Federal Republic of Lebanon

A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A UNIFIED LEBANON
“NOTHING IS MORE POWERFUL THAN AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME”

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE
THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM
## The Decentralization Spectrum

### Form of Government:
- Many small separate states
- International organisation
- Confederalism
- Federalism
- Devolution
- Decentralisation
- One large unitary state

### Political System:
- Many small separate states
- International organisation
- Confederation of states
- Federal union of states
- Federal state
- Devolved government within a unitary state
- Decentralisation within a unitary state
- One large unitary state

### Increasing Separation vs. Increasing Integration
FEDERALISM: A UNION

FROM LATIN FOEDERATIO: ALLIANCE, PACT → UNITE NOT DIVIDE

تعريب كلمة فدرالية: إتّحاد

PARTITION = SEGREGATION OF PEOPLE
FEDERATION = SEGREGATION OF POWER

FEDERALISM IS A POWER TRADE-OFF BETWEEN A CENTER THAT DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH POWER TO OPPRESS PERIPHERIES.. AND PERIPHERIES NOT POWERFUL ENOUGH TO BECOME INDEPENDENT FROM THE CENTER

THE AIM OF FEDERALISM IS TO ENSURE BETTER CO-EXISTENCE
FEDERALISM: THE ORIGINS

REGIONS OR STATES UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO COMPETE FOR RESOURCES AND SECURITY OR SEEKING TO INCREASE EFFICIENCY AND UNITE IN WHAT IS TERMED A FEDERAL SYSTEM

IN 1291 SEVERAL SWISS CANTONS ENTERED INTO A DEFENSIVE PACT, THE ORIGIN OF WHAT WILL LATER BECOME THE “CONFÉDÉRATION HELVÉTIQUE”

IN A FEDERAL SYSTEM EACH REGION HAS A LARGE AUTONOMY AND ONLY CERTAIN FUNCTIONS ARE POOLED TOGETHER INTO THE HANDS OF THE FEDERAL AUTHORITY
FEDERALISM: THE MODELS

CONFEDERALISM
- HORIZONTAL MODEL: SOVEREIGN ENTITIES THAT SHARE FUNCTIONAL ACTIVITIES
- COMMONWEALTH / EU / SYRIA – LEBANON..!

DECENTRALIZATION AND REGIONALISM
- TRANSFER OF CERTAIN POWERS FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO REGIONS
- FRANCE / ITALY / UK..

FEDERALISM BY AGGREGATION
- INDEPENDENT STATES/REGIONS COMING TOGETHER TO FORM A BIGGER UNIT
- EX: USA, SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, AUSTRALIA..

BREAK-UP OR DISAGGREGATION FEDERALISM
- TRANSFORMATION OF A UNITARY CENTRALIZED STATE INTO A FEDERATION
- INDIA, BELGIUM, SPAIN..
FEDERALISM: THREE DECLINATIONS

GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM
- THE DELIMITATIONS OF GEOGRAPHIC BORDERS DETERMINE THE PARTICULARITIES OF A PROVINCE OR A CANTON
- USUALLY FOR LARGE MONOCULTURE COUNTRIES
- USA / AUSTRALIA / CANADA

ETHNOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM
- SPECIFIC LAWS WOULD APPLY TO SPECIFIC SECTS/RELIGIONS IRRELEVANT OF WHERE PEOPLE BELONGING TO THE SECT RESIDE.
- GOVERNANCE MAINLY BASED ON ETHNICITY, RELIGION
- OTTOMAN MILLET SYSTEM (MILLET = NATION = قوم )

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM
- DELIMITATION OF GEOGRAPHIC AREAS IS BASED ON THE ETHNO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE VARIOUS POPULATIONS
- SWITZERLAND/GERMANY/BELGIUM
OVER 40% OF THE WORLD POPULATION IN 28 FEDERAL COUNTRIES

<table>
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<th>INCEPTION</th>
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<td>1776</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<td>1824</td>
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<td>SWITZERLAND</td>
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<td>1853</td>
<td>ARGENTINE</td>
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<td>VENEZUELA</td>
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<td>1867</td>
<td>CANADA</td>
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<td>1901</td>
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<td>1920</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>INDIA</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>PAKISTAN</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>SOUDAN</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>MALAYSIA</td>
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<td>1963</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>UNITED ARAB EMIRATES</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>FEDERAL MICRONESIA</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>SAINT-CHRISTOPHE-AND-NEVES</td>
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<td>1991</td>
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<td>BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>IRAQ</td>
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<td>2011</td>
<td>SOUTH SOUDAN</td>
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<td>2012</td>
<td>SOMALIA</td>
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SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY
SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY

COMPENDIUM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH SOCIAL DOCTRINE, LÉON XIII...

- ARTICLE 5 OF THE SWISS CONSTITUTION
- ARTICLE 23 OF THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION
- ARTICLE 6 G SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT LAW QUÉBEC
- ARTICLE 3 AND 5, PARA.1 AND 2 EU TREATY
- BETWEEN MUNICIPALITIES INDEPENDENT FROM CANTONAL AFFILIATION
- BETWEEN CANTONS BETWEEN FEDERATION AND CANTON
SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY
....POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PILLARS

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT
- POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION
- **CUIUS REGION EIUS RELIGIO** (GOVERNED AND GOVERNOR SHARE THE SAME CULTURAL IDENTITY)
- PARLIAMENTARY VOTE BASED ON CANTONAL CITIZENSHIP

LOCAL GOVERNANCE
- ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION
- MUNICIPAL VOTE BASED ON RESIDENCY INDEPENDENT OF CANTONAL CITIZENSHIP
SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY

...SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PILLARS

PHILOSOPHY INSPIRED FROM CATHOLIC CHURCH SOCIAL DOCTRINE THAT PROMOTES SOLIDARITY AND SUBSIDIARITY)
- SOLIDARITY WITHOUT SUBSIDIARITY ⇒ CULTURE OF DEPENDENCY
- SUBSIDIARITY WITHOUT SOLIDARITY ⇒ CULTURE OF SELFISHNESS

WHILE ENFORCING SUBSIDIARITY, GOVERNMENT MUST
- PROMOTE PRIVATE INITIATIVE
- UPHOLD AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY
- BALANCE BETWEEN PRIVATE FREEDOMS AND PUBLIC ACTION
- AVOID SUBSTITUTION TO PRIVATE INITIATIVES
THE SWISS CASE
SWITZERLAND: BENCHMARK FOR LEBANON

POPULATION: 8.5 Million

26 CANTONS: LARGEST POPULATION 1.5M; SMALLEST 16,000

3 RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND 4 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

PROSPERITY INDEX: #3

HAPPINESS INDEX: #3

HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX: #2

BEST COUNTRIES INDEX: #1

GDP/CAPITA: #2

ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS: #1

TOP 10 LEAST CORRUPT COUNTRIES
## WEALTH AND CONVERGENCE

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<th>Canton</th>
<th>GDP in $</th>
<th>population</th>
<th>GDP/capita</th>
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<td>Zug</td>
<td>16,034,000,000</td>
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<td>Geneva</td>
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<td>Neuchâtel</td>
<td>13,080,000,000</td>
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<td>Schaffhausen</td>
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<td>Ticino</td>
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<td>Berne</td>
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<td>Nidwalden</td>
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<td>Graubünden</td>
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<td>Appenzell Innersihoden</td>
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<td>Appenzell Ausserrhoden</td>
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<td>Valais</td>
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<td>1,610,000,000</td>
<td>36,694</td>
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MARITIME CANTONAL SOVEREIGNTY
EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE
EXAMPLE OF ENCLAVED ZONES: VAUD-BERNE-FRIBOURG

These municipalities enclaved in Fribourg are affiliated with Canton of Berne

These municipalities enclaved in Fribourg are affiliated with Canton of Vaud

These municipalities enclaved in Vaud are affiliated with Canton of Fribourg
ESTABLISHMENT OF NORTH JURA

JURA SPLIT FROM BERNE IN 1979

CATHOLICS BROKE AWAY FROM BERNE, WHILE FRENCH SPEAKING PROTESTANTS REMAIN IN THE CANTON OF BERNE

GERMAN CATHOLICS VOTED WITH FRENCH CATHOLICS TO SPLIT FROM GERMAN PROTESTANT CANTON OF BERNE
MOUTIER TO JOIN JURA IN 2021

Catholic Swiss town Moutier votes in 2021 referendum to leave the majority Protestant Canton of Bern and to join the majority Catholic Canton of Jura.
CONCLUSION OF THE SWISS EXPERIENCE: SECT IS IDENTITY NOT THEOLOGY

NO DEMOCRACY OUTSIDE THE SOCIAL PACT
- DEMOCRACY = DICTATORSHIP OF MAJORITY
- FROM ARISTOTLE TO PFUENDORF TO RAWLS: DEMOCRACY WORKS ONLY WITHIN THE «KOINONIA» (COMMUNITY)
- DEMOCRACY OUTSIDE THE SOCIAL PACT = DICTATORSHIP

PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY
- THE SUPPLY OF PUBLIC GOODS, IS FIRST AND FOREMOST THE DECISION AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRIMARILY CONCERNED STAKEHOLDERS
- RERUM NOVARUM: SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH SINCE 1891; LATIN FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN THE WORLD

FEDERALISM ETHNO-GEOGRAPHIC
- A BLEND RECONCILING GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY
THE CASE FOR LEBANON
RECENT HISTORICAL SNAPSHOT

CONSTITUTIONS
1843: First Republic – Federal Geographic (Qaimaqamiyatayn)
1864: Second Republic – Federal Ethno-Geographic (Reglement Organic)
1926: Third Republic – Centralized Presidential
1943: Fourth Republic – Centralized (Arabism)
1989: Fifth Republic – Centralized - Parliamentary

Constitution 1843
Lebanon: A Federation of 2 Nations
System: Geographic Federalism
Millet = Nation
Enclaved minorities enslavement and wars

Constitution 1864
Lebanon: A Federation of 4 Nations
System: Ethno-Geographic Federalism
Millet = Nation
50 Most Prosperous Years

Constitution 1926-1943-TAEF
Lebanon a New Nation
Centralized System – Presidential
Millet = Sect, Faith and Not Identity
100 Years of Infighting and Wealth Destruction
CULTURE, LANGUAGE, RELIGION: PILLARS OF NATION BUILDING

FOUR NATIONAL NARRATIVES: CHRISTIAN, SUNNI, SHIA, DRUZE
- PARTICULAR READINGS OF HISTORY
- DIVERSE COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

CUIUS REGION EIUS RELIGIO (GOVERNED AND GOVERNOR SHARE THE SAME CULTURAL IDENTITY)
- AUGSBURG PEACE 1555, BASIS OF PEACE PROSPERITY SECULRISM IN EUROPE
- CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY OF THE HOUSE OF CHEHAB 1697 TO GOVERN MOUNT LEBANON

A LOCALIST POPULATION
- REPUBLIC OF ZAHLE (1843-1845)
- THE REPUBLIC OF KESERWAN (1858-1864)
LEBANON’S TWO CHALLENGES

LEBANON IS IN SEARCH OF A NOVEL POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT CAN ADDRESS BOTH CHALLENGES: OPTIMIZE GOVERNANCE AND MANAGE DIVERSITY

GOVERNANCE
CENTRALIZED POLITICAL SYSTEM FAILED BEYOND REPAIR
IT IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF CORRUPTION, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COLLAPSE

DIVERSITY
LEBANON IS AN AGGLOMERATION OF 4 CULTURAL GROUPS WITH DISTINCT READINGS OF THEIR PAST BECAUSE OF THE CENTRALIZED POLITICAL SYSTEM, SUCH DIFFERENCES TRANSLATE INTERNALLY INTO ENDLESS BICKERING OVER CENTRAL POWER AS WELL AS EXTERNALLY OVER FOREIGN POLICY
PRAGMATIC SOLUTION: FIVE CANTONS
SHIITE, SUNNI, DRUZE, CHRISTIAN, SECULAR*

MUNICIPAL
- A MUNICIPAL COUNSEL FOREACH MUNICIPALITY

CANTONAL
- FIVE CANTONAL PARLIAMENTS (ONE FOR EACH CANTON)
- FIVE CANTONAL PRIME MINISTERS (ONE FOR EACH CANTON)
- FIVE CANTONAL GOVERNMENTS (ONE FOR EACH CANTON)

FEDERAL
- FEDERAL PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL WITH ONE ROTATIONAL PRESIDENT
- ONE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF FIVE PRIME MINISTERS
- ONE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT COMPOSED OF ALL CANTONAL PARLIAMENTARIANS

NB: THE ELIGIBILITY OF THE FIFTH SECULAR CANTON TO CERTAIN FEDERAL REPRESENTATIONS IS CONTINGENT TO ITS POPULATION SIZE (IF FOR INSTANCE 10% OR MORE OF POPULATION REGISTER IN THIS CANTON)
ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE

- **President of the Federation (Rotation)**
- **Federal Government**
  - Composed of four Cantonal Prime Ministers.
  - Decisions taken by unanimous vote
- **Cantonal Prime Minister**
  - Elected for 4 years by direct vote of Cantonal Citizens
- **Cantonal Parliament**
  - Elected for 4 years
- **Cantonal Citizens**
- **Federal Parliament**
  - Composed of MPs of all five Cantonal Parliaments
- **President of Federal Parliament (Rotation)**
- **Federal Government**
  - Composed of four Cantonal Prime Ministers.
  - Decisions taken by unanimous vote
- **Cantonal Prime Minister**
  - Elected for 4 years by direct vote of Cantonal Citizens
- **Cantonal Parliament**
  - Elected for 4 years
- **Cantonal Citizens**
POWER SHARING

IN APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF **SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY**

POWERS OF MUNICIPAL COUNSELS
- THE POWERS OF *QA’IMAQAM* AND *MOUHAFEZ* SHALL PASS TO MUNICIPAL COUNSELS
- HARD INFRASTRUCTURE: ELECTRICITY, WASTE, WATER,…
- *MULTI-ORDER SCALE UP* SYSTEM: MUNICIPALITIES JOIN FORCES AT WILL DEPENDING ON ECONOMICS AND SCALE OF PROJECTS

POWERS OF CANTONAL GOVERNMENTS
- SOVEREIGNTY IS AT CANTONAL LEVEL
- GENERAL PLANNING POLICIES OF THE CANTON (TERRITORIAL, DEVELOPMENT,…)
- DEVELOPMENT POLICIES, SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS, PUBLIC HEALTH, BANKS,…
- SOFT INFRASTRUCTURE: CULTURAL ASSETS, SCHOOLING, UNIVERSITIES, MUSEUMS,…

POWERS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
- INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MONETARY AND DEFENSE POLICIES
- STABILIZATION BUDGETS (MACROS, DEFICITS,…)
- HARMONIZATION POLICIES (RIGHTS, JURISPRUDENCE, WEALTH DISPARITY,…)
POWER CHECKS AND BALANCES

Power structure
Elections

CHECKS AND BALANCES
REFERENDUMS
RIGHTS AND DUTIES: ELECT AND VOTE

REFERENDUM INITIATED BY THE PUBLIC
- MUNICIPAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 15% OF RESIDENTS/VOTERS WEEKLY
- CANTONAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 3% OF CITIZENS/VOTERS QUARTERLY
- FEDERAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 50,000 TO 100,000 VOTERS ANNUAL

ELECTIONS OF LOCAL AND CANTONAL REPRESENTATIVES
- LOCAL ELECTIONS FOR A 4 YEARS TERM
- CANTONAL ELECTIONS (PARLIAMENTARY) FOR A 4 YEARS TERM
HOW TO MITIGATE DISAGREEMENT OVER FOREIGN POLICY

DISAGREEMENT OVER FOREIGN POLICY IS A CONSEQUENCE OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND NOT A CAUSE OF LEBANON’S PERSISTING INTERNAL TENSIONS

NEUTRALITY (DE FACTO OR DE JURE)
- FOREIGN POLICY IS A FEDERAL RESERVED MATTER
- UNANIMITY AT PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL VOTE IS REQUIRED
- MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AS NONE-VOTING OBSERVER

PARA DIPLOMACY
- CANTON CAN SIGN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL OR CULTURAL TIES, SUPPORT CAUSES, ATTENDS INTERNATIONAL FORUMS,....
CONSTRUCTION OF CANTONAL GEOGRAPHY

MUNICIPALITY IS ALLOCATED TO A SPECIFIC CANTON WHEN:

- 67% OR MORE OF ITS RESIDENTS BELONG TO A SPECIFIC CANTONAL CITIZENSHIP, OR

- 51% OR MORE OF ITS RESIDENTS BELONG TO A SPECIFIC CANTONAL CITIZENSHIP BUT THE SECOND LARGEST CITIZENSHIP DOESN'T REPRESENT MORE THAN 30% OF ITS RESIDENTS
CONSTRUCTION OF CANTONAL GEOGRAPHY

1 FEDERAL STATE COVERING 10,452 KM2

5* CANTONS COMPOSED BY AGGREGATION OF MUNICIPALITIES COMPILED AS INDICATED IN THE PREVIOUS SLIDE
- MOUNT LEBANON (CHRISTIAN)
- JABAL AMEL/BEKAA (SHIA)
- JABAL DRUZE (DRAZE)
- SAHEL/AKKAR (SUNNI)
- SECULAR (FEDERAL CAPITAL)

1633 MUNICIPALITIES
- 781 CHRISTIAN, 353 SHIA, 272 SUNNI, 126 DRAZE, 101 UNALLOCATED

BEIRUT
- BEIRUT WITHIN BCD BOUNDARIES IS THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
- THE SECULAR CANTON WITH BE BASED IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL*
- THE 12 NEIGHBORHOODS OF BEIRUT ARE ALLOCATED TO FOUR VARIOUS CANTONS

*FINAL NUMBER BEING CONTINGENT ON POPULAR WILL EXPRESSED IN THE FIRST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS: MORE CANTONS, LESS CANTONS, A SECULAR CANTON....
ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

VOTE VERSUS ELECT
- ELECT CANTON PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTS AND MEMBERS OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS FOR A SPECIFIC PERIOD OF TIME
- VOTE REGULARLY ON ISSUES AFFECTING DAILY LIFE
- VOTATIONS (REFERENDUMS) AT MUNICIPAL, CANTONAL AND FEDERAL LEVELS

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO ELECT MUNICIPAL COUNCILS
- OPEN TO ALL LEBANESE BASED ON THEIR RESIDENCY IRRELEVANT OF THEIR CANTONAL AFFILIATION
- SIMILAR TO EXISTING MAJORITY-BASED SYSTEM

CANTONAL ELECTIONS TO ELECT CANTONAL PARLIAMENTS
- OPEN TO ALL LEBANESE BASED ON THEIR CANTONAL AFFILIATION IRRELEVANT OF THEIR RESIDENCY
- SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCY, TWO-ROUND MAJORITY-BASED SYSTEM
- ONE MP FOR 40-50K CITIZENS WITH A MINIMUM NUMBER OF MPS/CANTON
THE FISCAL/MONETARY SYSTEM

MUNICIPAL/ CANTONAL TAXES
PROPERTY TAX, SUCCESSION TAX, GAMING TAX, ROAD TOLLS AND VEHICLES TAX, CAPITAL GAIN MUNICIPAL TAX, CORPORATE INCOME MUNICIPAL TAX, INFRASTRUCTURE TAX, VAT,...

FEDERAL TAXES
FISCAL MONOPOLIES, CUSTOMS, MOTORWAYS AND VEHICLE FEDERAL TAX, CAPITAL GAINS TAX, VAT, INCOME TAX, INFRASTRUCTURE TAX,....

THE CENTRAL BANK
- FOUR CANTONAL CENTRAL BANKS MOSTLY IN CHARGE OF DATA AND RESEARCH
- CENTRAL COUNCIL AT FEDERAL CENTRAL BANK COMPOSED OF 4 GOVERNORS
- FEDERAL CENTRAL BANK CONTROLS MONETARY POLICY
THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM

CANTONAL JUDICIARY SYSTEM; ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IS CANTONAL

CANTONAL SUPREME COURT DECISIONS SUPERSEDE FEDERAL COURTS

FIVE* FEDERAL COURTS: FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE COURT, FEDERAL FINANCIAL COURT, FEDERAL LABOR COURT, FEDERAL SOCIAL COURT

FEDERAL SUPREME COURTS HAVE A HARMONIZATION ROLE

*FINAL NUMBER BEING CONTINGENT ON POPULAR WILL EXPRESSED IN THE FIRST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS: MORE CANTONS, LESS CANTONS, A SECULAR CANTON....
Benchmarking

Federalism

vs

Administrative Decentralization

vs

Geographic Federalism
ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION
(DECENTRALIZATION PROJECT 2013 DISCUSSED AT PARLIAMENT)

INCOHERENT PROJECT AND AN IRRATIONAL TEXT
- NO REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY OR TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY APPLIED OUTSIDE OF COMMUNITY
- ARTICLE 1 OF THE PROPOSED DECENTRALIZATION LAW STIPULATES THAT « LEBANON IS A STRONG CENTRALIZED SYSTEM »
- ARTICLE 89 AND FOLLOWING ON FINANCING INCEPTS .....CENTRALIZED FUND FOR DECENTRALIZATION!

CONSEQUENCES AND THREATS
- IMPOSSIBLE DEMOCRACY WITH RISK OF DICTATORSHIP OF LOCAL MAJORITY
- HINDERS ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICES
- DEVELOPMENT OF SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS LEADING TO POTENTIAL EXODUS OF LOCAL MINORITIES IN ALL AREAS
- DISGUISED SECTARIAN TRANSFER OF WEALTH / SPOLIATION
CRUSHED LOCAL MINORITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CHRISTIAN (%) dominant</th>
<th>SHIA (%) dominant</th>
<th>SUNNI (%) dominant</th>
<th>DRUZE (%) dominant</th>
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<td>الهرمل</td>
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</table>
FINANCIAL TRANSFERS AND POTENTIAL EXODUS OF LOCAL MINORITIES

**CHRISTIAN:** 305 VILLAGES (40%) OF ALL CHRISTIAN VILLAGES WOULD BE DOMINATED BY OTHER SECTS

**DRUZE:** 24 VILLAGES (23%) OF DRUZE VILLAGES WOULD BE DOMINATED BY OTHER SECTS

**SHIA:** 33 VILLAGES (11%) OF SHIA VILLAGES WOULD BE DOMINATED BY OTHER SECTS

**SUNNI:** 46 VILLAGES (20%) OF SUNNI VILLAGES WOULD BE DOMINATED BY OTHER SECTS
ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION
DISPLACEMENT OF REGIONAL MINORITIES

SHIA DRUZE AND SUNNI ENCLAVES SUBMITTED TO THE UNCHECKED RULING OF «LOCAL» MAJORITY

CHRISTIAN ENCLAVES SUBMITTED TO THE UNCHECKED RULING OF «LOCAL» MAJORITY
GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM
(PROJECT ANTOINE NAJM & AL, 2007)

- ABSENCE OF PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY
- DEMOCRACY OUTSIDE OF SOCIAL PACT «KOINONIA»
- NO LEGAL ENTITY FOR REGIONS
- CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AS ULTIMATE RAINMAKER
- BICAMERAL FEDERAL PARLIAMENT PARITY 50-50
- 17 REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS
- NO CANTONAL AFFILIATION
BENCHMARKING TABLE

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<tr>
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<th>PROJECT ITTIHADIYOUN</th>
<th>PROJECT ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION</th>
<th>PROJECT ANTOINE NAJM</th>
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<td>CENTRALIZED WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORGANIZATION OF GEOGRAPHY</td>
<td>5* CANTONS</td>
<td>30 GOVERNORATE/ CASA + BEIRUT</td>
<td>16 DISTRICT/MOUHAFAZAT + BEIRUT</td>
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<td>INEXISTENT</td>
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<td>SACRIFICED</td>
<td>MITIGATED</td>
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<td>SOVEREIGNTY AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS</td>
<td>CANTONAL SOVEREIGNTY 5 PARLIAMENTS</td>
<td>NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY TAEF SYSTEM</td>
<td>NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY PARLIAMENT WITH 50/50 CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM PARITY COMPOSED OF TWO CHAMBERS</td>
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<td>EXECUTIVE POWERS</td>
<td>CANTONAL GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>CURRENT SYSTEM TAEF</td>
<td>16+1 REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS</td>
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<td>CITIZENSHIP</td>
<td>CANTONAL</td>
<td>NATIONAL</td>
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</table>

*FINAL NUMBER BEING CONTINGENT ON POPULAR WILL EXPRESSED IN THE FIRST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS: MORE CANTONS, LESS CANTONS, A SECULAR CANTON....
PREFERENCE AND OPTIMALITY

CENTRALISM / 1926=>1943=>TAËF : THE FAILED MODEL

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION : THE INCOMPLETE SOLUTION

GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM : THE BAD « GOOD IDEA »

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM : THE OPTIMAL SOLUTION
CONCLUSION:
FEDERALISM, PEACE AND PROSPERITY

• THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IS DESIGNED TO ENABLE A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS MULTI-CULTURAL LEBANON.

• THE CONSTITUTION ENSURES EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL AND DOES NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN AN INDIVIDUAL AND ANOTHER BASED ON HIS/HER FAITH, RELIGION, OR ETHNICITY. THE DRIVER BEING THE SEARCH FOR OPTIMAL GOVERNANCE UNDER THE CONSTRAINT OF LEBANON’S MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIAL FABRIC.

• THE PRIMARY FOCAL POINT REMAINS TO DESIGN A GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK THAT WOULD ENABLE FUTURE GENERATIONS TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE IN PEACE AND HARMONY WHILE PERPETUATING THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE.

• ALTHOUGH THIS DOCUMENT STRESSES MORE ON THE FEARS, ANGUISH AND CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CHRISTIAN NATION/COMMUNITY, IT IS NONETHELESS REPRESENTATIVE, ALBEIT TO VARIOUS DEGREES, OF ALL OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPS IN LEBANON.
“THEY DID NOT KNOW IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE…SO THEY DID IT..!”

MARK TWAIN