C Parliamentary Elections Programs

1. **Hizbullah's 1992 Parliamentary Elections Program**⁵² (*My translation*)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

"Those who, if we establish them firmly in the land, will perform the prayer, give the alms, command the good and prohibit evil. To Allah belongs the outcome of all affairs" (22:41).

From the stance of our legal (shar'i) responsibility towards our oppressed people in Lebanon that gives due concern to the populace's grand destining causes and its neglected daily demands; in light of a deep-conscientious reading to the nature of the degrading situation in Lebanon, and the changes in the international arena and their domestic impact, and the need to stand up against conspiracies that are being contrived against the land, rights, and dignities of our populace; based on a realistic diagnosis of the clear and possible dangers as well as the opportunities available to the Islamists in order to take a leading role, while avoiding slippery slopes, in the path to fortify the Islamic project, and consolidate its steps and fruits; in harmony with the jurisprudential (fiqhi) stipulations that, for us, act as a guide and an authority of emulation (marja')...

In conveying our gratitude to the righteous expression of our populace's aspirations, pains, hopes, and aspirations; from the stance of the people's trust in Hizbullah's integrity and its great sacrifices, and its vigilance for public interest, and its principled stance.

We [Hizbullah] made up our mind, relying on God, and decided to participate in electoral politics on the basis of a comprehensive political program, in which our candidates are obliged to do their utmost best to put it [political program] into operation, asking our populace to support it and follow up on it.

The dignified Lebanese,

The loyal oppressed,

In this sensitive and grave period of the history of our wounded country; in the midst of grand international changes that ravaged out existence and led to the collapse of regimes and changed the features of policies and alliances; at the time when the Zionist enemy [Israel] is still occupying a beloved section of our country, the South and the *Biqa*, portraying the ugliest pictures of conquest and extortion, while the project of the oppressors, spearheaded by the US, continues its bet on subduing Lebanon and the region [Middle East] in order to seal the deal of recognition in the legitimacy of the Zionist Entity, and normalise relations with it, thus melting/fusing the *cultural identity* of the people of the region and tying its destiny to the [market] economy and Western mode of production and what it leads to in the sense of plundering riches and natural resources, the imposition of regimes, and the execution of programs [policies and plans].⁵³

In these circumstances, Lebanon is embarked upon the preparation for the first parliamentary elections in twenty years. The Lebanese are facing an enormous historical eventuality that will paint the future picture of the general political situation in the country, be it on the level of the building a new [political] system, or on the level of its role, performance, and relations.

And if it assumed that the performance of the parliamentary elections will be conducive to finding a new formula for the [political] system that repels political sectarianism and builds the foundations of a state that personifies the will of the Lebanese people, then Hizbullah's decision to participate, with its brothers and friends, in these elections is based on perpetual principled political convictions, enforced by the blood of its martyrs, and the suffering and pain of its prisoners of war, detainees, wounded, families of the martyrs, and the oppressed; Hizbullah has sacrificed for these [principles and convictions] its best cadres and holy warriors (mujahidin), led by the leader of the martyrs of the Islamic resistance, Sayyid Abbas al-Musawi and his wife and child, and the Shaykh of the martyrs, Shaykh Ragib Harb, and Al-Sayyid the martyr Abdulatif al-Amin, and the Shaykh of the prisoners of war and the detainees, Shaykh AbdulKarim 'Ubayd, and others from the heroes of the caravan of martyrdom and resistance who expelled the Zionist Occupation⁵⁴ and enforced on it defeat and withdrawal, without any conditions, setting a precedent in the history of conflict against it, thus regaining to the umma the hope of victory and confidence in itself. It also gave Lebanon a chance to catch its breath and solve its plight away from direct Zionist [Israeli] intervention.

These convictions became embedded in our peoples' souls, rendering them [i.e. convictions] a daily *jihadi* and political path, which revolves on two basic objectives:

1. Lebanon's liberation from the Zionist occupation and from the oppressors' influence and following.

2. The abolishment of political sectarianism

Hizbullah had a leading role in accomplishing important steps towards the realisation of these two goals. And Hizbullah has to continue, with the cooperation of other faithful [dedicated people], the necessary step in order to achieve total liberation [the total withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon] and strengthen the path to domestic peace, on the basis of political consensus, away from the despicable sectarian strife and narrow zealous partisanship and fanaticism; the removal of the traces of the devastating [civil] war, and objectively, constructively, and responsibly address its causes and consequences so that no party can feel duped, and so that privileges will not be accorded to any group [at the expense of another].

Today as Hizbullah embarks on participating in the parliamentary elections in Lebanon, it [Hizbullah] is trying to elevate the level of political work by selecting its nominees for the elections both on the basis of merit and a political program that is dedicated, in full honesty and seriousness, to address and solve people's problems. Hizbullah's responsible performance materialises in paying perpetual attention to accord the best care to the interests and the causes of the people, from the stance of its [Hizbullah's] integrity in [honouring] word and deed as well as fidelity in following up people's rights and defending their rights, honour, and dignity.

Hizbullah's nominees have no desire to compete with others over power, wealth, or material possessions; rather to be dedicated to a religious duty (taklif shar'i) in front of God, in order to preserve the country, uphold the interests of the people, and achieve the objectives that the holy warriors and the martyrs fought for.

From this stance, they [Hizbullah's nominees] are committed to perpetual, industrious work, both within the confines of the parliament and outside it, in order to achieve the following objectives in the different domains:

On the general political stance:

The Resistance

The conservation of a unified Lebanon, and its belonging to the civilised world, especially its Islamic-Arab milieu, dictates on us [Hizbullah] the serious commitment to the Resistance as an alternative against the Zionist occupation until the liberation of all the occupied soil, especially after it has been proven on the ground that the Resistance is capable of foiling the conqueror's [Israeli] plans, which aim at imposing a political reality that is against the interest of Lebanon and the Lebanese. After it became crystal clear that the Resistance is the only choice that is capable of standing out against the enemy and its extortions. In addition the Resistance stands for the right way of liberating Lebanon and upholding its unity and the unity of its people.

This choice [of Resistance] requires endeavouring to achieve the following:

- A. Being committed to the alternative of Resistance by supporting the fighters, backing up their ways of *jihad*, and embracing them and granting them popular and governmental support.
- B. Put up programs that direct the capabilities in order to defend our populace and erect a withstanding *resistance society (mujtamaʻ al-muqawama)*⁵⁵ on all levels and domains, especially in the South and Western *Biqaʻ* [the occupied areas at the time].
- C. The Lebanese state, with all its institutions, especially the army, should contribute in the operation of liberation and the defence of the land, the people, and the dignities.
- D. According serious and practical attention to the occupied "Security Zone", and take all necessary measures in order to foil the Zionist normalisation project.
- E. Exhort the Lebanese government to secure the lives of the families that have either lost their breadwinners or whose breadwinners have became permanently handicapped, in the detention camps or as a result of Zionist aggressions.
- F. Standing up firmly and condemning every attempt of normalisation of relations or establishing peace with the "Zionist Entity", which, in the first place, is found upon aggression and raping other people's land.

2. The abolishment of political sectarianism

Political sectarianism is one of the gravest ills for the corruption of the system in Lebanon. It is also the result behind all cultural, political, security, social, and developmental misfortunes and disasters that have plagued the Lebanese people. It also offered the malignant entry to the oppressive greedy forces to interfere in domestic Lebanese issues and jeopardise Lebanon's future and destiny. The first duties of Hizbullah's nominees is to follow up the conducive efforts, in cooperation with all friends and loyal ones, to abolish it [political sectarianism], during the first constitutional cycle of the new parliament.

3. The electoral law

Amending the electoral law so that it will be more representative of the populace, by adopting the following two measures:

- Lebanon as one election district.
- Reducing the age of voting to 18.

4. Political and media freedoms

- Secure the freedom of belief and practicing religious rituals and rites, as well as respecting the sanctity of Abrahamic religions.
- Enact laws that guarantee the freedom of political work.
- Organise the media within the following framework:
- A. Harmonisation between the media mediums, on the one hand, and Lebanon's [Arab-Muslim] cultural identity, on the other.
- B. Abiding by the sanctity of public conduct and morals.
- C. Preserving the right of private media [institutions] to work within the abovesuggested points [A and B], without any guardianship [censorship] from the government

5. The nationality

Enacting a modern naturalisation law based on meritocracy, rather than sectarianism and favouritism.

Granting the nationality to the residents of the "Seven Villages" and the Arabs
of Wadi Khaled 56

6. The displaced

- Secure the comprehensive return of all the displaced.⁵⁷
- Find [conducive] solutions to the displaced of the "Security Zone".
- Set up a comprehensive developmental plan targeting all the geographical areas where the displaced are present in.

7. Administrative, social, and educational issues

The need to fix and reform the infrastructure of the country in the administrative, educational, social, and developmental domains. In addition to constructively addressing many pressing issues along these lines; issues which call for a convergence of efforts in order be accomplished.

1. At the administrative level

- A. Abolish the sectarian factor in public and private jobs and appointments.
- B. Merit and open examinations should be used as a basis for selecting employees instead of favouritism.
- C. Periodic rehabilitation of employees according to the demands of technological advancement.
- D. Increase the effectiveness of administrative inspection.

2. On the developmental level

- A. Protect the domestic produce; support the agricultural and industrial sectors by developing individual capabilities and providing external markets.
- B. Develop the infrastructure of the oppressed [deprived] areas; enhance the lines of transportation, communication, electricity, and water.
- C. Secure job opportunities for all the Lebanese and protect the working force.
- D. Support animal produce, help fishermen, and encourage handicrafts.
- E. Agricultural guidance; the inauguration agricultural centres, cooperatives, and laboratories.
- F. Develop deprived areas in order to reach the level of flourishing areas in Lebanon; after accomplishing that balanced development.

3. On the educational and cultural levels

- A. Reinforce public education in all its stages and sectors, especially vocational education.
- B. Realisation of mandatory education, at least, till the middle level [preparatory for high school].
- C. Buttress the Lebanese University, in particular the faculties of applied sciences.
- D. Sponsor those who excel, and consolidate research at the [Lebanese] University.
- E. Rewriting the history [school] books based on an objective curriculum, and be committed to the standards of the cultural belonging of Lebanon to its Arab and Islamic milieu.⁵⁸
- F. Reinforce and protect religious education.
- G. Re-stimulate the teacher's education and rehabilitation centres, across the education spectrum or levels.
- H. Strengthen the teachers' financial conditions as well as their educational, and scientific qualifications.
- I. Arabisation of the academic curriculum.

4. On the social level

- Enact a law so that all Lebanese, including self-employed and daily workers, can benefit from social security, social and health benefits, and an old-age retirement plan.
- Reform [governmental] institutions that are responsible for social and health benefits and insurance [social security].
- Erect public hospitals and public medical centres in all Lebanese areas.

Based on this program, Hizbullah, through its nominees, presents itself to the parliament, while being resolute in protecting the interests of the oppressed in Lebanon, invoking God Almighty for acceptance and success. Hizbullah hopes to achieve victory, honour, glory, and progress (towards the better). God is All-Hearing and All-Responding.

Peace be upon you, God's Mercy and Blessings Hizbullah July 1992