
Ennahdha Movement Programme

For Freedom, Justice and Development in Tunisia

In the name of God, Most Merciful, Most Beneficent

PREAMBLE: THE GOALS OF THE REVOLUTION WITHIN OUR GRASP

Anyone who studies the path of Tunisia's civilisation and culture over the last 150 years can perceive a three-dimensional public awareness within society and its cultural, political and administrative elites. The first is an awareness of the country's civilisational backwardness compared to the progress achieved by western nations, which has given rise to power, pride and prosperity thanks to the liberation of minds from illusions and the freedom from despotic rule. The second is a deep consciousness of the absolute necessity of bridging this gap by making every possible effort to acquire modern science and technology and develop administrative and political institutions so as to achieve efficiency, develop effective means of production and avert the scourge of despotism. The third is a deep awareness of, and confidence in, the validity of Islam and its heritage as a value and cultural reference and a basis for this project of reform and modernisation through *ijtihad* (creative interpretation), *tajdid* (renewal), and the activation of dialogue with the contemporary concerns, sciences, and achievements of the modern age. These dimensions form the essence of

the reform project and their relative significance continues to be the subject of ongoing debate.

The ENNAHDHA (Renaissance) Movement, which considers itself a continuation and evolution of the message of political, social and cultural reform, presents to you its programme in the various fields, hoping that it will be of interest to you and meet your expectations of responsibly and effectively addressing our country's achievements, our revolution's objectives and our people's aspirations.

The main themes of our programme are as follows:

1. Tunisia as a free independent state, with Islam as its religion, Arabic as its language, Republicanism as its system, and the achievement of the objectives of the Revolution as its priority.
2. Islam as a supreme point of reference that is balanced and interactive with any human expertise of proven benefit, through the method of ijtihad.
3. Arabic language and literature as a tool of communication, a culture and the medium for opening to and interacting with all world languages, particularly those most relevant to modern sciences be they eastern or western.
4. The Republican system as the best guarantee of democracy and best use of the country's wealth for the benefit of the people, as well as the guarantor of

the essentials of a dignified life, including employment, health, education, respect for human rights without discrimination on the basis of sex, color, belief or wealth, and the affirmation of women's rights to equality, education, employment and participation in public life.

Democratic Political System

The ENNAHDHA Movement proposes to Tunisians to establish a political system that eradicates the roots of dictatorship that have become entrenched throughout our history and deviated the State from its mission and has dedicated it instead to the repression of freedoms and aspirations and the protection of corrupt gangs in total contradiction to the principles of consultation, human rights and trustworthy management of public funds.

It is the Parliamentary system which guarantees public and private freedoms, independence of the judiciary, freedom of information and alternation of power through the balanced, dynamic distribution of powers between the various state institutions and through free pluralistic elections. The Parliamentary system further ensures the strength and independence of civil society and promotes comprehensive development in all regions of the country and across all segments of society.

Comprehensive Economic and Social Development

The aim of our programme is to establish a national development model which balances the economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions. Guided by our Islamic values, national experience and human experience in general, we aim to achieve the objectives of our blessed Revolution - of providing employment, regional development, combating corruption, the increase of investment in all sectors and fields and the deepening and diversification of relations of cooperation and partnership with neighboring and friendly countries.

That is the development model we put forward, hoping that it responds to the aspirations of our people who have struggled and sacrificed greatly for the sake of justice, freedom and dignity.

“Fulfill your promises, for indeed every promise shall be questioned about.” [Quran, Chapter Al-Isra: verse 34]

Introduction

Our nation is preparing to elect a National Constituent Assembly as an expression of its sovereignty, an achievement of the goals of the revolution and a break with the reign of tyranny and corruption.

The ENNAHDHA Movement pays its respects to the martyrs thanks to whose pure blood, along with God's help, Tunisia has achieved its independence, liberated itself from tyranny, and is now preparing to build a state based on freedom, dignity and justice.

The ENNAHDHA Movement, as a responsible national actor, is committed to the preservation of the spirit of accord and coexistence among all Tunisians without exclusion or discrimination within a system that guarantees every citizen's freedom and dignity, achieves the country's growth, development and stability and respects its aspiration to achieve modernity in harmony with authenticity.

In view of the above, the ENNAHDHA Movement sets the following major objectives as priorities in its programme:

1. To establish a democratic system that breaks with tyranny, founded on the basis of citizenship, freedoms, dignity, the supremacy of the Constitution, rule of law and all standards of good governance.
2. To implement an economic and social plan aimed at providing jobs for all Tunisian men and women, offering all the amenities of a dignified life,

achieving balanced regional development and promoting investment in all economic sectors.

3. To build a modern, balanced society, steeped in solidarity and rooted in its identity as well as contemporary culture that nurtures its human resources and wealth and promotes its position and influence in the world.

Before presenting the details of our programme for achieving the above goals, we outline below the general principles and guidelines that govern it.

TUNISIA AS WE SEE IT: THE NATION AND THE CITIZEN

Our vision for the present and future of Tunisia is based upon a comprehensive reading of its geographic location and its historical and cultural significance, factors which must be taken into account in any development programme aimed at cementing its international stature and enhancing its regional role so that it provides a successful model on a variety of levels.

Tunisia has remained throughout the various civilisational periods that marked its rich history a centre for science and civilisation, shining across the different corners of the Mediterranean. Ifriqiyya, with Kairouan as its centre, played a significant role in staging Islamic expansion throughout the region and the Zeitouna mosque made significant contributions to Islamic sciences and knowledge, the propagation of Arabic language, and the shaping of the reform movement.

Tunisia is a country with multiple dimensions and relationships: Arabic, Islamic, Mediterranean, and African. It also enjoys special ties with its neighbors Algeria and Libya due to geographic proximity, the social and historical intermixing between the peoples of the three countries, and because Tunisia's neighbors represent bridges connecting it along the Arab and African dimensions. Tunisia also possesses strong relationships, weaved by geography, history, and common interests, with various countries along the sides of the Mediterranean.

Tunisia is characterised by a distinguished geographic location, a cohesive social fabric, and notable human resources. Its population enjoys a racial and religious homogeneity

rarely found in the region or in the Arab World. It also boasts high literacy rates, widespread schooling and a leading role for women in various fields, in addition to a skilled labor force and integrated administrative and institutional frameworks.

All the aforementioned factors form a solid foundation to any future development programme. Consequently, the efforts and priorities of Tunisians should be to focus on exploiting and leveraging these factors as best as possible, and that includes developing further the human resource capital given that it's the most important resource for our country.

The revolution of dignity has given Tunisia a prominent international status and opened new horizons for it to fulfill the aspirations of its citizens in achieving freedom, dignity, social justice, balanced regional development, and eradicating of corruption so as to erect a modern state capable of guaranteeing full citizenship and dignified livelihood for all segments of society throughout the various regions on the basis of a social contract valuing work and redistributing wealth fairly while ensuring the efficiency and sustainability of institutions.

The main contributing factors to success in the political aspect consist of unleashing freedoms and spreading a feeling of safety and confidence in the future and in the readiness of our people to face the challenges and to make some sacrifices for the benefit of this national project.

Principles and General Guidelines of the Program

1. Tunisia is a free independent state, with Islam as religion, Arabic as its language, Republicanism as its political system and the achievement of the objectives of the Revolution as its priority.
2. Loyalty to the struggle and efforts of Tunisians and their pioneers across generations to achieve independence and establish the modern state of Tunisia.
3. The mission and priorities of Ennahdha consist of the pride of Tunisia, its progress, independence, sovereignty, its republican system based on the separation of powers, the independence of its judiciary, democracy, good governance, justice and equality for all citizens, economic and social development, and the affirmation of our Arabic and Islamic identity.
4. Ennahdha Movement considers itself an extension of the reform school elaborated in our country in the nineteenth century aiming at political, social and cultural reform and opposing colonialism and subservience. In this context, the Movement considers that Islamic thought is in need of constant innovation so that it can keep up with progress and contribute to it, stemming from its belief that Islam accepts anything that is beneficial and encourages it such as the International conventions on human rights, and which are generally compatible with Islamic values and objectives.
5. We believe in the value of human beings as both the end and means of comprehensive development, as both its essence and its purpose. We consider

work to be the fundamental basis for earning and the means for wealth creation. No comprehensive development can take place without it.

6. Ennahdha believes in the necessity of establishing a holistic value system based on the realisation of values stemming from the cultural and civilisational heritage and Arab Islamic identity of Tunisian society. And these include social justice and solidarity, combating corruption, rational consumption, avoiding the wasteful use of resources, and considering work a fundamental component of human dignity. Ennahdha encourages innovation and independent initiative and promotes the rewarding of innovators and the revival in all fields of human endeavour of noble values such as integrity, honesty, transparency, trustworthiness, selflessness and righteous livelihood.
7. Ennahdha considers that the principal mission of Islam is to realise freedom, dignity and justice for the human being and believes that man is born free and should live free. Allah the Almighty said in the holy Quran “We have honored the sons of Adam” and Omar Ibn-Al-Khattab said “When did you enslave people whereas their mothers have born them free?” Ennahdha believes that man is the end and the means of any meaningful development project.
8. Ennahdha endeavours to contribute to the establishment of a vibrant and innovative modernity which combines a solid grounding in our heritage with openness to the requirements of the modern age. Furthermore, the movement aims to enhance the respect for and the awareness of the values of freedom,

safeguarding of human dignity, establishment of justice, and fair access to knowledge and modern technologies for all citizens without discrimination.

9. Ennahdha's programmes are firmly rooted in national identity, mainly in Islam's values, objectives, and civilisational heritage and in our national experience and that of mankind. Our Islam-inspired movement combines noble objectives with noble means and works for the integration of ethical values in all aspects of life.
10. We consider the state to be a political civil entity that oversees public matters, protects social peace, works for economic development, respects individual and public liberties, upholds democratic practices, and ensures equality between citizens in rights and in obligations. The movement considers that the public good is served by the neutrality of the administration and places of worship from any partisan campaigns.
11. Ennahdha considers one of the most important responsibilities of the state is the oversight of national dialogue and the reconciliation of conflicting interests so as to maintain social balance, unity and peace as well as economic prosperity. No economic development is meaningful if it is not based on the liberty and development of the human being, physical and spiritually.
12. We call for the building of a new social contract based on consensus and partnership between all parties.
13. We seek to establish an organised civil society that is independent from the state, one that liberates the energies and potentials of individuals so as to provide a strong guarantee against all forms of despotism and injustice.

14. Our movement holds in very high regard the role the Tunisian youth played in the blessed revolution and is deeply aware of the challenges that it faces and considers among its priorities the right of our youth to training and work and its participation in setting national choices.
15. We seek to protect women's achievements and encourage their role in all fields in order to allow them to contribute to the development of society free from the obstructions of decadence and pitfalls of marginalisation.
16. We seek to safeguard family structure and balance, to develop child care and address social phenomena related to delayed marriage, increasing rate of divorce and the risk of becoming an ageing society.
17. We adopt a free economy with a social dimension, based on the integration of the private, public and cooperative sectors and where the state fulfills adjustment functions to ensure social balance and to regulate markets. We encourage freedom of initiative and creativity, guarantee fair competition, incentivise legitimate profit-making, and recognise and protect private ownership.
18. We endeavour to develop the social cooperative economy sector to enable civil society institutions to contribute to the funding of development, economic activity and social solidarity by assisting associations in creating institutions and establishing Zakat and Waqf funds.
19. The movement aims to implant justice and ensure balance among the various regions and social groups and to give priority to deprived regions and to

communities with limited income. Furthermore, it aims to reduce social disparities and address the root causes of poverty and marginalisation.

20. We seek to provide the conditions for a dignified life and prosperity for our people - employment, education, health care, housing and a safe and clean environment. We consider it our duty to future generations to safeguard and protect our environment and to promote clean and renewable energies and improve the regulatory framework and laws for the protection of the environment and ensure that such laws are enforced.

21. We seek to support and expand the spirit of cooperation and partnership between states and peoples, within the framework of mutual respect and common interests.

22. Ennahdha supports the struggle of peoples seeking liberation and justice and encourages world peace and aims to promote cooperation and collaboration and unity especially among Arab and Islamic countries and considers the Palestinian struggle for liberation to be a central cause and stands against normalisation.

POLITICAL COMPONENT

FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE

Ennahdha aims to establish a republican system guaranteeing justice, freedom, and stability and breaking away from despotism and corruption based on the principles of good citizenship, identity, good governance, respect for the law, transparency and accountability, as well as the respect for the dignity of all citizens and the development of their personality. It also aims to ensure the contribution of all parties and competencies in the synthesis of the new constitution to be the best crown for the Tunisian blessed revolution.

A parliamentary System that Restores Power to the People

1. Tunisia is a free, independent, and sovereign country, Islam is its religion, Arabic is its language, and republicanism is its system.
2. Sovereignty belongs to the people, exercised directly and through their representatives in an elected assembly under a parliamentary system.
3. The defense of national sovereignty and the integrity of our territories and the independence of our political decision making.
4. The realisation of the values of freedom, justice, and development and considering them the core missions of the state and of society.
5. Guaranteeing human rights, public and individual freedoms, and freedom of the press and of association, and the criminalisation of torture.

6. The right to freedom of faith and conscience and the rights of religious minorities.
7. Respecting the independence of civil society and assist it in fulfilling its function.
8. Enshrining the principles of political pluralism and peaceful alternation of power.
9. Establishing a democratic system based on separation of powers and on the independence of the judiciary.
10. A one-chamber parliament exercising legislative and oversight functions.
11. A government based on an executive authority that is accountable to Parliament.
12. A President of the Republic elected by parliament for a five year term, renewable once only.
13. The President of the republic tasks a personality from the party with the majority of seats in the parliament with forming a government.
14. The prime minister forms a government and presents it to the parliament for ratification.
15. The President of the Republic resigns from all party responsibilities during his term in office.
16. Expanding the adoption of elections for positions of responsibility and giving wider powers to elected regional councils.
17. Surrounding constitutional amendments with protective measures and making them dependent on an absolute majority in the parliament or a national referendum.

Independent Judiciary: Justice is the Basis of Prosperity

18. Cleansing the justice system of corruption.
19. Ensuring the independence of the judiciary through an elected supreme council of the judiciary.
20. Ensuring equality of all citizens before the law, modernising the justice system and improving public access to judicial institutions by creating the necessary institutions and providing the necessary prerequisites for the timely handling of court cases.
21. Improving the administrative justice system.
22. Improving the arbitration system.
23. Guaranteeing the rights of suspects in the presence of lawyers throughout the different phases including the period of arrest.
24. Placing the punishment and rehabilitation systems under the purview of the justice system.
25. Improving the various functions that assist the justice system and liberating them from pressure and protecting the rights of defense.

The Constitutional Court: Guaranteeing the Supremacy of the Constitution

26. Creating a supreme constitutional court to ensure the constitutionality of laws.
27. The parliament appoints the head of the constitutional court.

Public Accounting Directorate: Independence and Transparency

28. Ensuring the independence of the general Public Accounting Directorate and activating its role in oversight, ensuring transparency of financial and administrative management and optimizing use of public funds.
29. The Public Accounting Directorate reports to the legislative branch.
30. The parliament appoints the head of the Public Accounting Directorate.

The Military Institution: Defending the nation

Ennahdha while saluting our national army for siding with the people's revolution and with the defense of the nation,

31. Considers that the principal functions of our national army are
 - The defense of the country and its borders.
 - Contributing to national development especially in the field of infrastructure.
 - Intervening during disasters.
32. Ennahdha stresses the need to support the national army with the required equipment and human resources to fulfill its principal mission of protecting the country and its borders and contributing to its development.
33. The movement stresses the importance of the military maintaining neutrality towards politics in the country.

The Security Institution: Security in the Service of Citizens and the State

34. Ennahdha stresses the need to restructure and reform the Ministry of Interior so as to best serve the security of citizens, protect their rights, and provide them with administrative services.
35. Building a republican security system that ensures the country's security, protects its achievements and commits to the rule of law and respect for human rights.
36. Creating a general body with wide prerogatives to audit the security institution, guarantee its neutrality towards political life and its total respect of human rights.
37. Respect the sanctity of the human body, criminalise torture and enact strict laws to severely punish anyone involved in practicing it.
38. Provide security personnel with the requisite means and the capabilities and observe and promote their social and professional rights.

Independent National Commissions: Specialised Commissions

Media Commission

39. Establish an independent national media council responsible for the organisation and development of the media sector.
40. Develop public media institutions and guarantee their independence and professionalism.

41. Guarantee freedom of the press and protect journalists from all kinds of aggression.

Election Commission

42. Establish an independent national council to oversee elections.

Civil society: An asset for Good Governance

43. Respect the independence of civil society and promoting its role.
44. Cancelling the repressive laws which infringe on freedoms and rights.
45. Civil society associations abiding by the constitution and the laws of the country and the values of society.
46. Relying on the principle of declaration in the creation of associations.

The Right to Unionise is Protected

47. Guaranteeing the right for employees to associate and unionise.
48. The independence of labor unions.
49. The right to strike is guaranteed.

The Transitional Phase: National Consensus, a Coalition Government, and a Focus on Priorities

50. We believe in the need for a wise approach that avoids unilateralism, seeks compromise, and builds consensus putting the interest of the country above all.
51. Combining the principles of accountability and transitional justice with a spirit of reconciliation.

52. Forming a government of national unity on a foundation of consensus based on the results of the National Constituent Assembly elections, taking competence into account, within the framework of a programme guaranteeing the achievement of the objectives of the Revolution and giving priority to addressing the urgent issues of employment, balanced regional development and stability, handling the cases of corruption, and the consolidation of freedoms and of equality between citizens.
53. Concluding this transitional period with democratic elections to form the final institutions according to the new constitutions.
54. Addressing the legacy of the injustices of the previous era and actualising the general amnesty.

The Administration: Reform and Development

55. Modern administration which combines efficiency of services provided to citizens with impartiality and full equality in dealing with them.
56. Reform the procedures of recruitment, contracting and promotion in the public sector.
57. Preparation of a state budget in compliance with best international standards and based on targets.
58. Supporting decentralisation and simplifying administrative procedures.
59. Maintaining transparency and fairness when awarding public contracts.

60. Creation of an independent supreme body to combat bribery, corruption and nepotism and activating the transparent declaration of properties of Senior Staff.
61. Developing the concept of e-administration in the various sectors and establishing integrated and complementary systems to record statistics.
62. Reviewing public spending practices and overseeing them to cut down on the mismanagement of public funds.

Foreign relations: Cooperation, Partnership and Mutual Respect

63. Deepening cooperation and balanced partnership relations with neighboring and friendly countries in a framework of mutual respect and common interests.
64. Respecting ratified international conventions.
65. Activating the role of diplomatic missions in publicising investment opportunities and incentives in Tunisia and in the search for new markets.
66. Activation of the Arab Maghreb Union and promotion of partnership and integration with Arab countries aspiring to their union.
67. Developing Tunisian- European relations, especially with Mediterranean countries, seeking to achieve advanced partner status with the European Union and to develop relations with all European countries.
68. Developing partnerships with African countries in the service of common interests.

69. Developing relations with North America and Japan to serve the common interests of respective countries and working to establish free trade regions according to the competitiveness of the national economy.
70. Developing relations with Asian and emerging countries such as Turkey, Malaysia, India, and Brazil so as to benefit from the significant resources and potential on both sides.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COMPONENT

JUSTICE, DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY

The blessed revolution represents a historic opportunity to establish a development model that breaks away from the practices of corruption and marginalisation, meets the outstanding challenges, and achieves the aspirations of our people to progress, prosperity and dignity. The revolution exposed the structural problems of the Tunisian economy which had negatively impacted the social realities but opened the door to considerable optimism to rebuild the economy and society once the major challenges have been identified.

Major Challenges

- The failure of the previous economic model in solving the problems of the Tunisian economy, mainly unemployment and regional imbalances.
- The absence of good governance and the spread of corruption.
- The rise in the number of the unemployed especially among university graduates.
- Regional imbalances and the spread of poverty.
- The lack of confidence among economic actors inside and outside.
- The expected stagnation of the world economy and the difficult access to foreign funding sources as a result of the public debt crises in the United States and some European countries and the ensuing reduction in sovereign ratings.

- The realisation that maintaining adequate balance in the important economic relationships represents one of the main challenges that face the national economy especially the structural trade deficit and its impact on debt.
- The pressure on the state budget due to increasing expenditures.

Our development model relies on three main and tightly coupled principles:

- The ideological and cultural philosophy of the movement and which consists of a group of values and principles that govern the economic behavior of the individual and of the community.
- The demands of the revolution and the expectations of the citizens and which centre around employment, freedom, dignity, social justice, balanced regional development, and an end to corruption.
- Our national attributes which consist of a group of fundamentals and achievements: Arabic and Islamic identity, the social model, the role of women in public life, the general standard of living, the role of the middle class as a main contributor to development, the role of education, and the role of the administration in supporting the republican system, in addition to tolerance, openness and centrism as a distinguishing characteristic of Tunisian society throughout history.

Overall Objectives of the Model

Our development model from the upcoming period relies on the three principles of expansion, diversification, and integration, and which are described by the following objectives:

- Achieving social justice by combating poverty, raising living standards and reinstating the role of the middle class as the main engine of development.
- Addressing the problem of unemployment, being a national issue and the responsibility of all social, economic, and political stakeholders, through a national comprehensive plan.
- Addressing regional imbalances by improving the infrastructure and collective services in the less developed regions so as to incentivise local and foreign investors to invest in these areas.
- Working towards achieving national food security through an agricultural policy that encourages the production of strategic commodities.
- Maintaining fiscal balance internally and internationally, controlling public expenditure, diversifying funding, and favouring funding sources that do not lead to rising debt.

Elements the Model: Expansion, Diversification, and Integration

Our development model relies on:

- Expanding partnerships to widen the scope of the national economy:

- Creating a joint Maghreb market by activating cooperation and integration among its different countries and considering the potential of expanding it to include Egypt, in addition to working to resolve the outstanding disputes between the Maghreb countries so as to enhance the progress and prosperity of the peoples of the region.
- Strengthening the relationship with the European Union to bring it to the status of privileged partnership and working to improve our relationships with all European countries.
- Strengthening investment and trade exchange between Arab countries and simplifying the procedures controlling movement between them.
- Strengthening the bilateral economic partnerships with the United States of America, Canada, and Japan.
- Expanding the partnerships with the rising economic powers in Asia and Latin America so as to open up new horizons for the national economy, identify new investment opportunities and create new markets for our goods and services.
- Opening up to African markets especially to export services in the fields of education, health, technology, and infrastructure development, and expanding bilateral trade.
- Diversifying the productive sectors and supporting integration among them to increase the pace of growth and competitiveness of the national economy:

- Increasing the productivity and enhance the positioning of products in internal and foreign markets to improve the competitiveness of the national economy and to reduce inflation.
- Adopting a new policy based on the competitive advantage of skilled rather cheap labor and directing it towards projects in the knowledge economy, innovation, and intelligence.
- Directing investments towards enhancing economic integration and towards promoting activities with a high-tech component and the associated activities that support them; and promoting foreign direct investments which contribute to the transfer of technology and technical know-how and lead to further job creation. This can be aided by a fundamental review of the investment code.
- Diversifying funding sources and searching for additional and complementary ones especially Islamic financial products, for better funding of the economy while maintaining traditional funding sources.
- Reviving virtuous values derived from the cultural and civilisational heritage of Tunisian society and its Arab and Islamic identity, which honor effort and fine work, encourage innovation and initiative and reward creative people and entrench cooperation, solidarity and mutual support.
- Review the current administrative division and study the creation of economic development poles taking into account the specificities of each one to achieve better integration between the various areas.

- Conservation of the environment and the rational use of natural resources that undergo excessive exploitation and dissipation so as to protect the interests of future generations, ensuring the equitable use of such resources between cities and villages, encouraging the participation of citizens in development decisions, and integrating the ecological dimension in development plans as it is a core concept in sustainable development.

Development Model 2012 - 2016: Recovery, Revival, and Excellence

The model relies on 2012 as an important year during which the Tunisian economy can gradually regain a growth rate which would help reduce the unemployment rate through higher local demand and increased consumer spending. The model also relies on supporting the export sector which knew a significant drop in 2011 due to the special economic circumstances of the country during the recent period. The model also aims to achieve important growth rates in the manufacturing, non-manufacturing, and services sectors.

The model for 2012 will also help control inflation and therefore lead to an improvement in the purchasing power of the Tunisian citizen which will be enhanced by the wage increases resulting from the recent wage negotiations. This will act as a catalyst for economic activity.

With respect to the four year period extending from 2012 to 2016, the key objective of the model is the creation of about 590 thousand jobs so as to reduce the unemployment rate to 8.5% by the year 2016. This objective represents a national

challenge which requires the efforts of all parties. To achieve this, the development plan allows for the growth rate to reach 8% by 2016, averaging an annual rate of 7% for the period extending from 2012 to 2016, and raises per capita income to about 10000 Dinars by 2016 compared to an estimated income of 6300 for 2011.

Ennahdha reserves special attention to productivity because of its importance in improving the competitiveness of the Tunisian economy, and that's by encouraging national institutions to recruit university graduates, employ modern technologies, and collaborate with research institutes to improve employee skill levels, especially that the contribution of overall productivity to economic growth has deteriorated considerably in recent years.

The gradual rise in the growth rate over the coming five year period will lead to a reduction in inflation to reach a rate of 3% by 2016. This will help improve the purchasing power of the Tunisian citizen as well as enhance the competitiveness of economic institutions from a price perspective.

In order to achieve the desired growth rates of the development plan, we need to multiply investments to reach 139000 million dinars during the upcoming five year period, thereby achieving a rate investment of up to 31% of GDP in 2016 compared to 25% in 2011.

The total funding needs of our economic and social plan over the 2012-2016 period are estimated to be 163300 million dinars, 67% of which are contributed by national savings and 6% come from interest-based foreign funding including public and special low-interest loans. The reduction in the fraction of funding from foreign interest-based

sources is justified first by the negative impact such loans have on foreign balances given that half of the funds used to service the public debt goes to paying interest, and second by the particular local and regional current conditions characterised by cuts in the sovereign ratings of the G-8 countries and of Tunisia. This is likely to result in a higher cost of borrowing in international capital markets. The remaining foreign non-interest based funding and which represents 27% of the total funding needs of the economy consists mainly of direct foreign investment and new and Islamic financial products to fund infrastructure and large projects.

The structure of funding sources boasts a trend towards reducing foreign interest-based funding to reach a negligible fraction by 2016, thereby relieving the Tunisian economy of a heavy burden which plagued it for many years, and replacing it with local resources which will account for 75% of the total funding needs by 2016. The foreign non-interest based funding will stabilise around 22% of total funding needs by 2016, consisting of foreign direct investment (69%) and new financial products (29%) while foreign aid will account for the remaining 2%.

Economic Policies that Restore Equilibrium and Achieve Objectives

Fiscal Policy

71. Alleviate the tax burden for low and medium income citizens by increasing the non-taxable income part of annual salary from 1500 TD currently to 2500 TD.

72. Increase the tax deductions related to families from 150 Dinars to 300 Dinars for the head of household, 150 dinars for any child in their charge, and 150 to 300 dinars for any parent in their charge.
73. Ensure a periodic review of Tax tables.
74. Reviewing the list of import restrictions subject to an advance of 10% in corporate and income tax, to reduce its number.
75. Extending the period for the deduction of operating losses from 4 to 5 years and enabling enterprises to carry forward with no limit operating losses recorded in 2011.
76. Simplifying the conditions for the recovery of surplus tax payments by reducing waiting times and revising rates.
77. Revising the fiscal incentive system to link incentives to specific economic and social objectives within a contractual framework.
78. Adapting the existing fiscal framework to the specifics of Islamic finance and small loans.
79. Simplifying the fiscal framework and developing it by generalising electronic finance and providing the administration with the requisite human and material resources.
80. Allow the individuals and companies which did not fully disclose their income to complete their tax reporting obligations without late fines, as long as they take the initiative to complete the procedures before 30 June 2012.

Monetary and Financial Policy

81. Transform Tunisia into a regional financial centre with international influence.
82. Encourage businesses to list their companies on the stock exchange, to promote an economy based on sharing risks and profits.
83. Support the independence of the central bank and improve its performance to become a mechanism for developing the banking sector.
84. Work on providing a supportive business environment including freedoms, economic development, enhanced money market mechanisms, and improved transparency.
85. Provide the necessary conditions for the establishment of a deposit and consignment office and ensure it is properly managed.
86. Take the necessary measures to recover the nation's looted wealth, whether at home or abroad, and optimise its use, through its allocation to social priorities, in particular employment, health and housing.
87. Pass appropriate legislation to establish Islamic banks or Islamic departments within conventional banks and endeavour to use the Islamic banking mechanism to attract public funds such as traditional and Islamic bonds (Sukuk).
88. Improve the capital of banks by raising the ceiling for bank capital and the creation of tax-free savings facilities (within specific conditions and limits) which can be integrated into the capital of banking institutions.

89. Address the problem of non-performing and bad loans within the banking sector so as to improve the funds available in banking institutions.
90. Encourage banking institutions to merge in order to build units that are more robust and more able to compete in external markets, develop export activities and attract foreign funding.
91. Attract internationally renowned banks so as to strengthen the Tunisian financial market.
92. Create investment mechanisms to fund project in internal regions.
93. Improve the ability of investment and social funds in supporting the funding of projects and the creation of companies especially in sectors which are of national priority.
94. Build confidence in the secondary market (stock market) and activate it in order to absorb new financial tools, thus supporting liquidity, attracting savings and strengthening investment.
95. Promote the adoption of international accounting standards for enterprises listed on the stock market.
96. Continue the development of legislation related to health insurance and transport insurance, given their significance for, and impact on, the insurance sector.
97. Prepare integrated legislation for Islamic insurance and encourage the creation of solidarity (Takaful) departments within existing companies.

98. Encourage the creation of a national hub for insurance with international influence.
99. Promote the culture of insurance to achieve greater coverage.
100. Improve the skill level within the insurance sector.

Employment: Entitlement and Dignity

Our employment policy is based on the following:

101. Create around 590,000 jobs during the coming five years so as to reduce the unemployment rate to 8.5% by 2016.
102. Invest state resources towards improving training rates, especially in the public administration in order to absorb the optimum largest possible number of graduates.
103. Diversify incentives to urge the private sector to provide employment opportunities, particularly for university graduates.
104. Establish the framework for good governance so as to attract the biggest number of investors to the knowledge economy in order to create further jobs for university graduates.
105. Provide technical support and shepherding for university graduates who are small and medium entrepreneurs throughout their project.
106. Enable university graduates to benefit from programmes that help them acquire additional knowledge and skills that increase their chances of integrating the job market.

107. Develop the work-abroad policies through looking for new markets in the framework of technical cooperation and adopting it as a permanent agenda point in bilateral meetings with neighbouring and friendly nations, whilst activating the role of Tunisian diplomacy in this respect.
108. Create additional employment in the context of mega projects and infrastructure projects.
109. Encourage the creation of small enterprises through microfinance mechanisms, investment funds, and banks.
110. Make development agencies and the actors in the social and mutual economy a key element of employment.
111. Make the state responsible for the social security charges of university graduates recruited by development agencies, and for a period of five years, according to agreed contractual conditions.
112. Enable university graduates seeking employment to benefit from a public transport fare reduction of 50% and to receive free medical treatment for up to two years after graduation.
113. Provide the required support for the reform of the educational and training systems in the form of health and social workers, nutrition specialists, human development specialists, and training staff within a plan to gradually create 30,000 jobs.

Regional Development

Towards A Central Development Role for the Regions

Regional development represents one of the principal demands of the revolution, therefore we endeavour to give the various regions a key role in a balanced economic and social development which leverages regional resources and capabilities and enables effective and real partnerships by:

114. Electing local and regional councils and involving them in development plans.
115. Studying the possibility of creating development domains in order to ensure greater complementarity among regions.
116. Gradually establishing an effective relationship of cooperation between the state and the regions in the field of development by providing project contracts through which grants are provided.
117. Supporting regional institutions through provision of the necessary staff and the gradual granting of wider powers to local and regional administration to execute their development projects.
118. Creating investment mechanisms to finance projects in inner regions and review current mechanisms.
119. Preparing local and regional development plans taking into account regional specificities and the needs and natural and human resources of each region or locality.

120. Encouraging skilled staff in various specialisations to work in the inner regions by offering incentives and grants such as in housing and transportation.
121. Reviewing the management models of various municipalities so as to ensure social and economic justice between the various cities and residents and to protect the environment and agricultural land.
122. Identifying priority regions for intervention at the local level to encourage private investors and encourage business creation and job creation.
123. Implementing an urgent local development programme starting in 2012 to improve the living conditions of citizens in deprived regions by improving infrastructure, public amenities and health care.
124. Developing projects aimed at upgrading rural and deprived residential areas and creating jobs, in order to achieve social, economic and cultural integration of the local population.
125. Encouraging the establishment of small businesses to provide jobs in disadvantaged areas and raise income, while offering the necessary financing, assistance and guidance to ensure their success.
126. Establishing a number of economic projects to create new job opportunities in deprived regions, while offering the necessary funding and facilities to project leaders.
127. Reviewing and reorganise infrastructure, large communal facilities and areas of industrial activities in order to integrate non-coastal areas and achieve balance between the regions.

Sectorial Policies

The Agricultural and Fishing Sector: Meeting Needs and Developing

Exports

128. Update the agricultural map and link agricultural production and corporate incentives systems accordingly.
129. Ensure water security through greater control and rationalisation of consumption, using non-traditional resources and expanding the provision of drinking water supply services to all areas of the country.
130. Improve the quality of drinking water in southern Tunisia and several major cities through creating water desalination stations for underground and sea water.
131. Improve the rate of concentration in the irrigated regions to reach 110% and review utilisation models of water services and tariffs.
132. Create new oases in Bourma, making use of the significant underground water reserves and special climate conditions, and establish an urban development centre enabling the integration of desert areas and their use in production and economic activity.
133. Review the contract bidding system and the requirements for bidding to rent state land and fixed-area fishing nets.

134. Review the laws concerning professional organizations, particularly unions and agricultural cooperative companies, and develop their financial resources in order to expand the representative base of their members.
135. Support the creation of agricultural services companies to enable more efficient use of agricultural land, provide superior means of agricultural production.
136. Encourage private investment in products so as to enhance their ability to compete internationally through the development of production, quality, processing and cost management, in addition to developing government agricultural support programmes and Tunisian trademarks.
137. Support the implementation of integrated agricultural development projects through the method of cooperative partnership financing in order to preserve natural resources, improve farmers' income, develop agricultural production and expand forestation.
138. Develop the fishing industry and modernise its infrastructure.
139. Address the debt problem of insolvent farmers on a case-by-case basis.
140. Review the entire agricultural financing structure with input from all concerned parties in order to expand the beneficiary base and develop the sector.
141. Improve production and productivity among all agricultural sectors within detailed sector-based strategies balancing the improvement of farmers'

revenues and meeting the demands of the domestic market for basic produce while making the most of export opportunities.

142. Implement the rules concerning distributed properties through integration of plots, and encourage their utilisation through family holdings and cooperatives in order to revive the real estate market.

143. Introduce further transparency into the leasing of state-owned land by using new technical and financial bidding requirements that guarantee economic profitability (production and productivity), social profitability (recruitment of graduates) and environmental profitability (sustainability of resources).

144. Develop irrigated land used for production of grains and forage and increase the storage capability of such products.

145. Allocate 2% of the agricultural budget to scientific research in order to enable the development of productivity and production methods and the adoption of target-based contracts in the provision of grants.

146. Support research programmes and the development of greenhouses and provide the necessary conditions for their preservation.

147. Restructure supply and export channels in order to improve farmers' incomes and raise their share of the added value.

148. Restructure the agricultural education system and develop its content and methods to suit the needs of small and large-scale productions.

149. Implement a number of major agricultural projects through the planting of 5 million olive trees and 2 million palm trees, the execution of a seed production

project and the protection of 10,000 square metres of soil from erosion and desertification each year.

Industrial sector: Diversity, High Quality and Advanced Technology

150. Set-up the industrial and technological infrastructure in all regions and develop supportive technical institutions according to international standards in addition to providing ready-to-use areas for investors (industrial zones and technological compounds) and concentrating on activities with high technological content and large-scale projects suited to specific regions.

151. Involve all stakeholders in the formulation of industrial strategies.

152. Promote a culture of quality, competitiveness of industrial companies, social enterprise and social responsibility.

153. Raise the rate of integration between agriculture and industry, especially in the food and agriculture industries, while working to establish industrial units in agricultural production areas.

154. Support applied scientific research and technological development and stimulate partnership between academia and industry.

155. Enable a new generation of entrepreneurs to enter the market and invest in promising sectors by facilitating procedures and providing guidance.

156. Support and spread technological centres as a tributary for regional development and a point of attraction for investment into high-tech activities.

Seek to create a national centre for industrial standardisation in collaboration between universities and the industrial sector.

Energy and Mining Sector: Developing Reserves and Expanding Use of

Renewable Energy

157. Exploit and develop national reserves of oil and gas so as to reduce imports and work towards exportation, while activating exploration and external production activities to secure additional fuel sources.

158. Upgrade the hydrocarbons code to encourage investment and exploration in difficult terrains, deep layers and offshore.

159. Optimise and develop available mining resources and encourage investment in new explorations while finding appropriate solutions for the negative impact on the environment.

160. Intensify energy conservation programmes and increase environmental awareness among citizens.

161. Develop and expand the use of renewable energy on the widest possible scale and at an appropriate tariff, while speeding up the implementation of solar energy projects and building additional wind energy projects.

162. Expand and promote the use of cleaner energy such as natural gas in all sectors and regions of the country.

163. Restructure national companies in the energy and mining sectors.

164. Develop the oil services sector so as to turn Tunisia into a logistical base for the Arab and African oil countries.

Tourism: Overcoming the Crisis and Diversifying Products

165. Set up a national plan for developing tourism based on a comprehensive study involving all stakeholders in the sector.

166. Address indebtedness in the sector, through close examination of tourism institutions in order to help them overcome the post-revolution impact on the sector.

167. Improve the marketing programme that the state undertakes abroad to promote tourism through using a range of modern technologies in order to break into new and emerging markets, and seek to remove the requirement for entry visas, particularly for visitors from Arab and Muslim countries.

168. Diversify the sector by developing cultural tourism (valuing and using our historical and civilisational heritage and integrating its components into touristic tours), as well as medical tourism, environmental tourism, desert tourism (conservation of desert dwellings) and sports tourism (golf, water sports, mountain climbing, etc.) and target the upper end of the tourism market (luxury-exclusive tourism, professional events and conferences, exclusive hotel units and personalised bespoke services).

169. Support domestic, family, transit, sea, Maghreb, Arab and Islamic tourism, stimulate spending outside hotels, establish new methods of touristic

entertainment and diversify accommodation types (apartments, touristic villages and compounds, family holiday sites, etc.)

170. Promote Tunisia as a regional centre for exporting health treatment services and conference travel.

171. Set up a specific itinerary for revolution tourism by building a historic touristic site (the Revolution Tower) and a museum of Arab revolutions.

172. Raise the competitiveness of the tourism sector through improving the quality of services, developing the training system (create institutes for training staff and workers in all specialisations), establishing new airline companies, supporting the open sky project, creating better tourism standards and governance and creating a tourism watchdog.

Traditional Handicrafts Sector: Innovation and Consolidation of Heritage

173. Create specialised centres to promote competence in traditional handicrafts with high export potential and employment capacity (such as mosaics, metalwork, carpets and textiles).

174. Create handicraft villages on important tourist itineraries and help entrepreneurs and craftsmen and women to establish shops and market their products directly to consumers.

175. Activate regulatory bodies within the sector to help make primary materials available to craftsmen and women and handicraft companies and help them market their products at home and abroad.

176. Create suitable mechanisms for limiting unfair practices and promote competition in the sector.

177. Promote Tunisia as a market for high-end artistic products and upgrade production of export-oriented goods such as chachiyas (traditional felt hats), carpets and silver, and promote investment in this sector in view of its high value-added.

Transport and Logistics Sector: Advanced Network for Faster Services

178. Work on developing the transport network between Maghreb countries to transport goods and people.

179. Support the infrastructure of the transport sector, upgrade and renovate land, sea, and air fleets, and develop public transport to support economic productivity.

180. Raise the contribution of the national fleet to sea transportation from 9% to 15% by 2016.

181. Strengthen and develop the infrastructure of airports and ports.

182. Develop the passenger and freight railway sectors and speed up the introduction of new technologies for optimal management.

183. Develop public transport so as to improve service quality, ensure safety and reduce the problem of overcrowding.

184. Speed up the establishment of logistical bases in connection areas similar to those in Rades, Jbel el Wist, Nefidha and Zarzis in order to boost the sector's contribution to GDP.

Communications Technology Sector: Towards a Leading Position for Tunisia

Ennahdha Movement will seek to consolidate the role of communications technology in speeding up the rate of economic growth, creating jobs - particularly for graduates - developing administrative services for citizens and economic actors so as to ensure transparency and enable access to information through the following steps:

185. Re-structure government IT systems in ministries and administrations on the basis of open source government.

186. Set up the Global Positioning System and generalise its use in all means of public and private transportation by 2016.

187. Radically review all government websites and integrate them into a unified portal for web services.

188. Introduce high-speed internet networks in all industrial zones, public facilities and public service centres.

189. Set up telecommuting centres in all regions and offer incentives for owners (privileges, funding, advice, etc.)

190. Promote Tunisia as a hub and anchor point (teleport) between European, African and Maghreb networks.
191. Encourage local and foreign investment in the telecommunications sector, particularly in offshoring by providing suitable sites and locations and advanced infrastructure and connectivity.
192. Support Tunisian telecommunications companies to help them enter external markets, particularly Arab and African markets.
193. Reduce the digital gap between regions and sectors of society.
194. Launch an electronic archiving services project targeting internal and external users.
195. Launch a second telecommunications technology centre, like the Al-Ghazala centre, in order to boost investment in this promising sector.

Trade Sector: Towards New Markets

196. Achieve a growth rate of 10% (fixed value) for exports of goods and services as an annual rate over the next five years.
197. Reduce the trade deficit, particularly through developing high-tech service exports.
198. Strengthen presence in European markets, particularly new ones.
199. Break into new markets such as African, Arab, American and Asian countries through intensified promotional campaigns.
200. Internal Trade: Development and Organisation

201. Apply the rules of fair competition and transparency in transactions and upgrade the system of pricing, quality-control and health standards
202. Improve control of distribution channels and endeavour to reduce the number of intermediaries, especially in the farming sector, so as to improve pricing.
203. Update the national map of trade outlets, taking into account the balance between the activities of large and medium-sized spaces and the activities of small traders, and increase the frequency of shopping exhibitions at the national and regional levels.
204. Develop storage capacity and diversify its methods, ensuring its optimal distribution across the country's regions.
205. Organise parallel-black market trade, gradually integrate it into the structured distribution channels and establish specific areas to that end.
206. Rationalise subsidies and organise price control, thereby improving monitoring, regulating subsidised products and rationalising family consumption.
207. Increasing the contribution of exports to growth to 43%.
208. Develop the legal and regulatory framework for external trade and facilitate the process of helping companies to cater their products to external markets.
209. Establish an effective economic and trade diplomacy policy which expands partnerships and creates trade missions abroad so as to expand markets and increase Tunisian participation in external events.

- 210. Promoting national export capacities in the services sector aimed at African, Arab, Asian and American markets.
- 211. Expand free trade exchange zones to include America and Asia.
- 212. Boost trade cooperation with countries of the Maghreb through the opening of joint free trade zones.
- 213. Improve the performance of export support structures.
- 214. Develop electronic trade such as withdrawal and electronic payment.

Land Planning and Housing: Adequate Housing is a Right; Respecting State

Land Planning is a Duty

- 214. Establish a supreme body for land- urban planning to coordinate policies and schemes, formulate and review a national plan for land development and monitor its implementation by the various ministries. Create a national observatory for the above purpose which is equipped with effective databases and digital maps
- 215. Create regional technical structures for land planning, to be responsible for preparing studies and approving them within the framework of the national plans, thus ensuring balanced and optimal land use.
- 216. Formulate a social housing policy to meet the needs of all social groups.
- 217. Approve and execute an exceptional social housing programme catering primarily for low-income and disadvantaged groups.

218. Increase the supply of available plots built on state land (100-150 m²) so as to make them more accessible to low-income families.
219. Revise the social housing financing system by linking housing fund (Foprolos) loan amounts to real prices and extending these loans to non-waged low-income individuals.
220. Expedite the completion of housing complexes either through the private sector, the public sector, or cooperatives, so as to achieve an average of 70,000 units per year.
221. Improve the quality of housing units and residential areas so as to facilitate stability, family integration and decent living conditions.
222. Set up a detailed programme based on real field statistics and objective standards drawn at the local and regional levels to eradicate substandard housing.
223. Expedite building concentration to reach an average of 50 residential units per hectare as opposed to the current 20-25 units/hectare, on the basis of vertical expansion or compounds.
224. Form real-estate residential reserves around urban areas.
225. Build public housing available for rent (5% to 10 % of all housing units in every governorate) for new families, work transfer assignments and special social cases.

226. Regulate the profession of property marketing and strengthen oversight so as to improve the quality of housing, reduce prices and ensure fair price-quality ratio.
227. Maintain and rehabilitate existing housing in old cities, preserving its unique historic and social character.
228. Put an end to disorganised chaotic urban expansion, especially when carried out at the expense of agricultural land, and adopt balanced urban development models that provide the necessary public facilities for residents.
229. Review the system of social financing and encourage rent-to-own schemes.
230. Create planning units to prepare and follow up social housing plans.
231. Encourage local architectural schemes to ensure harmony and respect the specific character of each region.

Roads Infrastructure: A Developed Network for Rapid Growth

232. Develop the contribution of the private sector to the implementation and use of infrastructure projects in the field of roads and ports through the adoption of developed funding formulae that serve national interests.
233. Launch a scheme of highways to facilitate the integration of inner and border regions through planned or existing roads.
234. Expedite the completion of the Inter-Maghreb highway by the end of 2016 and launch the Enfidha - Kairouan - Sidi Bou Zid - Kasserine – Gafsa highway.

235. Support schemes for building and improving rural routes in order to end the isolation of distant areas and facilitate the transportation of agricultural products.

Environment: A Healthy Environment for a Better Standard of Living

236. Preserve the right of future generations to a healthy environment and guarantee fairness in using natural resources.

237. Draw up emergency plans to deal with environmental disasters with the participation of all institutions of society, and take environmental factors into account in development programmes and projects.

238. Increase the percentage of forest coverage to 16% by 2016 including trees and grazing shrubs, and rationalise sustainable management of forests and grazing land.

239. Activate the national plan for adaptation to climate change and take advantage of the significant funding opportunities for environmentally sustainable development under the Kyoto Protocol.

240. Set up schemes for sustainable use of natural resources and activate mechanisms for combating pollution in cities and villages.

241. Develop the sewage network so as to cover all municipal areas and major rural communities.

242. Increase the number and coverage of small water treatment stations to cover all rural areas so as to contribute to improving living conditions and preserving ocean safety.
243. Develop bodies and institutions responsible for protection of the environment to enable them to effectively deal with environmental problems in the various regions of the country and strengthen cooperation with local municipalities.
244. Reduce pollution in industrial zones close to cities, strengthen environmental monitoring, speed up the rate of companies' enrolment in environment rehabilitation programmes and increase the role of maintenance and management units.
245. Support programmes for the protection of coastal regions from sea erosion, maintain coastal environmental schemes for the maintenance of beaches, and control the pace of pressures on them particularly as a result of urban expansion.
246. Improve the environmental situation and the beauty of cities in view of their implications for people's health and quality of life and for the environment in general, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods and rural communities.
247. Draw up a comprehensive and integrated plan for conserving natural resources and the environment, centered on combating erosion, desertification and desalination.

Social Policies

Social Development: Eradicating Poverty Among Tunisians

The revolution cannot succeed in achieving its aims without having among its principal priorities the eradication of poverty and all forms of social injustice and supporting low-income groups and improving their resources. Hence, the Ennahdha Movement will seek to:

248. Support needy families by increasing allocated grants to meet their basic needs and ensure the necessary means for a decent standard of living, and update poverty records to take social changes into account.

249. Raise the minimum industrial and agricultural wages by at least one point above the rate of inflation so as to ensure a significant improvement in the purchasing power of employees in the affected sectors.

250. Extend grants to graduates from poor families for up to one year following graduation until they find a job, thus enabling them to continue to actively seek employment.

251. Offer free inter-city transport and medical care to unemployed graduates from poor families for a fixed period to facilitate job hunting, according to specified criteria.

252. Launch an unemployment fund to support employees who are made redundant. This fund is to be financed partly from budget allocations and other sources to be determined in collaboration with social actors. The structure and

management of the fund and its beneficiaries will be determined by a special study.

253. Adopt the mechanism of cooperative housing for the benefit of low-income families that are unable to fulfill their needs on their own through the conventional housing market.

254. Organise a broad national dialogue on the range of options and reform methods for dealing with existing social funds and health insurance schemes.

255. Include a complementary mutualised system to support the pension system.

256. Expand the list of medical treatments covered by the health insurance fund to cover the greatest number of citizens.

257. Restructure the national union for social solidarity to improve its performance and interventions.

Health Care: Developed Services for Better Health

The healthcare sector has been experiencing a marked decline over many years, in terms of services, provision of free treatment and the principle of health for all. The healthcare map reveals great differences between the regions in terms of number of institutions and qualified staff. Thus, Ennahdha Movement believes it is necessary to:

258. Achieve complete partnership in drawing up health policies between all stakeholders through a national council for health policies that is established in a way that guarantees the contribution of all stakeholders.

259. Draw up a national strategy for scientific research in the field of health, covering all medical, pharmaceutical and medical equipment areas.
260. Develop the healthcare system so as to improve health services through developing frontline health institutions, namely local clinics and hospitals, and supporting them through mobile medical clinics and rural infirmaries. We will also seek to coordinate healthcare and develop emergency care.
261. Develop the regional healthcare system to enable it to provide comprehensive specialised medical services and achieve fair and balanced healthcare for all citizens in all regions. To this end, the country will be divided into six major areas of university health care centres, achieving decentralization and a link to advanced medical university centres.
262. Launch a programme to upgrade regional hospitals in order to establish “new-generation regional hospitals” offering all medical specialties with advanced medical equipment and appropriate hospitalisation capacity, while seeking to improve reception services and patient care.
263. Launch an exceptional programme of recruitment of medical and paramedical graduates, offering material and moral incentives, and adopt the principle of alternation in appointments in inland and coastal regions until the age of 40, while encouraging settlement in inner regions.
264. Offer free medical care to low-income as well as martyrs’ families, and review the records of those eligible for free care.

265. Develop preventative medicine and new specialisations (first aid, psychiatry, geriatric care, home treatments), fight contagious and non-contagious diseases and support vigilant mechanisms to confront new diseases and epidemics.

266. Promote Tunisia as a centre for health tourism, through improving the quality of health and medical tourism and drawing a promotional strategy to expand and strengthen it, particularly in Arab, African and European markets.

267. Review the financing of the health sector and involve the collaborative community sector in setting up hospitals and clinics.

Education and Training

Education and Training are domains of great strategic importance for the country, for no economic or social development can take place without an education system that is capable of producing competent and skilled individuals in a wide range of fields. Thus, we aim to:

Educational system: Towards Pedagogical and Educational Excellence

268. Achieve a high standard of quality through the opening of a national dialogue which shall include all those involved in the education system, preparing comprehensive and gradual reform policies pertaining to the legal framework, structure, management, curriculum and contents.

269. Consider free, public and compulsory education as the fundamental starting point while regarding private education as a part of the educational sector that must be encouraged.

270. Raise the schooling rate during the primary and preparatory stages and seek to reduce the percentage of school drop-outs.
271. Support the role of modern technologies in the field of education.
272. Develop the scientific research system in educational sciences.
273. Support specialised technical education, re-activating the vocational baccalaureate and improving its status in order to develop graduates' competences and meet the changing needs of the job market.
274. Support cultural and sports activities to develop talents, broaden horizons and link educational institutions to their environments and relevant surrounding associations and institutions.
275. Create a national education observatory to monitor the implementation of procedures and provide a database for periodic evaluation, based on national competence and expertise.

Vocational Training: Creating Opportunities for Young People and Support for the Economy

276. Restructure the vocational training sector and review its content to meet youth expectations and market needs.
277. Support vocational training centres in inner regions through provision of human and material resources and seek to create new vocational training centres in new and continuously updated disciplines in line with the needs of the job market.

278. Opening pathways between vocational training programmes and University education.

279. Begin to draw up regional plans to link the evolving job market and graduates of vocational training.

280. Develop vocational training models to include internship training, vocational training and distance training.

Higher Education: Excellence in Serving the Economy and a Respectable International Ranking for our Universities

281. Develop Tunisia into a prestigious centre of higher education (to rank among the top 500 universities worldwide) by modernising the educational process, complementing it with effective tools, establishing the appropriate infrastructure, improving curricula and linking them to market demands and the development of scientific, academic and technical skills of teaching staff.

282. Adopt long-term planning in the building of an education system that reflects the needs of the country's dependence on the knowledge economy, while continuing to review existing methods and develop new ones for expanding the educational base and directing students towards scientific specialisations in accordance with their capabilities and with the future needs of the economy.

283. Open up the field of learning and the acquisition of scientific and practical experience to the job market, encourage theoretical and practical vocational training and education, thus offering students the widest possible choice, while

maintaining flexibility in entering and leaving the education system for those who seek to join the job market early.

284. Review the criteria for obtaining university grants, increasing their level and expanding the base of beneficiaries.

285. Launch a programme of increasing and expanding university dormitories in collaboration with the private and social sectors. Initially, these will offer lodging to all female students, and will provide suitable conditions and convenient amenities for leisure and cultural activities.

286. Open up to alternative education options, particularly continuing and mature education, and encourage self-education, open-education, and distant learning programmes, which could meet the needs of wide social sectors whose circumstances do not enable them to join conventional study programmes.

287. Encourage the private sector to participate in providing the needs of higher education, and encourage reputable foreign universities to open branches in Tunisia to alleviate pressure on national universities and provide new disciplines and greater learning opportunities.

288. Set up research centres within university campuses, encourage close cooperation and collaboration between university research groups and research centres and link them to the needs of external institutions by involving them in the specification of research topics, and link research funding to the contribution to national targets.

289. Establish the principle of independent management to achieve flexibility and efficiency in managing budgets of universities, higher education colleges and research units, and identify non-traditional funding sources that could increase university funding.
290. Involve professional and economic associations in the scientific councils of higher education institutions.
291. Implement a plan for building modern sites for universities that are currently using temporary sites (around 30 institutions, with an estimated annual rent of 45 million dinars), giving priority to inner regions.
292. Attract researchers and experts who have migrated abroad, while providing a system of incentives to encourage and diversify partnership with foreign research centres on the basis of common interests.
293. Organise student missions to economically developed countries for training and establish new economic partnerships.

Tunisian Migrants: Partners in Rights and Duties

294. Create a Secretariat of State in charge of migrants' affairs to protect their rights, facilitate their participation in their country's development efforts and enable communication and re-settlement.
295. Educate Tunisian migrants and deepen their links to their Arab and Islamic identity and to their country's history and language through the establishment

of schools and institutes in the host countries to act as a cultural bridge with other nations.

296. Regulate the flow of migration in the framework of bilateral and regional agreements between the relevant Mediterranean countries to ensure respect for the rights of migrants.

CULTURAL COMPONENT

AFFIRMING IDENTITY AND OPENING UP TO HUMAN ACHIEVEMENTS

Culture occupies a fundamental importance in Ennahdha's future project. The political process must be accompanied by a comprehensive cultural plan in order for the country to advance leveraging all its energies to realise the objectives of the revolution and achieve the desired renaissance.

The Movement aims to make the national project multi-dimensional and to enable the intellectual, cultural and artistic elites to play a full role in building the new Tunisia. In this respect, we seek to:

297. Protect freedom of creativity and introduce legal provisions to guarantee it.

298. Create and develop research centres specialised in the intellectual and cultural spheres.

299. Support cultural decentralisation, draw up a strategy to revitalise and renovate cultural institutions, linking them to their local contexts, and create cultural complexes in major cities and cultural centres in local governorates.

300. Promote a culture in the service of the citizen as a responsible, free, dignified human being with a promise to fulfill and a mission to accomplish.

301. Establish meaningful and creative civilisational dialogue between our Arabic-Islamic culture and other cultures and create mechanisms and frameworks to promote it.

302. Establish a plan to improve the cinema industry in terms of production, distribution, cinema show halls and associated agents.
303. Encourage the setting up of a permanent filming location/complex in a desert region and the building of studios for cinematic shooting and production.
304. Encourage the production of documentary films and preservation of national memory.
305. Develop cultural programmes and materials for TV and radio.
306. Regulate subsidies for cultural productions and establish objective evaluation/funding criteria.
307. Review laws relating to intellectual property and bring them in line with digital developments and cultural globalisation.
308. Promote national heritage and maximise its inclusion in tourist itineraries, particularly archeological sites.
309. Activate the role of the National Centre for Translation and develop the book publishing industry to promote Tunisia as a regional centre for publishing and distribution.
310. Develop a plan to improve the theatre sector with regards to training, production and performances.
311. Digitise audio-visual archives and make them more widely available to researchers and producers.
312. Promote reading and review the functioning of public libraries, bringing them in line with cultural and technological developments.

313. Develop TV dramas and enable their distribution regionally and internationally.

314. Establish a national museum of fine arts and an academy of arts.

315. Develop music institutes and support musical associations to develop talent.

316. Develop the media so as to contribute to enriching the cultural scene.

317. Support the role of festivals and enhance their standard as a source for revitalising cultural life in the inner regions and as a forum for cultural productions, especially those by Tunisian talent.

Social Dimension: Towards a Pioneering Society

Women: Activating Roles and Preserving Gains

Ennahdha Movement's starting point is Islam's honouring of women, raising their status, establishing equality between them and men in duties, rights and obligations, and building relationships between them founded on mutual compassion, complementarity and partnership. Our vision is rooted in a close understanding of the situation of Tunisian women, their achievements and the challenges they face. It thus aims, in the coming phase, to:

318. Protect and consolidate the achievements of Tunisian women, continuing to further their social, political, cultural and economic development until they achieve full citizenship as equal partners in building the country and its social wellbeing in all spheres.

319. Ensure equal opportunities for women and men in assuming administrative and political responsibilities.
320. Guarantee women's equal right to work.
321. Protect women's freedom and oppose any compulsion to adopt a specific pattern of dress.
322. Ensure the development of women's achievements in the fields of education and culture and develop their skills and social expertise for the benefit of development in all its dimensions.
323. Strengthen the participation of rural women in economic activity by protecting their rights, supporting their projects and offering various forms of help such as convenient loans, assistance in marketing their products and social grants.
324. Ensure the protection of working women from all forms of violations that could undermine their dignity and introduce legislation to that end.
325. Strengthen special privileges enjoyed by nursing women.
326. Combat all forms of discrimination and violence against women.
327. Reject economic and social marginalisation of women, especially the precariousness of women's employment and exploitation.

Youth: The Foundation for Progress

Young people have played a leading role in the popular revolution, their participation constituting a strong response to the policies of marginalisation, exclusion, injustice and lack of care for their social, political, cultural and economic roles.

Unemployment represented a real challenge, particularly for graduates. Its impact has been vast, creating a lack of hope in the future and an absence of opportunities.

Ennahdha Movement considers youth to be of strategic importance, adopting them as real and effective partners in ensuring the success of political, social, economic and cultural projects. In this respect, the Movement aims to:

328. Encourage projects by young people and support them by providing the necessary resources for their success.

329. Promote awareness of national issues, the role of young people and the values of citizenship, moderation, tolerance and democratic participation.

330. Provide opportunities for training, recruitment and entrepreneurship for young people.

331. Review the legislation and institutional arrangements relating to youth and reform all sectors concerned with youth matters to take account of, and seek to meet, their aspirations and expectations, thus ensuring their participation at all levels of decision-making.

332. Support de-centralisation in managing the youth sector in terms of planning, programming, implementation and evaluation, by giving greater powers to the

regions within a framework of greater balance and justice, and providing them with primary resources for developing the youth sector.

333. Re-structure the National Observatory for Youth and youth empowerment institutions and evaluate their performance.

334. Rehabilitate rural clubs and expand them widely throughout rural regions.

335. Create a national agency to develop youth tourism and establish international youth centres in order to develop youth tourism and host international youth events.

336. Strengthen co-operation with non-governmental international organizations and associations, particularly those in the Maghreb countries.

337. Reinforce the participation of youth in the voluntary sector and integrate volunteerism activities in youth employment programmes.

Children: Our Hope for the Future

Ennahdha Movement considers children to be an important section of society whose sound upbringing is linked to levels of social growth, family balance and the stability of the parents' situation. We believe that dedicating resources to children's development is an investment for a future that guarantees social cohesion and the ability to face all challenges brought by social, economic and cultural changes. Thus, the Movement seeks to:

338. Embed children's rights in the constitution.

339. Emphasise the child's interests in all legislation.

340. Guarantee proper nutrition and physical and psychological care for children.
341. Expand the network of children's clubs and support them through provision of educational and technological materials in order to create the best conditions to stimulate and entertain children and develop their potential.
342. Support nurseries, childcare centres and Qur'anic schools, develop educational methods and prepare programmes that cater for the needs of this group, in addition to increasing pedagogical training opportunities for teachers.
343. Bring up children within Arab and Islamic values and character.
344. Encourage the role of civil society in helping to care for children who have no family support and develop family foster care to ensure a stable and balanced upbringing.
345. Support children's preventive health schemes, especially in rural areas, to ensure healthy growth and early diagnosis of illnesses and timely treatment.
346. Ensure care for children without caretakers and strengthen supervision to protect them from exploitation.
347. Ensure care for children with special needs and support their families psychologically and socially. Re-structure institutions concerned with this group and provide human, material and educational resources to that end.

Family: Stability and Prosperity

The family constitutes the fundamental unit on which society is based and a central element in its development. This unit represents the ideal environment for

entrenching positive Islamic values. In view of this important role, Ennahdha Movement aims to:

348. Protect the family and its balance and stability, promoting the spirit of cooperation and consultation within it.

349. Support family resources through economic, social and cultural measures to elevate their material, social and cultural level and enable the family to play its role.

350. Adopt policies and implement measures to help young people to achieve their aspirations in building their own families and deal with phenomena and consequences related to delayed marriage and ageing society.

351. Encourage mass media to commit to the preservation of the integrity of the family and avoid what may threaten its stability.

352. Provide mechanisms for family harmony and reconciliation and the prevention of causes of rising divorce in order to preserve children's interests.

353. Identify the necessary mechanisms for the custody of children in some social cases that threaten their stability and upbringing.

354. Review working hours to take family needs into consideration and achieve a better work-family balance.

Sports: Refinement and Excellence

Sports have become one of the fields of social and economic development, with sports going beyond the level of the individual to become an activity of collective and social importance. Hence, Ennahdha Movement seeks to:

355. Develop the sports sector and promote good character and honest competition.

356. Promote sports to include everyone, and provide the required spaces, particularly environmental ones.

357. Boost investment in sports infrastructure and provide adequate support for the sporting elite as well as for training and development.

358. Review the legal framework regulating sports teams and clubs to foster transparency and good management practices and encourage professionalism, and find new and sustainable self-financing resources, thus turning sports activities into a contributing factor for economic, social and cultural development.

359. Re-instate the value of school and university sports and increase training centres linked to schools.

360. Develop co-operation with foreign countries in all sports disciplines, particularly Maghreb and Arab countries.

361. Adopt the necessary measures to encourage greater use of Tunisian coaches and referees and develop the regional and international participation of Tunisian sportsmen and sportswomen.

Leisure: Basic Needs Awaiting New Policies and Programmes

362. Leisure has become a social demand and right providing individuals and communities with opportunities for a higher quality of life and renewed effectiveness. Thus, Ennahdha Movement seeks to:

363. Prepare a national plan aiming at providing leisure spaces in all communities, and equip them with the required facilities and services.

364. Develop family leisure, encourage tourism institutions to offer adequate services for families and build green spaces and public parks in all cities.

365. Encourage individuals, groups and families to undertake domestic tourism.

Encourage investment in leisure and related industries and launch recreational projects in all regions, particularly disadvantaged ones.

CONCLUSION

Ennahdha Movement presents this programme with full conviction that the comprehensive development of our country requires the elaboration of a long-term plan which should involve the best available Tunisian talent and skill and benefit from the experiences of successful countries, away from the ideological and political rivalries. Furthermore, out of our responsibility to be frank with our people concerning the magnitude of existing challenges, Ennahdha Movement stresses that success in this course requires the concerted efforts of all Tunisians to achieve a change of mindsets so as to uphold the values of work, diligence, altruism, respect for the law and fulfillment of duties. God said: "God does not change the condition of a people until they change what is within themselves". Indeed that is not impossible for our people.

Finally, Ennahdha Movement re-salutes our people and its revolution which initiated a major Arab will for emancipation and liberation, and honours the struggles of Tunisians from various walks of life, especially the caravans of martyrs and all those who were subjected to eradication campaigns and tests and trials. It also renews its call to our partners in the homeland from across the political and intellectual spectrum towards cooperation and harmony in order to take our country out of this transitional phase and establish political legitimacy on the solid foundations of equal opportunities, justice, acceptance of differences and peaceful alternation of power.

We hope to make of the National Constituent Assembly elections a qualitative jump for our country in all fields.

“Lord, make this country safe and provide its people with sustenance” [Quran, Chapter of al-Baqarah verse 125]