the private sector. This arises from the fact that Lebanon's strength and the reason for its unique role in the east are based on the protection of the Lebanese system of public liberties in all its political, economic, cultural, social and educational forms, the right to private property, banking secrecy and the free flow of capital, and the independence of the judiciary.

The Future Movement also believes that a liberal economy must be accompanied by an active state role in creating a social safety net to secure the social and economic rights of all parts of society without exception.

Natural resources alone do not determine the economic destinies of any country. Yet many countries have a genuine ability to improve and develop new advantages; small countries with access to natural resources, like Lebanon, now have many opportunities for development and progress, an issue that necessitates transforming the current challenge to an open opportunity at the levels of the nation and economy.

The larger on-going challenge facing Lebanon, today and tomorrow, is the stimulation of a competitive economy aimed at creating employment opportunities for citizens and improving the standard of living of Lebanese by eliminating obstacles to economic development and bolstering policies of balanced development.

Our vision for the future and regional role of Lebanon's economy, and for the policies and reforms needed to realize that role, focuses on the principles and views espoused by Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, those principles being:

FIRST

That the attributes of this small country and its remarkable human capital, rarely seen in a country of its size, qualifies it for economic achievement and a standard of living far above what it has today. That improving the standard of living in Lebanon is a realistic goal requiring a steady flow of investment and economic development in order to create productive jobs and employment opportunities congruent to the skills and abilities of the Lebanese people. If the boundless ambition of Lebanese youth made the world a market for their resourcefulness and energy, the sharp increase in emigration figures for Lebanese youths in recent years due to a tight local job market make development, investment, economic growth and the presence of employment opportunities in the home land a central goal and national responsibility falling on both the state and civil society.

SECOND

That the pursuit of investment and economic development must include all regions, so that improvement in the standard of living can be achieved in a balanced way in all areas and all segments of the Lebanese population. For if the country belongs to its entire people, then so does the economic success we seek for it.

THIRD

That the pursuit of investment and development should not leave exclude particular factions, nor be at the expense of others. The traditional productive sectors of agriculture and industry play an important role and must be promoted; the tourism sector also holds potential for sustained development in the coming years. There are other promising sectors, especially in information, communications and the knowledge industry and related modern service products.

FOURTH

That the fulfillment of these goals in our liberal economy depends heavily on the state's success in creating opportunities for individual initiative and driving the economy. This highlights the high priority of administrative reform of the state, so that it may be an aid and not an obstacle to the economy. It also highlights the importance of revising legal texts and practices that hamper economic progress and of fighting corruption. Stimulating development requires pursuing responsible financial policies and addressing the public debt burden, in addition to freeing the economy from restraints preventing it from fully benefiting from globalization, such as the monopolization of by the public sector of several sectors. The Lebanese people have paid a heavy price for this monopoly; the electricity sector being the most obvious example.

FIFTH

That the state's role in helping the Lebanese in fulfilling their economic aspirations is not limited to administrative reform and creating opportunities for the private sector to drive economic progress. The state plays a direct, indispensable role in economic and social development: the reduction of the poverty that prevails in a considerably large segment of citizens, and raising awareness among civil society and the private sector to participate. The state also plays a key role in providing health insurance, social services, and education to many Lebanese. The improvement of these services requires genuine and effective reforms.

SIXTH

That the state plays a central role in development in general, including establishing and maintaining an infrastructure in all parts of the country; yet it must encourage the private sector to participate where it can in development. The opportunities for cooperation in encouraging development between the state, civil society organizations, and the private sector must be pursued, particularly in the field of social development.

SEVENTH

That the Lebanese young constitute the real resource of our national economy, and the state has a responsibility to let them reach their potential, to remove the obstacles to their productivity, to give them access to meaningful funding, and to encourage small and medium enterprises and their role in the economy. Economic policies must also recognize the distinguished contribution of Lebanese women to human capital and the economy in general, to encourage this contribution in every way by pursuing, first and foremost, economic and individual equality between male and female citizens, and the participation of Lebanese women, as well the Lebanese youth, in decision-making and policy formulation.

EIGHTH

That Lebanon's potential and its economic future depend on its human endowments, and therefore the state must assign the highest importance to the education and to the public education sector in particular. It must recognize the importance of education-related innovations and changes in the labor market, especially in the fields of information and technology and what they demand in terms of skills. Lebanese has always been recognized for its high standard of education and must continue to be.

NINTH

That the economy cannot be separated from the environment, especially in a small country with a distinct environment like Lebanon's. Lebanon's environment has suffered everywhere and in every way for many years from neglect due to violations of the law, chaotic development, the despoiling of its natural resources the shrinking of green areas. The time has come to stop the destruction of the country's environment and the adoption of a comprehensive programme to rectify the environmental situation in which civic organizations would play a key role.

TENTH

That the realization of this economic vision is dependent on the will of the Lebanese and their insistence on cooperation in building the country they aspire to have.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION

The subject of administrative reform occupies a central place in the views and actions of the Future Movement. It emerged since the creation of the independent republic as a topic of nearly all government statements, speeches by the heads of state, and the political programmes of parties, movements and syndicates.

The major attempt at administrative reform was those of the late President Fouad Shehab, from which introduced legislation and public supervisory institutions.

But this initiative, and many like it, drowned in the mud of politics and security agencies, and what followed were devastating civil and regional wars, and the spreading of a culture of corruption in most of the Lebanese bureaucracy and public sector, and the acquisition of positions and jobs there by political and armed factions.

If Lebanon's bureaucracy gained some strength through the signed of the Taef Accord, it continues to suffer from the damage of the war and its logic of force. The various attempts by Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri since 1993 at administrative reform were received by painful blows that fell on symbolic figures in and out of government.

This situation undermined the public sector's ability to completely fulfill its responsibilities and overcome the legacy of the war as well as its competence.

From this emerged the need for involving the private sector in the provision of certain public services, through managing several utilities such electricity, telephones, transportation, the airport and the casino, along with other sectors that ought to provide a fixed output and boost the national Treasury.

Recognizing the importance of privatization as one solution to the problem of public debt and a bloated bureaucracy, regulatory agencies are required to establish guidelines preserving the public good and determine which sectors are suitable for privatization, and which are not.

The Future Movement believes that real and serious reform of the public bureaucracy requires a political decision placing the public good above sectarian and political differences, and legislation leading to an improved administration, effective and capable, and putting to use the capabilities of resident and knowledge of expatriate citizens.

The Future Movement perceives a series of steps leading to improving public administration, the most important being:

- FIRST**
- Rationalizing the public administration by trimming down the public bureaucracy and gradually decreasing the number of employees while respecting their rights, leading to a decrease in public sector expenses.
- SECOND**
- Administrative improvement through ongoing employee training, modernization of the laws that govern public administration and the application of organizational frameworks for the work of administrative units
- THIRD**
- Supporting the technologies required for electronic government, expanding the role of information technology, employing and harmonizing the electronic transfer of memoranda and information at the level of public administration in order to speed up operations and increase capability, and informing citizens what they can do to curb the dangers of corruption and bribery, in accordance with a planned agenda.
- FOURTH**
- Introducing an improved, transparent method of selecting competent public officials, establishing a new system of incentives and promotions based on practical, feasible evaluation, and an end to political interference in administration.
- FIFTH**
- Fulfilling the role of all supervisory agencies, and allowing the government to review all public and state accounts since 1990.
- SIXTH**
- Expanding the prerogatives of regional units and decentralization through encouraging local authorities to engage in planning and execution.

Modernizing the administration requires the participation of all government agencies on the one hand, and all segments of civil society on the other, in order to reconcile the goals of the state with the interests of the private sector and civil society.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

The many supporters of the Future Movement await from the Lebanese state a plan to establish social justice and allow the government and society to pursue balanced development to the best of their abilities.

This entails working towards the following:

- FIRST** Encouraging an agreement between workers and owners to pursue a national plan conducive to social solidarity and an improved standard of living for the middle class and encouraging productivity and investment.
- SECOND** Consolidating health care as a right of citizens and an obligation of the state and civil society. Lebanon's health sector suffers from shortcomings at the level and cost of services, the cost of medication, official health care budgets, and relations between health care institutions and their administration and the state. This all constitutes an important responsibility on all segments of society to address these shortcomings so as to provide comprehensive health care at the lowest possible cost.
- THIRD** Encouraging the creation of small and medium enterprises through facilitating procedures and providing the necessary funding, while supporting them through dedicated service centers.
- FOURTH** Consolidating education at levels as a right of the Lebanese people and make education available to all citizens on the basis of equal opportunity.
- FIFTH** Protecting the right of citizens for residence and mobility and working towards a modern rental law to put an end to the length conflict between owners and tenants and provide those with limited income and the middle class with appropriate housing subject to appropriate financial conditions. Additionally: improving, modernizing and organizing the public transport system to facilitate transportation between different areas of Lebanon and curbing the rural-to-urban exodus.
- SIXTH** Affirming the importance of encouraging investment in productive sectors such as industry, agriculture, tourism, services, communications, knowledge and information, in order to create new employment opportunities for Lebanese and professionals.
- SEVENTH** Supporting rural areas through the creation of an agricultural development fund in cooperation with cooperative societies and civil society, gradually shifting from direct support for specific agricultural outputs to indirect support for opportunities for work in agriculture and agricultural industry, and limiting the exodus from rural to large urban areas.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION AND TEACHING

- The Future Movement believes in the necessity and importance of investing in education and teaching as a national priority
- It affirms the right of all citizens, male and female, to appropriate, quality education and teaching, without any exception or discrimination.
- The Movement espouses a national educational strategy based on equality of opportunity, of high quality, playing a role in national cohesion, securing entry into a world of knowledge, and contributing meaningfully to economic development.
- The Movement affirms its conviction that education constitutes the central means to social and economic development and the preferred route to building a society able to secure its human development needs and benefit from the cultural, informational, economic and political changes facing our country and world today.
- The Movement supports establishing public education as a competitor to private education in the service of all segments of society and realization of the principle of equal opportunity and the universal right to education.
- The Movement affirms the importance of nurturing a sense of national belonging among Lebanese through all educational sectors as components of civil society.
- The Movement supports a policy that emphasizes building a professional sector of the appropriate quality and specialization able to meet the needs of local and foreign market.
- The Movement affirms the importance of the role of higher educational institutions and considers its development a priority. It emphasizes the necessity of improving the Lebanese University through the establishment of a modern and appropriate legislation underscoring its importance and role in society.

THE FUTURE MOVEMENT'S VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES

The Future Movement believes that Lebanon's real treasure lies in its human resources. It is the basis of encouraging comprehensive development and accelerating progress at in all fields and at all levels.

FIRST. THE YOUTH

The youth occupy a central place in all aspects of the development project; they are the promising future and the main driving force behind society, change and progress.

The youth of Lebanon are a priority in the future shaping of the nation and a serious investment in the future. They are the pillar of the renewal of political life and of educational, athletic, and cultural institutions as well as civil society including syndicates and social, cultural and women's organizations. The youth are the hope and backbone of the future and the engine driving the building of Lebanon. The Future Movement symbolizes youth, renewal and modernity and, thus, the youth play an essential role in the Movement's direction and orientation.

Given the Future Movement's emphasis on the importance of the role of the youth in building the future, it affirms the necessity of enacting programs and policies that address their problems on the one hand, and fulfills their needs and aspirations on the other, whilst providing them with the opportunity to participate in running the country and shape its politics and economic policies, as well as encouraging them to embrace public life and become an indispensable part of Lebanon's future.

Thus, the youth have a right to quality education commensurate with the highest standards.

The pursuit of progress, development and modernization depends on the support and development of the youth and their skills within a framework of a comprehensive strategy in cooperation with the state and civil society.

The Future Movement sees students in Lebanon's schools, academies and universities as the essence of its youth. Our duty towards them encompasses supporting them socially, educationally and health-wise, whether through encouraging student representative activities and organizations, providing healthcare insurance and setting up a national student loan fund.

SECOND. WOMEN

The Future Movement believes in the role of women and their abilities and the necessity of addressing their issues and improving their situation, for this would represent progress for half of society and its placement on a path of unprecedented progress.

The rights of women are a central to human rights, the values of liberty, justice and equality, and in building of a solid, open society. They are also a powerful instrument of change and reform and an important component in the establishing a democratic orientation.

Allowing women to participate fully in development, particularly in political, economic and cultural life, requires legal and administrative measures encouraging it, including a modification of organizational and labor laws and social security, granting women the same access as men to political and administrative positions, improving their representation in parliament and the executive branch of government and the introduction of a female quota to this end.

Pursuing this path doubtless entails cultivating a climate of gender equality, the application of laws and international agreements in support of women and equality under the law, the annulment of discriminatory laws, and the provision of the skills and knowledge necessary for them to develop their abilities.

THIRD. EMIGRATION

The Future Movement recognizes emigration and the brain drain as contrary to the interests of Lebanon and the Lebanese, but also as a reality of the times and the implications of globalization on freedom of movement, the liberalization of markets, and the intensity of global competition for brains and talent.

As much as emigration reflects poor economic and political conditions and a lack of employment opportunities and constitutes a drain on Lebanon's human resources, the success of the Lebanese Diaspora across the world mitigates the damage. The Lebanese Diaspora has emerged as a link and avenue of culture and civilization exchange between Lebanon and the world, and contributions by expatriates amounting to around \$3 billion (or 15% of the country's gross domestic product) have helped Lebanon weather economic crises while promoting social stability.

Addressing this issue today requires a series of political and economic reforms and a provision of steady employment opportunities as well as a strengthening of ties and exchanges with expatriates (through embassies, airlines) and supporting them on all levels so that they may feel their country to be with them as much as they are with their country.

The absence of suitable employment opportunities, the political situation, the emphasis on political loyalty and sectarian calculations over competence and ability, and the lack of research institutions have all contributed to the exodus of young men and women from Lebanon to developed nations, presenting them with work, a means of education and new skills.

Addressing the brain drain must be done through addressing its causes on the one hand - particularly by establishing educational and research institutions to this end- and, on the other hand, by benefiting from the Diaspora through a network linking Lebanese scholars and experts abroad with educational institutions in Lebanon and using the former's experience to provide technical support for the state.

It is Lebanon's human resources that, throughout the 20th century, made Lebanon a source of knowledge, culture, liberties and journalism as well a hospital, printing press, university, forum and point of access to political and social sophistication for Arabs. This resource must remain an asset of Lebanese society; its achievements should be renewed and improved along with its symbols, goals and institutions.

BECAUSE JUSTICE, LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY, CULTURE, YOUTH, THE ENVIRONMENT, TOURISM, SERVICES, EDUCATION AND STABILITY ARE ALL SOURCES OF LEBANON'S WEALTH, PRESERVING THEM IS IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE MOVEMENT, AS IS THE PRESERVATION OF THE VITALITY OF LEBANESE SOCIETY.

THE EXPERIENCE OF PRIME MINISTER RAFIQ HARIRI SHAPED THESE VIEWS; IT WAS HE WHO TRANSLATED HIS LOFTY DREAMS INTO A SERIES OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN ALL ARENAS AND GAVE THE LEBANESE A HOPE THAT REBOUNDS AFTER EVERY TRAGEDY.

WE IN THE FUTURE MOVEMENT HOLD ON TO THE LEBANESE DREAM AND UNDERTAKE TO BUILD A LEBANESE STATE; A LEBANON SOVEREIGN, ARAB, FREE AND INDEPENDENT.