

The Future Movement

And The Perspectives of the Arab Spring

The year 2011 witnessed the explosion of Arab youth movements, which started in Tunisia and spread to other Arab countries, especially those with military and security regimes, whose people have suffered for decades from authoritarian oppression, and violation of public and individual freedoms. These states lacked peaceful power transfers and did not respect human dignity and rights.

These movements had four main characteristics: the large number of participants and their diversity, the fact that they mainly included young people, their insistence on the peaceful nature of their movement despite the oppression they suffered since the first day, and the convergence of their slogans and goals: freedom, dignity, pluralism, democracy, justice, and civil State.

Since the first weeks, these youth and popular movements received a deep feedback from the Lebanese, and from Future Movement supporters, as well as in the Arab World and the world at large. This was due to the terrible crises experienced by our Arab societies for more than four decades during which there was almost no one in the streets and squares of the cities and the villages. The Arab people were deprived of their right to express their opinions and interests.

Depression was widespread, and the hope in the future decreased for large sectors of the population. Oppression was imposed as an alternative to extremism. Arab and national dignity was undermined by organized tyranny and by the security state, internally, and by the states' inability to face invasions, wars, and foreign interventions, as well as by oppression that was widespread in the name of the national cause, and by all sorts of failures and deals concluded at the expense of the Cause.

The Future Movement supporters furthermore considered the change spearheaded by Arab youth as important, as they initiated, with most Lebanese, their own spring in 2005, after the assassination of martyr Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. They then waved the banners of freedom, dignity, independence and justice. They were also

faced, like the young revolutionary Arabs, with organized violence and political assassinations, assassinations which numbered 220 since 1943. However, this did not affect their determination, and did not dampen their struggle, through work and hope, as was the case with their counterparts in the countries of the change movements.

The change pushed forward by Arab youth movements has happened. It strongly shook these states and societies, because it was not a revolution from above, or some elite arrangement. This change tackled deep issues related to the culture of the societies and their awareness, concerning identity and belonging, moral questions, the relation between authority and society, between religion and the state, and individual freedoms. It is an elevation of the Arab people's level of life and lifestyle, of their dignity and humanity. Therefore, it rapidly evolved into an ample long-term process, with deep influences on all levels. It is normal, like in all important change movements, that the opinions of social groups in the Arab World, of neighboring countries and their societies, and of the decision makers in the international community, differ about the current process. This deep change found support, solidarity, and participation from the part of many, especially among Arabs (and Lebanese). However, it also raised and is causing worries and fears in some social, political, and religious groups, according to their perceived interests, their past experiences, their hopes or disappointments. Because change has already happened, and because the Future Movement is part of it, we thought it was necessary to express our solidarity, and participate through this document that includes the main and essential orientations that guide our thoughts and actions in this historic period of the life of our nation and our people.

We consider the Arab change a period of maturity, and at the same time a new path, a challenge, and a chance. It is a chance because it places the Arab Nation, including us, at the gateway of a new future, filled with the ambitions of our youth to establish political regimes on the basis of the respect of rights and public freedoms, especially religious freedoms, of the protection of human dignity, and of justice and good management of the public affairs. It is a challenge to our ability as Lebanese citizens to review and criticize, to prepare for a moral, cultural, and political revival, and to overcome (through enlightened thoughts and actions) the effects of the previous period, during which extremism, oppression and the politics

of axis prevailed, an era that divided societies, and increased the rivalry between state and religion, and between societies and their authorities.

The goal of this review, follow up, criticism and struggle, is to preserve the unity of our societies and their diversity, and the dignity of man in this time of change. Additionally, it would help start a common, comprehensive and advanced action on the national level with all social, cultural and political groups of Lebanon, to strengthen coexistence, and take it as well as the National Pact and the Constitution as starting points to improve public affairs, and allow our youth to participate in building their future, the future of Lebanon and all Arabs.

The change launched by Arab Youth is a long term democratic process, which goes beyond holding elections that result in a ruling majority .It is also a culture, full equality between all citizens, the protection of public freedoms, the respect of diversity and of the right to difference, and the rejection of any monopoly from the part of a majority, whatever its nature.

First: On the national issue:

In principle, Lebanon does not lack a civil contractual state since the time of its National Pact, even if the system suffers from some defects. Lebanon's people also do not lack national loyalty. Despite this, and as the Arab Spring is in full swing, our nation and its system seem to face several obstacles and challenges, due to the many disturbances and the dangerous clashes the country and our system have faced for the last seven decades. This is caused by five factors:

First, the establishment of the Israeli entity in Lebanon's neighborhood, after occupying a large part of Palestine in 1948 and then occupying it fully in 1967. Second: the tendency of some of its major sects at one point or another to dominate and monopolize decision making, overstepping the customs and processes of the political system. Third: using Lebanon as an arena of conflict, during periods of tensions, by Arab , regional, or international parties, exposing the country to foreign interference. Fourth: the Syrian tutelage and hegemony over Lebanon and its system, for more than 30 years. Fifth: the inability to formulate and develop a national political project that protects the country, the State and the system.

In the Future Movement, we consider that the Arab Spring with its wide popular dynamics and effective ability to initiate change in the Arab region and its neighborhood represents a big chance for Lebanon, its citizens and state, to overcome challenges and dependences. This can be seen in three points: 1, the strategic changes caused by the democratic transformations and the real and effective cooperation of the Arab League states on all levels, which leave no possibility for the axis policies, and for the destructive and divisive interferences by regional and international parties. 2, the democratic transition in Syria will rectify the relationship between Lebanon and Syria, on the basis of balance and equality, and the Syrian National Council (SNC) alluded to this in its statement on 25/01/2012, and in its letter of solidarity sent to March 14 on the occasion of the commemoration of the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The SNC spoke of a radical correction of the relation between the two states, by amending bilateral agreements, demarcating the borders, and cooperating to preserve their interests and the natural relations between the two peoples and two states. 3, the acknowledgment by all Lebanese - including those who resort to weapons to intimidate others- in the new Arab age, that it is in their national, Arab, and Islamic interest to strongly support reform, reconciliation, Taef agreement, and the Constitution.

But the strategic change resulting from the Arab movements is not sufficient to strengthen Lebanese nationalism after all the failures it faced. All Lebanese political sides should engage in the Arab change movement. All Lebanese youth with civil, patriotic and national awareness, who showed great abilities during the Lebanese Spring, and offered martyrs, should assume their responsibilities. Their Arab counterparts are writing, with their struggle, a new history, and new political systems, that are controversial, but that are a way out of the era of moral, political and strategic crisis. Therefore, the civil change drive of the Lebanese youth from all belongings, which is built on personal and public freedoms, and their citizenship based on equality in rights and duties, can give a new life to Lebanese coexistence, and enhance the constitution based on citizenship and Lebanese nationalism. We call for a Lebanese nationalism based on the concept of the democratic citizenship state, and for the participation of all Lebanese in building

new policies that will eliminate the negative aspects of the system and gradually lead to real Civil State.

Second: On the inter-Islamic issue:

The Arab Spring opens a new horizon for communication and understanding between the components of the Arab Societies, especially between Sunnis and Shiites, after tension between them reached the limits of discord in Iraq, and the entry to Beirut with weapons in 2008. This tension has three causes: the specificity of the increase in awareness in both parties even if it is for different reasons, the struggle for power, and the entry in the policies of axes. This upcoming spring encourages the search for new formulas that dissipate tensions between them, and union in a political framework based on citizenship and full partnership in the management of public life.

No one denies that there are differences on many historical and theological issues, although what is common between them is much greater. These differences must be limited to the specificity of each sect, which must be respected, and should not be politically exploited, or used for incitement in the media. The Arab change must include the right to difference, the freedom of belief, and appreciate diversity. These are values that respect the specificity of the religious and ethnic groups, on one hand, but do not turn their back to the national frameworks that regulate the relations between the groups and the social and political life, on the other.

Politically the Arab spring ended the legitimacy of all authoritarian regimes, and removed the covers used by corrupt ruling elites to hide behind, and categorically emphasized, with no possible bargaining, the principle of democratic legitimacy in all public affairs. These principles prevent any side from intimidating the other, dispose of the rationale of the expansion of the specificities at the detriment of the State or their isolation from that State, and eliminate any pretext justifying the weapons outside the State, whatever the names and objectives. These principles also call for the adoption of the law and the Constitution as exclusive references to settle any dispute, and prevent the recourse to weapons and to invasions of cities as in 2008. Most importantly, these principles encourage all Lebanese to have their national loyalties prevail over foreign and partial loyalties, mobilizing ideologies, and regional and international axis policies. Just with these factors can the Sunni-

Shiite tension be absorbed, in the Arab region and especially in Lebanon, thus reasserting the assembling Arab belonging and the legitimacy of cultural and religious diversity. This also cuts short the attempts of those who try, through amplifying the fears of some, or exploiting their sectarian or ethnic specificities, to serve their own strategies aims and personal interests.

In view of the modern sociopolitical Lebanese experience, the country should not go through a Sunni-Shiite clash, and should stay an example of Islamic and national unity. The influential officials from both sides, clergymen, political leaders, thinkers, and intellectuals, should adhere to the goals of unity, and remain able to prevent the differences from becoming clashes. Therefore, there is a need for constant initiatives, and deep dialogue between the two sides, on all levels, to spread mutual trust, dissipate confusion, defuse chronic or sudden crises, and stop any mixing between the religious-sectarian issues and the political issues.

Third: On the Islamic-Christian issue:

Throughout history, Muslims and Christians built their culture, civilization and life together. They built their national identity together, and fought side by side to free their Arab Nations from foreign occupations. They also faced, together, the fallouts of the oppression used by some unwise authoritarian regimes.

As we are evaluating the consequences of the youth movements on Lebanon and the region, it is necessary to mention that the Arab Christians were at the forefront of contributors to the Arab renaissance, to the elaboration of Arab identity and belonging, and to the preservation and improvement the Arab language and culture. Thus the Christian intellectuals and politicians were, with their Muslim counterparts, pioneers in the emergence of the modern Arab renaissance, in Arab openness movement, and in the rise of national states in the Arab Orient. In many occasions, during the times of conflict over Lebanon and the region, it seemed that the chasm was between Muslims and Christians, and was too vast to close, while in fact it was caused mainly by external issues with no religious nature. However, the Taef National Accord reinforced the considerations of coexistence and shared

belonging and fate, in both parties. Thus the conflict ended, which led Pope Jean Paul II to say in the year 1994 that Lebanon is more than a country, it is a message!

Therefore, many were shocked when the wave of change reached Syria, by the statements made by religious and civil leaders from all confessions, in Lebanon and Syria, expressing their fears and apprehensions. Their position was based on: the radical Islamic nature of some revolutions, the fate suffered by the Christians of Iraq after the U.S. invasion of 2003 (assassination of religious figures and demolition of churches), vandalism by extremists against churches in Egypt, and the progress of Islamic fundamentalist parties in elections in several countries. And finally the mass exodus of Christians from all over the Arab Orient, which took place before the revolutions, and that risks increasing in the shadow of the upheavals accompanying the changes of regimes and leaders.

These fears and worries might be justified and might need review and understanding. However, deducing political consequences from them is another matter. In modern times, the overwhelming majority of Muslims did not show extremism or violence against Christians, or sympathize with extremists. The change took place. It would be detrimental to bet on the dying tyrannical regimes, which caused suffering to Christians as well as Muslims. Moreover, alliances and projects based on the concept of minorities do not have a future, and have nothing to do with Arab Christians, whom Muslims do not consider to be a minority just as they do not consider themselves as such. They are partners in culture, belonging and destiny, far from the logic of protection adopted by certain regimes, the effects of which were very negative.

In fact, the Arab spring is a chance for all groups of our societies, and for all the authentic historic components of this Orient. Oppression almost rattled the pillars of coexistence and the concepts of citizenship and equality in basic rights, with no differentiation between Muslims and Christians. Conflicting questions as to extremism and fundamental Islam exist, and require attention and cooperation to overcome them. They demand steadfastness and common struggle in the framework of the principles of freedom, dignity, citizenship, and civil state. In the last decades, an opposing duality rose between extremism and oppression, because opposites attract. There is however no doubt that if extremism regresses with the

fall of despotism, this does not mean that all problems are solved. To remove obstacles, we must rely on the common struggle of free citizens and the civil action of youth. The people will thus be encouraged to participate in building the new political society and come together under the umbrella of the civil state, the democratic mechanisms and the freedoms guaranteed by law. If we rely, first, on the civil movement, the partnership between citizens to strengthen the state of freedom and citizenship, and the system of parity regardless of numbers and political disputes, the second source of confidence resides in the enlightened religious thought, guided by the grand Imam of Al Azhar in Egypt, who published three documents in the wake of the revolutions:

The first paper is about civil governance and the pluralist democratic state. The second relates to the Arab movements for change, their legitimacy and their right to unarmed and nonviolent revolution in order to change the leaderships and regimes if they become illegitimate because of injustice, oppression, tyranny and the prohibition of free political life and peaceful transfer of power. The third document sets out the four freedoms: freedom of belief and worship, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of scientific research and freedom of literary and artistic creativity. In this revival, Al Azhar is based on the system of "rights and interests" of Muslim Scholars, which includes the right to life, the right to thought, the right to religion, the right to dignity and the right to property, and the fact that Islam does not advocate the religious state. The late Lebanese Imam, Sheikh Mohammad Mehdi Shamseddine, said that the civil state based on citizenship would be a salvation for religion and the state at a time!

The importance of the publication of these documents by a great Islamic reference lies in the contribution to the revival of Islamic culture, and the struggle against extremism and the mixture of religion and politics. These are important issues in the new Arab renaissance.

We Lebanese – who overcame the religious state, and who are hoping and working on overcoming the confessional state – have a duty and a message. Our duty is to protect the State of coexistence, and prevent any attack on its rules and customs. As for the message, it is to work with the Arab environment in consolidating coexistence between Christians and Muslims in States of free citizenship and free

citizens. States of religious and civil freedoms, especially in this time of change, because it is the time of the future.

Fourth: On the Arab issue:

During the last decades many got accustomed to talk about “Civilized Arabism” which they favored and considered, at times, as contrary to Nationalistic Arabism, and at other times as contrary to the Arabism related to religion, and always as contrary to the Arabism of military and security governments. What is happening now in the time of revolutions is the emergence of two notions of the renewed Arabism: Civilized Arabism and National Arabism. The current revolutions which share the same titles and slogans: peaceful action, freedom, dignity and democratic state, don’t want ideological or ruling parties. The problem that the revolutionary youth is facing is the practice of despotism in the name of stability, nationalism and rejectionism, as well as the problems of the loss of national interest, the spread of corruption, the prohibition of freedom of expression, the monopoly of public affairs management and impunity. That’s why there was a close connection between the youth actions and democracy in each country that witnessed a youth revolution. Therefore, for the first time, the new Arabism relates to democracy on one hand and to the nationalist revolutionaries on the other hand.

According to the logic of movements for change, in thought and practice, there is no problem of belonging, but of safeguarding the interests and rights, changing governance, and recognizing the principle of peaceful transfer of power. This is a feat that young people have made to get out of the artificial contradiction between the individual, the nationalist and the patriotic. Like nationalism seems no more reviled, Arabism is no more linked to a theoretical or authoritarian concept, but turns into a common cultural and uniting denominator, not an exclusivity that separates. We find this new concept of nationalism and patriotism in the early campaign launched by media loyal to the Syrian regime against peaceful protestors asking for freedom and dignity, accusing them of being part of a conspiracy against the nationalist, rejectionist and resistant regime, and in the hasty exit from Arabism as a whole because of the unanimous rejection by the member states of

the Arab League of the unspeakable violence practiced by the current Syrian regime against its people.

The new national Arabism gives a new impetus to Lebanese nationalism, which was developed, by the Muslims, in the document "Ten national and Islamic constants" published by Dar El Fatwa in 1983, and the document " National and Islamic Constants "published also by Dar Al Fatwa in 2011. In terms of "civilized Arabism", it gets out of the prevailing negative sense, to mean that Arabism is a culture and not an exclusive ethnic or religious belief. From these two considerations, opportunities for dialogue and union of Muslims and Christians are strengthened, to protect independence and sovereignty, and eliminate the barriers of fanaticism in the name of religion or nationalism. Lebanese nationalism is no longer a taboo that spreads contradiction between feelings and nationalist interests, but is, with the movement of young Lebanese and other Arabs, part of this new Arabism, or even the condition of its survival.

Fifth: On the Palestinian cause:

Palestinians and Arabs resisted against the Zionist project since the 1920's. They struggled against the Israeli entity after its establishment on the land of Palestine. The last four decades were very harsh on Palestinians and the Arab nation, due to the predominance of the Israeli entity, the inequitable international policies, the incapacity of despotic regimes and their dependence, and the transformation of some armies into oppression apparatuses against their people and living forces. But now that Arab populations are regaining their freedom, the management of their public affairs and their right to preserve their national interests, the era of drifting and wasting time is over and will be replaced by the era of a free, independent Palestinian state with Arab Jerusalem as its capital. The Arab Spring will transform the Arab conflict with the Israeli enemy from a confrontation with oppressive regimes to one with free people regaining their decision and who are not ruled by despots imposing their decisions on them and ignoring their will and their national interests. The Arab spring era will be the era of Palestine's victory on colonization and settlements, in the name of freedom and the right to self-determination. Recovering Palestine, its people and territories, was the main title of the Arab

liberation project during the last seven decades, and it became today the essence of the new Arab freedoms.

Sixth: On the position regarding the Syrian revolution:

For over three decades, the Lebanese have become accustomed to deal with the Syrian regime from a position of fear and subordination. The legitimacy of any idea or political direction was defined through the position vis-à-vis the Syrian military presence in Lebanon. Arabism was defined through allegiance to "the unique Arab nationalism regime" that controlled Damascus. Those who deviated from one of these principles, or both, were considered traitors and eventually buried themselves into a frightened silence or exile, or worse. To these "two pillars of Arabism", a third was added: to recognize a "resistance" represented exclusively by Hezbollah and the Syrian rejectionist regime once again!

These three pillars have been shaken, but not eliminated. It started with the call of Maronite Bishops in 2000, then the birth of the March 14 movement and the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon in 2005 following the assassination of President Rafik Hariri. In the last seven years, and despite the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon, the accusation of treason against Arabism has survived, and has even increased, and the only way out of these tyrannical and falsified accusations lies in the disappearance of the despotic regimes that have enslaved the Arab ideas and peoples.

The Lebanese Spring waved the banners of freedom, independence and sovereignty. And now these slogans have become Arab slogans at the time of the Arab movements for change. But after the outbreak of the uprising against the Syrian regime, the accusations of conspiracy and treason have flared up against all those who insist on independence or those who express their solidarity with the Syrian people's uprising against his despotic regime, and this under two pretexts: those who are supportive of the Syrian people are guilty of "conspiring against the Resistance"; the specificity of Lebanese-Syrian relations requires a non-interference in Syrian affairs. No doubt that the Syrians are the ones making their revolution. In Lebanon, those who really interfere in Syrian affairs by the

autocratic methods of yesteryear, are those who proclaim loud and clear every day in the media, on the ground and in all Arab and international forums, that they support the Syrian regime against its people, or that they distance themselves from any interference in Syrian affairs!

Freedom is indivisible. Those who support freedom for Lebanon and its people cannot continue to support the Syrian regime against its people, who rises for freedom and dignity. The Lebanese-Syrian relations cannot become equal on political, moral and Arab levels, unless the democratic transition in Syria succeeds in laying the foundation of the regime of freedom and justice, and establishing equal relations between the two states according to the rules of good neighborliness and common interests. We owe the Syrian people our solidarity in his crisis with his regime and his uprising against it, and our loyalty to the vows of brotherhood, freedom and dignity promised by the Arab Spring, while ceasing to find pretexts for maintaining the tyrannical and killer Syrian regime at any price. As for the concerns raised by some, they should come from the survival of the tyrannical regime, not its demise.

The Syrian Spring, who spread an air of freedom and dignity, mixed with the blood and suffering of Syrian youth, children and elderly, will have a positive impact on the Lebanese system, freedom and independence, and on the establishment of normal and equal relations with Syria. It will also be beneficial to Arab Syria, whose people have raised the slogan: Death is better than humiliation! The Spring of Deraa, Homs, Hama, Idlib, Douma, Damascus and Zabadani will unite with the Lebanese and Arab Springs, for common belonging, objectives, values and destiny.

The new Arab Orient is being crafted by the Syrian revolutionaries and free men, who demonstrate perseverance and strength, and reach martyrdom, to liberate themselves and their nation from the era of tyranny and falsification of great causes for various pretexts, which only serve the enemies of the Arab nation.

Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi wrote in his book “The Nature of Despotism” (1902): Despotism corrupts religion, morals, politics and the humanity of man! The revolutionary youth in the Arab world are launching a big reform movement to

restore our values, reform political life and create democratic regimes. We, members and leaders of the Future Movement, delighted and proud of the great accomplishment, are aware that democratic reforms and good governance are two long processes full of burdens. And they need determination, struggle and vision to be realized. What is required today is to get prepared, through follow-up, criticism and cultural, political and moral struggle. We need to reach out to all factions, individuals and groups, on the basis of citizenship, freedom and equality in rights and obligations. What is required is to throw away the feelings and practices of fear, injustice and domination, and adhere to the Taef agreement and to the Constitution.

The Lebanese Spring stumbled in the face of isolation, blockade, and weapons. And here comes the Arab Spring, opening large horizons of freedom and change towards what is new, promising and progressive. The Arab Spring is calling out to Lebanon through the values of freedom, dignity and justice. It is up to us to react positively and to participate by liberating ourselves from subordination, polarization and the resort to arms. And to regain enthusiasm for coexistence, and for the creation of a free, capable and democratic State through achieving the implementation of the Taef agreement and implementing the slogan of “Lebanon first” in words and deeds.

The Arab political and constitutional Spring did not reach its final form, and it is facing the problems of transitional periods, after decades of despotism where stability was synonymous of injustice, oppression and submission. But this spring will surely succeed in building a political system in which the people will make its own choices through free voting. Democracy is a long process of intellectual development, open practice, belief in citizenship, and recognition of plurality, equality and rule of law. The Lebanese Spring will complete its renewal only if all components of the Lebanese people commit to apply the Constitution, without distinction between its clauses, because the Arab spring ensures a climate of trust, peace and positive change, and gives the Lebanese in the short term the chance to examine their urgent political and constitutional issues in order to consolidate stability.

Parity between Christians and Muslims in legislative and ministerial representation and the positions of the first category of public administration is well rooted in the minds of the Lebanese political groups- in addition to a constitutional binding provision. Sectarian incitement or numerical concern will not succeed in changing our commitment to consensual parity. Rational and enlightened dialogue is the only way to implement this commitment.

Although the Constitution is an unshakable truth in the minds and behaviors of the Lebanese, all groups were implicated in another experience which lead only to frustration and crises that thwarted the State, the system and coexistence, namely the use of weapons outside the framework of patriotic loyalty to the Lebanese state. Yes, everybody tried the experience of illegal weapons. Some leaned on the brother or the just cause, others ventured to counter-attack. And others have lost much of the aura of their victory after the withdrawal of the army of a sister country, or after using weapons internally for intimidation. All this as part of a regional non-Arab project, which put them in confrontation with the national State and its right to the monopoly of the decision of war or peace. The Arab Spring has destroyed the ability of all illegal weapons to change the balance, finally placing the fundamental decisions in the hands of the people and not of an individual or a party, whatever the pretext for carrying or using the weapons. We consider all these facts as part of a forgotten past. To cope with its aftermath, we are always willing to participate in a positive, democratic and peaceful dialogue, during the discussion about the existence and usefulness of all weapons on Lebanese territory, as part of the defense strategy of the Lebanese State, through its democratically elected institutions and as a representative of all Lebanese. This State bears, through its constitutional institutions, the right and power of commanding, controlling and deciding peace or war and safeguarding the citizens' freedom and dignity in the face of conditions imposed by those who ignore the state. No doubt that the implementation of the national dialogue decisions regarding Palestinian arms will facilitate the settlement of other priorities, as the necessary and serious dialogue on national issues must have a timetable and clear objectives.

For over four decades, the rise of Lebanon stumbled against false causes and against the capture of national security, public funds, government, institutions, the system and the State. The current Arab change movement is, in addition to its

declared goals, a revival of the national economy, of the management of resources, and of the fight against corruption, which will lead to improving life conditions, existence and humanity. And when the free will of the Lebanese and Arab youth meets, the Lebanese, who have suffered and are still suffering, will be the first beneficiaries of the Arab Spring and the Spring of the Arab Man.

The Spring of Lebanon will come true when the Lebanese will regain their state and democratic system in order to meet the many political, economic and social challenges looming on the horizon. Our responsibility is to fight for the return of the State as envisioned by the Lebanese, and which preserves their national interests, independence, prosperity and freedoms.

Change and revival stem from the people's free will. And true stability and a better future will be accomplished through the will of the free Arabs, "so they may have life, and have it more abundantly" (John 10:10).

It is the time of the people, the public and the youth. It is the time of great challenges and opportunities, the time of renewal: "For the scum disappears like forth cast out; while that which is for the good of mankind remains on the earth." (Surat Al-Raad: 17).