



Federal Republic of Lebanon

A NEW CONSTITUTION
FOR A UNIFIED LEBANON



FEDERALISM
ITTHADIYOUN



“NOTHING IS MORE POWERFUL THAN AN
IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME”

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE





THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM





FEDERALISM: A UNION

FROM LATIN *FOEDERATIO*: ALLIANCE, PACT → UNITE NOT DIVIDE

تعريب كلمة فدرالية: إتحاد

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

INCEPTION	COUNTRY
1776	USA
1824	MEXICO
1848	SWITZERLAND
1853	ARGENTINE
1863	VENEZUELA
1867	CANADA
1889	BRAZIL
1901	AUSTRALIA
1920	AUSTRIA
1949	GERMANY
1950	INDIA
1956	PAKISTAN
1956	SOUDAN
1963	MALAYSIA

INCEPTION	COUNTRY
1963	NIGERIA
1970	BELGIUM
1971	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
1975	COMOROS
1979	FEDERAL MICRONESIA
1983	SAINT-CHRISTOPHE-AND-NEVES
1991	RUSSIA
1994	PALOS
1995	BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
1995	ETHIOPIA
2005	IRAQ
2008	NEPAL
2011	SOUTH SOUDAN
2012	SOMALIA





SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY





SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY

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

**PRINCIPLE OF
SUBSIDIARITY**

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

**PRINCIPLE OF
SOLIDARITY**





SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITYPOLITICAL 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



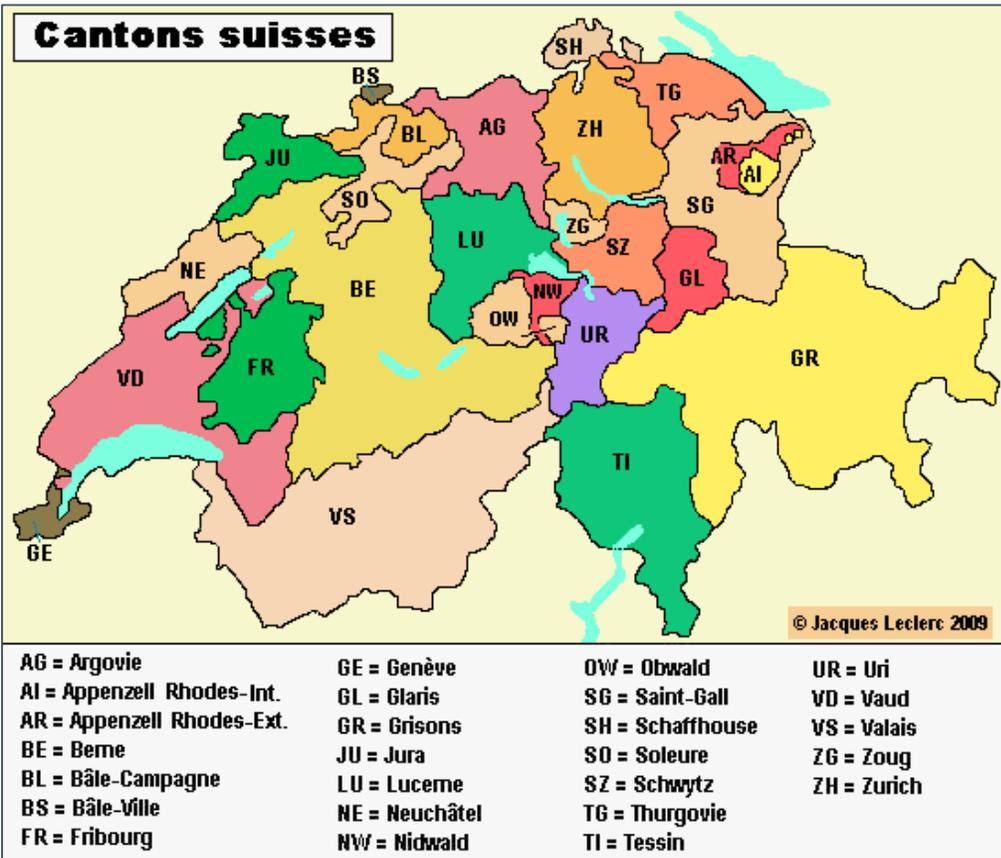


THE SWISS CASE





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

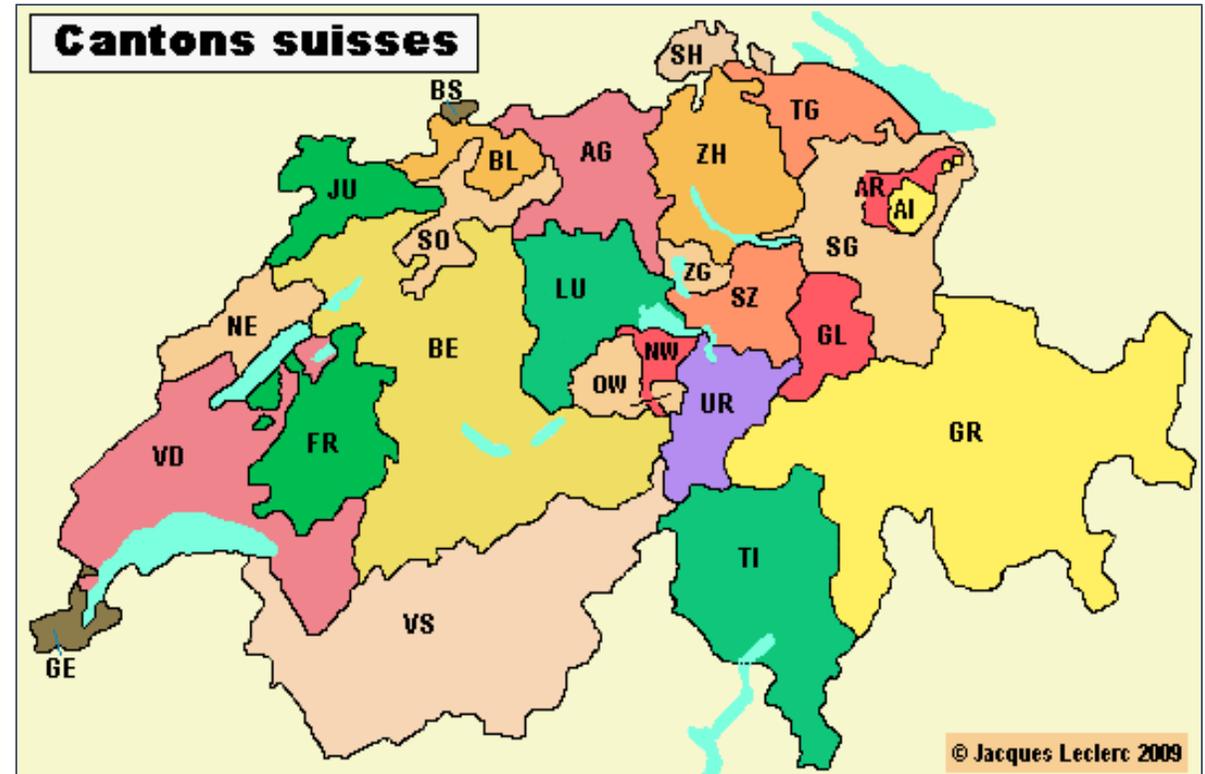
TOP 10 LEAST CORRUPT COUNTRIES





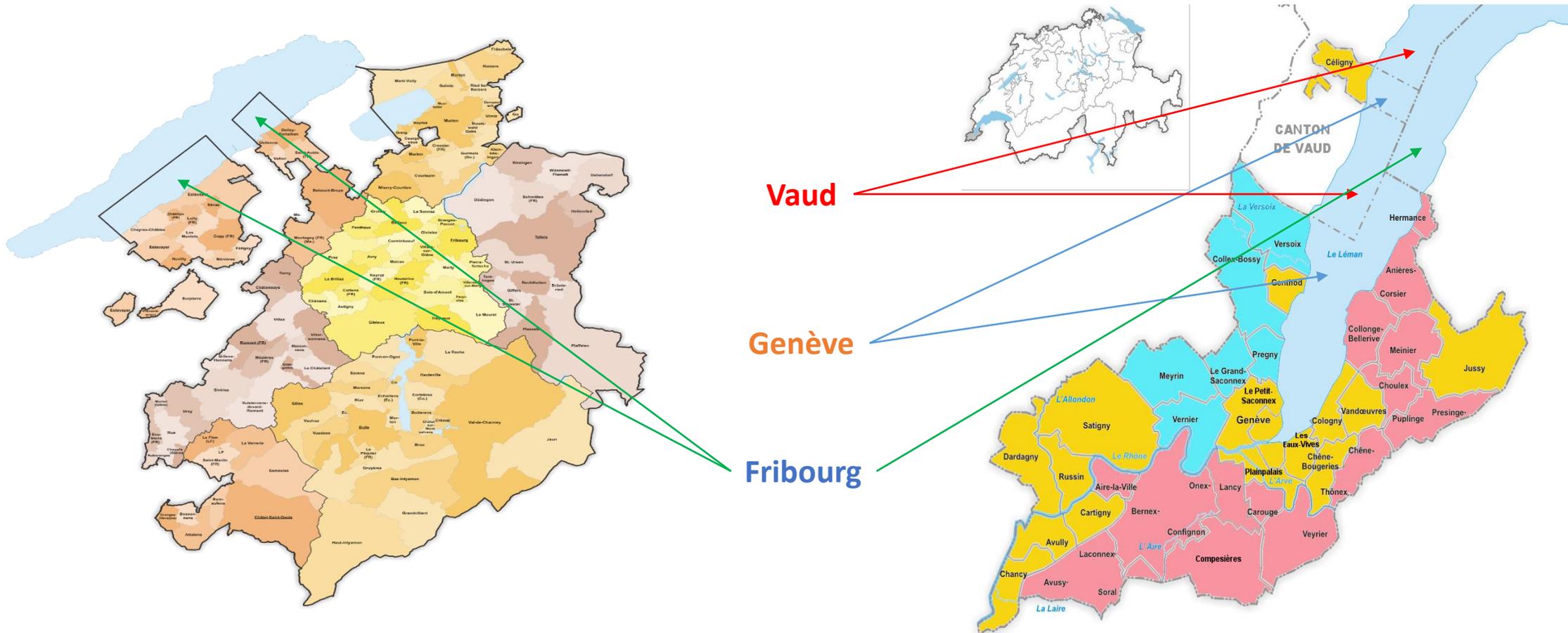
WEALTH AND CONVERGENCE

Canton	GDP in \$	population	GDP/capita
Basel-City	30,470,000,000	195,783	155,631
Zug	16,034,000,000	127,612	125,646
Geneva	41,921,000,000	504,031	83,171
Zurich	121,223,000,000	1,538,848	78,775
Neuchâtel	13,080,000,000	176,467	74,122
Schaffhausen	5,900,000,000	82,337	71,657
Ticino	24,162,000,000	351,471	68,745
Berne	66,337,000,000	1,039,101	63,841
St. Gallen	31,181,000,000	510,670	61,059
Nidwalden	2,584,000,000	43,076	59,987
Graubünden	11,881,000,000	198,988	59,707
Basel-Country	17,243,000,000	289,404	59,581
Glarus	2,342,000,000	40,582	57,710
Vaud	45,534,000,000	804,861	56,574
Obwalden	2,127,000,000	37,924	56,086
Lucerne	22,874,000,000	413,048	55,379
Solothurn	15,001,000,000	275,177	54,514
Jura	3,922,000,000	73,563	53,315
Appenzell Innerrhoden	838,000,000	16,127	51,963
Aargau	35,247,000,000	685,642	51,407
Schwyz	8,003,000,000	160,457	49,876
Thurgau	13,876,000,000	279,493	49,647
Fribourg	15,792,000,000	321,717	49,087
Appenzell Ausserrhoden	2,615,000,000	55,432	47,175
Valais	15,597,000,000	345,394	45,157
Uri	1,610,000,000	36,694	43,876



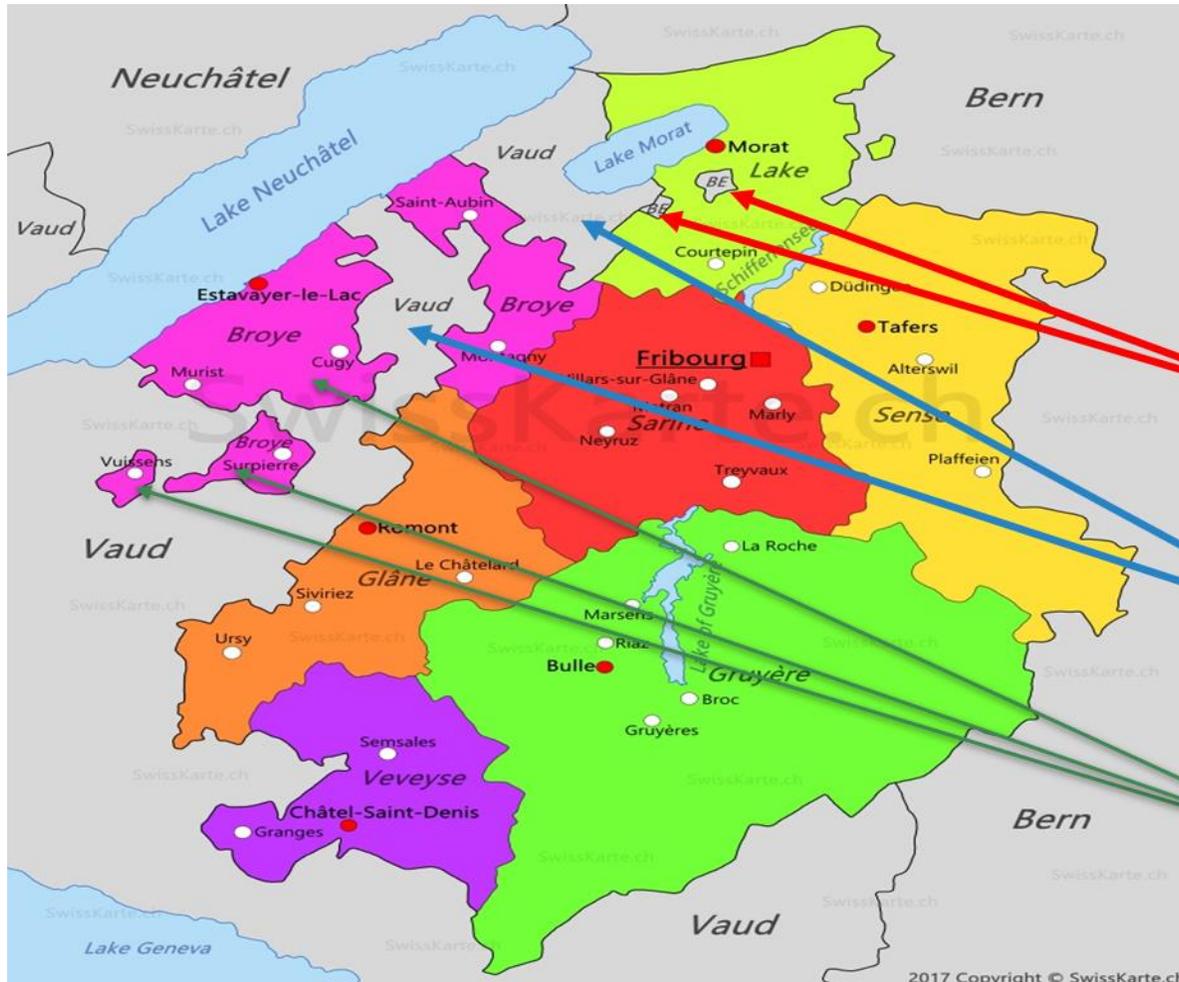


MARITIME CANTONAL SOVEREIGNTY EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE





EXAMPLE OF ENCLAVED ZONES: VAUD-BERNE-FRIBOURG



These municipalities enclaved in Fribourg are affiliated with Canton of Bern

These municipalities enclaved in Fribourg are affiliated with Canton of Vaud

These municipalities enclaved in Vaud are affiliated with Canton of Fribourg



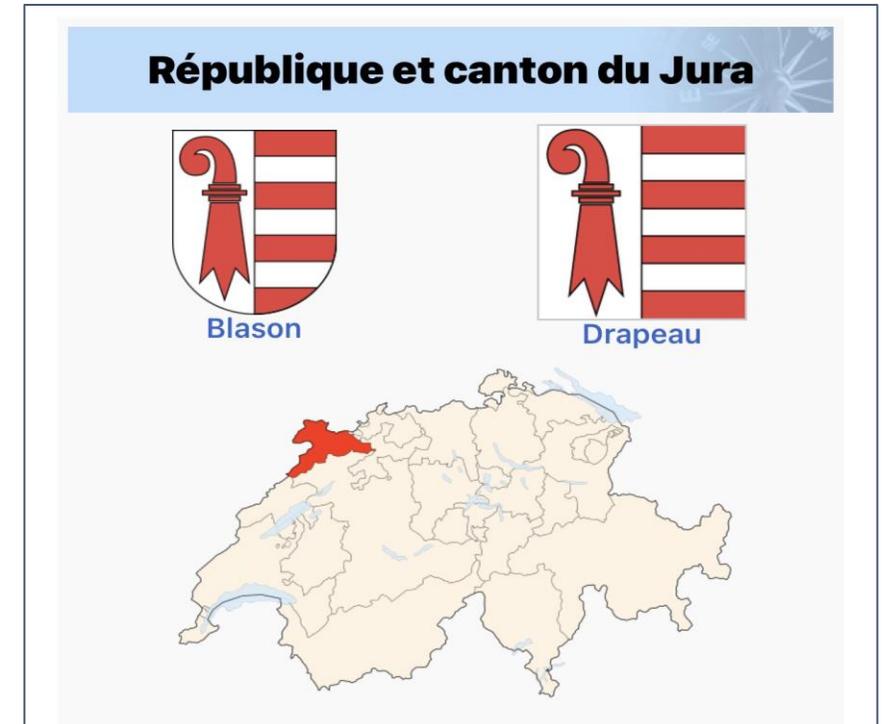


ESTABLISHMENT OF NORTH JURA

JURA SPLIT FROM BERNE IN 1979

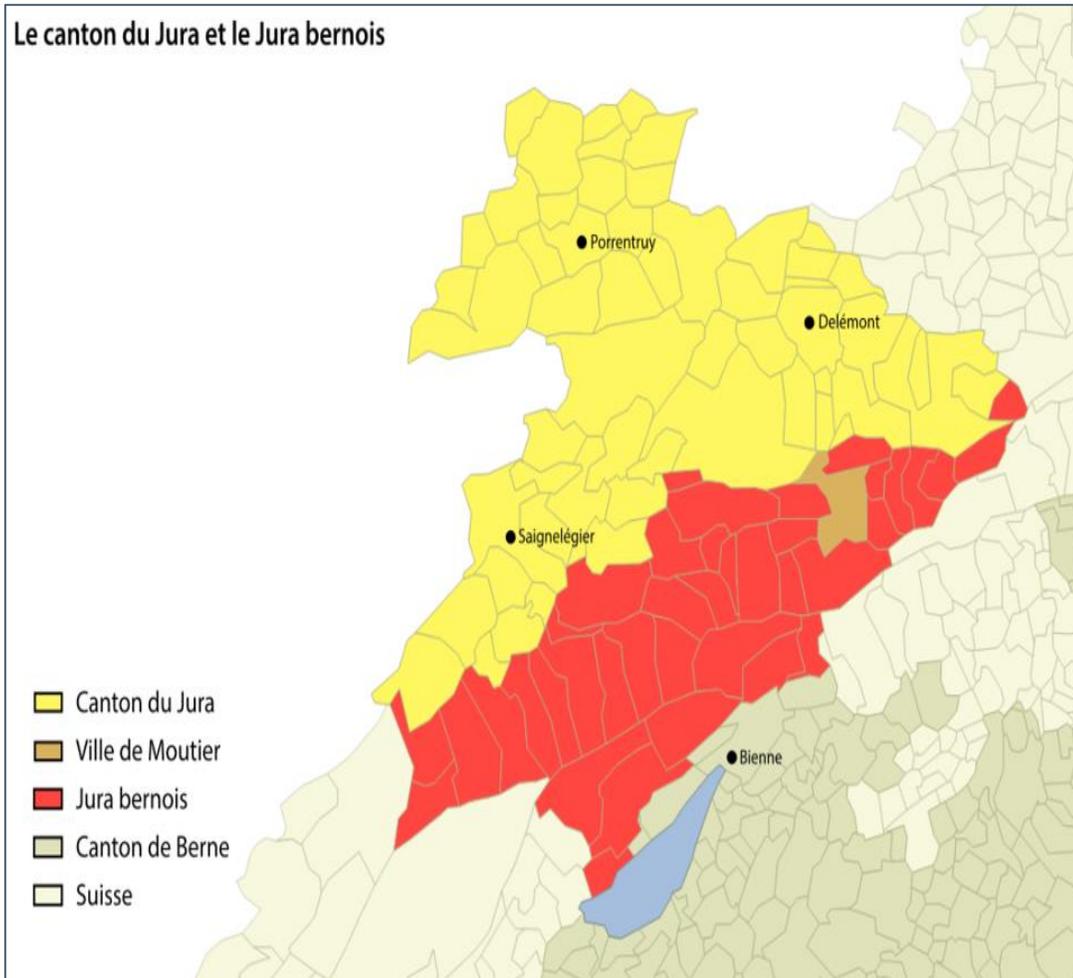
CATHOLICS BROKE AWAY FROM BERNE,
WHILE FRENCH SPEAKING PROTESTANTS
REMAIN IN THE CANTON OF BERNE

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 PFUDENDORF 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 SECULARISM 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

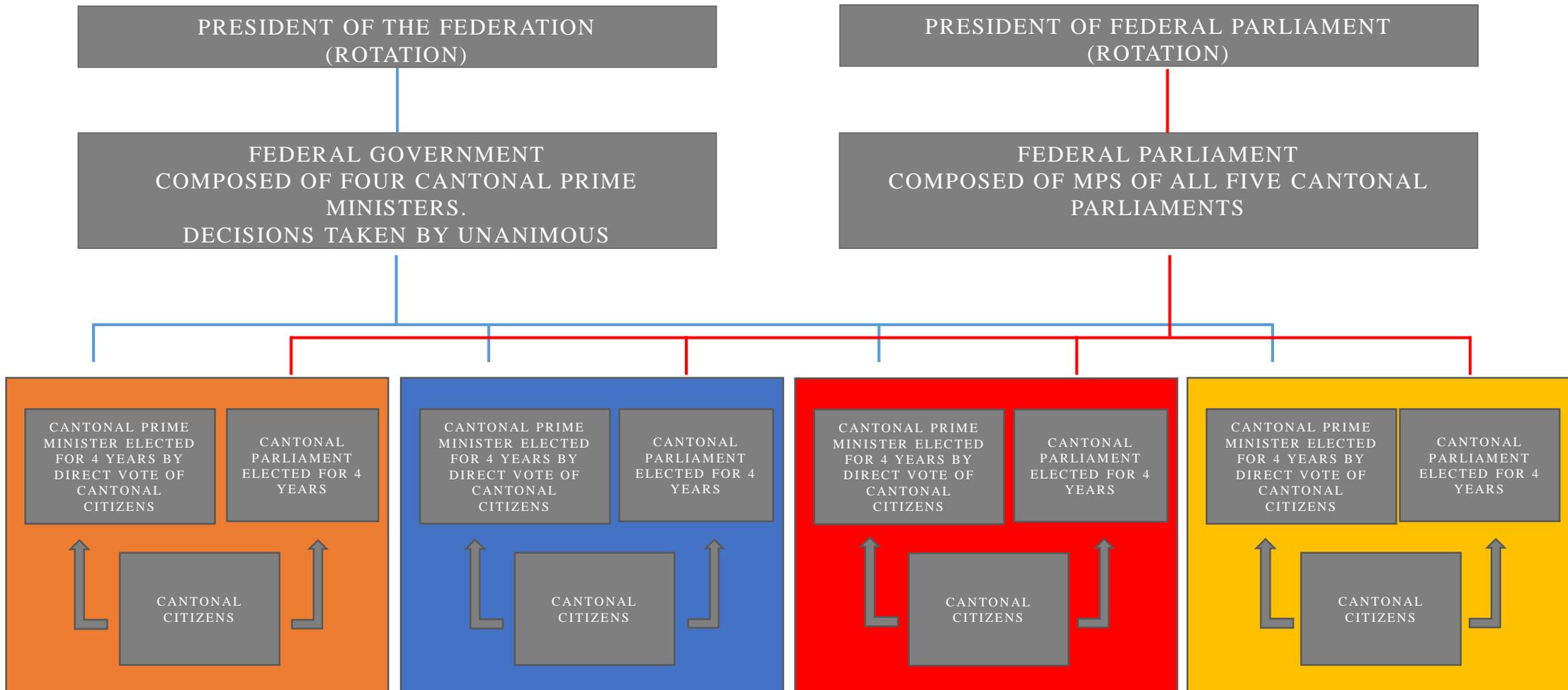
- FEDERAL PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL WITH ONE ROTATIONAL PRESIDENT
- ONE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF FIVE PRIME MINISTERS
- ONE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT COMPOSED OF ALL CANTONAL PARLIAMENTARIANS

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





POWER SHARING

IN APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY AND SOLIDARITY

POWERS OF MUNICIPAL COUNSELS

- THE POWERS OF *QAÍMAQAM* 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...

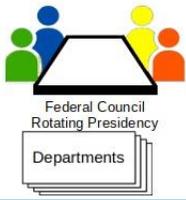
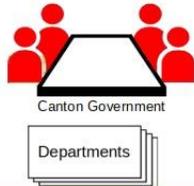
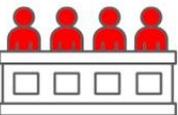
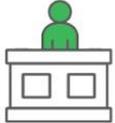
POWERS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MONETARY AND DEFENSE POLICIES
- STABILIZATION BUDGETS (MACROS, DEFICITS,...)
- HARMONIZATION POLICIES (RIGHTS, JURISPRUDENCE, WEALTH DISPARITY,...)

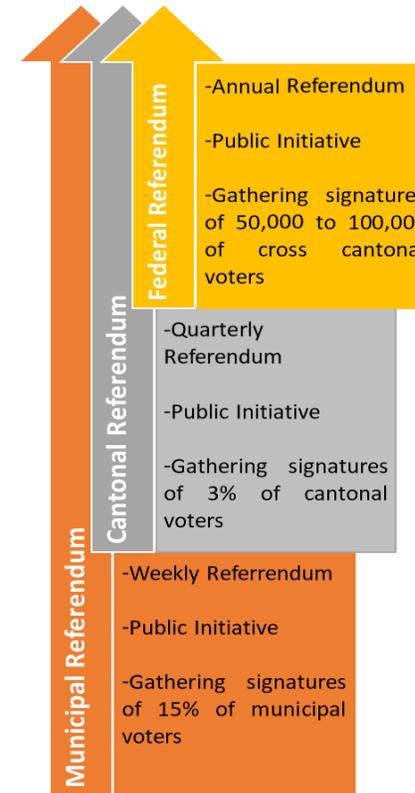




POWER CHECKS AND BALANCES

	Executive	Legislative	Judiciary
Federation	 <p>Federal Council Rotating Presidency Departments</p>	 <p>Federal Parliament (200) Proportionate to the population of Cantons</p>	 <p>Federal Tribunals</p>
Canton	 <p>Canton Government Departments</p>	 <p>Canton Parliament</p>	 <p>Cantonal Tribunal</p>
Municipality	 <p>Municipality</p>		 <p>Municipal Judge</p>

Power structure
Elections



CHECKS AND BALANCES
REFERENDUMS





RIGHTS AND DUTIES: ELECT AND VOTE

VOTATIONS AND REFERENDUMS

<p>REFERENDUM INITIATED BY THE PUBLIC</p> <p>MUNICIPAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 15% OF RESIDENTS/VOTERS WEEKLY</p> <p>CANTONAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 3% OF CITIZENS/VOTERS QUARTERLY</p> <p>FEDERAL LEVEL: SIGNATURE OF 50,000 TO 100,000 VOTERS ANNUAL</p>	<p>ELECTIONS OF LOCAL AND CANTONAL REPRESENTATIVES</p> <p>LOCAL ELECTIONS FOR A 4 YEARS TERM</p> <p>CANTONAL ELECTIONS (PARLIAMENTARY) FOR A 4 YEARS TERM</p>
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ELECTIONS





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,.....

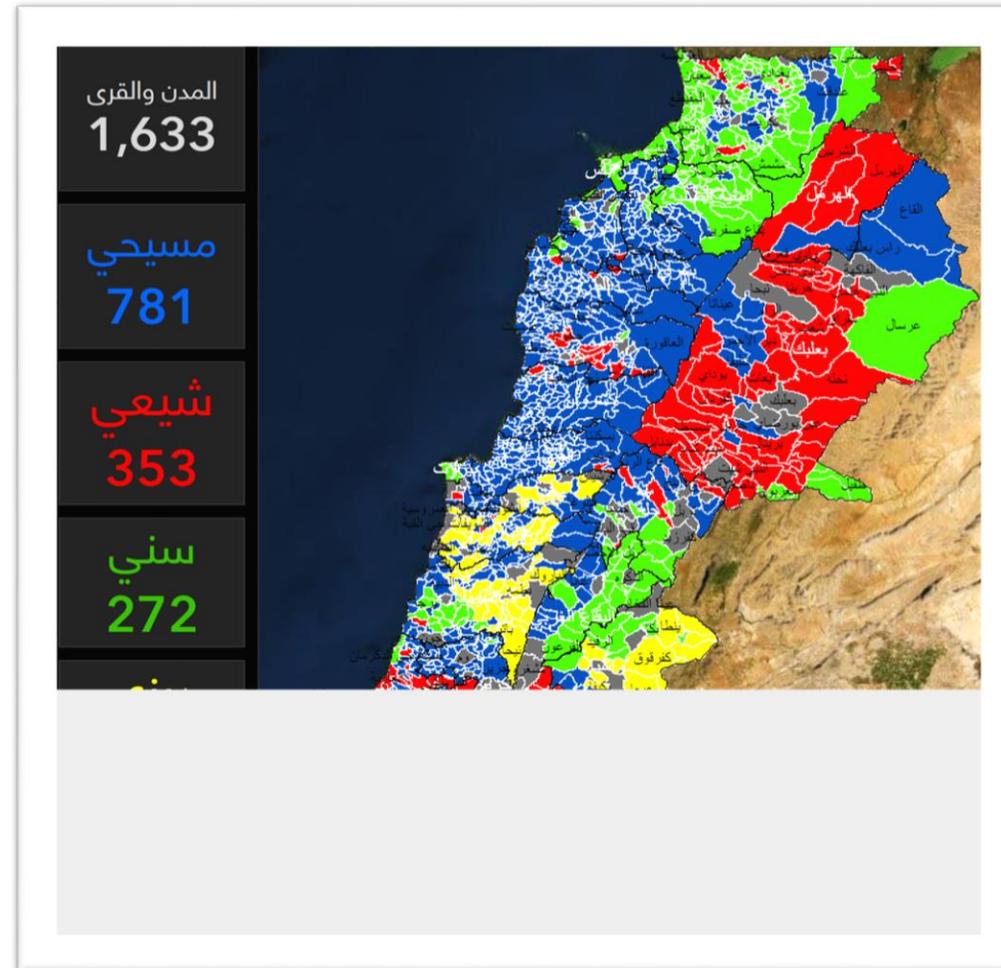




CONSTRUCTION OF CANTONAL GEOGRAPHY

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 (DRUZE)
- SAHEL/AKKAR (SUNNI)
- SECULAR (FEDERAL CAPITAL)

1633 MUNICIPALITIES

- 781CHRISTIAN, 353 SHIA, 272 SUNNI, 126 DRUZE, 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 RESERACH
- 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 INCEPTSCENTRALIZED FUND FOR DECENTRALIZATION!

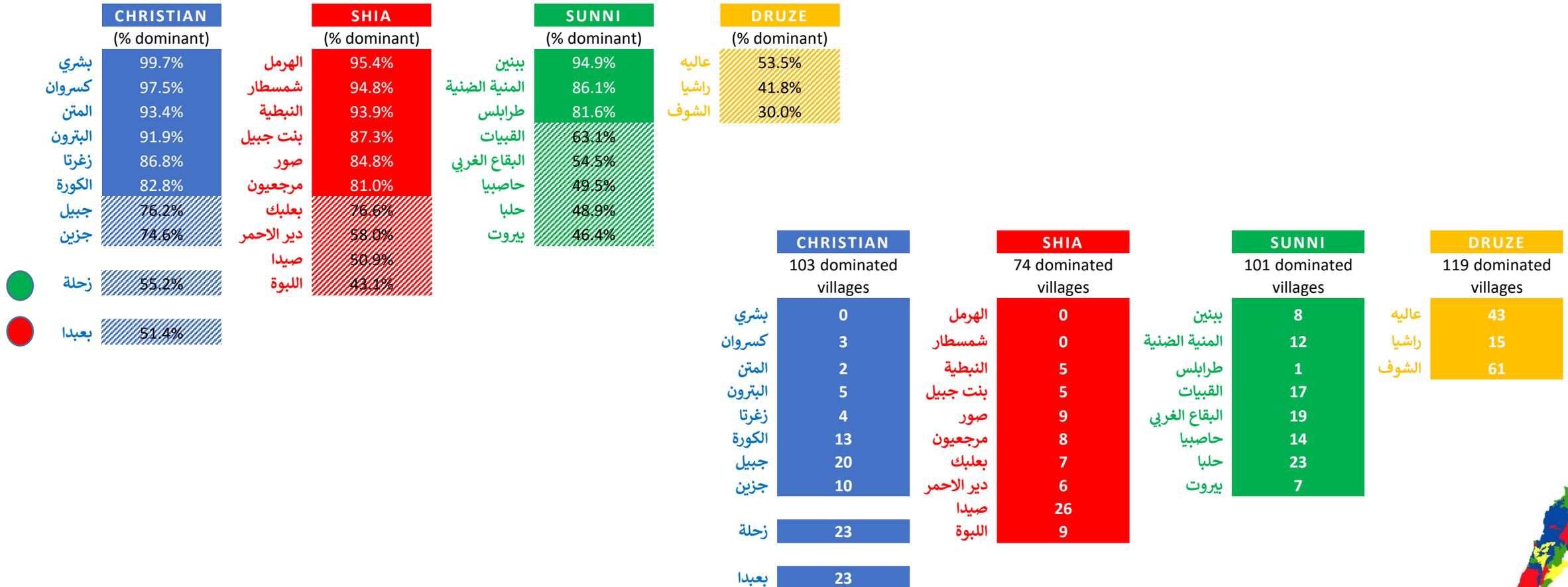
CONSEQUENCES AND THREATS

- 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





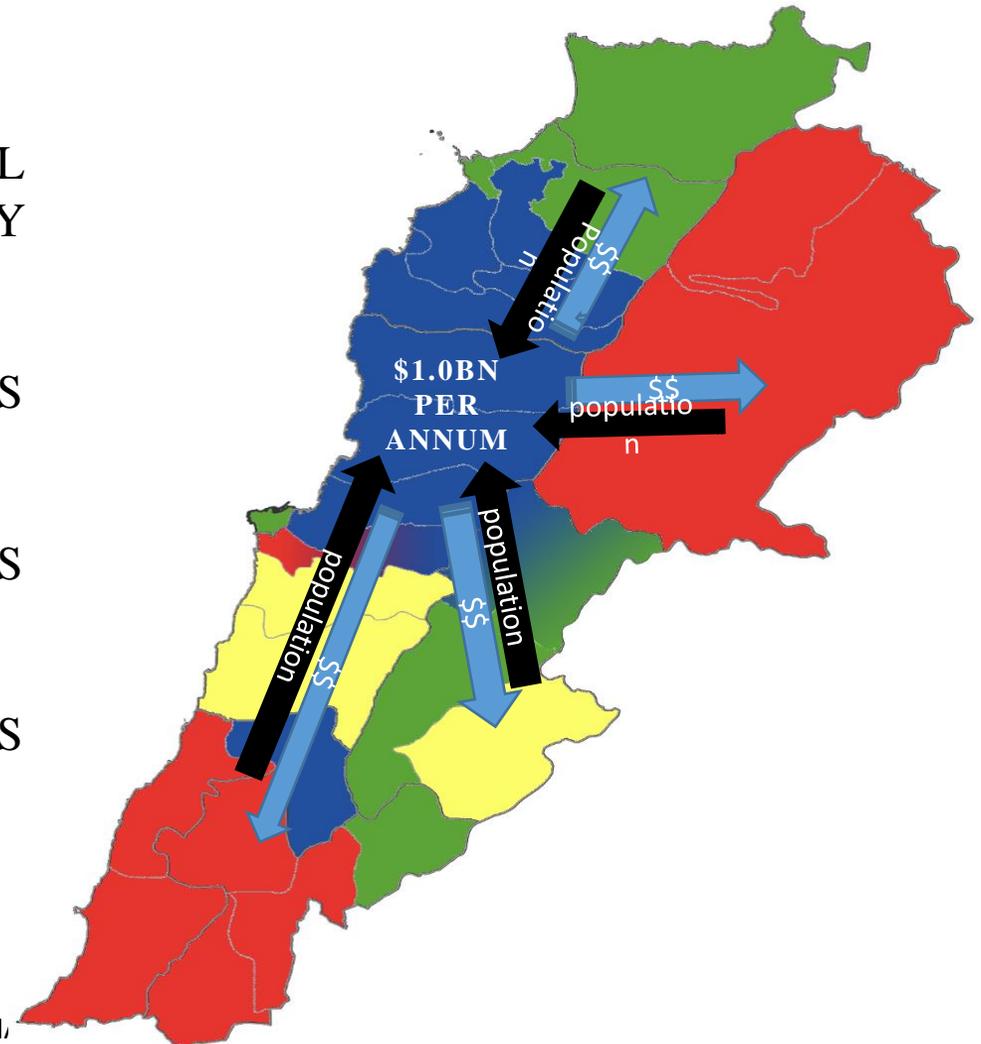
FINANCIAL TRANSFERS AND POTENTIAL EXODUS OF LOCAL MINORITIES

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

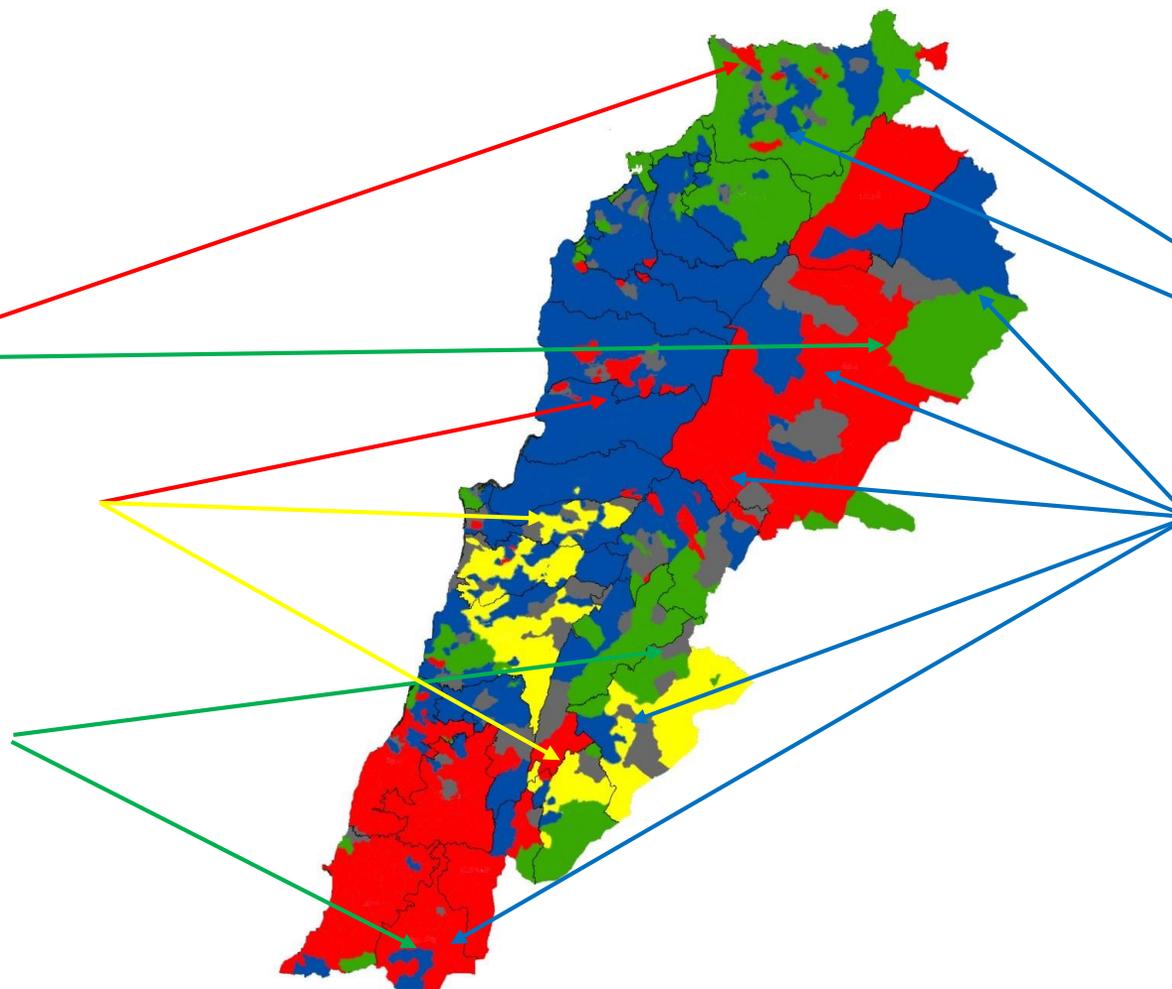




ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION

DISPLACEMENT OF REGIONAL MINORITIES

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



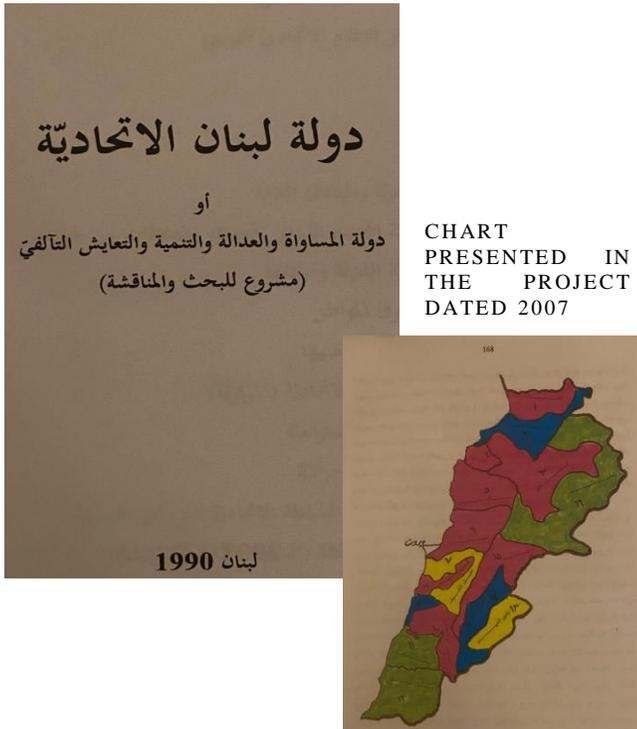
CHRISTIAN ENCLAVES
SUBMITTED TO THE
UNCHECKED RULING OF
«LOCAL» MAJORITY





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

	PROJECT ITTIHADIYOUN	PROJECT ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION	PROJECT ANTOINE NAJM
SYSTEM	FEDERAL ✓	CENTRALIZED WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION	FEDERAL
ORGANIZATION OF GEOGRAPHY	5* CANTONS ✓	30 GOVERNORATE/ CASA + BEIRUT	16 DISTRICT/MOUHAFAZAT + BEIRUT
SUBSIDIARITY PRINCIPLE	ARTICLE 20 ✓	INEXISTENT	INEXISTENT
MINORITIES' RIGHTS	PRESERVED ✓	SACRIFICED	MITIGATED
SOVEREIGNTY AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS	CANTONAL SOVEREIGNTY 5 PARLIAMENTS ✓	NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY TAEF SYSTEM	NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY PARLIAMENT WITH 50/50 CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM PARITY COMPOSED OF TWO CHAMBERS
EXECUTIVE POWERS	CANTONAL GOVERNMENT ✓	CURRENT SYSTEM TAEF	16+1 REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS
CITIZENSHIP	CANTONAL ✓	NATIONAL	NATIONAL

**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 »

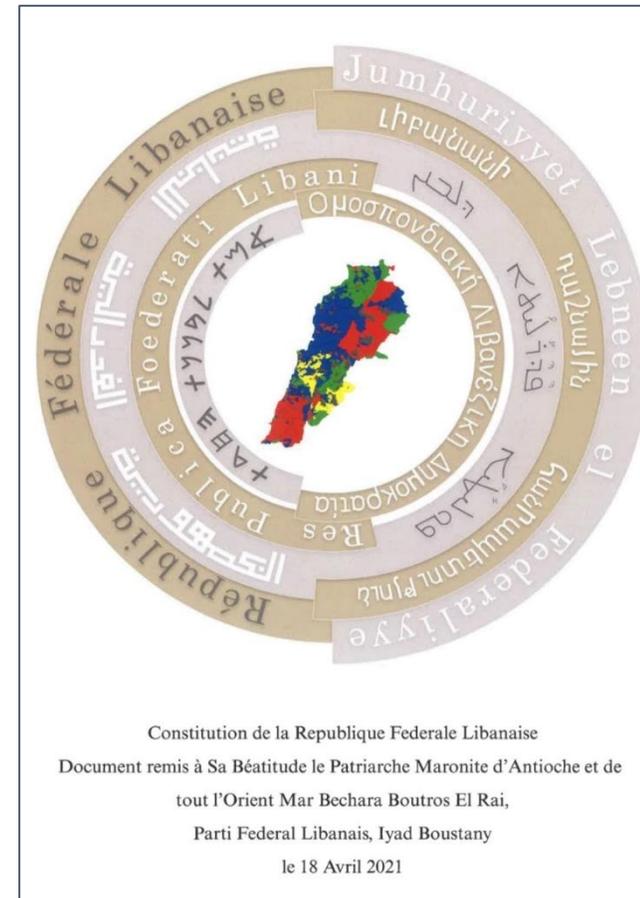
ETHNO-GEOGRAPHIC FEDERALISM : THE OPTIMAL SOLUTION





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

