

Charting a New Course Lebanon's First 100 Days under President Aoun & PM Salam

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Introduction: A New Dawn in Lebanese Leadership

Lebanon entered 2025 with a long-awaited breakthrough in its political impasse. After more than two years without a head of state, the Lebanese Parliament elected General Joseph Aoun as President on January 9, 2025, with 99 of 128 votes¹, and days later appointed veteran diplomat and former ICJ president judge Nawaf Salam as Prime Minister with 84 votes². This new leadership took charge amid the aftermath of a devastating 13-month war between Israel and Hezbollah and an ongoing economic collapse. President Aoun, the former army commander, enjoys broad respect as the military is one of the few institutions favored across communities³. Salam, backed by many opposition and independent MPs eager for change, was notable for winning support despite Hezbollah's decision not to endorse him⁴. This alignment of local support and international goodwill has revived hopes of lifting Lebanon out of crisis⁵. Both Aoun and Salam proclaimed

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/01/30/lebanon-rights-agenda-new-government

 $^{^2\} https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/1/9/lebanon-parliament-elects-army-chief-joseph-aoun-as-president$

³ https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024

⁴ https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/lebanons-president-names-icj-judge-nawaf-salam-pm-designate-2025-01-13/

⁵ https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/can-lebanons-new-president-stabilize-a-country-in-crisis/

that "a new phase in Lebanon has begun," rooted in justice, security, and opportunity. Indeed,

President Joseph Aoun's core commitments extracted from his Oath of office are:

- Safeguard Freedoms: Pledged to "protect the sanctity of individual and collective freedoms" and uphold the Constitution.
- 2. Judicial Independence: Promised zero interference in the judiciary and no immunity for corrupt actors.
- 3. Rule of Law & Accountability: Vowed to end impunity, ensure all officials, from politicians to bankers, are held to account.
- 4. National Unity & Sovereignty: Emphasized preserving Lebanon's sovereignty, rebuilding trust across sectarian divides, and restoring state authority throughout the country. President Aoun vowed to assert the Lebanese state's exclusive right to bear arms, signaling his intention to bring all militias—including Hezbollah's militia wing—under state control⁶. He also stated the government would "exercise complete control over Palestinian refugee camps," reversing decades-old arrangements under the 1969 Cairo Agreement that left camp security in the hands of Palestinian factions⁷. Finally, President Aoun referenced his role as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, affirming he would enforce UN Security Council Resolution 1701, which calls for all armed groups—including Hezbollah—to withdraw south of the Litani River⁸
- **5.** Social Responsibility: Committed to defending citizens' rights, especially the vulnerable, and to fostering an inclusive, rights-based governance.
- 6. Educational Infrastructure: President Aoun explicitly pledged to prioritize scientific research and technological development as pillars of national progress. He vowed to reinvest in the public– school system, recognizing that foundational education is essential for social mobility and economic resilience. He also

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⁶ https://www.meforum.org/mef-observer/what-does-the-election-of-president-joseph-aoun-mean-for-lebanon

 $^{^{7}\ \}mbox{https://www.meforum.org/mef-observer/what-does-the-election-of-president-joseph-aoun-mean-for-lebanon}$

⁸ https://blog.bti-project.org/2025/05/07/lebanon-at-a-turning-point-new-signals-and-old-power-structures/

committed to enhancing the Lebanese University capacity, protecting its funding, and ensuring it can serve as a hub for higher learning and research. Finally, President Aoun underscored the importance of safeguarding private schools' autonomy—ensuring they can continue innovating and filling gaps where the public system may be overstretched9.

Right after taking office, President Aoun made a point of rekindling ties with Lebanon's Arab neighbors. He flew to Kuwait, Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and Doha to meet with Gulf leaders, stressing shared history and economic opportunity. At the Arab League summit that was held in Baghdad on the 17th of May, PM Nawaf Salam complemented President Aoun's discourse and spoke plainly about Lebanon's desire for stability and cooperation, especially on energy and trade¹⁰. This frank, well-coordinated approach has already won soft assurances: Gulf central banks quietly promised to back Lebanese deposits, and there is talk of Qatar and the UAE helping fund key infrastructure projects. Aoun's down-to-earth outreach feels like a breath of fresh air after years of isolation¹¹. Lebanon is banking on its freshly strengthened ties with Gulf capitals and Western partners to help safeguard its sovereignty amid ongoing Israeli violations of UN Resolution 1701. While the Lebanese Armed Forces quietly move to collect unauthorized weapons south of the Litani River in this opening phase¹², Beirut is leaning on its Arab and international friends to call out Israel's unilateral strikes and fence-sit on its side. Those renewed pledges of deposit guarantees and infrastructure support aren't just economic lifelines, they're a show of political solidarity, sending a clear message that Lebanon won't stand alone as its borders come under fire¹³

Prime minister Nawaf Salam's inaugural speech address complimented that of President Aoun's while reiterating the importance of adhering to the Lebanese

⁹ https://nagalandpost.com/index.php/2025/01/10/army-chief-joseph-aounelected-lebanons-president/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

¹⁰ https://www.thenationalnews.com/news/mena/2025/05/17/whos-attendingthe-arab-league-summit-in-baghdad/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

¹¹ https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/landmark-uae-visithighlights-president-aouns-catch-twenty-two/

¹² https://today.lorientlejour.com/article/1461505/mitri-state-control-nearlyrestored-south-of-litani-progress-ongoing-to-the-north.html

¹³ https://today.lorientlejour.com/article/1461399/is-peace-with-israel-the-priceof-lebanons-economic-recovery.html

Constitution and Al Taef Accord. The main commitments as expressed by PM Salam on February 8th, 2025 are¹⁴:

1. Economic Renewal:

- Framed economic stabilization and reconstruction as top priorities.
- Announced a roadmap for financial reforms aligned with IMF conditions, banking transparency, unified exchange rates, and a realistic 2025 budget.

2. Administrative Reform:

 Stressed that "there is no state without an administration," unveiling plans for merit-based public-sector appointments and a major e-government push to streamline services.

3. Decentralization & Local Democracy:

 Highlighted the importance of the upcoming municipal elections as a step toward genuine decentralization and citizen empowerment.

4. Anti-Corruption & Governance:

 Reiterated a zero-tolerance approach to graft, pledging to reactivate anti-corruption bodies and enforce assetdeclaration laws

5. Vision for a Modern State:

 Articulated a goal of building "a modern, capable, and just state" that guarantees security, opportunity, and equal rights for all Lebanese.

6. Appeal for Unity & Patience:

 Called on political leaders and citizens alike to support difficult reforms, urging patience as Lebanon undertakes the painful but necessary work of recovery.

Current Context

The current state of optimism is tempered by the sheer scale of crises confronting the new leaders. Lebanon's financial collapse began in 2019; the 2020 Beirut port explosion caused massive damage; the recent war displaced

¹⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TVhhF5-ejqo

hundreds of thousands. As Rami Rayess (political analyst) observes, "Lebanon's cycle of crisis reflects not isolated events but systemic breakdowns across politics, economy, and infrastructure"¹⁵. According to the World Bank's Rapid Damage and Needs Assessment, the 13-month Israel–Hezbollah conflict (October 2023–December 2024) inflicted roughly US \$8.5 billion in direct damages and losses on Lebanon's housing, infrastructure, and key public services¹⁶. International stakeholders (from the IMF to donor states) are watching closely and conditioning crucial aid on evidence of genuine change¹⁷.

Economic Recovery: Efforts to Stabilize a Collapsed Economy

Reversing Lebanon's economic meltdown is the foremost priority of the Aoun—Salam government. In his inaugural address, PM Salam stressed the need to build "a new, modern, and productive economy" under a "capable and just state" 18. Within its first 100 days, the cabinet passed long-delayed financial reforms to satisfy IMF conditions, including amendments to banking secrecy laws and frameworks for bank restructuring 19. As background, in April 2022, Prime Minister Najib Mikati's government reached a staff-level agreement with the International Monetary Fund for a 46-month Extended Fund Facility worth SDR 2,173.9 million (about USD 3 billion). This preliminary deal laid out five key reform pillars—restructuring the banking sector (including a capital-control law and amendments to banking secrecy), fiscal consolidation through a realistic budget, reform of state-owned enterprises (notably Électricité du Liban), strengthened governance and anti-corruption measures, and enhanced social and reconstruction

¹⁵ https://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2020/09/10/In-Lebanon-Beirut-s-port-needs-rebuilding-but-no-one-has-yet-stepped-up ¹⁶ https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2024/11/israel-hezbollah-war-cost-lebanon-85b-damaged-100000-homes-world-bank?utm_source=chatgpt.com ¹⁷

https://www.imf.org/external/error.htm?URL=https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2025/05/03/lebanon-request-for-standby-arrangement

 $^{^{18}\} https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/lebanons-pm-forms-new-government-2025-02-08/$

¹⁹ https://today.lorientlejour.com/article/1358797/meet-the-ethiopian-airlines-pilot-son-and-mother-whose-touching-story-went-viral.html

spending²⁰. The agreement was subject to IMF management and Executive Board approval, contingent on Lebanon's implementation of all prior actions and confirmation of financial support from international partners. In 2025, the government drafted a realistic 2025 budget and unified multiple exchange rates to begin restoring fiscal order²¹. President Aoun leveraged renewed Arab and Western pledges of support—securing commitments from Saudi Arabia, the U.S., and the EU—to position Lebanon for reconstruction funds and investment²². By framing reconstruction (estimated at over US \$8.5 billion in war damages) as an engine for jobs and growth, the administration linked recovery to job creation²³.

Current Challenges:

- Sovereign Insolvency & Banking Resistance: Lebanon remains effectively bankrupt, with public debt still in default and no formal capital-controls in place. The March 2025 appointment of a central bank governor sympathetic to the banking lobby raised fears that vested interests will block deep reforms²⁴.
- Delayed IMF Program: Key preconditions—such as a forensic audit of central bank accounts and a credible law for bank resolution—remain unmet, stalling a funded IMF support package²⁵.

²⁰ https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2022/04/07/pr22108-imf-reaches-agreement-on-economic-policies-with-lebanon-for-a-four-year-fund-facility?utm_source=chatgpt.com

https://www.thenationalnews.com/?_ptid=%7Bkpdx%7DAAAAvQCL2PfzcgoKV09 LTEFYMDFwahlQbWF6bTV6djFmMDJuajl1bhoMRVg5WFhZOUNTUFY2liUxODdp aXZvMDlvLTAwMDAzNW5vdGlrbnBscWNtNGxyZzFlNTg4KhhzaG93T2ZmZXI0Uz Q2WUhCTDcwWIFES08wAToMT1RZMDlCR0dKTkJSUhJ2LXMA8CY2ajU0NTVqd DFaDDc3Ljl0Ni43MS42NmlDZHdjaLXRwsEGcAl4DIIBDE9GVlhVTEo0Tk9YVg ²² https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/5/6/lebanon-government-works-to-regain-donor-trust-secure-reconstruction-funds

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²³ https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/02/17/lebanon-destruction-infrastructure-preventing-returns

²⁴ https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/LBN

²⁵ https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/imf-lebanon-very-dangerous-situation-with-reforms-stalled-2023-03-23/

- Social Hardship: Over 80 percent of the population faces hardship, life savings remain trapped, and skilled professionals continue to emigrate in search of stability²⁶.
- Reconstruction Funding: Donors remain skeptical of corruption risks; as
 of May 2025, no major reconstruction fund has been launched²⁷. The
 compound effect of an already decaying infrastructure, and the
 multiplied impact of war damages in addition to the reluctance of
 donors to invest in any form of reconstruction is halting any serious
 form of economic development.

Recommendations:

- 1. Implement IMF-Demanded Measures Fully: Proceed with a comprehensive bank restructuring that protects small depositors and bails in shareholders, rather than offloading losses onto the state.
- Social Protection Plan: Partner with the IMF/World Bank to design cashassistance programs to cushion vulnerable groups during the adjustment period.
- 3. Transparent Reconstruction Oversight: Establish an independent panel (including civil-society and international observers) to monitor procurement and disbursements for rebuilding projects. A similar structure is currently in place executed by the World Bank, the 3RF: Lebanon Reform, Recovery, and Reconstruction Framework.
- 4. Diaspora Engagement: Launch diaspora-targeted investment funds to channel expertise and capital back into Lebanon.
- 5. Political Stability: Maintain cross-sectarian unity around reforms and communicate transparently with the public to manage expectations.

Municipal Governance and Reforms: Reviving Local Democracy

In May 2025, Lebanon held its first municipal elections since 2016, a critical step toward decentralization enshrined in the Taif Accord²⁸ Phased across several

https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/lebanon

https://english.news.cn/20250504/b4a210d359fb452aa4825c35be4ddd29/c.html

https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/2024/lebanon-poverty-assessment
 https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/lebanon

weekends, the polls proceeded without major security incidents, even in war-torn areas (South, Beqaa)²⁹. Turnout was modest overall, but significant among younger first-time voters. The results, however, underscored (1) the resilience of established sectarian parties: in many districts traditional lists prevailed, while independent civic candidates made only limited gains (case of Beirut municipality elections)³⁰, and (2) the fact that in Lebanon, family considerations continue to override political affiliations.

Current Challenges:

- Sectarian Entrenchment: Major parties united to marginalize reformist challengers, illustrating that patronage networks still dominate local politics (case of Beirut municipality elections)³¹.
- Municipal Insolvency: Most councils lack revenue as currency collapse wiped out fee collections; local services like waste collection and water pumping are underfunded³².
- Capacity Gaps: Many municipalities lack professional staff and modern systems to manage reconstruction or transparency initiatives.

Recommendations:

- 1. Emergency Financing for Municipalities: Release funds (IMF's Special Drawing Rights-SDR may be one option) to the Independent Municipal Fund to cover basic services in the short term.
- 2. Fiscal Decentralization: Increase the share of locally collected taxes and fees that municipalities retain, paired with audit safeguards.
- 3. Capacity-Building: Partner with UNDP/EU to train municipal staff in budgeting, e-governance, and project management.
- 4. Civic Oversight: Support the formation of local watchdog committees to monitor council performance between elections.

²⁹ https://www.ark.international/ark-blog/whats-at-stake-in-lebanons-2025-municipal-elections

³⁰ https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/1359012/le-porte-avions-americain-uss-eisenhower-a-franchi-le-detroit-dormuz.html

³¹ https://www.business-standard.com/markets/capital-market-news/suraj-products-standalone-net-profit-declines-26-98-in-the-march-2025-quarter-125051900123 1.html

³² https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/02/17/lebanon-destruction-infrastructure-preventing-returns

5. Inclusive Coalitions: Facilitate dialogues among reform groups to unite civic actors ahead of the 2026 parliamentary vote.

Public-Sector and Institutional Reform: Combating Corruption and Reviving State Institutions

President Aoun vowed to "protect the judiciary" and crush corruption, while PM Salam stressed "there is no state without an administration"³³. They formed a predominantly technocratic cabinet and immediately set out to reform key bodies:

- Merit-Based Hiring: A competitive framework for senior public posts was approved, emphasizing public vacancy announcements, gender balance, conflict-of-interest rules, and performance accountability³⁴.
- E-Government Push: Ministries relaunched an e-portal for services like tax filing, visa applications, and citizen issue reporting³⁵.
- Decentralization Legislation: A draft law to create governorate councils is in the works, aiming to devolve education, healthcare, and infrastructure functions from Beirut³⁶.
- Anti-Corruption Measures: Asset-declaration laws are being enforced, and the National Anti-Corruption Commission received its budget to audit ministries³⁷.

Current Challenges:

 Deep-rooted Patronage: Decades of politicized hiring, ghost employees, and paper-based processes are not undone overnight.

 $https://english.news.cn/20250428/4920e6fdab434a91861fc034c837e7db/c.html\ ^{37}\ https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/04/28/lebanon-anti-corruption-commission-update$

³³ https://www.newarab.com/news/2025/1/10/aoun-pledges-judicial-independence

³⁴ https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/1358345/israel-hamas-pas-de-treve-ni-de-liberation-dotages-avant-vendredi-papier-general.html

³⁵ https://www.thenationalnews.com/mena/government/2025/03/25/lebanon-launches-unified-e-government-portal/

- Judicial Independence Under Threat: Political actors are already lobbying against reforms to the Higher Judicial Council and a Judicial Independence Law³⁸.
- Low Civil-Service Morale: Salary eroded by inflation, public workers have staged strikes, undermining basic service delivery.

Recommendations:

- 1. Pass the Judicial Independence Law: Secure tenure and depoliticize judicial appointments, supported by EU-conditioned aid.
- 2. Escalate E-Government Roll-Out: Launch a one-stop portal for all major citizen services within 12 months, with international IT support.
- 3. Empower Anti-Corruption Bodies: Fully fund the National Anti-Corruption Commission and enforce annual asset disclosures for officials.
- 4. Civil-Service Rightsizing and Incentives: Audit payrolls to remove "ghosts," then index key public salaries to inflation using donor-backed grants.
- 5. Promote Open Data: Require ministries to publish budgets, contracts, and audit summaries online, and enact a whistleblower protection law.
- 6. Activate inspection bodies: After consolidating functions within a streamlined oversight framework, immediately activate the Central Inspection Board and the Bureau of Accounts to conduct independent audits of ministries, state utilities, and municipal councils. Mandate quarterly public reports on findings and remedial actions to reinforce accountability and deter misuse of public funds.

Media Freedom and Civil Liberties: Navigating a New Chapter for Free Expression

In 2020, Rayess, along with other journalists and analysts sounded the alarm by stating that "Lebanon's freedom of speech is threatened"³⁹. Today and under Aoun and Salam, Lebanon has taken cautious steps to revive its media freedom, battered in recent years. Inaugural speeches promised to respect the right to freedom of expression. Information Minister Paul Morcos drafted a new media

³⁸ https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/02/20/threats-judicial-reform-lebanon https://english.alarabiya.net/views/2021/02/24/Lebanon-crisis-Lebanon-sdiversity-and-freedom-of-speech-is-withering-away-

law to decriminalize defamation and shield journalists from prison sentences⁴⁰. The government also launched a state-run fact-checking platform and convened regular meetings with press syndicates⁴¹. As background, in 1994, Lebanon enacted Audio-Visual Media Law No. 382, which for the first time ended the state's monopoly over television broadcasting and permitted private TV and radio stations to operate. However, to maintain the country's delicate confessional balance, the law required that the newly established National Audio-Visual Council's board of directors include representatives appointed by the various political parties and religious sects. In practice, this embedded Lebanon's system of political power-sharing within the media sector itself⁴². A notable issue regarding online media platforms is the repetitive attempts by the National Audio-Visual Council—an outdated and expired governmental body—to control websites by requesting registrations akin to broadcasting licenses, a power it no longer holds. These demands threaten online freedom of expression and place additional legal and bureaucratic burdens on digital media platforms.

Current Challenges:

- Oligarchic Media Ownership: A handful of politically-affiliated owners still dominate TV and print, curbing true editorial independence⁴³.
- Impunity for Attacks on Journalists: Tens of journalist murders since 2005 remain unsolved, creating a chilling effect⁴⁴.
- Security vs. Freedom: Ongoing border tensions and wartime trauma are sometimes used to justify restrictions on speech.
- Economic Fragility of the Press: Many outlets face closure as they struggle to pay staff amid the financial crisis.

Recommendations:

 Enact and Implement the New Media Law: Remove criminal penalties for journalists, ensure civilian trials for all speech-related cases, and liberalize broadcast licensing.

⁴⁰ https://rsf.org/en/news/lebanon-media-law-draft-2025

⁴¹ https://rsf.org/en/lebanon

⁴² https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000117715

 $^{^{\}rm 43}$ https://rsf.org/en/analyses/media-ownership-lebanon-2025

 $^{^{\}rm 44}$ https://rsf.org/en/news/impunity-crimes-against-journalists-lebanon

- 2. Prosecute Crimes Against Journalists: Form a special investigative commission (with international observers) to reopen assassinations of Samir Kassir, Gebran Tueni, Lokman Slim, and others.
- 3. Support Independent Outlets: Provide unconditional grants (via media-development NGOs) to struggling newsrooms to preserve diversity.
- 4. Strengthen Fact-Checking: Institutionalize the state's fact-checking unit as an independent center that partners with media outlets.
- Protect Online Expression: Issue clear guidelines restricting the use of cybercrime laws for peaceful speech and train security forces on freespeech standards.
- Broader Human Rights Engagement: Incorporate recommendations on gender equality, refugee rights, and LGBTQ protections from HRW and UN experts⁴⁵.

Conclusion: Outlook and Next Steps

In their first months, Aoun and Salam have broken Lebanon's prior stalemate by advancing four pillars of reform—economic transparency, local democracy, institutional overhaul, and civic freedoms. But the scale of the challenges—entrenched patronage, sovereign insolvency, sectarian politics, and regional tensions—means their window of opportunity is narrow. The coming 12–18 months will determine whether these reforms are institutionalized or reversed.

Key Next Steps:

- 1. Maintain Cabinet Unity: Resist sectarian backsliding and keep the technocratic team aligned around a clear reform agenda.
- 2. Public Scorecards: Publish biannual reform progress reports to build trust and counter disinformation.
- 3. Donors' Conference: Convene once IMF conditions are met to secure reconstruction and development pledges.
- 4. Electoral Preparedness: Update the electoral law for the 2026 parliamentary vote to foster a more representative legislature.

⁴⁵ https://www.hrw.org/report/2025/02/01/lebanon-human-rights-recommendations

As Human Rights Watch observed, "the new government's record will ultimately be judged by its ability to bring about long-lasting changes to break away from decades of impunity, corruption, and mismanagement" 46.

The next phases of economic stabilization, judicial reform, and civic empowerment will decide if Lebanon truly embarks on a new chapter or reverts to its old cycles of crisis.

46 https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/05/05/lebanon-breaking-cycle-impunity

Annex A: Tabled list of the First 100 days achievements

Policy Area	Achievement
Leadership Formation	Successful election of Joseph Aoun (99/128 votes) and appointment of Nawaf Salam (84 votes) to end the 26-month presidential vacuum.
Economic Reform	Passage of long-overdue IMF-mandated financial bills (banking secrecy amendment, bank restructuring framework); Realistic 2025 budget draft and unified exchange rates.
Decentralization & Local Elections	First municipal elections since 2016 held (May 2025), enabling local democracy and paving the way for Expanded Administrative Decentralization Law.
Public-Sector Reform	Approval of merit-based framework for senior public posts; Ministries relaunched an e-portal for services like tax filing, visa applications, and citizen issue reporting. A draft law to create governorate councils is in the works, aiming to devolve education, healthcare, and infrastructure functions from Beirut
Anti-Corruption & Accountability	Reactivation and funding of National Anti-Corruption Commission; Enforcement of asset-declaration laws; promise of forensic audit of key institutions.
Media Freedom	Shelving of repressive media bill; Drafting of new law to decriminalize defamation; State fact-checking platform launched; Meetings with press syndicates.
Regional Diplomacy	High-level visits to Gulf capitals (Kuwait, Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, Doha); Pledges of deposit guarantees and infrastructure support; Arab League summit participation (by PM Nawaf Salam).
Security & Sovereignty	Public commitment to enforce UN Security Council Resolution 1701; Lebanese Armed Forces tasked with arms collection south of Litani.