



**FRIEDRICH NAUMANN
STIFTUNG** Für die Freiheit.
Lebanon and Syria

USJ 1875
Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth
Service de la vie étudiante

Citizenship Summer School

TO MOVE OR NOT TO MOVE?

Discovering and understanding social movement

The booklet

1- 4 september 2020





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INTRODUCTION

Gloria ABDO - Head of Student Life Department

Dear Youth,

This booklet is intended to serve you as a reference for the first Citizenship Summer School (CSS) organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and the Student Life Department (SVE) at Saint Joseph University of Beirut (USJ).

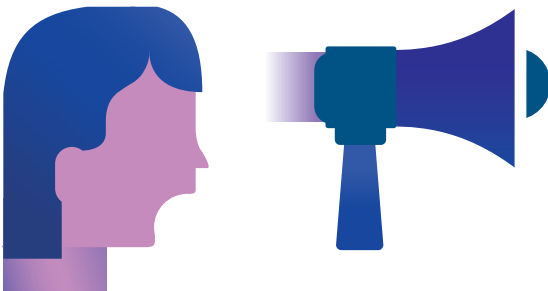
It documents records of the sessions, major topics details, the list of participants and the best 13 articles written by your peers.

While reading it, we hope that it brings you hope and that it serves as a reminder for you to “step back”, to “recoil”, as you have learned during these 4 rich days from one another while exploring new points of view and, most importantly, while reorganizing your thoughts and ideas to boost your participation in citizenship to a different level.

The steering team would like to thank you for your active and impactful participation, and we hope that the experience of the first CSS will help you during your day-to-day citizenship journey!

Do not forget to always act freely according to your values, and to build a culture of common good.

On behalf of the team.



TO MOVE OR NOT TO MOVE?

AGENDA

Tuesday, September 1, 2020

09:00 – 09:20 Opening Words

Kristof Kleemann – *Project director at FNF Lebanon and Syria*

Gloria Abdo – *Head of Student life at USJ*

Salim Daccache s.j. – *Rector of USJ*

09:20 – 10:20 Introduction to Social Movements

Tarek Mitri – *Professor and former director of the Issam Fares institute for public policy and international affairs*

10:35 – 11:35 What is and is not a Social Movement?

Dany Ghssoub – *Chairperson of the department of Government and International Relations at the faculty of Law and Political Science - NDU*

11:50 – 12:50 Countermovement

Dany Ghssoub – *Chairperson of the department of Government and International Relations at the faculty of Law and Political Science - NDU*

13:10 – 14:00 Advocacy Workshop

Fadia Farah – *Advocacy trainer*

Gloria Abdo – *Trainer and consultant*

Wednesday, September 2, 2020

9:00 – 10:00 Role of students in social movements

Samy Gemayel – *Former student activist at USJ and former MP*

10:15 – 11:15 Revolutionary Women

Halimeh Kaakour – *Political and ecological activist*

11:30 – 12:30 Sharing experience with Ukraine revolution

Oleg Golubenko – *Social activist from Ukraine*

Samir Chalhoub - *Lebanese activist in Ukraine*

12:45 – 13:45 Artists in Revolution
Roy Dib – *Multidisciplinary artist and political activist*
Marijoe Raidy – *Writer and photographer*

Thursday, September 3, 2020

9:00 – 10:00 The famous “Brain Drain”
Elias Hankach – *Former MP*

10:15 – 11:15 Migrant’s participation from abroad
Jihad Nammour – *Professor at USJ*

11:30 – 12:30 Technology, migration and social movements
Rita Chemaly – *Professor at USJ*

12:45 – 13:45 Lobbying workshop
Fady Hayek – *Professor at USJ*

Friday, September 4, 2020

9:00 – 10:00 Case study : Lebanese platform to gather migrants during social movements
Antoine Kallab – *Consultant in urban planning and economic development*
Oliver Nakhleh – *Meghterbin Mejtemiin initiative*

10:15 – 11:15 Freedom of Press in times of social movements
Jad Chahrour – *Communication officer at the Samir Kassir Foundation*

11:30 – 12:30 Journalism as a weapon to kill or boost a revolution
Philippe Abou Zeid – *Journalist and TV producer*

12:45 – 13:45 Writing Workshops:
English: Carole Chidiac – *Professor at USJ*
Arabic: Nada Eid – *Communication coordinator at USJ*
French: Roula Douglas – *Journalist and professor at USJ*

14:00 Networking Lunch





DAY 1



WELCOMING WORD

Kristof KLEEMAN - *Project Director at FNF Lebanon and Syria*

Dear Students,

On behalf of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, I wish to welcome you to this very exciting 4-day program that we have put together in partnership with the Saint-Joseph University. I would like to thank the President for his opening words and great partnership that your university and our foundation have formed over the last years.

My name is Kristof Kleemann and I am the Project Director of the Foundation. We are a German foundation that is based on the principles of liberalism and freedom. Originally, our foundation has started our work in Germany in the 1950s after the horrors of the Second World War with the aim of providing political education to German citizens about the importance of democracy and civic engagement. It is only later that we started to work abroad and we are now based on more than 52 countries. However, the work in Germany remains the centre of our work until this day because we strongly believe that the values of freedom, the rule of law, democracy and human rights are not something one can take for granted. Also not in Germany as we see them challenged once again with elements in the German society that openly attack our democratic institutions. Here in Lebanon, we have started working after the civil war and our main fields of activity rest on three pillars: promoting human rights, promoting entrepreneurship and first and foremost civic and political education. That is why I am happy to see so many of you signing up and participating in this program.

Of course, the theme of this summer school could not have been more topical. Around the globe, we have seen a rise in popular social movements. Last year, protests erupted in Hong-Kong against the assault of the Chinese state to take away their democratic rights. In Chile last year, thousands took to the streets to ask for a fairer education system. Recently, we have seen large and still ongoing protests in Belarus after a fraudulent election. And of course, we had and still have the protests here in Lebanon to demand better living conditions and put an end to corruption and mismanagement. For this purpose, the aim of our summer school is to introduce the students to the concept of social movements as well as dive deep into the context in which social movements can erupt.

I wish you all a wonderful program and I truly hope you will make use of the fantastic group of speakers that we've gathered for this summer school.

Thank you.





WELCOMING WORD

Gloria ABDO - *Head of Student life at USJ*

Reverend Father,

Dear partners,

Dear participants,

My speech will not take long ... I only have two main points to share with you.

The first one is about the "WHY?" The second one, the "HOW?"

Why are we organizing a Citizenship Summer School? How do we advise you to dive into it?

Living today during these challenging times has led us to think more about our role as an educational institution along with our political partner: the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. It made us think about today's hard times, problems, burden, about where we are and about what's next?

There is a lot to think about, to search for and, most importantly, to listen to!

The idea of the Citizenship Summer School came to answer our fears and challenges. We are called to question ourselves today as Citizens and to think about our future, or our near future, may I say.

In this summer school, you will be attending courses, workshops, case studies, you will be sharing experiences from "the past" and highlighting questions related to rights and to human power! You might find yourself challenged by trainers or by testimonies.... You may even find some topics too uninteresting or too savvy.

This is when I want you to remember, in every step, every session, every conversation or every challenge you will ever have, that every nation has its history, every movement has a counter movement, and every reality has to be checked.

Our own journey will define our nation and our own involvement will help shaping it.

Dear participants, we are so glad today that USJ is hosting participants from other universities; it is a new milestone for the Student Life Department.

I would like to thank once again, our supportive and lifelong partner: the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and I want you to give a round of applause to the organizing team of this edition: Léa, Charbel, Perla and Gabriel.

One last piece of advice: go and dive into re-imagining your citizenship route!

All the best and thank you.

كلمة البروفسور سليم دكّاش اليسوعيّ رئيس جامعة القديس يوسف في بيروت

أودّ أن أحييكم في هذا الصباح، أنتم الشباب والصبايا الذين اجتمعتم من مؤسسات جامعيّة متعدّدة، من الجامعة اليسوعيّة، والأميريكيّة، واللبنانيّة الأميركيّة، والعربيّة، وأرحّب بكم إلى المدرسة الصيفيّة للتدرّب على المواطنة بمشاركة الـ Summer school for citizenship - FNF

Friedrich Naumann Stiftung - Fur die Freiheit من أجل الحرّيّة.

نشكر FNF على تأييد هذه المبادرة.

كما أشكر دائرة الحياة الطلابيّة على إعداد هذه الأيام التدريبية على المواطنة.

أحييكم وأرحّب بكم كما أشكر سلفًا جميع المحاضرين وجميع المشاركين لإحياء وتنشيط هذه المدرسة الصيفيّة.

ربّما البعض يسأل ويتساءل هل الوقت مؤات للتفكير في المواطنة، في ظلّ الأزمة ذات الجوانب المتعدّدة التي نعيشها في وطننا وخصوصًا بعد الكارثة التي عاشتها وتعيشها مدينة بيروت. شهداء بيروت هم أحياء في ضميرنا... (فلنحافظ على لحظات من الصمت تكريمًا لشهدائنا جميعًا - وخصوصًا لمعارفنا من أقرباء وأصدقاء ومحبّين لنا من مؤسّساتنا وعائلاتنا).

لماذا هذا الموضوع؟ التفكير في مفهوم المواطنة والتعمّق فيه.

أقول إنّ الذين يعملون على تدمير البلد، هم الذين يمنعونا من التفكير في مواضيع أساسيّة من أجل بناء المستقبل. وقضيّة المواطنة هي المفهوم السياسي والقانوني والاجتماعي والوجودي الذي يجعل منّا مواطنين في دولة واحدة. أسس المواطنة هي المساواة، والعدالة، والرعاية والشعور بالانتماء إلى الوطن الواحد، والحريّات بمختلف أنواعها. فلا بدّ لنا من الاعتراف بالدولة الحامية لأبنائنا أمنيًا واجتماعيًا (دولة القانون والقضاء غير الاستنسابي).



لماذا اليوم وفي هذا الأسبوع بالذات نفكّر بالموضوع؟
اليوم نتذكّر لبنان الأوّل من أيلول . ١٩٢٠ عندما أعلن المفوض السامي والجنرال غورو إعلان دولة لبنان الكبير، دولة أراد أبنائها أن يعيشوا فيها كمواطنين بموجب عقد اجتماعي سياسيّ مثبت في دستور يحفظ حقوق الجماعات وأيضاً، وبشكل واضح، يجعل من اللبنانيين، أيّاً كانوا، مواطنين لهم حقوقهم وواجباتهم.

ربّما من بعد مئة عام لم نستطع الوصول إلى هذه الغاية وهذا الهدف، ألا وهو المواطنة.

كنا أكثر طائفيين ممّا كنا مواطنين، حتّى الطائفية يجب أن تعمل من أجل المواطنة.

اليوم، وأكثر من أيّ يوم مضى، مهمّتنا وخصوصاً مهمّتك كشباب أن نفكّر معاً كيف سنبنّي لبنان المئة عام القادمة على أساس المواطنة ونكسر حلقة «النحن والأنتم» وننتقل إلى دولة مدنيّة تُحترم فيها حقوق المواطن وهو يقوم بواجباته المدنيّة.

من المؤكّد أنّ من الأمراض القاسية التي يعيشها وطننا ومجتمعات أخرى: التعصّب الاجتماعيّ وكذلك الزبائنية أي الإدارة السياسيّة التي تجعل منّا مجموعة من العبيد المرتهنيين لزعيمهم، لا أن نكون أحراراً مختارين لمستقبلنا.

لماذا الجامعة اليسوعيّة أخذت على عاتقها تنظيم هذا اللقاء ؟

من المؤكّد أنّ مهمّة الجامعة تكمن في تكوين الطالب لتكون عنده المهارات الفنيّة والأكاديميّة والمهنيّة من أجل أن تكون الشهادة الجامعيّة جوازاً إلى الحياة المهنيّة. إلّا أنّ الجامعة، وخصوصاً الجامعة اليسوعيّة، تقول في موضوع المواطنة إنّها لا ترضى بأيّ تمييز على أساس طائفيّ بين أعضاء الأسرة الجامعيّة وتطالب في المقابل كلّ من يشارك في حياة الجامعة التزامه بتعزيز روح الحرّيّة الشخصيّة والجميع مدعوّون إلى تعزيز ذلك.

بالختام، هناك مسؤوليّة على الحكّام وعلى نظام الحكم السياسيّ لكن هناك مسؤوليّة تقع علينا نحن في إعداد أنفسنا من أجل لبنان المواطنة.



INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS - Keynote speech

Tarek MITRI

I was asked to talk about social movements by way of an introductory presentation, but then I was told the more I talk about Lebanon, the better. So, my talk will rather go back and forth from what you may call a general theory of social movements to a careful scrutiny of what we have gone through and are still going through in Lebanon.

I am sure you know that the wide protests in our country starting October 17, 2019 are still widely perceived as a defining moment in the social and political history of Lebanon since the end, of civil war. The emergence of social movements are quite often a defining moment the participants in the protest movement are mostly young.

But also not so young, I preferred to call the movement "*Thawra*" Revolution. I think we have to respect that; you know, self-designation is important. We should call people and groups the way they would like to be called, even if in our theoretical analysis (based on our knowledge of what our evolution is), we may find this term a bit of a misnomer, but as I said, People down in the streets and shout. Let's call it "*Thawra*". Some people call it an uprising.

Uprising is the word "*Intifada*" that has become, so to speak, fashionable in the Arab world since 2011. When you say it's an *Intifada*, you kind of sub limitedly suggest that there is a relationship, a similarity, a contemporality, and a tie between what we are seeing in Lebanon and what we have seen in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Yemen...

But you hear also those who refer to the protest movement as "*Hirak*" and I think it evokes an ocean very close to that of social movement. In fact, it's exactly what the social movement is. I do remember, then, the French sociologist Alain Tourain wrote a book on social movement. It was translated in Arabic by the word "*Hirak*".

We have to choose between different designations, but whatever is the designation we choose. What has happened in Lebanon could be analyzed, understood as one of the many social movements, the most recent ones, that we have had in Hong Kong and Chile in the USA, of course, every social movement has its own features has its own driving force has its own organizational model. As they all have varying degrees of spontaneity, widespread popularity, but there are many similarities among them. Most of them are leaderless. Most of them are peaceful and most of them aspire to radical change. Not just a



change on one issue or in one area, but a sort of transformation in society. And more importantly, in politics defining what the social movement is, is not very easy. Starting by looking at what the social movement is not. I mean, social movement is not a political party; political parties have a clear vision of society, sometimes they have an ideology. That's not the case of the social movement.

Political parties have a program that normally deals with every aspect of collective life and That's not the case of social movements and finally political parties are primarily interested in developing strategies to conquer power. This is not so obvious, nor is it explicit nor perhaps at all, thought of social movements are different from revolutionary movements.

We call present protest movement in Lebanon: "*Thawra*".

As I said, it's fine with me as long as they call it "*Thawra*". But normally for people that are a bit older than you, or much older than you like my generation "*Thawra*" is associated with evolutionary theory has a theory that is associated with using all possible add necessity means to overthrow a political system.

And when I say every possible or necessity mean, I mean violence, so when a "*Thawra*" is non-violent than it is not in a way much of a "*Thawra*". But again, don't worry about this. The distinction I'm making here is, is a distinction that helps us to understand. It's not meant to deny the right to call the movement "*Thawra*", let it be forever.

Then what is a social movement? It's an extra institutional movement. It's not a movement within the institution. If two or three parliamentarians draft a law that aims to change, that's not a social movement. If a trade union has a demand and they take to the streets to claim that right, that's not a social movement but rather a trade union movement. Therefore social movements are by definition non-institutional or extra institutional, they are not a meant to put pressure on institutions.

The second feature of a social movement is that it starts as a spontaneous movement and then it gradually gets organized, but not too organized. Semi-organization is another feature. The third feature of a social movement is that it tries to mobilize different sectors of a society.

A social movement has many lives; we'll talk about them. There is a period that you may call a silent life, where social movement is in the making. Frustration, anger, grievances, discontent are building up, but they are not heard loud and clear until something happens that brings people to the point of expressing themselves loud and clear. Sometimes people forget all about that event.

That's parked the second phase of the social movement, the public, the public square phase. I don't think we all remember what has happened on October 17, but the event itself is not important.

It's important. Not in and of itself. It's important as a moment that crystallizes what has been in the making years or months (in the case of Lebanon, it's been years before).

One could argue that in Lebanon social movements have been in the making for a good number of years. The credibility of political forces in power was as at its slowest, for three decades. People in government were depicted as corrupt and ineffective. The more the aggravated economic crisis affected large segments of Lebanon's population, the greater the rejection of these political forces and the political system that produces them was. It prevented the emergence of a new political elite, capable of transcending the traditional and the communal (this is my use of the word "*Ta'iffy*"); I don't use the words confessional. Communal divisions are at the heart of an increasingly dysfunctional power sharing agreements.

As I said, the movement was leaderless. Like it is in many other parts of the world. But there is even if it's leaderless, there is a nuclear group that energizes the movement and those who energize the movement are educated. Young people among the educated young people.

There was even a more energizing, so to speak group that is the unemployed university graduates and small circle within not so small, but a circle within a larger circle. In addition, they were able, and a few days to mobilize large segments of the population from different regions (Remember Tripoli: "*Arous el Thawra*"?) and from different social classes.

There were French-speaking women from Achrafieh joining hand in hand with people from working class areas, and of course from various religious communities.

I have also raised what they thought were urgent national demands and wanted to. Force the ruling class to address them did not have a political program nor, and this is very important, they aspire to be recognized by the government as a negotiating partner.

They perceive themselves, as we say in French, "*une force d'opposition*"; power and force the proposition there into opposition rather than proposition. And that's a common feature of most social movements. These people are served themselves and this is a Lebanese specificity as Lebanese citizens. Because



in Lebanon, you assert yourself as a Christian. When you assert yourself as a Shiite, as a Sunnite, as a Druze, you assert yourself as a "Tripolitan". These people asserted themselves as Lebanese citizens rather than members of communities or regions. So that wasn't an identity that binds them together. That was in the making.

So social movements in a way, are capable of reshaping, collective identities, giving one identity prominence over the other identities. We all live in a world where we have multiple identities: we are women. We are students. We are Christians. We are Lebanese. We are Arabs. We are international.

All of these are identities that we have to live with. And sometimes we place one above the others, and sometimes we try to reconcile them. Say yes, I am this, but I'm also that. And on top of that, I'm that or the other. So the social movements give prominence to one identity that binds people together above their particular affiliations.

Therefore, when you say we are Lebanese; you're saying we are citizens. This summer school is about citizenship, and I think citizenship is also about identity. I've mentioned that earlier. They opted for non-violent approaches: some original, some inspired from other countries. You know, I was fascinated one evening: if I may give a personal testimony, in discussing with a group of my students about what they were doing in the streets. I realized how much they had learned from South Africa. When I mentioned to them that "you seem to have a drone on the best practices of young people in the townships of Johannesburg and Cape town", I saw that eyes opened, and they started asking me questions about South Africa.

Another important feature is that women played a leadership role in this social movement and they were highly visible. Of course, some people say it's the media: they always like to, to have a footage where women wear their t-shirts and their flags and so on. It's very superficial.

I think to attribute the prominence of women to media interest, it's far more profound than this. In my view, a number of general demands were voiced and powerfully expressed in reference to specific problems, stories, and people. The movement called for the resignation of government formation of a cabinet of independent and honest experts the idea of organizing anticipated parliamentary elections was also advocated. Equally upheld by the movement was the centrality of fighting corruption so much so that people could say that this social movement, primary goal is to fight corruption and that it looks at the discredit of political class from the angle of that anti-corruption struggle.

One could argue that the protest movement was not just about corruption. It's a social revolution. It's about values. It's about, social structures and politics, It has generated a new national consciousness, and it's infused in the country's population, the spirit of national unity and civic awareness. the long-term effects of all of this are extremely vital, That can't be ignored, profound social cultural changes are the most important achievement of a social movement. Social movement may or may not achieve a specific goal, but transforming society is a long-term achievement of the social movement.

There are many people who say, but this movement has not been able to produce a new political leadership to take over from the traditional one, producing a new political leadership and nine months. How could that be? There's not a single social moment in the world history that produced a new political leadership in nine months. And when politicians say, oh, I need your leaders to talk to, and I will appoint a couple of ministers from the protest movement: what they are doing is that they are attempting co-optation without genuine knowledge of what these movements are. These movements are not the place where, in a short period, political leaders emerge. Of course, social movements could be a stepping-stone for some charismatic individuals, to become political leaders. Good for them, but that is not what the social movement is about.

The movement in Lebanon has been able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of civilians and to take to the squares, street, and construct. It has also attempted to reclaim institutions of civil society, beyond the NGOs; the movement had reached out to professional syndicates, workers' unions, business associations, teachers' unions...

Remember the first inroad was the electoral victory in the Beirut Bar Association but it still is a long way towards changing the political system. The political power in a democracy rests in parliamentary representation.

A special kind of undemocratic democracy, such as Lebanon, also rest in parliamentary representation. And until the movement can build a significant presence within the system of representation, it may have to continue negotiating. From a position of limited influence because politicians are far from ready to lose their grips over politics, especially as now, some of them hold onto the power of arms and many of them to the comfort and legitimacy of electoral victories. They are legitimately elected.

Theorists of social movements speak about stages especially of four stages. And, and I would mention them briefly and then again, look at Lebanon and see how this four stages theory would fit in Lebanon.



Social movements are, born of discontent, so that is a stage of emergence. That's the first stage. Either you privilege one issue or a multiplicity of issue, but one remains central. Let's agree that fighting corruption is the central issue. And, and then a few other issues around it.

Normally in the emergence phase, social movements identify a group or a person (Lukashenko and Belarus) and focusing this content on a person might often help because you would have an achievable goal that is overthrowing that leader. In Lebanon that had not been, such a thing, they want to overthrow the political class. That is a little more difficult, a little trickier.

But this is stage one, the emergence. Now the second stage is called by sociologists. The stage of "coalescence", where not only you cease his political opportunities. But you try to define discontent. In the first phase, discontent is kind of pervasive. It's all over the place.

discontent has to be collective. It's not just telling your story. Not "I lost my job because my boss was so... etc.", but "we are unemployed because of this policy or lack thereof". It's also a stage of organization and strategy making.

It's a stage where in many social movements, paid staff replaced volunteers. This has not happened in Lebanon, maybe because there are so many NGOs involved in the movement. And as you all know, NGOs in Lebanon are small organizations and, many have lots of paid staff. So perhaps you don't need in the stage of coalescence to have a staff. This is the stage where you move also from opposition to proposition. Again, this has not happened here. Stage three is at a stage of institutionalization. And, and it's happening now, you remember in the last two, three weeks, there have been at least three initiatives. There might be more of bringing together 12, 17, 41 groups and federate them into one entity. That's the beginning of institutionalization. Now the unsolved dilemma for Lebanon is that while in periods of institutionalization, you position yourself as a negotiator, the leaders of those institutionalized movements are reluctant to position themselves as negotiators for how long they will be reluctant to do so. I don't know, but they may reach a point where they emerge as political actors and therefore negotiators. Now the stage for don't be shocked with the word. It could mean anything is the stage of decline.

According to sociologists that have worked on social movements, success or failure does not mean failure, but it could mean repression. It could mean cooptation. There has been a depression and depression has weakened the movement, obviously when the risk of being shot at or arrested, gets higher, then people tend to be more cautious.

Now let me talk about failure, and then about success; failure happens in social movements when they reach a point where they are fragmented, when they are divided. When they become factions rather than one movement, or when they become encapsulated, they become a little like a micro society that is cut off from the general society. When activists are isolated from the general public, they become so dedicated to the movement that they forget about the society that this movement is supposed to work for. In addition, the movement becomes central to their lives. They become professional protesters. And when protestors become professional protesters, then the risk of declined failure gets higher.

Sociologists who espouse the theory I have shared with you get a little lost in Lebanon because there is stage one, two, three and four at the same time. and then we revert from stage two to stage one from stage three to stage two. It's hard to see if the movement is on the way to decline. I claim it's not. Even if things are quiet for the time being. It will come back because the reasons that made this social movement possible are still there. And because the people whose energies have coalesced and the social movement are still there, unless, God forbid, they all fade away.

Thank you very much.





SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND COUNTER MOVEMENTS

Dany GHSSOUB

For any action, a reaction is always to be expected. For any revolution, one should always expect a counter-revolution. Historical events are legion: the French Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, etc.

So much so that revolutionary movements leaderships started to preemptively actively prepare to abort or curtail any counter movement; the Communists created the vanguards, the Islamic Revolution in Iran created a specialized unit: the Guardians of the Revolution.

To better understand the mechanisms underlying social movements and consequently counter movements one should rationally explore the leading causes of any social movement, be it a small limited demonstration or an overwhelming revolution.

Limiting the study to movements and counter movements would only partially cover the issue at stake. To have a full understanding one should explore the root causes for social movements.

David Easton's model can be of great help in this regard. Indeed, political systems are designed in order to process the demands (input) backed up by support within a specific socio-political environment and generate appropriate solutions (output). The output should be commensurate with the input in order to maintain a certain equilibrium consolidating social peace. Whenever a disequilibrium is identified, the risk of a social movement is enhanced. The less the political system is responsive to legitimate demands, the bigger the risk of social movements. These social movements might grow in intensity and transform into revolutions if the political system persists in ignoring and disregarding repeatedly popular legitimate demands.

Legitimate demands will face undoubtedly the resistance of what is called "the Establishment" i.e. existent political authorities whose interest is in maintaining and perpetuating their hold on the decision-making process which in turn help consolidate their power. For this purpose, they organize counter movements and sometimes counterrevolutions in order to maintain a status quo that benefits their interests.

As Marquis de Lafayette puts it in 1790: "when the government violates the people's rights then insurrection is, for the people and for every section of the people, the most sacred of their rights and the most indispensable of their duties." The Count François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas added in 1793: "when

the insurrection is general, it does not need an apology, and when it is partial, it is always guilty."

From the above we can reach the conclusion that when governments persist in ignoring and marginalizing legitimate popular expectations, citizens do not only have the right to rebel but a duty.





ADVOCACY WORKSHOP

Gloria ABDO

Whether you are politically active or not, advocacy is a concept to master in order to be active on a civic level. Part of your duty today, as the Youth, is to be involved in advancing your community through different skills and one of them is advocacy.

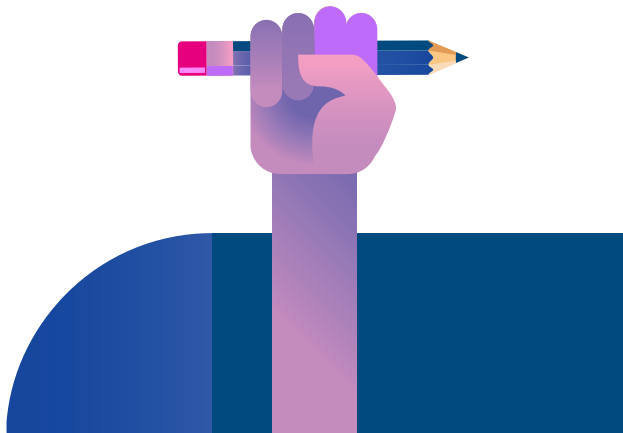
Advocacy can be used in your small circle, your community or the largest one: your Nation.

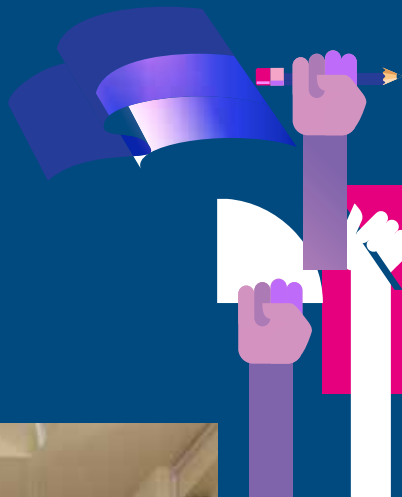
Citizenship today requires skills more than ever.

What participants have learned from the initiation workshop is how:

- To engage in an advocacy campaign or project and win it.
- To detect key elements.
- To define and analyze actors.
- To evaluate external factors that impact advocacy.
- To know the difference between self-advocacy and an advocacy project.
- Timeline and momentum can be part of the milestones of an advocacy project.

The session was divided into two parts where participants shared their own experience and worked in groups on a practical proposal for an advocacy project.







DAY 2

سنة ١٩٩٨، التحقت بالجامعة اليسوعية التى لم تكن بالنسبة لى مجرد جامعة أكاديمية تعلمت فيها العلوم الإقتصادية والحقوق فحسب بل شكلت السنوات التى أمضيتها فيها مدرسة حياة، تعلمت فيها معنى النضال والمواجهة الفكرية والميدانية.

على الصعيد الفكرى، تكثفت المناظرات فى القاعات العامة، ولكل مناظرة تحضير وقرءات و تثقيف. أما على الصعيد الميدانى والنضالى، فلم يمر شهر دون تظاهرة أو اعتصام مندد بالاحتلال السورى أو معارض للسلطة وسياساتها القمعية والفاسدة.

أوقفت مرات عدة على يد الأجهزة الأمنية التابعة للنظام الأمنى اللبنانى - السورى وأصبت مرات عدة خلال المواجهات.

لن أنسى الليالى التى مضت علينا ونحن نخطط للمواجهات وكيفية الالتفاف على حواجز القوى الأمنية وكتابة اليافطات بالطرق البدائية. لن أنسى محاصرتنا فى الجامعة اليسوعية حتى ساعات الليل ولن أنسى أصدقائى الذين اصيبوا بجروح خطيرة ولا أنسى اليوم الذى حوّلنا فيه إحدى غرف الجامعة الى غرفة عمليات لتحرير رفاق لنا كانوا موقوفين فى الخارج فيما نحن محاصرون فى الداخل وبحوزتنا بعض المعدات والأدوات الأميرية التى تمكنا من نشلها من عناصر قوى الأمن.

لن أنسى وجهاً واحداً من وجوه هؤلاء الرفاق ولن أنسى لحظة واحدة من تلك الأيام التى كُنّا فيها بضع مئات من الطلاب المقاومين المنتمين الى عدة احزاب لا يفرق بيننا شيء بل كان يجمعنا التضامن والمحبة فوق كل اعتبار.

مرت السنين وكأن الغطاء الدولى للاحتلال لن يسحب ابداً والجيش السورى سيبقى الى الأبد. ولكننا لم نتعب ولم نستسلم.

فى ١٤ شباط ٢٠٠٥ وأثناء تواجدى فى مكتب المحاماة الذى كنت اتدرج فيه، دوى الانفجار الذى أودى بحياة الرئيس رفيق الحريري. فى اليوم التالى، أى فى ١٥ شباط ٢٠٠٥، انطلقت المسيرات المتضامنة من مكان الانفجار الى ساحة الشهداء. وحصل ما لم يكن أحد منا يتوقعه. توحد الشارعان الاسلامى والمسيحى تحت الشعارات المنددة بالاحتلال السورى.



المسيرات التي كُنّا نشارك بها استمرت في الأيام التي تلت ولكن الخوف بدأ يتسرب اليّ من ان تبرد الهمم وتضعف التحركات.

بالتزامن كنت اتابع عبر شاشة «يورونيوز» الأحداث الأوكرانية التي أُطلق عليها اسم الثورة البرتقالية، وشاهدت كيف تمت محاصرة المباني الحكومية بالخيم والاعتصامات المتواصلة. فولدت لدي قناعة ان الطريق الوحيد لتحويل هذه التظاهرات الى ثورة حقيقية متواصلة لا تتوقف الا بتحقيق الهدف كان تأمين نقطة التقاء ثابتة ودائمة ليلاً ونهاراً.

تحولت هذه الفكرة الى حقيقة وانتهت بنشوء «مخيم الاستقلال». في ١٨ شباط قصدت المنزل مع عدد من الرفاق، جئنا بخيمة صغيرة ونصبتها في وسط ساحة الشهداء على البحص وكلنا ايمان بان آخرين سينضمون إلينا وسيحول الاعتصام الى دائم ويشكل نواة صلبة للحراك السيادةي بوجه الاحتلال السوري.

في الليلة الأولى لم نتمكن من النوم على البحص فقررنا نقل الخيمة إلى نقطة قرب تمثال الشهداء حيث كان العشب وحيث النوم مريح أكثر.

ليلاً، جاء بعض نشطاء التيار الوطني الحر وسألونا عما نفعله فأجبتهم اننا نؤمن ان الطريقة الوحيدة للحفاظ على استمرارية التحركات هي بتثبيتها في نقطة التقاء دائمة وهي خطوة نجحت في كيف. فقررنا الانضمام إلينا. ذهبنا الى المنزل وأحضرت خيمة اخرى قدمتها لهم فبقيت على مدى سبعين يوماً خيمة التيار.

بدأت الخيم تزداد حتى أصبحت بالمئات وتحولت الى «مخيم الاستقلال» وكان بمثابة العمود الفقري لكل التحركات اللاحقة ونقطة تجمع ١٤ آذار ٢٠٠٥.

كانت أياماً وليالٍ مجيدة اختلط فيها الشباب من كل الطوائف، لأول مرة بعد الحرب. عشنا في «مخيم الاستقلال» سبعين يوماً من العمر.

انهيت دراستي العليا في القانون الدستوري ومعها انتهت هذه المرحلة التاريخية من حياة لبنان بخروج الجيش السوري في ٢٦ نيسان ٢٠٠٥.

لا تغيير في أي مجتمع دون النساء ولا تغيير بأي نظام سياسي دون تطور في تطبيق واحترام حقوق المرأة.

الدور التي لعبته النساء في ثورة ١٧ تشرين كان لافتا من ناحية وجودها في الصفوف الأمامية في مواجهة الأجهزة الأمنية، أو من ناحية الدور القيادي الذي لعبته في التنظيمات الثورية، أو من ناحية التواصل مع التنظيمات الأخرى أو مع الإعلام. لكن الدور الأهم هونقلها الأجندا النسوية الى كل الخيم الثورية وجعلها جزء لا يتجزأ من أي خطة إصلاحية تم طرحها من قبل الثورة.

الثورة ضد النظام الطائفي الباترياركي هي ثورة محقة من قبل النسوية الواعية على الطبيعة الإقصائية للنظام. هذا النظام غير قادر أن يضمن المساواة ولا العدالة. الزعامات التي تتكلم في مصير البلد كلها رجال. فمن يمثل الطائفة هو دائما رجل. هذه الزعامات أيضا تتراأس أحزاب طائفية تغيب عنها الديمقراطية الداخلية وتداول السلطة وأيضا التشاركية في القرار مما يجعل قرار الحزب بتعيين أي امرأة في مراكز اتخاذ القرار يعود سببه لرضا الزعيم عليها وليس لكفاءات شخصية تم إثباتها بآليات ديمقراطية جعلت من مجيئها أو مجيئ أي رجل قرارا مستقلا عن إرادة الزعيم.

إن تغيير النظام الطائفي الإقصائي، ليس فقط للنساء بل للشباب والكثير من الكفاءات التي ترفض أن يتم وصولها عبر الحزب الطائفي، هو واجب من أجل تعزيز الديمقراطية الشاملة، العدالة وحقوق الإنسان. كذلك إن إقرار قانون جديد للأحزاب السياسية ينظم عملها وطبيعتها لتكون عابرة للطوائف ووطنية قادرة أن تنقل العمل السياسي من عمل عنصري يحمل فقط في خطابه الاختلاف الطائفي وطامسا لكل أنواع الإختلاف الأخرى منها التنوع الجندري، المرتبط بالعمر، المناطق، الطبقي، وغيرها.

كانت النساء ولا تزل عصب التغيير، قائدات في التنظيمات الثورية والمعارضة ولكن يجب أن تنعكس في مشاركتها في كل مراكز اتخاذ القرار الرسمية وغير الرسمية من أجل تغيير في نوعية السياسات العامة التي يجب أن تتضمن حاجات الجميع وذلك عبر آليات تشاركية تضمن مشاركة الجميع وطبعا النساء في وضعها، تنفيذها، وتقييمها وذلك لا يمكن أن يتم بوجود زعماء تحتكر القرار بل أحزاب ديمقراطية، ومؤسسات تعمل بانتظام في ظل سيادة القانون.





SHARING EXPERIENCE: THE UKRAINE REVOLUTION

Oleg GOLUBENKO

The geographical center of Europe is in Ukraine. Mentally, we are the part of EU civilization choice. In 2013, when the elected Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich postponed the signing of an association agreement with the EU, our students started to protest. Unbelievable cruel police violence against peaceful young demonstrators led to a wave of protests, which came to be known as the "Euromaidan" movement with more than a million protesters. After a series of violent events involving protesters and unknown shooters, that killed riot police and more than 100 citizens, the President left our country for Russia. It was known as "Euromaidan Revolution" and we call it the "Ukrainian Revolution for Dignity".

The main feature of the Revolution was great self-organization of protesters. The spirit of freedom, pursuit of European values and striving for a better future for our children gave strength for peaceful movement. We organized protest camp in the center of Kyiv, and we were living there in spite of the 20 degrees below zero. Oppositional political leaders tried to coordinate the protests, but they were weak and had to adjust their activity for people initiatives. Protesters helped and assisted each other because of common values. People decided to be organized in departments like in army with strict division of responsibilities. We used Facebook, Twitter and other social networks for coordination. Additionally, we organized small groups on Messenger. Our group was supplying medicines and was responsible for medical care. During the Revolution, we met like-minded people and we understood the value of freedom and democracy. It was a real awakening for civil society, for our self-awareness and our self-identity.

We changed the President during a democratic election and signed the expected agreement with EU. Unfortunately today, we have a part of our country occupied by Russia and we have to fight for our independence. Until now, we are paying the highest of prices; the lives of our people who are dying to protect our aspiration for freedom and dignity.

Artists, amongst thousands and millions of other people and professionals, do participate in social movements. That was the headline of the discussion held about the role of artists in social protests. Although the first difference between artists and other communities participating in social movements and demonstrations, maybe revolutions as well, is that artists do what immortalizes a moment for the rest of a population to see.

Throughout modern history, artists worldwide have translated revolutions and social movements onto their canvas, pages, clays and music sheets. I would nominate, as an example, the famous “La Prise de la Bastille”¹ painting that immortalizes the peak of the French Revolution that is still affecting the history of France and the world, until today. In addition, and to stay in France, the May 1968 Students' Movement is still as well alive today, not only in history books and lectures, but in posters, images and video recordings; all of them created as a momentary need or an instinctive rush of an artist to catch by his means an event or a happening. Little did these artists know that their work would be the most vibrant and authentic archive of true events and happenings, an archive that everyone would believe in.

The panel held within the Citizenship Summer School hosted two artists, each one with his own point of view on participation in social movements. Roy Dib, a multidisciplinary artist, has participated in Lebanon's October 17 Uprising not as an artist but as a citizen. He put aside his camera and went shouting “Thawra” slogans and promoting them on his personal social media accounts. His decision, he says, came from a feeling or a need to participate with everyone like everyone without taking time to film and take pictures from far. He felt he wanted to be in the middle of what is happening and not just looking at it.

On the other side of the table, sat Marijoe Raidy, a photographer and writer who gathered a book with more than 200 photographs for different artists and named it “The Silent Leaders” featuring different artworks from the October 17 Uprising. For Marijoe it all started on her Instagram account, when she posted regular pictures from the demonstrations. She says that the feedback those

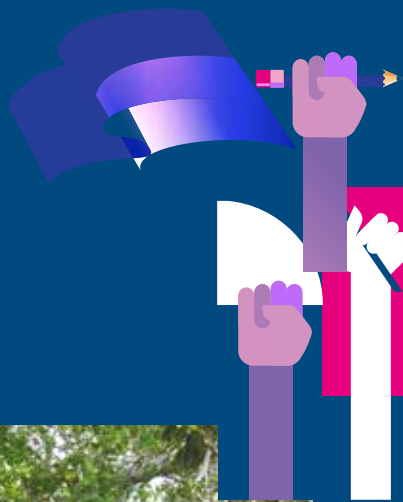
1. « La prise de la Bastille » Is a watercolor painting by Jean-Pierre Houël created in 1789 and it illustrates the storming of the Bastille in Paris as the key event of the French Revolution on July 14 1789.



Instagram posts got encouraged her to even be more active in reporting a reality that may sometimes be distorted by medias. She felt that her mission was to show the world what was happening. This is where the book idea came from.

With both Roy's and Marijoe's different approaches, the mission remains essential for the present time and for history. As far as we need lawyers, plumbers, doctors, journalists, social workers, mechanics.... Etc. to achieve a real change or an evolution, we cannot reach a change without the participation of artists.







DAY 3

لم أكن يوماً أعلم أنني سأقف لأحاور مجموعة من جيل الشباب اللبناني في مرحلة سجلت فيها أعلى نسبة هجرة لهم في تاريخ لبنان دون أن أحمل ما يحفزهم على البقاء وعدم الاستسلام. فما تغنيا به عبر العقود من جبال خضراء وطبيعة خلابة وقرب للمسافات بين البحر والجبل انتهت صلاحيته وبتنا نعيش في بلد لا تتوفر فيه أدنى مقومات الحياة الطبيعية، فكيف أقنعهم؟

كيف أقنع من لم يجد في لبنان فرصة عمل ولا راحة ولا إستشفاءً ولا أمناً غذائياً بأن يبقى فيه؟ كيف أقنع من لم تسأل عنه الدولة يوماً بأن الانتماء للوطن أقوى من أي شيء آخر؟ كيف أقنع من لا حدود لأحلامه وطموحاته أن يبقى هنا ويدفن مستقبله؟

وقفت أمام مجموعة من طلاب جامعات لبنان وسألت عن عدد الراغبين بالهجرة المؤقتة أو الدائمة فصعقت بأن الباقيين قلّة لا تستطيع تحمل تكاليف هذه الهجرة فقط، وقفت لأصارع هؤلاء الشباب وأنقل لهم جزءاً من تجربتي النيابية وواقع الأمور فلمست مفاعيل ثورة ١٧ تشرين.

حولت ثورة تشرين هذا الجيل الذي لم يهتم يوماً بالشأن العام الى أهم مراقب للسلطات وأقوى محاسب في العملية السياسية، هذا الجيل الذي لم يعيش الحرب اللبنانية ولا أحقادها ولا إنتاجها دخل لأول مرة في معترك السياسة وشكل قلب الثورة النابض، هز عروش الحكام وبدأ مسيرة التغيير التي نأمل أن تحقق الهدف المنشود منها.

ربما لم أقدم لهم ما يحثهم على البقاء لكنني نقلت إليهم تجربتي في العودة من الاغتراب الى الوطن، وتشاركت معهم في حلم بناء لبنان الجديد حيث لا محسوبية بل كفاءة، لا فتنة بل استقرار، لا فساد بل شفافية، حلم بناء دولة القانون والمساواة في الفعل لا في الأشعار وحلم بناء لبنان الذي يحتضن أبنائه ويؤمن لهم متطلبات العيش الكريم والابداع.

مجرّم من حول لبنان من بلد الازدهار الى بلد الدمار، مجرّم من جعل من لبنان محطة لتصدير الشباب المتعلم والمتقف، مجرّم من جعل لبنان مقبرة للطموح والأحلام، مجرّم من أضع ثروة لبنان الشبابية وفرط بها وسفاح من تربع في قصره وشاهد آلاف الشباب تهاجر يومياً دون أن يحرك ساكناً.

أخيراً أغلب شعوب العالم مرّت بإحباط ومصاعب قبل الارتقاء الى دولة القانون، ونحن اليوم وبتصميم وعزم هذا الجيل على التغيير سنستمر في النضال والأمل كبير في انتصار الخير على الشر وسنروي لأولادنا عن بطولات شبابنا لبناء لبنان الجديد.



DIASPORIC ENGAGEMENT WITH THE HOMELAND – THE CASE OF LEBANON

Jihad NAMMOUR

After briefly examining the evolution of the meaning of the word “diaspora” and the expansion of the field of diasporic studies, the session attempted to determine the type of links that a diaspora maintains with its homeland, and through which types of action it can engage with it. Students drew examples from Lebanon, its large diaspora, but also parts of other diasporas that it holds. We also looked into the case of other diasporas such as Jewish, Greek and Armenian.

Afterwards, we then examined different types of diasporic political participation and to what extent this participation is democratic or supports democratic processes. The examples and discussions were meant to introduce participants to a non-normative political analysis but also to encourage them to engage as citizens following the moto of the Institute of Political Science at USJ “Bouge pour que ça bouge”.





In September 2020, after the terrible blast that shattered the lives of so many Lebanese and non-Lebanese living and working in Beirut, discussing the possibilities offered by social movements was necessary. Since October 2019, social movements were on a rise in Lebanon, due to the political and economic deadlock. The spur of protests was exacerbated by the financial and banking crisis. The inflation, the loss of power of the Lebanese Lira facing the US dollar, led to the impoverishment of many social classes. Additionally the increase in the regime repression made actors behind the protests, and movements tactical and calculated. Observing these realities and understanding it from a societal perspective was the core aim of the discussions.

During a full day at the citizenship summer school organized by the Student Life Department at USJ, students from different universities from various specialties mapped together the modern social media outlets used for different causes. Students identified social problems, actors and targets as well as resources available.

The comparative methodology was used to tackle different examples from Lebanon and the World on different themes from the LGBTIQ movement in Lebanon and the different campaigns it led, violence against women and girls, the abuse of foreign domestic workers, political participation of women, climate change, governance problems in the country, etc.

At the end the discussions tackled the wide spectrum of possible actions, citizens transformed into "e-actors" can perform to exercise their democratic rights from building movements, writing open letters, tweeting trolls, signing petitions, creating interest groups on social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram, etc.

The Summer School highlighted during these sessions, lessons learned, main challenges as well as possible future action by students. After the sessions, a great step forward was the request of student to the Student Life Department of USJ to create a club to amend discriminatory laws in Lebanon. In addition, different students were interested in performing internships with organizations leading campaigns in Lebanon.

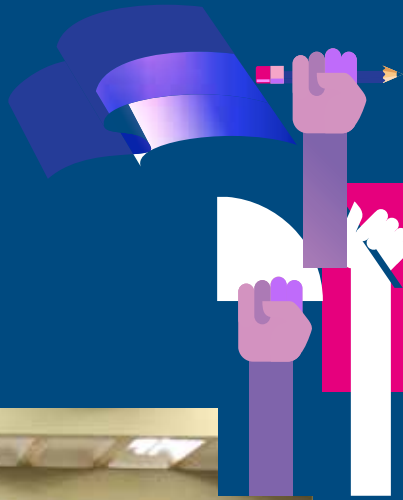


LOBBYING WORKSHOP

Fady HAYEK - Marie-Joelle COURSON

The lobbying workshop was meant to familiarize participants with lobbying's objectives, techniques and strategy building. To do so, theory and practice were merged and discovered during a one-hour session. Theoretically, lobbying techniques can be assimilated to ancient times political philosophies such as Lao Tzu's genius "*The Art of War*". Practically, after having presented some of Lao Tzu's teachings, we brainstormed around a typical lobbying case study, which is how to influence the policy decision making process in the parliament. The main steps a lobbyist should follow before implementing their strategy were therefore concluded: setting a clear, specific and measurable objective, becoming expert on the subject, identifying applicable laws, targeting officials as well as alliances and oppositions. This way, a lobbyist can pave the way towards their goal!







DAY 4



CASE STUDY: LEBANESE PLATFORMS TO GATHER MIGRANTS DURING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Gloria ABDO, Oliver NAKHLEH and Antoine KALLAB

In this part of the workshop, participants explored the Lebanese Youth initiative tackled worldwide. Two main case studies were presented:

- The experience of "Meghterbin Mejtemiin": a Berlin movement represented by Oliver Nakhleh, a young activist:

"I had the honor to be given the opportunity to participate in the USJ Citizenship Summer School concerning the role of migrants in the revolution and to inform others what "Meghterbin Mejtemiin" is.

I started by explaining the critical roles that the diaspora plays, such as showing the whole world what Lebanon is going through mainly because of its corrupt politicians and political parties. By doing so, they can help to put pressure on our politicians through the international community.

Then, I talked about how "Meghterbin Mejtemiin" originated and its purpose. "MM" started on October 18 when a few people from Paris connected with their friends in New York and started talking about coordinating efforts. From there, people began creating accounts with the name of their city and "Meghterbin Mejtemiin", and then the group started to grow, and now it's a network connecting like-minded Lebanese diaspora all over the world from New York to Berlin to Dubai and beyond. I also explained how we reacted after the Beirut explosion and about the webinar commemorating 100 years of Greater Lebanon that we had where we brought together the perspectives of representatives from "Kitle Wataniye", "Minteshreen", and "MMFD" to talk about where they see Lebanon going next & what they want. After the explosion, we worked on many relief efforts, namely with Baytna Baytak, in order to help people who needed housing. We also worked on lobbying efforts to show the importance of sending donations and money to NGOs and the Lebanese Red Cross directly, and not to the government. Some "MM" members even flew to Lebanon."

"Meghterbin Mejtemiin" account on instagram: @meghterbin.mejtemiin



-
- The experience of “Lebanon Talks” – An NGO in Paris – established after the October 17 Uprising, represented by Antoine Kallab, President and Co-founder:

“We are a group of young Lebanese, concerned about the future of our country. The organization of this event is our personal contribution to the development of Lebanese politics. Through our academic curriculums, our professional experiences as well as our personal networks, we are determined to carry out this project. Our aim is to bring together actors from both national and international levels with public and political perspectives to reflect on the groundbreaking movement that has emerged over the past year. We're working to develop a constructive dialogue bridging the gap between the general public and experts. Through these discussions, we hope to develop potential recovery solutions for Lebanon's numerous challenges, that can be implemented in partnership with the civil society, private sector and public authorities. We hope that this conference will have an international reach and confirm the growing influence of Lebanese diaspora. As we honor the multiplicity of genres, ideas and journeys, we believe that diversity of opinions will only add value to this complex debate.”

Lebanon talks on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/lebanontalksofficial>

At the end of the panel, participants shared their experience with the presenters and highlighted the major role of the migrants and specifically the “October 17” initiative created by them in fostering a culture of hope on a local level.

The main objective was to empower peer-to-peer connection and to think beyond the local level in the awakening social movements.

Antoine is an urban planner with an experience that spans over several countries, including Lebanon, France, the USA and Vietnam. He graduated from the Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture de Paris in December 2018 with a master's degree in architecture. He is currently finishing a MSc. degree in Urban Economic Development at the Barlett Faculty - University College London in order to specialize in Economic policy, social development and disaster management in cities. In February 2020, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development of Sierra Leone awarded him a fellowship to analyze the challenges ahead of the country's national mid-term development plan. Starting October 2020, Antoine will be pursuing a master's in Geopolitics and Prospective at the IRIS Sup' in Paris in parallel with a master's in Public Administration at the Université Bretagne Occidentale, to gain a better understanding of how international relations impact territorial development policies and challenges.



JOURNALISM AS A WEAPON TO BOOST OR KILL A REVOLUTION

Philippe ABOU ZEID

The role of media is crucial to any society. Media and communication have been there for a long time. In 1709, Germany knew the first forms of public journalism. Before that, all sorts of communication was biased, from the government to the people with no feedback from the people.

To understand the role of journalism and its impact, we need to understand the evolution of media and the sole purpose of journalism. This is why I tried to explain "the purpose of journalism," as written by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel in "The Elements of Journalism", which is "not defined by technology, nor by journalists and the techniques they employ," rather by "the principles and purpose of journalism are defined by something more basic: the function news plays in the lives of people."

News is that part of communication that keeps us informed of the changing events, issues, and characters in the world outside. Though it may be interesting or even entertaining, the foremost value of news is as a utility to empower the informed.

The purpose of journalism is thus to provide citizens with the information they need to make the best possible decisions about their lives, their communities, their societies, and their governments.

So there is an indispensable role for journalism in forming the public opinion and for the journalist to take part and belong to their community and society.

From defining this purpose of journalism, we then moved to the revolutions and uprising in the streets of Lebanon and went into dissection of the major events to understand the relationship between media and people and what drives media and what drives the people.

Journalism principles are objectivity and loyalty, and the journalist should always place the interest of the reader of the news above everything else.

Objectivity is not an easy task. It is a continuous exercise to be practiced by media on daily basis and with every event.

The session focused on the role of media and the problematic question: Journalism as a weapon to make or kill a revolution? The participants discussed in a very dynamic way what they think the role of media in Lebanon and the region is. We studied the Arab Spring and compared it with the revolution of October 2019 in Lebanon.



At the end of the session, we drew the following conclusion: media without the will of the people cannot create a momentum by itself.

We need both. Media cooperation and the will of the people to create the change they want.

And I wrapped the session by giving examples before the age of social media and media, during the French revolution and the Russian revolution, we did not have the tools we have today.

Were the people influenced by media?

Or did they have the will to change?





منذ العام ٢٠١٦ مع وصول ميشال عون الى سدة الرئاسة، ازدادت الانتهاكات الاعلامية والثقافية في لبنان. لا بل رصد مركز «سكايز» أكثر من ٥٠ انتهاك حتى اليوم. أبرز هذه الانتهاكات ضد الصحفيين والناشطين، هي الضرب والشتم وتكسير المعدات وتهديد بالاغتصاب والقتل. الارقام وحدها لا تنفع. الحرية ليست رقم. لم يعد مهما تعداد الانتهاكات ما لم يكن المجتمع المدني متكاملًا في نشر ثقافة حرية التعبير والرأي.

اليوم وأكثر من أي يوم مضى، استطاع الشارع أن يرفع سقف الحريات، ولو بالشتيمة. الا أنه ليس بالضرورة أن تعكس الشتيمة كمصطلح مستوى حرياتنا، لكنها في مكان ما كانت إشارة على تحرر الشارع ضد شخصيات نهبت البلد من دون رادع.

الحريات لا تتناقض مع القانون، لا بل تحميه. فحرية الفكر والثقافة ونشر الوقائع وحدها تؤمن الاستقرار وتنقذ الأرواح من أي خطر كان. جريمة انفجار مرفأ بيروت في ٤ آب ٢٠٢٠ دليل قاطع على ضرورة وجود مساحة للصحافة الاستقصائية في البلد لكشف المستور الذي يهدد حياة المواطنين. الناس قتلوا في منازلهم وهذه جريمة لا تغتفر.

ملكية الاعلام اللبناني المحصورة ب١٢ عائلة سياسية تقول إن الاعلام هنا هو اعلام رجال الاعمال والطوائف، وليس منبراً لنقل الحقيقة ونشر المعلومة، مما يعني أن هذه المؤسسات هي أذرع إعلامية وليست مؤسسات تراعي اخلاقيات ومعايير المهنة. وكسر هذه المعايير يعني أن الصحفي لا يستطيع ممارسة مهنته بشكل حر ليقول الحقيقة، وغياب الحقيقة يبرر الجريمة.

تهرع الأجهزة الأمنية لاعتقال وضرب وتهديد كل من يرفع الصوت، ولا تحرك ساكناً ضد كل من يسرق ويقتل ويفسد الوطن والمواطن. أنها ازدواجية حكم علينا أن نتعايش معها، الا أن قالت ثورة ١٧ تشرين «لا».

الحريات تبدأ عندما نسأل ونتحقق من كل فكرة وكل معتقد وكل توجه سياسي وثقافي واجتماعي واقتصادي وتنتهي حريتنا عندما نمنع من طرح السؤال. وحرية التعبير ليست معركة الصحفي، هي معركة الشعب من دون أي مسمى وظيفي. هي معركة الطلاب والمهن الحرة وكل من يمشي في شوارع هذا البلد.



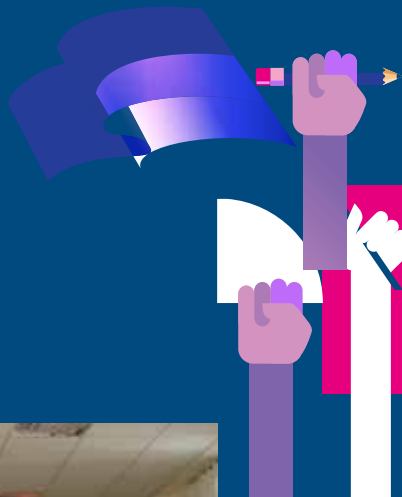


NETWORKING LUNCH

The last day of the Citizenship Summer School was ended by a networking lunch that took place in the garden of the Medical Sciences Campus in a setting that respected all Covid-19 measures. Trainers and students met to discuss further topics from the summer school's program and other subjects over lunch.

Many public figures, such as minister Manale Abdelsamad, Minister Domianos Qattar and Mr. Edmond Sassine attended the lunch as well, and shared with the students their experiences and thoughts about hot topics from the Lebanese scene.







Winning articles

This section features the top 13 winning articles of the summer school writing competition. N° 1 article was awarded a trip to Berlin in 2021.

Articles are presented by alphabetical order according to students names.



EMIGRATION: SHOULD YOU BE ALLOWED TO LOSE HOPE IN YOUR COUNTRY?

Cherly ABOU CHABKE

In parallel to Shakespeare's soliloquy "to be or not to be", which left many questioning the very essence of their existence, the Lebanese people find themselves, today, stranded in facing this *époque's* conundrum "to emigrate or not to emigrate". It's safe to say that with the plethora of tragic recent events, Shakespeare's words fall short compared to the myriad of challenges that are crippling the world's progress, and in our case, Lebanon's growth and prosperity.

Today, the Lebanese youth are facing a mind-boggling dilemma: hold on to the last glimmer of hope and take the risk of believing in change, or refuse to stay on a boat that seems to be slowly sinking, along with all that remains within it. It seems as though landing on a far away unknown island is more promising than staying in the country they have known and loved their whole lives. Are today's consecutive events creating a Lebanon where those who can leave, do so, and those who can't, unwillingly remain? Have those who chose to stay, ultimately gone extinct?

Having been swamped by the infernal spiral of corruption for over 30 years, the Lebanese rose up against the notoriously fraudulent ruling class in October 2019. For a moment, they thought that they could alter the course of history, and for a while, it seemed as though it was working. But then again, what is being Lebanese, if not consistently getting extremely close to a goal, just to have a cataclysmic event derail you yet again, shuffling you into a whole new battle you never chose for yourself? To place one's pawn back to square one in a strange land is not an easy decision and definitely not an appealing one, yet, more than 380,000 Lebanese have recently expressed their desire to depart the country into the unknown, due to the current political and economic turmoil and to flee the kleptocratic regime of which they fall victims. According to Google Trends, internet searches for the word "immigration" from within the country have hit "a five-year peak between November and December 2019". Although this portrays record numbers, emigration isn't a brand new term to the Lebanese. It started with the "Silk Economy" of the years 1870, whose effects lead to the creation of an "economy of immigration": the archetype where youngsters who emigrate send back money to their parents still living in the country. For centuries, our country has been an unstable ground for its people



to bloom and prosper. Along with our national anthems and patriotic chants, came discussions of grief, sorrow and travel. Hence, a renowned reputation emerged about the Lebanese diaspora having its feet firmly anchored in its respective countries of residence, and its heart turned to the motherland. Just like our "Dabke", "Tarboush", "Tabboule" and "Sabah", emigration has become embedded in the Lebanese identity. Recently, this component has been the most prominent one. Youngsters have reached the stage of mocking those who still choose to stay, despite the chaos; those are regarded as outlandish and delusional. Only two options seem to have remained: to love Lebanon but to be unable to live in it, or to curse it, but be unable to leave it. Nizar Qabbani's last verse of his poem "*Limaza?*" ("Why?") allows us to draw a distinct comparison. The narrator, seeing how lively and beautiful things are around her, can't seem to figure out why she's unable to find happiness and success, and keeps asking herself "why?". The Lebanese youth, enriched with a culture of 18 coexisting sects, and all the required potential to thrive in their home country, can't seem to succeed nor answer the question "why?". Is it the clientelism and crony capitalism, or the toxic communitarianism and confessionalism, cyclical dynasties, or is all the blame on Fayruz who sang and believed of an illusionary prosperous country, a "Lebanese utopia" ?

According to Nataly El Bitar, a Lebanese Canadian student at University of British Columbia, who emigrated in 2019, having a foreign passport was a blessing that enabled her to study abroad, "I always had a backup plan for my future," she said. While Nataly is certainly glad to have had this privilege, she is complimented by her Canadian friends for her Lebanese patriotism, "it can't be any other way," she answers. However, Nataly also adds: "To foreigners, our culture and passion is so overwhelming. But to those who are back in Lebanon, it seems as though they see my Lebanese identity is fading away, as if I am letting them down. I'm always going to be the Lebanese who didn't live through this or that. My Lebanese identity may not be fading through time, it is, however, susceptible to more critique." Stephanie Ashkar, sophomore at Harvard, who left the country to live in the States, expressed her desire to instill in her kids the values that make us Lebanese: "Resilience, hospitality, generosity, certainly... but especially the ability to make most out of an unfortunate situation and to fight on under seemingly impossible circumstances, because Lebanon is more than just a land, Lebanon is a people, a culture, and thousands of years of history."

Lebanon's mountaineering saga might have changed the dynamics of our lifestyle, but not the essence: Emigration is today the "new mainstream tradition", but we should never allow it to turn into our despairing reality.



"I [CANCEL], THEREFORE I AM": LUBRICATING LEBANON'S MOVEMENT AND COUNTER MOVEMENT INTRACTABLE INTERPLAY

Christy-Belle GEHA

Beirut: Endorsing and/or practicing the cancel culture through modern-day Descartes' *cogito, ergo sum* "I [cancel], therefore I am," validates your eligibility to live in contemporary-politics societies...

Identities clash when differences emanate, in a Darwinian fight for the "survival of the fittest," which create fear-originating segregations of repellency and rejection, causing cancellation.

Many cultures cancel. The Lebanese culture cancels.

Heated interplays of contending movements, echo chambers in contemporary politics, prejudice-generated destructive debate, and instinctual public discourse: the required ingredients for a tendency towards the cancel culture, and Lebanon is no stranger to the accumulated sectarian debris that hasn't decomposed nor been cleared off yet, a fact that has resurfaced during the clashes between the October 17 social movement and its countermovement.

Modern-day Lebanon allows some of you to protest on the streets if you *aren't* open for dialogue. You're cancelled, sometimes, by some of those who fight for democracy, free speech, and liberalism, if you're *not* "pro-thawra".

You're cancelled by those who focus on the moral flaws of your existence, as if they're flawless. Social media have widened the cancellation's reach.

The opposing side of you denigrates your views.

"It's practically impossible to destroy, overnight, a political party, with all its ideology, history, and supporters." expressed Andréa Atallah, law student at Saint Joseph University of Beirut (USJ). "Protesters shouldn't reject others without listening to them, thus change starts from eliminating the 'cancel culture' and understanding each other, in order to pressure the Parliament altogether to pass laws that would benefit us all."

Atallah describes herself as a President Michel Aoun supporter who took to the streets for four days following October 17, then quit, due to "lots of mistakes."



She pinpointed the strict finger-pointing towards the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM) like no other, while "no other political party is being attacked as the FPM nor they are ready to cease existence or let go of their ideology."

In a similar context, Ziad, who qualifies the Lebanese protests since October 17 as revolutionary, is convinced that debunking hoaxes and sparking conversations between youth of different opinions in real-life debates moderated by professionals who attempt at being as close to objectivity as possible, can root for change, if away from social media use.

"Social media have always been a double-edged sword, but it is now unacceptable that, for instance, the term 'Aouniye' (supporters of the FPM and/or President Michel Aoun) becomes an insult which defines as 'politically-blinded herds'," noted Ziad. "So many perspectives can be presented on the table, thus it would be wise to leverage them."

A pro-uprising activist, who asked for anonymity, insisted that change starts with a clear plan that, when agreed on by the Lebanese people, can be put in place by a transitional government with exceptional power.

"Pro-uprising individuals, alongside anti-uprising individuals, have the same demands," he noted. "But it seems like the uprising is headed towards a political organization, a vision that's no new to Lebanon amidst social security networks, proper to each traditional political party."

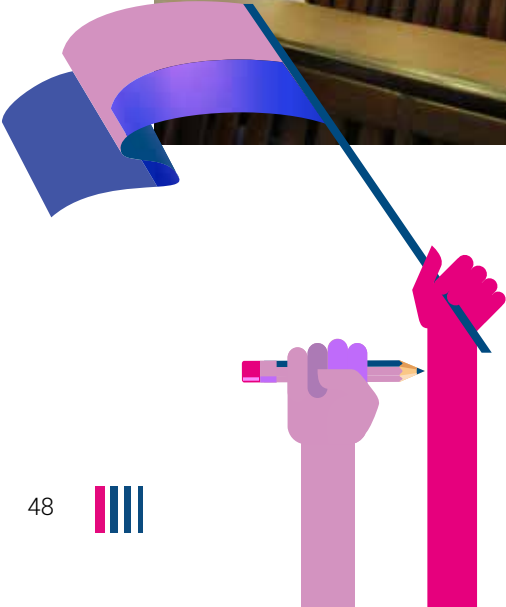
Ali Abou Jbara, 23, journalism student, introduced himself as a partisan of Hezbollah, although he doesn't oppose the uprising's inception spirit, since "[he] lives in no La La Land and is very aware of the much-needed change in the country."

However, he doesn't feel that a dialogue between Lebanese people is possible in the current circumstances, especially that he thinks that some of them lack the ability to be in others' shoes.

"How would a dialogue be initiated if many Lebanese still label me as an Iranian?" questioned Abou Jbara. "The Lebanese are used to stereotyping the other: an inhabitant of Dahye (Beirut's southern suburb) is profiled as an illiterate who can't speak English, or a 'motorcycle' person! I, personally, can defend my beliefs by presenting reasonable and logical arguments, but not all people can."

Abou Jbara sees a potential pathway for change starting from targeting the real corrupt class and separating the idea of cancelling Hezbollah's armed strength from the basic needs' demands during protests, without pointing fingers at Hezbollah via accusations of treason and insults, as peaceful as it was during the first three days that followed October 17, according to him.

"If people aim at changing a country, they don't provoke others for the sole difference of having differing viewpoints, whereas the opposite is what's exactly happening in Lebanon, especially on social media platforms," he ended.



تملكهم الياس، فلم يجدوا سوى في المغادرة سبيلا، عليهم يعثرون في الهجرة على وطن بعد أن أمسوا غرباء في بلادهم وأرضهم، فقدوا كل أمل بقيام دولة مؤسسات ترعى أمورهم وتؤمن لهم أبسط حقوق العيش، ففضلوا الهجرة نحو بلاد تحترم الإنسان. تسارعت أحداث ٢٠٢٠ في لبنان، من مظاهرات إلى ركود اقتصادي فانهيار، وصولا إلى اليوم المفصلي: ٤ آب، يوم انفجار الحلم، إنه يوم الصدمة.

شعرة معاوية في حقبة

بين المغترب والمهاجر شعرة معاوية، قطعها اللبناني سريعا في السنوات الأخيرة، جاعلا من حقبة سفره منزله المتنقل إلى حين رسوه على بر أمان وعمل. فاغترابه استأهل تماثلا فوق مرفأ بيروت ظل صامدا رغم الانفجار المهول. فيما هجرته قد تتطلب كفنا لدفن آمال الوطن بعودة أدمغة أبنائه المهاجرة.

أصعب وأكثر شييء محزن في كل ما يحصل، هي النسبة الخيالية من الشباب المصممة على الهجرة. سيفرغ البلد عاجلا أم آجلا من الشباب المصممة على الهجرة. سيبقى في لبنان ٣ طبقات نائمة:

- الطبقة الأشد فقرا، لعدم توفر القدرة المادية على الهجرة.
- الطبقة الجاهلة، أكبر طموحها النرجيلة.
- قلة قليلة من الشباب الواعية والطموحة التي لم تأتها فرصة الهجرة، وهي طبقة انتقالية مؤقتة ستندثر سريعا بفعل الطبقتين الأولتين.

الطالب اللبناني: مشروع مغترب أم مشروع عودة؟

نعم، هجرة الأدمغة البشرية من لبنان ليست وليدة العام، بل هناك العديد من الأسباب التي تدفع الفئة المثقفة إلى الهجرة، حتى قبل ٢٠٢٠.

نبدأ بالنظام التربوي اللبناني، حيث انتهت صلاحيته مع العصر الحديث. وأصبح مجرد حشو في دماغ الطفل والطالب، ومجرد معلومات تنسى بعد الامتحانات. نصل إلى سوق العمل حيث تبين الإحصاءات المركزية والجامعات التربوية ومركز البحوث والإينماء متطلبات سوق العمل الحالية في لبنان وتلفت إلى ماهية المهن المطلوبة والتخصصات المفترض إلغاؤها في لبنان، لأن سوق العمل متخم بها.

كبح هجرة ألدمة والكفاءات

نعلم أن السوق اللبناني لا يستوعب العمالة الوطنية. كما نعلم من تعاطينا اليومي مع المهاجرين أن الكثير منهم يرغبون في العودة إلى لبنان، رغم كل ما نمر به ولإعادة جمع شملهم بعائلاتهم. ما يعني أن هناك العديد من الوسائل للحد من الهجرة من لبنان، خاصة معالجة الوضع الأمني والسياسي من خلال استحداث القوانين وتطويرها، اعتماد الشفافية في المعاملات الرسمية والتوظيف، القضاء العادل والشفاف في ملف الهدر والفساد الإداري وقضية مرفأ بيروت واسترجاع الأموال المنهوبة.

يمكن للدولة تمويل كلفة التدريب وإنشاء المشاريع الفتية الشابة عبر تقديم قروض ميسرة للطلاب الجدد والعمل على خلق فرص عمل عبر تمويل دراسات ومختبرات لتشجيع الأبحاث. كما لا يمكن فرض ضرائب على التحويلات المالية للمغتربين لأنها تدفعه إلى الامتناع عن إرسالها لأهله.

أخيراً، من الواضح أن الثقة انعدمت، وللمفارقة، فإن الأسلوب الاستغلالي الطاغى على الزعماء المخلوعين، جعلهم يطلقون على مغادري لبنان تسمية «المنتشرين»، وصوروهم كأنهم «MONEY FRESH»، للتباهي بانتصارات زائفة، فيما هؤلاء المظلومين في بلادهم ليسوا سوى هاربين من الأزمات التي خلفها مطلقو تلك التسميات وسياساتهم التي ستقضي على كل ما تبقى من نفس حي بعد فاجعة بيروت. ومن المتوقع للأسف أن ترتفع الأرقام أكثر فأكثر مع مرور الوقت. فمن سيحدر الشعب من مافيا السلطة وقطيعها؟ وماهي تأثيرات التحرر على المدى القريب والبعيد؟





UNVEILING THE LEGAL CAUSES OF FREEDOM OF PRESS VIOLATIONS DURING THE LEBANESE PROTESTS

Inaya OLLEIK

"All of them means all of them". Probably one of the most famous slogans that was acclaimed by the demonstrators during the protests. In a country gangrened by a corrupt political oligarchy, and where freedom of expression was decreasing at an alarming rate, hearing those chants is an unprecedented phenomenon in Lebanon. Politicians, who are often hailed by their supporters, constituted a "red line" before the protests. And in the thrill of the huge crowd, the protesters weren't the only ones breaking "taboos", media institutions played a huge role in shattering professional rules by providing a platform for the demonstrators without any monitoring or censorship.

Nonetheless, the media was soon confronted by the Lebanese authorities and were exposed to numerous abuses. Many reporters have been physically and verbally attacked by the police during the demonstrations and some of them were even prohibited from covering the protests and were detained by security forces. Moreover, many journalists were subjected to harassment and threats by publishing their mobile numbers. In addition to the attacks, journalists received subpoenas from the Cybercrimes Bureau for expressing their opinion on social media platforms.

Most of these violations towards journalists are embedded in archaic laws. For example, although the Lebanese Constitution, through its Article 13, is obligated to protect freedom of expression and press, this protection remains "within the limits established by law". But those limits continue to be unclear and unknown. This lack of clarity permits politicians to manipulate the law in their favor and has already led to the detention and interrogation of many journalists, since what you say on television, write in an article or even post on social media can be freely interpreted as defamation.

By way of example, libel and slander against public officials are criminalized by the Article 385 of the Lebanese Penal Code. It has defined libel as "any word, disrespect or insult and any expression or drawing indicating an offense shall be considered libel in the event it does not involve the ascription of a certain act". Moreover, Article 384 states that whoever insults the President, the flag, or national emblem "shall be punished by imprisonment from six months to two

years". Furthermore, journalists or reporters "charged with press offences may be prosecuted in a special publications court."¹

What's more intriguing is that the Penal code remains silent regarding digital spaces. Additionally, many judges are inexperienced when it comes to cases regarding social media and digital platforms, which increases the chances of freedom of expression violations. What's even more alarming about the Lebanese judicial system is that many decisions concerning freedom of press and expression cases are exploited by certain political figures which increases the violations regarding these matters.

Although Lebanon is considered having the "freest" press and media laws in the Middle East, that doesn't say much when your neighboring counterparts include Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In reality, Lebanese laws need to be amended and modernized.

For instance, it is crucial to define clearly notions such as "libel", "slander", and "defamation" in order to determine what should fall under these designations and thus put an end to their broad interpretations. Also, since the 1962 Press Law only tackles television, printed press, and radio broadcasts without including digital spaces, the Parliament is encouraged to initiate reforms regarding media laws that would be in touch with modern developments and would especially suit the "computer age". Withal, under international law, Lebanon is obligated to guarantee freedom of press and expression even if such remarks and declarations might be daring and offensive. In other words, "*lèse-majesté*" laws incriminating the disrespect of public figures need to be abolished.

With these reforms, journalists in Lebanon can be finally protected from the outdated laws that allow certain figures to restrict the exercise of freedom of press and expression. Yet, it should be noted that there is an undeniable political and sectarian influence over Lebanese media institutions. So even if we change the law, as long as our media is politicized and operate as a mouthpiece for political parties, freedom of press in Lebanon will remain a myth.

1. <http://www.medialawinternational.com/page148.html>





COUNTERING THE LEBANESE MOVEMENT : A SUCCESSFUL MANEUVER?

Jihad MOUAWAD

From brainwashing and propaganda, to strategical decisions and political inaction, the countermovement lead by the government itself will try its best to decline the movement that erupted on October 17.

After the resignation of Hariri's government, after a dozen of clashes between protesters and national Police, the Lebanese uprising took a severe hit. We see less and less people in the streets. We see people taking precautions. We see that people are afraid.

However, asking why the Lebanese revolution did not succeed is automatically condemning it to failure. It would be wiser to analyze the strategical side of the countermovement which is, in itself, creating the illusion of failure.

As history has shown, every and all social movement is based off four stages. First, the stage of discontent, followed by the coalescence, which results in the institutionalization and leads to the stage of decline.

Interestingly, the situation in Lebanon would be a prime example to truly see the aforementioned stages through the collective movement known as "Thawra".

Lebanon is dealing with a level of corruption anchored so deep in the roots of its system that people start to abide by it and unfortunately come to normalize it.

The popular movement is not divided. It surely has its flaws and share a multiplicity of opinions, but it all aims to end corruption and to a worthier way of life in Lebanon.

Opposing it, is a countermovement financed by the system, not via economic means, but through a gavage of false narratives meant to brainwash generations to always keep loyal.

Stalin clearly illustrated this situation by having a chicken cruelly plucked, always following him as long as he feeds it¹. If the chicken revolted, how is it supposed to eat otherwise?

1. http://occoffeestop.com/Stalin_and_the_Chicken.html#:~:text=Stalin%20and%20the%20Chicken%20Lessons%20in%20Brutal%20Capitalism,was%20systematically%20killing%20mil-lions%20of%20his%20own%20people.

Following with our story, P.M. Hariri resigns from the government on October 29, just twelve days after the start of the “Thawra”.

The “overthrowing” of the government by a popular uprising was deemed a striking defeat for the ruling class and a massive victory for the protestors. It seemed as though the change that the popular movement sought to achieve had materialized. However, with the parliament still in power, the resignation of the government by itself is clearly insufficient with regards to combatting the corruption.

Hariri's resignation is certainly not the only strategic move made against the movement. It is one of many. As Sun Tzu wisely teaches us in “The Art of War”: to win a hundred times, a hundred battles is to not participate in the battle but to attack the opponent's strategy.²

Concretely, the countermovement overtook the third stage of the movement also known as “institutionalization”, by creating a false sense of security brought by the illusion of victory generated by the resignation of Hariri's government.³ A new government, headlined by Hassan Diab, a relatively unknown Sunni figure, was formed.

Arriving to the cruelest move of the countermovement. They simply decided not to move. Are they inciting us to leave? In a country where nothing is provided for you, the leaders in place cut off all resources.

This is the oldest trick in the book. As a matter of fact, Alexander the Great conquered almost all the ancient world's territories by surrounding every castle for a prolonged period of time, waiting for the population and troops inside to starve to death, then overthrow it.⁴

We notice a striking resemblance in the strategy used by the countermovement. By not attempting to resolve the current political and economic crises, the people find themselves alienated. Consequently, even when threatened by starvation, the corruption ensures that the Lebanese movement will no longer have the energy to fight.

A man walking next to a lion that was already fed an hour ago does not fear it, as it is not hungry. However, if the lion has spent one week without food, it will

2. <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9660044-the-art-of-war>.

3. <https://www.thetelegram.com/news/world/lebanese-pm-hariri-likely-to-resign-amid-protests-sources-369345/>

4. <https://www.ancient.eu/article/107/alexanders-siege-of-tyre-332-bce/>



devour the man alive. But here is the catch. If the same lion was to be starved for one more month, it will not even have the energy to stand up and confront him.

Do not fear the countermovement. When fighting a strategical war on a known series of events, such the stages of every movement, the opponents can always anticipate. However, we should assume that they will always choose the option that suits them the most. Therefore they become predictable as well.

In order to win and reach the stage where the movement declines the countermovement, it must move and become unpredictable.





THE IMPORTANCE OF MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS

Khaled EL SAMRA

The "Citizenship Summer School 2020" tackled numerous topics that fall under the umbrella of social movements from revolutions to migrants' participation to technology and other important factors in social movements. A couple of sessions were dedicated to advocacy and lobbying. These two are some of the most used tools or methods in the fight for equality and fighting injustices faced by minorities. As minorities, it is important to have and practice the political right of voting for efficient and justly representative decision makers.

The Cambridge Dictionary¹ defines a minority as "a group of people who share some characteristic by birth that makes their group smaller than some other groups in a society and may cause others to treat them unfairly." Minorities range from racial minorities such as people of color or indigenous in the USA, religious minorities such as Muslims in China, the LGBTQ+ community everywhere etc...

Lack of representation, political power and influence are the main components that make a minority and not its size or number of members. Minorities face discrimination in numerous sectors whether it be economic, legal, social, educational, healthcare etc... These injustices leave the minorities needs unsatisfied and are a threat to their livelihood.

Recent proof of this neglect's implication is the list of subsidized items by the Lebanese government, where seven male politicians decided on the products benefiting from subsidization. This list included razors, but not sanitary pads and tampons, which are necessary for maintaining the health of women and girls during their period. The exclusion of those sanitary products has led to the rapid increase of their prices reaching twenty five thousand Lebanese pounds for a pack of six pads. This has accelerated the rates of period poverty in Lebanon.

Individuals belonging to a minority are not able to lead an ordinary life for they live in fear for themselves or have to migrate to another country seeking asylum and safety.

Many political parties claim to care for minorities only as a way to gain their votes without actually working to enhance the problems at hand. This only leads

1. Cambridge international dictionary of English. (1995). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



to empty promises of improvements and a rapidly deteriorating living situation for the minorities. Giving these minorities an outlet to voice their demands and be actively heard is a crucial element in giving them the respect they deserve, the satisfaction of their needs and emancipation from discrimination and being treated like second-class citizens. The best and most effective way to achieve that is by having a diverse and genuine representation of all citizens in politics.

Having a diverse set of rule and decision makers means representatives from those minorities that know the struggle of their own and understand what their community needs to grow and prosper. It also means giving those representatives actual influence and power not just having one minority minister in parliament for optics. Correct and effective representation is having a qualified set of professionals who are educated and cultured in their own domain. It is also important to make sure that those representing minorities do not get their voices ignored in the boards, committees, or governments they are part of, for that will render them powerless and ineffective.

Having minorities represented in power and influence driven positions carries multiple benefits. Most prominent benefit, on the political level, is the empowerment and amplification of the demands and voices of those minorities. Having representatives in positions of power will help legalize equal and equitable legislations and laws that protect their rights and protect them from discrimination. It will also increase the rates of participation in voting and strengthen patriotism towards one's country. All those lead to a stronger sense of community and unity, where no group is put down for its differences but celebrated for what it is adding to the collective community.

Being a part or a member of a minority group should not mean living as a second-class citizen with next to nothing rights and freedoms. As a minority, one must still have the right to participate politically and have their voices and opinions heard loud and clear; not ignored and dismissed. In order to fight the discrimination faced as a minority, said minority must be justly represented politically and catered for as an active member of society.

Arguably, the fastest and most active way to enact change in a society is to do so through policies that ensure the protection and preservation of minority groups. To insure positive and inclusive change, it is essential to represent every group or minority in said society to avoid exclusion and conflict.



RESHAPING THE LEBANESE PILLAR

Layal BEYHUM

In the heart of the Middle East rests a democratic land that cradles both, Islam and Christianity, where the smallest territory founded itself as a greater state nearly a hundred years back. In the region's core lies deep corruption, controversy, exploitation and injustice, where the range of crises fluctuated between its locals and those in power. Within its subdivisions, one unfolds a threshold of opposites that live under the same roof called Lebanon. This land has been dominated by powerful leaders per se, that took charge of renovating the country's pillars, supporting their base with sectarianism whereby the latter was a weapon that distorted coexistence, and turned into a pillar of social discrimination. For the past thirty years, this pillar had been a reason for fueling wars, conflicts and severe partition between the nation's people. On October 17 of 2019, the pillar, a castle of glass, took a severe blow as people from different backgrounds united for the following months. The revolution was a step in the right direction that requires to be complemented by deeper change.

Driven by the lack of basic human rights, the people of Lebanon decided to step out of their intricate shelters, and instead, unleashed their frustration, anguish and distress in one of the most lucid ways possible. Hand in hand, the Lebanese stormed the streets harnessing the Lebanese flag as their sole weapon, demanding change. For a country that has been suffocating from inflation, a currency crisis, an increasing number of refugees alongside its incapability of governing itself independently, due to the proliferation of arms separate from that of the nation's Army, instability reigns. Alternatively, for its residents, residing in Lebanon hasn't been as pleasant having to deal with two water and electricity bills, low wages and the foreboding of instability. Nevertheless, the outburst of the people's revolution was something rather phenomenal and extraordinary, raising a glimpse of hope for potential change.

The people's revolution got its nickname because there were no advocates that paved the protest's pathway. The different members of society found common ground, whereas they refused political representation and united underneath the Lebanese flag. This was what gave the movement distinction and made it incomprehensible for many. The protest was decentralized, packing the streets all the way from Tripoli to Nabatiyeh, where the role of women and youth flourished in several ways. When the youth kept guard of the road closure during the night, the women would be either preparing food for participants or standing on the front line in the face of the Lebanese



Army in times of conflict. Everyone back then experienced a perpetual rush of adrenaline because everyone had a role to play and everyone felt like a leader, however, how effective was it?

Without a leader, how is it exactly that all of the demands are agreed upon and in what direction will this protest proceed? In less than three weeks, the movement got PM Saad El Hariri to resign, but the newly appointed cabinet was cut from the same cloth. With time, a massive currency crisis hit, leading to the devaluation of the Lebanese Pound which translated into major inflation and loss of jobs. A drawback included the fact that political parties maneuvered their way into the revolution as they began to take personal credit for its success. In March 2020, the revolution took another hit as COVID-19 regulations came to the benefit of the government by shutting the entire country down. The revolution seemed to pose a threat to the flawed social status quo, but fell short of its projected objectives due to different circumstances.

Almost a year later, a great part of the nation has moved on from the need to revolt as the country has been on the receiving end of several blows. The social pillar cannot be straightened in the streets as this would lead to temporary solution. If one is to consider permanent change, it would serve to look back at the root of the problem, the two different Lebanese social contracts: The National Pact and the Taef Agreement. The ambiguous accords which were deemed as necessary for the salvation of Lebanon in times of instability, ones which aimed at eliminating differences through power sharing, have translated into further social discrimination based on a "fear thy neighbor" approach and the need to protect the existence of a certain sect, sectarianism. The rehabilitation of the pillar in Lebanon can only occur by revisiting those agreements, which have transcended into constitutional and systemic law by practice. It is agreed upon that constitutionality is at the root of a nation, which leads to the need to change the distorted and outdated social contracts in Lebanon if social discrimination is to gradually move towards cohesion and unity. It is imperative of the people to request change at this level and to break down the walls of sectarianism which they believe shield them from the other, their brethren with whom they have protested.

Coexistence in Lebanon is neither doomed, nor impossible, contrary to popular belief. The pillar can be reshaped and reconstructed, but requires self-actualization at a first glance, a change in perspective towards people from different backgrounds. The revolution provided that momentarily, but a change in social contracts can enforce that permanently. Is change at the pillar's level required to avoid collapse or is the status quo sustainable?



WHERE NOW? LEBANON'S FRUSTRATION IGNITES A MOVE FOR CHANGE

Marc J.M. EL HAJJ

Beirut—"Where to now?" is a question that haunts every Lebanese citizen in the aftermath of the deadly explosion that ravaged the entire Capital and its port on the August 4, 2020.

Lebanon's spiral collapse cumulates in the August 4 disaster that leaves the country in complete trauma. It killed hundreds, injured thousands and shattered whole neighbourhoods. It took away with it the last strings of hope every Lebanese held.

It is a breaking point, a breaking point for change, a violent one. It pushes every Lebanese to take conscience: They Need to Move.

A move with ambiguous connotations, with deviant ideologies and a now-flattering momentum.

Some talk of a new political structure, to move forward into a federal state. A natural evolution of multicultural societies that fought amongst themselves around a particular common ground and a common history, least to say a common misery. Those in favour work to implement a Helvetic model *à la* Switzerland. A federal structure completed with neutrality.

One interlocutor on a famous Lebanese programme took the Bosnian example to push his federal narrative. The once war-torn Balkan country was torn apart by different ethno-religious groups after the fall of Yugoslavia which pushed the international community, led by the EU, to create a federal structure that ended confessional conflicts.

"Close to the Lebanese scenario, the cake-sharing confessional system that led to corruption and incompetence is at the heart of this Lebanese catastrophe," the young man affirmed. "To end the quotas and the cake sharing strategy, one must solve the problem at its core. Give every faction autonomy on a geographical level, get into the local, ditch bureaucracy and give a closer look on the local authorities' work," he continued.

The pros of such an approach are that it will eventually discredit the continuous confessional blame game the "*zaims*" play to shift their liability or *the scratch my back and I'll scratch yours* attitude that leads to such abhorrent negligence perpetrated against the urban population of Beirut.



Others claim that the change should be done in the long term, that it should be more inherent to society. The uprising that occurred on the October 17 gave a beam of reality to a Lebanese society that ditched tribalism as a whole. All regions, confessions and ideologies intertwined in favour of one common goal, change.

Those in favour of such an approach can't but be cynical about its fruits. A societal change of such a dimension requires transition from a generation to another. It requires an inevitable reform that spawn from the early years of kindergarten to all aspects of life and politics.

"This is a necessary step to move forward, even if it might take a long time," one political science professor reiterated in front of her class at USJ's Citizenship Summer School.

Some may have lost hope and can't but see their lives lived outside of such a dream killer country. "We can't stay in a country that took away our cherished daughter," sobbed Tracy Awad Najjar, mother of the little victim, now symbol of Lebanon's grievances, Alexandra Najjar.

A big part of Lebanon's youth can't fathom a life inside of Lebanon's borders. They can't see a potential coming out of their once cherished country. Despair and sadness roam their hearts. Life outside is, no matter what, an ounce better than the blocked tunnel they experience in Lebanon.

The rest set aside all political and personal plans and decided that the move should be first and foremost a humanitarian one, a communal duty. A move of assistance and relief.

A bunch of youngsters and unemployed with the help of NGOs are taking over relief work. They're searching for lost corpses, cleaning the streets, repairing houses, windows and doors. They're distributing essential needs to a more than ever impoverished middle class. They're taking in the injured, treat them and follow up their health conditions. They're raising awareness on abuse and neglect.

Whether to move or not to move is not the question in itself, to move is quite essential. Where to move is a more difficult interrogation, a dilemma. The change should be as much political as societal and personal.

"People are better neighbours than roommates," as puts it Nassim Nicholas Taleb, a Lebanese essayist, in his famous book "Skin in The Game". Changing from confessionalism is inevitable. But in order to move towards a better future, legal borders (not corrupt sectarian leaders) should be a solution to an ever-collapsing system.



SELF-REVOLUTION: A MOVEMENT OF ITS OWN

Marie Joelle COURSON

"To transform the world, we must begin with ourselves; and what is important in beginning with ourselves is the intention. The intention must be to understand ourselves and not to leave it to others to transform themselves or to bring about a modified change through revolution..." – Jiddu Krishnamurti

It is true that social movements and revolutions are events that gather masses. If it were not for the big number of people assembled around the same cause, no movement could succeed. However, a closer look at individual behaviors is crucial to understanding the mechanisms of social change. After all, it is when all these behaviors merge that a social movement can happen.

A real revolution starts with one's self-consciousness. How do I expect to change the world if I do not start by understanding my own behaviors? How do I change the world without understanding it, without feeling everything around me in less superficial means?

Behaviors are fueled by the way individuals think. Sometimes, some behaviors come from deeply inherited mentalities and misconceptions that societies have been perpetuating along the years. It is when individuals become conscious of these deeply rooted patterns that a spark of change can happen.

It is interesting to examine the examples of social struggles against sexism, climate change and corruption. I merged these themes because all of them fall into the category of raising awareness around a cause in the hope of changing mentalities and eventually gathering masses during protests.

When it comes to feminism, a lot of feminist movements' main goal is to change the way individuals perceive equality between women and men. In other words, it is about raising awareness to eventually get things moving. Same goes for green and anti-corruption movements. The first step is to always raise awareness about the importance and urgency of the problem.

However, masses are being educated, protests are being organized, political groups are working... why does society not seem to change the way these movements preach it? One of the answers I allow myself to defend is that the three examples stated above are problems concerning social norms practiced by individuals before even being problems that concern a certain political elite or institutional practices. Strictly speaking, real change will only happen if individuals are conscious (and not only aware) of how these social norms are



affecting their behaviors. Consciousness should include an active response towards these behaviors as well: if they are wrong and disrupting a greater purpose, then they should be changed.

For instance, when fingers are pointed towards the corrupted elite, it is essential to look back and ask ourselves: have I ever bribed someone to speed up the process of getting some papers? Have I ever used one of my acquaintances to get what I want without deserving it? If the answer is yes, then I have actively taken part in the vicious cycle of corruption that is integrated into our social norms. However, being conscious of that pattern will make me break free from this cycle and allow me to actively change. By incarnating this change, some people around me could get inspired!

Feminism and ecology work the same way. If you attend a protest for equal rights between men and women and still use sexist statements or treat your mother as the one who cooks and cleans after you, you are still perpetuating sexist stereotypes. Or, if you fight for the government to have more eco-friendly agendas but still do not make the effort to properly recycle or reduce a little from your meat consumption, you are still an indirect actor in the cycle of global warming. Every little step we take holds some kind of responsibility that contributes to bigger problems.

All these subjects are very broad and too general. But on a smaller scale, in Lebanon for instance, if we want real change to happen, we should practice what we preach. We should cleanse ourselves from every model we have inherited and get moving from the start, from point zero. In my humble opinion, something in this mechanism of self-consciousness is stuck and just not working. It could be our ego and greed: sometimes we are so blinded by what we want and what we preach that we become as egocentric as the criminals ruling us. In a world where power and ego are fed by the unconscious behaviors and stubbornness of individuals, real change cannot be fostered. This might sound poetic, but it is also one of the most radical philosophical ideas you will ever stumble upon. Every time you go to the streets, remember that the real purpose is for you to be reborn, to become a new person, to free yourself from all the toxic behaviors you have inherited.

Revolution is not just about theorized beliefs against a ruling elite; it is also about the individual inner revolution against our own selves. It is only when revolution comes from within, it is only when we grow out and from all the toxic patterns that have been normalized since our childhood, that we can hope for a better world outside of ourselves.



VIOLENT REVOLUTIONS: SUCCESSFUL DESPAIR OR MISERABLE FAILURE?

Mohammad ARMANAZI

“Revolutions are the locomotives of history” – Karl Marx.

Throughout history, the gradual rearrangement of core power and administrations between economic classes, default ideologies, and high political figures, primarily had the revolution as a driving force. Social movements – including revolutions – have constantly revealed the crucial importance of the method used in the organized effort of people demanding change. From a theoretical lens, it's easy to rush to take to streets to defend a just cause, but not as easy to take the outcomes. The course of history has often been malicious to social movements, especially to the violent ones, regardless of the principle. When a social movement intensifies into violence, the possible consequences – no matter success or failure – tend to be unpleasant.

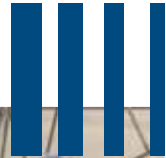
Based on a cursory reading of history, failed revolutions are inextricably linked to the tyrannical entrenchment of the already established regime for quite obvious reasons. When we discuss failed revolutions, we merely pay attention to the procedures taken by the regime in correlation with the violent revolution provoked by the people, and whether these stratagems are able to exert long-lasting effects on the people to keep their national consciousness down, therefore, curb any upcoming revolutionary ideas. Tactics like repressing freedom of the press, fortified central government, and discouraging political organizations etc. are powerful enough to provide extraordinary persistence for the totalitarian government in the state, and owing to past social movements initiated by the people demanding fundamental changes; it's no surprise to witness more intuitive violent reactions from the state police for any tranquil opposing political and social movements. Although revolutionary ideas shall never die especially when invigorated by the outstanding bravery of the people, it's foolhardy to declare war on a much bigger opponent. In this case, even when the causes are undoubtedly just, the “curse of the people” might not be enough. Pragmatically speaking, keeping yourself and the notion of freedom alive with you for another opportunity, inevitably approaching, is the best decision to be taken in this phenomenon. A decent modern example is the Syrian regime, along with the revolution that evolved into a civil war; the regime progressively installed severe legislation that restrained freedom around the country.



Statistically, militarized revolutions are more often to succeed and overthrow the government than peaceful movements; however, they're less likely to achieve their stated aims. Parallel to the emergence of new political figures - adopting alternative ideologies to be applied in the state after a successful revolution - a huge power vacuum opens up. With all due disregard of the ideology, the theoretical construct of power core administration shall succumb to the temptation of securing the newly formed government, against the dissents and counter revolutions. I'd argue that this circumstance would most likely be observed in states where a decent ideological divide between the people is prominent. A good example is the revolution of the Bolsheviks in Russia, after taking power they were discerned by, not only adjusting their ideologies to fit their own terms, but also chasing down anti-Marxist dissents to quash them for years forward. Moreover, Another downside in a succeeding mobilized revolution is political unrest in the new-found regime that most frequently evolves into a militarized conflict, opening up the power vacuum for more than one player with different new world order agenda. The French Revolution comes into mind here, but a more contemporary example is the Libyan Civil War. Consequently, this type of conflict can manifest itself into the absence of attempts to improve the general welfare of the country. Hence, successful armed revolutions install dictatorship astonishingly quite a lot due to the ease of the process, e.g. Pinochet's Chile, Soviet Russia, Maoist China, etc.

As mentioned before, Revolutions even armed ones are almost always justified. However, just because they haven't worked most often, doesn't mean they are undesirable or unneeded. I have some theories that may account for this. Some regimes have profound interests in maintaining the status quo in the country, justifying using violence to counter any disturbance to the current state of affairs. These states eager to use violence to defend their interest tend to sustain a closed environment within international affairs. From these considerations, people can only seize their rights using violence. But it's important to highlight that the regime shall finally fall due to economic collapse or international pressure from the outside primarily. Furthermore, violence can be the best route to be considered as well in situations where compromising is accounted impossible by certain parties in the conflict or revolution. Unfortunately, the troublesome consequences mentioned above can still unfold in these circumstances.

It's safe to say that the behavior, of the sovereign of the revolution and the target administration, takes front seats in the locomotion of the revolution, which explains the disruptive aftermaths of armed revolutions. Hence, a discursive paradox is signified, whether to remain in status quo, oppressed and denied from basic rights, to protect the welfare of the people from additional impairments, or take the country into inevitable chaos and instability for the people's licit cause.





VIOLENT REVOLUTIONS: SUCCESSFUL DESPAIR OR MISERABLE FAILURE?

Nisrine CHAABAN

Partir malgré soi

« Personne ne quitte sa maison à moins que sa maison ne soit devenue la gueule d'un requin », voilà les premiers vers du poème « Maison » écrit par la poétesse somalienne anglophone Warsan Shire, vers qui reflètent aujourd'hui une réalité libanaise indéniable. Si depuis toujours l'exode des cerveaux du Liban vers l'extérieur est important, il touche aujourd'hui un nouveau plafond. Face à des conditions de vie de plus en plus difficiles, une crise économique et un taux de chômage élevé, beaucoup de libanais, notamment une jeunesse éduquée, tentent de rechercher l'espoir d'un futur meilleur à l'étranger.

Les demandes d'émigration dépassent le nombre de 380,000. La majorité ne désire pas beaucoup : elle souhaite soit continuer ses études, soit trouver un travail et des conditions de vie acceptables. Avec ce « *brain drain* », le pays perd non seulement une partie importante de la population éduquée et diplômée, mais aussi une partie des jeunes qui jouaient un rôle incontournable dans les mobilisations observées depuis le 17 octobre 2019, avant que nombreux ne se sentent menés à bout.

Une décision conflictuelle

Plusieurs libanais voient, depuis des mois, proches, amis, collègues et voisins s'enfuir un à un vers les quatre coins du monde. Cela ne veut cependant pas dire que le choix est facile. Beaucoup quittent, comme le dit l'expression libanaise, « *ejer la edem w aashra la wara* », c'est-à-dire « un pas en avant et dix en arrière » car quitter le Liban, c'est quitter tout ce qu'ils ont un jour aimé afin de se jeter dans l'inconnu. Mais que faire quand l'inconnu devient plus sûr que ce pays où tu as grandi, pays qui se met en quatre pour te pousser à partir ?

Pour certains, c'est l'explosion du 4 août 2020 qui constitue la goutte d'eau qui fait déborder le vase. S'ils comptaient rester et continuer à se battre malgré la crise économique, c'est le sentiment d'insécurité dans leur propre maison, le sentiment que le danger pouvait les suivre partout dans ce pays, qui les convainc une bonne fois pour toute de se tirer. Assis sur un banc près du Biel

le soir, observant le port détruit et les quartiers qui l'entourent noyés dans l'obscurité, un ami qui partait bientôt pour la France dit à notre groupe : « Je n'ai jamais pensé avoir à utiliser mon passeport français. Je n'ai jamais voulu quitter. Ça me rend triste de laisser Beyrouth dans cet état, mais je n'ai pas le choix. »

Quitter le Liban ne devient presque plus une décision, mais un instinct de survie. Écœurés, frustrés, soulagés, déçus, pleins d'espoir, abattus et déchirés : les émigrés partent pour l'étranger.

Une mobilisation au-delà des distances

Si ces libanais ne sont plus physiquement au Liban, cela ne les empêche pas de rester fortement impliqués dans ce qui se passe dans leur pays natal et de faire preuve de solidarité. Même désormais à des milliers de kilomètres, les stories sur Instagram, les tweets, et tout autre genre de publication engagée sur divers réseaux sociaux n'arrêtent pas d'être partagés afin participer à leur manière aux mobilisations du pays. De plus, faisant maintenant partie de la diaspora libanaise, de nombreux événements (comme Li Watani) et associations à l'étranger sont à leur disposition pour soutenir Liban et exprimer leur mécontentement. Après l'explosion qui s'est produit à Beyrouth, les émigrés qui sont parvenus à quitter avant le 4 août n'ont pas hésité à envoyer habits, nourritures et médicaments afin de venir en aide à leur famille et à ceux qui en avaient besoin.

Et parmi les jeunes, plusieurs espèrent, grâce à l'expérience et aux opportunités qu'ils auront obtenu à l'étranger, de revenir un jour afin d'aider à reconstruire le Liban.





When children are asked about their future dream jobs or goals, their answers usually reflect their character: funny, innocent and full of hope; and here one can make the first distinction between a normal person and one who grew up in the hindering regions of the Middle East.

"I'll be living in America when I grow up" has been my answer ever since Elementary School, despite the fact that I have benefitted from a fairly privileged childhood, and that answer has only grown in strength and confidence (and grammatical precision) with time, knowledge and research. Up until the moment I arrived at USJ's Humanities Campus on September 1st to take part in what turned out to be an enlightening experience, I was working on finalizing my papers to make my childhood dream come true with no intention of turning back.

As the Summer School took off with Dr. Mitri's depiction of social movements in definition, I thought I had finally found Ali Baba's cave where everything I have been searching for was hiding: the answers to all my questions and doubts. Unfortunately, Mitri's words resonated in my head with an answer that I have grown too accustomed to: "I don't know; I don't think anyone can answer that". Many speakers and panelists later, I had set a goal to optimize my learning experience for the next three days in order to find my own answers, or at least conceptualize and organize the mess that has grown in my head.

The more I learned about social movements around the world, about Lebanon's past movements and how to compare them critically to what we have been witnessing for almost a year, the angrier I grew. After the horrible atrocities of August 4th, my passionate drive to uncover corruption and educate my oikos about the abuses we have been blind to for so long was turned into numbness in the form of a white flag, surrendering the last string of hope I had left to the warlords of this country. So when a few educated people waltzed in with motivational talks about the power of women, of students and their irreplaceable role in social movements-especially in Lebanon, I felt it again and against my will. How can an educated woman who got the chance to discover a life abroad tell us that we shouldn't pursue the same path because we have to stay? How can a resigned public servant who has failed at their job ask us to sacrifice our goals and potentials to fix their and their peers' mistakes? How can they crush

our dreams of creating a better life elsewhere so easily? How can they ask us to put aside what makes us human – from ambitions to a life of dignity – to take part in an inter/intra-generational change that could possibly make Lebanon a better country in a couple of decades? On what grounds do they have the right to make us inherit this responsibility? And why was it working?

Lebanon's parachuting recession from "the Paris or the Switzerland of the Middle East" to the land of sectarian chaos we know today is easily blamed on external forces we cannot control like geopolitics, foreign actors, capitalism and terrorism. While we shame our politicians for not taking any responsibility, we use the former excuse as a defense mechanism to justify similar behavior. The summer school made me realize I was angry at myself rather than the educated spokespeople and panelists because I had let the warlords convince me that there was nothing, we, as a society and new generation, were capable of doing to make significant change, which is the furthest from the truth. In just four days, I have built concrete hope based on facts and knowledge that change in Lebanon is a very realistic and achievable goal. I have realized that by believing the lies and leaving, we've become no better than the corrupt politicians we loathe and those who voted them in, but the will to activate a powerful movement has to come from within.

If I'm willing to sacrifice my life for the sake of my country, I expect my efforts to be joined and to have an impact, but how will they if we're becoming brainless sheep who just adapt? How many lives are going to be cruelly snatched away before we reach the tipping point? How many streets do we have to sweep before we've had enough? How many times does Beirut have to be buried in ashes before we become the phoenix who rises from it, before we truly create a revolution, before we stay on the streets until our demands are fulfilled? How many generations will it take to reach a secular society? How many excuses do we have to create before we realize that everything, we've been searching for is right here? How long will it take for us to start fighting for it?

Give me a number.



هل تُعيدُ الثورات إنتاج ما انتفضت عليه أحياناً من إقصاء للآخر وتفرد بالقرار وشموليّة في التفكير وصهر للاتجاهات؟

هذا هو أكثر ما يشغلني الآن وأنا أرى ما يحدث من حولنا في الشرق، لأنني أتفهم الغضب الذي يدفع الملايين للتحرّك في كلِّ مكان، وأعيش المعاناة التي يثورون عليها في كل ساعة فإنني أدرك أيضاً كيف يضمُّ فينا الإحساس بالآخر المختلف ونبدو كسيل جارف جماعي يريدُ خلاصاً سريعاً، وهذا السيلُ الذي هو نحنُ نؤمن جميعاً أنّه يحتوينا جميعاً ولكننا نغفل حقيقةً.

والحقيقة تبدو قاسية كما هي في كلِّ مرّة، ليس الجميع متفقين على كلِّ شيء، وهذه الحقيقة تحملُ إنسانيّتنا نحن البشر المختلفون، قد لا نتفق على الثورة وقد نتفق عليها ونختلف في الوسيلة ونختلف في التوقيت، وقد لا يكون توصيفنا واحداً ولا هدفنا واحداً ولو تلاقينا في الشارع كل يوم ولو رفعنا لافتات ترضينا جميعاً..

المواطنون والمواطنات في كلِّ مكان متنوعون في طرق اهتمامهم ومشاركتهم في المجال العام، منهم من يفضّل الأحزاب السياسية لذا فالقول أنّ زمنها انتهى هو محض وهم، منهم من يفضل الركون لمرجعية دينية أو طائفية ومهما ادّعينا العلمانيّة فإنّها لم تنجز حتى الآن في الشرق، وما زال فهمها مشوهاً، وبكلِّ أسف قد لا ننجزها في العقود القليلة القادمة.

هناك من يستخدمون الساحات الحرّة تماماً، وآخرون لديهم مصالح اقتصادية وبعضهم اتجاهات ثقافية، وهناك أجيال كبيرة وأجيال شابّة، مقيمون ومغتربون، من يخاف ومن يقلق، من الناس حولنا من هو منتفع ومن هو مُدان ومن هو متورّط، أن نقول إنّنا جميعنا نأثرون، هذا افتراض تكذّبه اليوميّات التي نعيشها.

الأحداث الكبرى بتاريخ الأوطان لا تحسم بأيام ولحظات ثوريّة فقط ولو بدت هكذا أحياناً ونحنُ نقرأ مقتطفاً تاريخياً، إنّما النضال لأجل التغيير والتحرر قد يمتد عقوداً حتى تبدو عملية التغيير وقد أنجزت بالفعل وصارت في الضمير الجمعي للمواطنين والمواطنات، قبل أن تكون في حناجرهم فقط، لم يعد يكفي أن نقرر التغيير وأن نغضب بل هو الوقت الأنسب للتحرّك قبل أن نسقط جميعاً ومعاً، في معارك الأوطان لا تريح طائفة أو مجموعة وإنما

نخسر وطناً أو بنيناً لنا جميعاً، بالمناسبة هذا ينطبق على كل وطن في شرقنا الجميل.

هناك نظريات مختلفة في عمليات التغيير وآلياته، لا أودّ مراجعتها في هذا المقال البسيط بل أسعى للقول أنّ الثورة لا تكون ثورة إذا كُتبا نراها فقط في الساحات وعلى وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي، هي ثورة في المكان وفي كل مكان، ثورة في عقولنا لتحريرها من رواسب فكرية، وهي ثورة في العائلة الأبوية وثورة في العمل الذي ينتهك الحقوق وفي الجامعة التي لا تحترم العقول وثورة على كل ما هو ظالم وكل ما هو اقصائي وشمولي، الثورة فعلٌ ضميريّ أولاً ولو بدا هذا الشعاعُ مثالياً جداً، لنغيّر ما حولنا يجب أن نغيّر ما بداخلنا.

لكي نبني أوطاناً نرضها علينا أن نفهم الآخر المختلف، الذي لا يشاركنا اللحظة ولكنه يشاركنا المعاناة، لربما كان ضحية ما نحاربهُ نحن فبدأ أنه جزء منه، علينا أن ندرك أننا مسؤولون عن انخراطه معنا وليس النظر إليه كخصم وطرف الآخر، كيف نخلف على الوطن معه؟ إنّ واجباً على كلّ تاجر في أي سياق أن يأخذ بيد الآخرين وخاصة إذا كانوا من نفس البيئة التي ينتمي إليها ويتشاركون معه المواطنة والحقوق والواجبات، صناعة الأوطان العادلة لا تقوم بها فئة دون أخرى ولا حركة اجتماعية واحدة، بل هو مدّ الأيدي بين الجميع لخلق واقع ومستقبل جديد، الأجيال القادمة ترتبّ علينا مسؤوليات أخلاقية فيها تنازلات وفيها تضحيات يجب أن تأخذنا نحو إرادة جمعيّة نعمل فيها معاً ونرتب المستقبل سوياً.

ما أراه وأسمعه اليوم وكلّ يوم يجعلني أكثر قلقاً على وحدة البلد أولاً في ظل بعض الطروحات الانفصالية، ويقلقني أكثر على استقلال البلد ونحن نرى الارتقاء والاستقواء في الأجنحة الإقليمية والدولية، كما أننا نخاف جميعاً من اشتعال حرب أهلية كان الناس يتغنون منذ أشهر أنهم قد دفنوها إلى الأبد عندما نزلوا معاً. التغيير في بلد وظروف معقّدة يحتاج لتعاطي استثنائي، هناك فرص متعددة، بدءاً من الانتخابات البلدية والنيابية مثلاً، كيف ينظم المنتفضون أنفسهم لهذه الاستحقاقات القادمة؟ هل تُترك الساحات مرّة أخرى للأحزاب والجماعات الدينية المنظمة والتي تحترف هذه الآلية الديمقراطية لدرجة أننا جميعاً نشعر أنها ليست في أيدينا ولا فائدة مرجوة منها؟

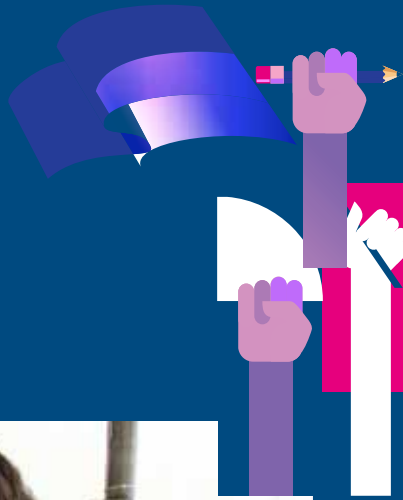
إنّ النهج الإقصائية الذي بدأ يظهر في خطابات بعض من نصبوا أنفسهم متحدثين باسم الثورة أيضاً يهدم ولا يبني، كيف نكذب الناس الذين نزلوا



في كلِّ مكان والذين كانت مطالبهم واضحة وجليّة وباتت تُختصر الثورة وأهلها ببعض حسابات وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي ممن لديها قدرة على تمويل ودعم وصول المنشورات؟ هل باتت مجموعة من محترفي استخدام وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي هي الثورة؟ التي تقسّم وتُقصي وتسيء، وتتفاوض لدرجة أنّ الخطاب الإقصائية بين بعض القوى المدنية بات أسوأ من خطابات السلطة وهي تأكل بعضها.

كان قدرُ الحركات الشعبيّة دوماً أن تحميل وزر الانهيارات، ويتم تحميلها مسؤوليّة الهشاشة الاجتماعية وهذه الخطابات التقسيمية أحياناً والاتهامية مرّات كثيرة، ولهذا على الثورة أن تنقذ نفسها، ولابدّ من التحضير للاستحقاقات القادمة، إن الركون لتأثير وسائل الإعلام ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي على الناخبين هو رهانٌ غير محسوم في بلاد تحكمها الطوائف، فلا يجب نسيان أنّ الأحزاب السياسية التقليدية لديها أجهزتها ومؤسساتها الطائفية/الحزبية/المنطقية ولا يمكن تجاهل حجمها وأدوارها بل يجب السعي بجديّة هذه المرّة لتكون الانتخابات فرصة الثورة فنزح بها بالقانون والدستور ما أراحته الساحات من خوف وقلق بين الناس، لم يعد هناك رفاهيّة للانتظار، هذا زمنُ الحرائق، كلُّ شيء حولنا يحترق فلنعمل معاً لأنّ الحريق يمتد، وهذا قدر جيلنا أنها معركة الهوية الوطنية الجامعة والتي لم تُنجز سابقاً فهل ننجزها اليوم في أوطاننا؟







Press Coverage



L'ÉCOLE D'ÉTÉ DE L'USJ SUR LA CITOYENNETÉ: UN ESPACE DE DÉBAT RICHE ET CONSTRUCTIF

Chantale EDDÉ – L'Orient-le Jour

Les mouvements de contestation citoyens, dans le monde et au Liban, leurs raisons et leurs implications, étaient au centre de l'école d'été de la citoyenneté organisée à l'USJ début septembre.

Organisée du 1^{er} au 4 septembre par le Service de la vie étudiante de l'USJ (SVE), en partenariat avec la Fondation Friedrich Naumann, l'école d'été sur la citoyenneté a rassemblé plus de 80 étudiants en provenance de diverses universités et disciplines autour d'un sujet d'actualité : les mouvements de contestation. Cette formation de quatre jours, organisée sous le thème « To Move Or Not to Move » (Partir ou rester), a offert aux jeunes participants des éléments de réflexion sur les mouvements sociaux, politiques ou économiques, au Liban et dans le monde, afin de comprendre leur histoire, leurs raisons et leurs implications. « C'est un carrefour d'idées, de théories et d'études de cas pour approfondir les connaissances des étudiants sur les sujets citoyens », souligne Gloria Abdo, coordinatrice du SVE. Outre des connaissances sur la thématique de la citoyenneté et des mouvements de contestation, l'école, organisée à l'USJ, a offert aux participants la possibilité d'acquérir des compétences en lien avec les techniques et les moyens d'exercice de la citoyenneté, de découvrir les différents aspects stratégiques de la contestation citoyenne, d'analyser d'une manière globale ce sujet, mais aussi d'apprendre à rédiger un article journalistique pour s'exprimer sur l'une des thématiques abordées lors de la formation.

Pour de nombreux participants, c'est le contexte actuel libanais qui les a incités à prendre part à cette école d'été. Patrick Daoud est récemment diplômé en théâtre de l'Université libanaise (UL). Ce jeune influenceur sur les réseaux sociaux, qui confie avoir été « pleinement engagé dans la révolution depuis le 17 octobre », indique s'être inscrit à cette école « pour mieux comprendre les dynamiques de la contestation ». De même, Tracy Daige, 3^e année en sciences politiques et en éducation à l'UL, considère « la problématique To Move or Not to Move comme une question existentielle pour les jeunes ». D'où l'attrait de cette formation pour eux.

Selon Charbel Aad, animateur de la vie citoyenne à l'USJ et responsable du projet de l'école d'été, le thème des mouvements de contestation, d'une



importance cruciale, porte sur un axe principal qu'est celui de la situation actuelle du pays, une situation qui doit inciter la population à s'unir et à se révolter. « Étant donné que les jeunes, notamment les étudiants, sont le pivot des mouvements sociaux, il était essentiel pour le SVE de leur assurer toutes les connaissances nécessaires pour qu'ils sachent où, quand et comment agir », note-t-il. Le responsable du projet souligne que la thématique porte aussi sur un 2nd axe qui s'ancre dans le moment. « L'explosion tragique du 4 août a alimenté la rage des Libanais et les a guidés vers la rue. Et bien que nous ayons planifié ce programme avant l'explosion, nous avons trouvé qu'il était nécessaire d'organiser cette formation avant que la révolution ne reprenne son élan », poursuit-il.

Lors des ateliers et des sessions théoriques, les participants ont examiné le rôle des étudiants, des immigrés, des femmes et des artistes dans les mouvements de contestation, de même que l'influence des médias, la liberté de la presse et le rôle de la technologie à travers le monde, mais aussi au Liban.

Les soucis des jeunes au centre des thématiques programmées

D'ailleurs, parmi les jeunes participants interrogés, certains ont évoqué l'ancrage des sujets abordés dans leur vécu et leur similitude avec leur propre expérience sur le terrain. Patrick Daoud confie ainsi avoir été profondément marqué par les propos d'un intervenant, Oleg Golubenko, lors d'une session portant sur la révolution ukrainienne. « Cet activiste de la révolution Orange a partagé son expérience. Voyant la ressemblance entre leur mouvement et le nôtre, j'ai été attristé lorsqu'il a évoqué le nombre de personnes tuées, le prix que le mouvement ukrainien a dû payer pour la liberté. Il nous a dit que le mouvement libanais ne pourra plus être longtemps pacifiste s'il veut atteindre ses objectifs », déplore Patrick Daoud. C'est également l'étude du mouvement ukrainien qui a intéressé Jihad Mouawad, 3e année de droit à l'USJ, mais sous un autre angle. « La séance intitulée « Contre-Mouvement » m'a aidé à mettre en perspective notre révolte par rapport à la révolution ukrainienne et de mieux la comprendre, elle a mis en lumière les étapes du mouvement libanais et ses obstacles principaux », explique-t-il, cherchant à comprendre le pourquoi et le comment de la naissance et de la disparition d'un mouvement.

Quant à Tracy Daige, parmi d'autres sujets qui l'ont intéressée, c'est le rôle de la femme dans la révolution qui l'a interpellée le plus. « La représentation de la femme dans la vie politique est faible face à une dominance masculine dans la prise de décision, ce qui m'engage davantage à insister sur l'importance

de l'égalité des chances dans le domaine public », assure-t-elle. L'étudiante, qui est également journaliste au quotidien an-Nahar, évoque aussi un atelier intitulé « Brain Drain », ou fuite des cerveaux. « Ce sujet est devenu central dans mes discussions avec mes amis et proches », avoue-t-elle, se désolant que la plupart de ses amis soient partis ou pensent quitter le pays. Tracy Daige confie être « tiraillée entre partir pour vivre en sécurité et continuer (son) parcours professionnel, ou rester près de (sa) famille et essayer de changer la situation misérable du pays ». Ce sujet a touché aussi Jihad Mouawad, lui ayant rappelé son groupe d'amis qui participait au mouvement de contestation. « La plus grande partie de ce groupe se trouve aujourd'hui en France et au Royaume-Uni. Ils ont décidé d'aller chercher leur futur ailleurs », note-t-il, espérant que ses amis reviendraient un jour « avec un bagage intellectuel qu'ils pourraient mettre en œuvre ici, à travers la politique ou bien à travers des initiatives privées et personnelles ».

Une plateforme de débat à cœur ouvert

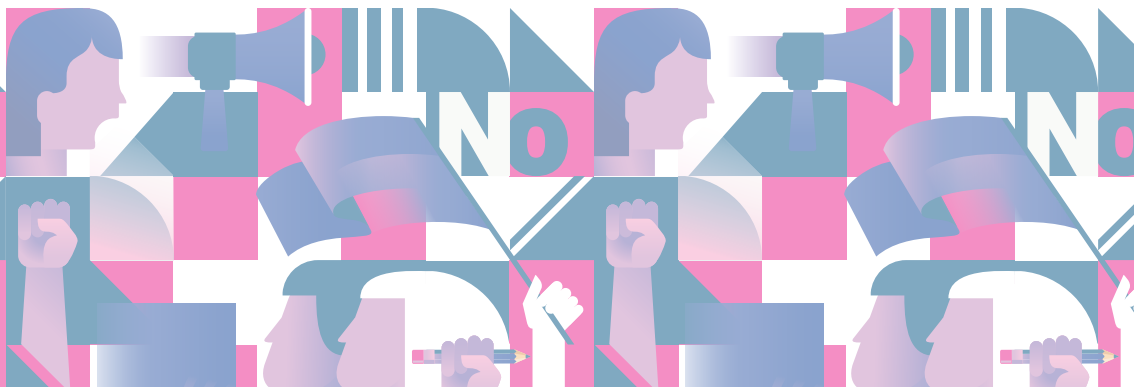
Par ailleurs, outre les sujets abordés, ce qui distingue cette école d'été, c'est la rencontre entre des jeunes venant d'horizons différents. « L'objectif principal de cette école d'été est de créer un espace de discussion entre les participants pour débattre des sujets d'actualités citoyennes tout en leur offrant un apprentissage académique et global du sujet », explique Gloria Abdo. C'est ainsi que cet espace de discussion a créé des liens entre 87 étudiants, toutes disciplines confondues, issus de milieux variés, possédant des opinions différentes, voire parfois divergentes, sur des sujets brûlants de l'actualité libanaise. Et c'est justement cette dynamique créée lors des débats qui a marqué certains participants. « Un débat constructif a eu lieu. Chacun d'entre nous voyait la vérité de sa propre perspective et proposait des solutions. Ce qui nous unissait, c'était la volonté de changer la situation actuelle », assure Tracy Daige qui relève l'intérêt du processus démocratique que le débat a initié. « Cette plateforme a permis aux étudiants de s'exprimer, chacun à sa façon, sans limites ni tabous, en consacrant le droit à la liberté d'expression », estime-t-elle. De même, pour Patrick Daoud, les débats ont constitué un moment fort de l'école d'été : « Chacun des participants a exprimé son opinion personnelle, réfutée par certains, l'incitant à argumenter pour convaincre l'autre. » Évoquant les jeunes qui ont hérité leurs affiliations politiques de leurs parents ou proches « sans posséder des arguments convaincants », ce jeune influenceur s'est « établi comme mission de sensibiliser ce type de personnes et d'élargir leurs perspectives pour pouvoir opérer un changement ».



Du premier au 4 septembre 2020, le Service de la vie étudiante de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth (USJ) en partenariat avec « Friedrich Naumann Foundation » (FNF) a organisé la première édition de l'école d'été : « Citizenship Summer School ». Cette première édition a abordé le thème des révolutions et des mouvements de contestation dans le monde et a été intitulée « To Move Or Not To Move ».

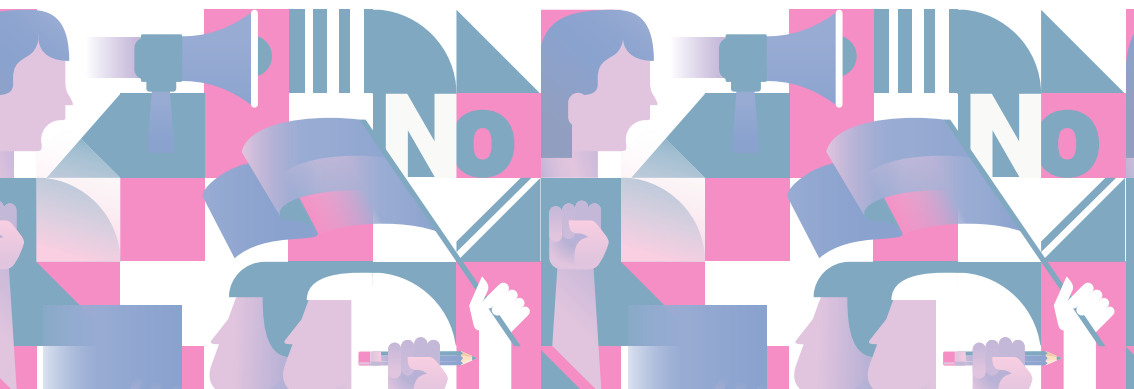
Réunissant plus de 80 étudiants venant de 10 différentes universités au Liban, l'école d'été a accueilli 23 intervenants qui ont abordé les différentes facettes de ce sujet d'actualité et les nombreux piliers qui le constituent. Partant de la définition et l'historique des mouvements sociaux, jusqu'au rôle des étudiants, des femmes, des artistes et des médias arrivant à l'importance de la participation des diasporas, les participants ont découvert les constituantes d'une révolution d'une approche académique et théorique. Également, ils ont observé de près de vrais exemples récents tel que la révolution Ukraine en 2014 avec M. Oleg Golubenko en direct d'Ukraine, le mouvement étudiant au Liban en 2005 et la plateforme des immigrés Libanais (Meghterbin Mejtemiin) en octobre 2019 ...

En addition au thème, les étudiants ont pu profiter de trois ateliers de Lobbying, plaidoyer et écriture journalistique. Les quatre jours furent clôturés par un déjeuner convivial au jardin du campus des sciences médicales en présence de journalistes et personnes d'influence.

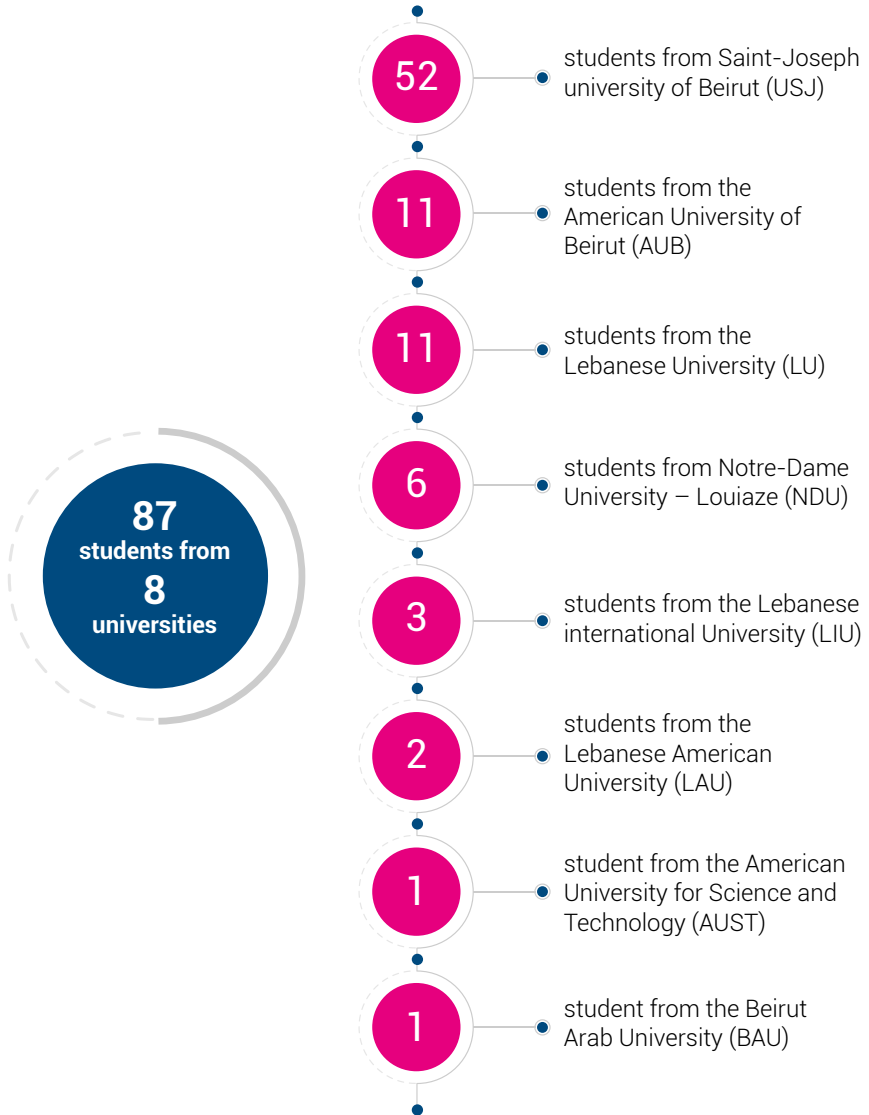


A la fin du programme, le Service de la vie étudiante (SVE) et la FNF ont lancé une compétition d'écriture où chaque étudiant présente un article journalistique discutant d'un sujet abordé lors des sessions, de son point de vue personnel. Demoiselle Marie-Joelle Courson, étudiante en Histoire et Relations Internationales (USJ) a remporté le premier prix et a gagné un voyage à Berlin en 2021. De même, 13 articles ont été choisis dans la liste TOP 13 (top 10 en anglais, 2 en arabe et 1 en français) et seront publiés ultérieurement.

Les participants ont exprimé leur joie d'avoir participé à cette activité qui leurs a permis de mieux observer la situation actuelle au Liban. À son tour, Mme Gloria Abdo, coordinatrice du SVE a assuré suite au succès de cette première édition, qu'elle ne sera pas la dernière et que cet événement s'inscrira dans la planification annuelle du Service, toujours en partenariat avec la Fondation Friedrich Naumann.



CITIZENSHIP SUMMER SCHOOL PARTICIPANTS







MEET THE TEAM



Kristof Kleemann

Project director at FNF Lebanon and Syria.

Head of the Beirut Office since March 2020. I obtained my Master's Degree in Public Policy at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. He has worked at the European parliament for 10 years before joining the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. He has been an active Member of the Free Democratic Party and serve as a delegate for the Party Congress of the European liberal party (ALDE).



Gloria Abdo

Head of Student life at USJ.

Lecturer of civic engagement and volunteering. She has a Bachelor in Leadership and Community development and a Master in Leadership and Human Resources, Currently a PHD candidate in the same field. Gloria is also a trainer and consultant for CSOs and Youth groups.



Lea Chouefaty

Project Coordinator at the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Law graduate from USJ, she holds a master's degree in Public law. She is also a licensed mediator from the Lebanese Association for Mediation and Conciliation. She is a Human rights activist with a focus on gender equality and refugee rights.



Charbel Aad

Citizenship program animator at USJ.

Audio-visual arts graduate from USJ; has been a social activist for over 8 years, working as project manager and coordinator with different local and international NGOs.





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