

# Transcript

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I feel the hush to send upon the room and I know that we're ready to begin a new term together. I would like to welcome you all to the first of the Middle East Centre seminars for Hillary Term 2025 and wish you all a very happy New Year.

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It's fantastic to see you all back for what is the dreariest term of the academic year.

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Where in all these short days and cold weather?

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The few rare.

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Rays of light and warmth will come from our seminar meetings on Tuesdays and Friday, so I hope to keep seeing you each week. This term we are off to a wonderful start with the seminar.

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Members of our community came to see us towards the end of the last term, saying there's a crisis going.

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In Lebanon.

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And it is absolutely essential.

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The Middle East centre rise to the challenge.

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And have speakers addressed that crisis. I'm thinking of Gayla Bichhalin in particular for the Blavatnik school, who I'm very grateful to for having raised the issue, and we put together a list of who would we like to draw thinking we needed someone from Lebanon, someone who's.

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Eyes on us.

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And at the top of.

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List.

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Professor Joseph Bahut Joseph, who is himself a graduate of the American University, took his degree in economics, as did I, by the way. I think we both are refugees from economics.

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Yeah, yeah.

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Before going to pursue his doctorate at Salespool, first under the Great Amy Devol, subsequently under the equally great Gil Kapen, and has made his career moving.

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The policy world and the academic world and the world of actual politics, and he brings all those skills to his current job where he is the director of the ESAM Saris Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs.

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That's the whole job which has the distinction to match the Middle East centre of being based in a building designed by Zaha Hadid, what wonderful taste.

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We were particularly keen.

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To get Joseph to come and share with us.

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His analysis of the situation in Lebanon finds itself in with the happy coda that what was at the time we began our discussions guide a crisis.

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Has transformed into a moment.

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Of who? With the election of a president, the designation of a Prime Minister, Minister, the building of a government and the hopes that there may be a turning point in what has been such a difficult period in the world's history.

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None.

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So with all that working up your appetite to hear more, will you please join me in extended a very warm?

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To professor.

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Joseph.

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First of all, thank you very, very much. Dear Eugene, thank you for the media centre for having me tonight. I'm very humbled and very honoured and a bit moved to be here given the the Prestige and the the history of this place and of as as many scholars.

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Are probably always dreamt of.

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Putting a foot one day here and and I've never thought that I would give a lecture and and I thank you for that, Eugene. I hope.

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Will be.

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Up to your expectations, now a small precision. I think we also agreed that I would cover, albeit a bit quickly Syria because also what's happening in Syria not only is important in the light of what you have said, I mean this kind of.

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New Hope. Let's say that this new page that is opening in the region, but also because it will be probably intractable. I mean very, very, let's say, intertwined with the with the Lebanese development. So I think that I will have to.

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Also shed a light a light on that.

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I would start by and you will probably understand why I'm starting this way. Over the course of my of my talk, I would start with a sort of.

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Philosophical question. We discussed it at lunch today. That is very much on my mind and on the mind of many observers of what's happening today in that part of the Middle East. The philosophical question is the following. Can we?

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Really, first of all find.

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Something good and rejoice about it and find it happy and acceptable. This good coming from something that was by all standards.

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Bad and evil and nasty and frightening, meaning that.

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I think all objective observers could say that what's happening today, this opening in Lebanon, this new page in Syria, is we like it or not, the the result indirectly or directly, but sometimes very directly.

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Of the terrible year and a half that we've been through. I mean, since October 7 until today, I think not. None of these events would have happened without one person senior deciding to.

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Take the action that he took in on Gaza or outside Gaza, and without the tariffs.

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The terrible. I mean, I think the historical cataclysmic measure answer of Bibi Netanyahu on the region. I think without that we we we wouldn't have had this landscape that we have today in front of us. And for me it's a very puzzling question.

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I think I think I I can't say frankly. We were very revolted towards what happened in Gaza the way Israel conducted this.

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4 But then today we are right. I mean reaping certain results or certain fruits because the Iran axis, let's call it this way, has been weakened in the region. Lebanon has seen some openings that we will discuss now and Syria.

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Change in a radical way that could have probably been unthought off without what happened last year. So this is my if you want my my mindset tonight. OK. And I I I wanted to put it.

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Just to put some nuances on on the aspects of positivity that that we are going to describe tonight.

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Now I will very simply and maybe simplistically take the two countries 1 by 1 and and go through the events and the dynamics that are unfolding now, Lebanon.

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OK, the the as you said, Eugene, the election of Josephine as a president and then the nomination, the quick nomination of Nawaf Salaam by Lebanese standards, it was quick. It was usually it could take months is to nominate a Prime Minister.

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Is a very strong signal and a very positive opening. Until today until tonight.

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And it is due to the chain of cataclysmic event that we have witnessed for the past years, meaning that all of a sudden the vetoes, the, the, the stalemates, the blockages that were there impeding a presidential election for more than two years.

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And then, of course, the designation of a completely new profile of person as Prime Minister wouldn't have been possible without the weakening of the main.

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Power broker in Lebanon until a month ago, which is Hezbollah. OK, we have to agree and to acknowledge.

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So this was opened by that it was opened also by probably the electric shock, the electroshock, that all.

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This caused within the political class in Lebanon that all of a sudden understood that we can't go on business as usual. Something has has to change and this something is.

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A kind of a kind of new profile, as it as president of the Republic and the completely new profile as a Prime Minister.

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Also.

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And I will explain this a little bit more.

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A lot of regional and international pressure that was exerted on on Lebanon on the Lebanese political class to go that way. We have to also admit that without the very strong and sometimes direct and sometimes.

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It could have been a little bit.

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Let's say unnerving for certain Lebanese this this strong, let's say, pressure by the US diplomacy, the French diplomacy, the Saudi diplomacy, the last two weeks before the elections. Without that, probably the stalemate would have would have continued. OK.

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We have now opened a new.

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New and we can fairly say that odds are well aligned. Stars are well aligned today for a new start in Lebanon. If and here I come back to my economic, let's say training set, there is paradise if everything.

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Else is held equal, but we know that in this region, *soteris paribus* lasts for only a few months or weeks and.

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And we could, we could be faced with with a lot of of accidents along the road. But I think that the stars are aligned. However, we have to bring about certain nuances and and this is my second.

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What are these nuances and the caveats and the the points of cautiousness that we need to have in mind in order not to over expect a new a completely rosy new era in Lebanon, although I think we have fair chance.

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Of seeing a a real new page in the country. First of all, the way.

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The president was elected and the way the Prime Minister was nominated were not exactly the same. The the dynamics was not exactly the same in Lebanon. A lot of people, a lot of colleagues, a lot of observers say yes, Joseph was brought.

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On or, Bren, his inception was done by a very strong a very strong dose of external pressure. OK, the 3-4 days before the election.

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The Saudi envoy was camping in Beirut, the French presidential envoy, Jean Yves Leon, was camping in Beirut.

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American delegations were there, the country was very strongly under assault of tutelage, and this was the result now of Salaam the the eve of his nomination. And I, I can tell you personal anecdotes. I happen to to be a good friend of him.

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But he even himself.

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Didn't believe in his nomination 2424 hours before it was mainly the result of a sort of Lebanese dynamics. But of course, it can't hide. Also a dose of external intervention. The problem is not here for me.

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Because in Lebanon, everybody tends to put a difference between own has.

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Been produced by a strong dose of external pressure, Nawaz Salam has been the result of a sort of very interesting last minute domestic political game. OK, this is fine, this is true, but for me the problem is elsewhere. The problem is that.

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Rousseff Hahn has been elected as president of the Republic with a very wide consensus.

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Including the Shia tandem. OK meaning and I will use this term a lot here, Hezbollah. Amal who are dominating and controlling and sometimes overly controlling the the Shia share within the political system.

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Joseph Han was not the the first choice of all, maybe of of of the Shia tender. Maybe he was maybe opposed by the Shiite and five month ago or two months ago, but they ended up accepted it.

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It and then they bar.

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Again, during the day of election, they bargained their support to him. Their vote to him with a meeting that occurred between them and him one hour before the second round of elections, in sort of extracting.

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Guarantees and pledges from him to them that led them to elect him. So we can say that on really enjoys today.

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A very wide consensus. He was elected with 100 votes.



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Precise.

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And by strongly.

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The Shia votes now Absalom, was nominated without the Shia votes and this is, I think, a very important thing to keep in mind that will bode in the hours to come in the hours now actually in the hours to come in the weeks to come on the formation of the government, and that will probably vote.

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On his margin of manoeuvre after that, OK, so he was more or less quote unquote forced on the Shia tandem, which I say again control the entire Shia share within the Lebanese Parliament.

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Okay and he was mainly more or less.

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Bitterly swallowed by part of the classical political class who saw in him and still sees in him.

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An outsider, someone coming not only from abroad but from a different breed of although he is a son and a heare of a very prominent Sunni political family. But you know he's an international lawyer, he's a reformist. He's a Harvard graduate. He's a chancellor. Graduate. He's.

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Probably they don't feel at ease with him. He's not a Wheeler dealer. The kind they would like.

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So they have, they had to swallow him, so this will bode a lot on his margin of manoeuvre. Second aspect of the cautiousness in in this way of maybe quick and simplistic, maybe Lebanese seeing.

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In Salam on a sort of tendon of ticket to like a president and vice president in the US, it is definitely not OK.

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First of all, I don't think I don't think, but this will have to be a research. I don't think that Joseph found when he was elected, had in mind that he would have as a Prime Minister this person. His name was there, but the probability was less than 10%.

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I think he was prepared to rule and to govern with people, with figures that are more from the classical political class. Second, the personalities are different. You have a commander in chief of the Army.

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Who's a very straightforward man, a solid person.

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And even physically.

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Someone who is used to use his military authority, someone who doesn't probably know much about the constitutional intricacies, leeways, et cetera. Someone who probably will govern with a lot of common sense.

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And the Prime Minister, who's much more sophisticated.

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Convoluting intellectual, very much versed into Lebanese Arab political history.

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Someone who's who, knows who's very textual, also who likes to refer to commas in a text or to words in a text. You know, this is not exactly the same chemistry, but more than that, I think the political dynamics will put them.

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On two different trajectories, the President is elected for.

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Six years and no one can topple him. No one can impede him. No one can impeach him, so he has time. He has time. He has a tempo that is long and he can say I have to

succeed over six years in transforming the country and doing what I have to do. But I have time.

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And I have a certain authority that is not exactly constitutional because since the Faf agreement, the President is stripped of many prerogatives, but he has this moral authority and the international backing.

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And a sort of popular sympathy because he's well known by Lebanese, he's been commander in chief of the Army for 6-7 years.

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Lebanese and this is you are mostly Middle East specialist in Lebanon. The army is not perceived the same way it is perceived in the Arab world. OK, it's a it's a body that is perceived with a lot of sympathy sometimes.

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Empathy. I mean, people feel with the army. It's not an army that shoots at people. And this was one of the problems of Joseph found here a good problem. I mean, he refused to to, to impede.

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The the popular revolt in 2019 and This is why also the political class was a little bit wary of him. He's not someone who would use the army as a A.

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OK. But he has that Nawabsalaam is nominated first of all by Parliament. He could be deposited by Parliament at any juncture with a confidence vote. He could be toppled.

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His government could be weakened from the inside if ministers leave it, he could fall and then more than that, he has.

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Crucial critical elections legislative elections in one year and 2-3 months in 2026. So he has a limited mandate by even by Constitution, he will have to either be renewed after next elections or lose.

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Majority and quit, so for him it's now or never. He has to succeed. Tomorrow he has to succeed in forming a government and in doing something valuable in terms of reforming the more urgent things for the Lebanese.

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Tomorrow.

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With a popularity that is a bit theoretical, people know about him but don't know him.

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I know people, for example, who until 2-3 weeks ago were telling me, OK, he's your friend, but who is he? I mean, we barely have a picture, you know, he was living in New York and then in La Hague, and he's not someone who goes on talk shows. He's not on screen, he's not in the streets. People don't know him. So.

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They have high hopes about him, but he could disappoint very quickly also. OK, and also because his position as chief of executive.

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Puts him in direct contact.

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With the public opinion he has to deliver, the president doesn't have to deliver electricity in three months or a better Internet connection in Lebanon or problems at the border because he's not in charge by Constitution. He's the moral authority.

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The Prime Minister is the is the CEO. He has to deliver and he has a limited time to deliver. And as I said, a relatively limited.

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Support from the political forces who in a way.

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Admitted him because they didn't have the choice. So he's here a little bit pardeepu by default. OK, so this is very important not to not to think that we have a ticket today at the head of the state. And I don't want to get into too much speculation.

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But also they could at some point at some point start to collide the two OK because the President would like his mandate to succeed.

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For his mandate to succeed, he would be tempted to do concessions to the political class to do politics, to do bickering, et cetera. He could be tempted in being more populist because his he's a former commander in chief of the Army, et cetera.

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While Salaam is bound by very strict constitutional texts by things that are very narrow, that are very technocratic, and again he has his majority in Parliament to take care of and to keep an eye on, and this could sometimes lead him.

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Him to do things that the president wouldn't like him to do.

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Which?

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In fact, this first point, and I'll then go to the challenges. This first point means that in the immediate and this is the question we have tonight, OK, now that we are talking about the way Salam will be or not be able to form his government.

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So far, the classical way of forming a government in Lebanon, especially after Tahit is first of all, a government of national unity.

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Whereby the entire spectrum of political forces is included. So you.

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Have real.

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Opposition and and majority.

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T and this time the question is, should we, after everything that happened?

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I will be very blunt for some people also, after the quote UN quote defeat of the Shia tandem by Israel and by the regional conundrum, should we include the Shia political forces in this government the way we used to include them before?

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At the risk of seeing the government's action impeded and stalemated.

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Or should we put them in the opposition and move on with a majority that elected or nominated Nawaf Salaam again?

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Then again, reminder, this is not the same majority that elected Joseph Hon. So he could also say, look, I mean, I understand you, Mr. Prime Minister, but I have been elected with a wider mandate and I have to respect it here. We could go into a political bickering between the two.

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First question, will he include them? Second question, which is posed tonight. Will he give them if he includes them? Will he give them what has become a tradition in political life?

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Meaning that since the Doha Agreement in 20.

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08 The Shia tandem Ammal and Hezbollah consider that the key Ministry of Finance is theirs.

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For a series of reasons too complicated now to develop, but mainly because the Minister of Finance has to sign every decree that is promulgated by the by the cabinet, OK by the government and having the signature of a Shia political figure on this paper.

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Means that with the Maronite President and the Sunni Prime Minister.

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The Shias are partners in executive decisions. OK, this is the main reason why they want it.

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Now there is tonight. Tonight, an hour ago a very heated and fearsful debate within the political class and analysts and et cetera. Is this tradition, is this custom to be respected or not?

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If it is to be respected, OK, fine. Let's nominate a Shia Prime Minister, a Shia Minister of Finance. But should he or she be from Amal and Hezbollah? This is a huge debate, but if he's not or she is not.

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Will the Shia MP's who are today 32 MP's vote the confidence in Parliament or not? And if they don't?

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Not is the government of Nawab Salaam going to hold or not? This is the set of questions. OK. Now, of course, the Prime Minister has Plan B's or CS. He can say, OK, I will not form a government of political forces.

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I will keep the political forces outside the government. I will flee. I will really flee towards a fully technocratic government. I will form a government of technos people like him, like the people surrounding him. And we know some of them who are.

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But they will have to get the more or less forced acceptance by the political forces who will say, OK, we will not participate in the banquet in the government banquet this time because it's exceptional circumstances and etc.

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We will accept these people coming from outside the club, but they will be at that moment constantly in the shadows, sniping on them, waiting to shoot the government at the first location, OK?

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And probably.

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About piece me on each law on each measure and which will render the life of the Prime Minister very difficult. He could of course, flee to another.

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1/3 option which is very difficult in Lebanon is to say, OK, we had a.

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Lot of things have changed in the region and in Lebanon. It's a cataclysm.

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The president has been elected in a very awkward, different way from usual. I have been nominated by a very different process than you are used to. Let's dissolve Parliament and go for early elections and I will create a new majority.

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That would support me in my action, first of all, constitutionally, he can't very easily do that. But second, this would be a real risk where and and it helps me then move to my other.

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Points where and this will be the now the core of my of my talk, where the Shia majority and maybe the Shia constituency. And here we are starting to move from Amal Hezbollah as political forces.

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To the Shia community in Lebanon at large, which is so far still sticking to this tandem, of course, not completely, but still, considering that these people represent their rights, their dignity, their dignity, etcetera.

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If he goes that way.

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The defeat of Hezbollah and the Shia, let's say, forces in Lebanon that has been brought by the regional developments and events, will be something that will be translated within the Lebanese political life, with the risk of these people saying.

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OK, things are going too far. Yes, we have lost the war against Israel, but we haven't lost we we.

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Lose the war.

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War in front of our Lebanese counterparts and and companions in in, in, in the Lebanese polity. So we will resist it. And then.

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Will see.

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Some unfortunate let's say problems ahead that could even reach the level of.

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Of insecurity or brewing certain security incidents, and this is one of the risks that we have to keep in mind. So to to to close on that first point. This is why yes, we have hopes we have an opening, but this opening has to be calibrated.

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Very cautiously and I will say a few words more about that now.

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In this transition, I said we have, so let's consider that the the mandate of Joseph Horn is now twofold. We have one year and a half until next legislative elections and then his full mandate him. But Salaam has.

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The threshold of the next elections, so the the challenges and the stakes for each one of them is are the following first of all.

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Are we going to craft a new electoral law? This is a huge question. The same law would bring about probably the same political class. So the question becomes a sort of deadlock. So the same law will bring about the same political class that would impede the Prime Minister and probably torpedo the mandate of the President.

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However, will this Parliament accept to amend the electoral law that would kill it? This is a question.

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Has the the. Does the President and maybe the Prime Minister, the power, the political capital to spend in order to change that law? This is one question. The second question is will Salaam, as I said.

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Be able to keep his majority that has been really produced and brewed during a night. OK, during 24 hours on a very sporadic moment to seize will this majority hold when he will start getting?

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Details.

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Banking secrecy depositors electricity the borders where all the political forces have high stakes. Stakes of survival. Some of them could lose.

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Power, money, et cetera. So will be he free to to do that then you have within his own constituency within his own community.

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A lot of Sunni figures, some of them that were contenders to him in the nomination in the night of the nomination, who belong to the same opposition camp he comes from, who have political ambitions for the future, who would like to be Prime Minister.

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After next election, will they let him really work in order to do what he has to do?

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Some of them are very powerful, some of them are very wealthy, extremely wealthy. I'm not only talking about Mikati, but I'm talking about other figures. Some of them have huge networks in society, in the media.

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Society, etc. And they could harm him and then you have. And here I come to the challenges you have the big question to which frankly, I still tonight does don't have an answer to and most of people don't have an answer to which is OK.

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Now, what is Hezbollah going to do in Lebanese politics? OK, this is the huge.

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Question. It has lost the war against Israel. There is a very fragile ceasefire. He has lost men, weapons, etcetera. But it is still an armed militia. It is still a very powerful political actor and the Shia constituency is still until tonight.

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The largest demographically constituency in Lebanon, what will be the choices of Hezbollah? What will be the choices of Amal? How are they going to approach the new era? Here is my point is my point.

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Challenges.

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As of Monday, OK, after tomorrow.

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I.

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Mean end of this week we have the first huge challenge. Will the ceasefire hold? You know that the ceasefire that was brought, that has brought an end to the war in Lebanon.

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Has a 60 days period of testing cessation of hostilities.

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After which Israel has to withdraw completely from the occupied land in South of Lebanon, the Army has to deploy, Hezbollah has to disarm, and then the truth or the cessation of hostility, becomes a permanent ceasefire.

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With some political let's say, actions to be taken after that, this will occur Sunday.

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Tonight, the Israeli cabinet has already announced that they are not going to withdraw. This is the first challenge for this government. Fine. You have been elected because the Middle East has been completely reshaped, et cetera. There was it. However, Israel is not withdrawing.

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Meaning that Sunday evening, Hezbollah will say, fine, we are not anymore bound by the ceasefire unless this government, to which first of all the government that is still unformed and to which we are not participating so far.

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Himself, the action of liberating the South. This will put the Lebanese army.

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Whose commander is today the President of the Republic in front of a intractable challenge. What will they do Monday morning? OK, this is the first huge question. OK. Meaning that you have to transform today the cessation of hostility into a permanent ceasefire. And then.

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Into a truce between Lebanon and Israel that will tackle.

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The deep, fundamental questions of the border, the Shaba farms, the weapons of Hezbollah, what will happen north of the Litani, et cetera, et cetera. That is a huge agenda of actions to be taken. And this will both and weigh on the year and the half to come for both the President and the Prime Minister. So this is the first.

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Poisoned gift tonight that Israel is putting in the party of Lebanese that are cheerful and and joyful about the new power structure they have. This is the first nail in.

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Doof, the second one and here is the reverse of what I'm saying.

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It is the, let's say, recovery, reconstruction and political reconstruction to be made after the war.

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The South is completely destroyed. You have almost 1,000,000.

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Between brackets, refugees who are Shias, who are refugees from the South, who need to be rescaled, whose houses need to be reconstructed, whose villages are still sometimes occupied by Israel, they need to go back.

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And if you don't get them back quickly, they would become a sort of pressure, socially and politically on Beirut and on the government. So you have to solve this issue quickly to solve it. You need the ceasefire.

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But also to solve it you need a lot of money and a lot of finance and a lot of funding. And today and tonight, especially because we had the.

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Visit of the Saudi Foreign Minister a few hours ago, the only party that will put money in the basket is the Gulf and the Saudis. However, their condition is that we want to see a political structure where Hezbollah is not active anymore.

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Which is a sort of catch 22. So how would you square these demands? The demands from your political reality, your chess board?

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And the demands of the international community and the demands, in a way or another of a part of the Lebanese society that would like to see Hezbollah withering away from the political landscape. But this cannot be done.

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By miracle in one night, unless you obliterate Hezbollah like Bibi, Netanyahu wanted to obliterate it. OK, so it leaves you in this in this kind of now.

00:34:41

So to put the caveat on that, I would say that Hezbollah and Amal, but mainly Hezbollah knows that this is a huge leverage that he has and that the government has on him on them because.

00:34:56

What the Prime Minister and the President could say to Hezbollah is look, the people who are suffering today mainly are your people. This is your constituency. You want to solve that and you want to sue their suffering. You want to bring them back to their home.

00:35:11

The only way we can do it.

00:35:13

If you can bring money from Iran, fine, but can you? The answer is no. The only way to do that is to bring money from the Gulf. The gulf is putting a conditionality on us. They are asking you to a little bit step aside in the landscape.

00:35:31

Please do it in order for us to solve your problem. This is a sort of very tricky leverage, OK, and the coming days will probably show if the Shia duo the Shia tandem will go through that rationale by saying OK, we need a government.

00:35:47

We need any sort of government if this needs us to be stepping aside, we'll do it.

00:35:53

However, by stepping aside, we are taking a huge risk is to start exiting political life for good in the coming months and years.

00:36:01

And this is an existential danger for us. So they will have to really weigh this in a very astute manner. The third challenge in the years to come is everything else.

00:36:15

Was before the war, and that is still there after the war. A country that is deeply dysfunctional, that is paralysed, that is bankrupt. The collapse dates from 20/18/19, well before the war. People have lost their entire deposits. This is a country where you have two to six.

00:36:35

Four to six hours electricity a day where everything has to be done again.

00:36:40

From solving traffic jams to urban planning to the health system, to social coverage to et cetera, and you have one year and they have to do it, which is almost almost impossible and you have to do it not only.

00:36:57

By navigating through the impediment of Hezbollah and the Shias and etcetera, but also through the impediments and probably the ambitions that the classical political class I try to be polite now.

00:37:12

Which is in fact the representative of the oligarchic mafia in the country. OK, let's put it very bluntly.

00:37:18

We're not. We're not help you to do because the banking system is not a Hezbollah problem. It's the problem of 10/15/20. People in the country who are controlling the

main financial circuits, but also controlling maybe 40 to 50% of the MPs in Parliament. OK, how will you address that?

00:37:40

Electricity problem has not been solved for now 15 years because you have a fuel cartel in the country that wants to keep its hand on fuel importation on fuel distribution on.

00:37:54

Private generators and et cetera that is generating without playing on words billions of dollars of benefits every year. OK. So you will have to to to to to navigate with that. I will I will close on that point by saying by summing, summing it up, if I.

00:38:12

On the Hezbollah level and other levels, by saying and where is Nawaf Salaam's today? I think very complicated task if not impossible.

00:38:22

Is that to do all this?

00:38:25

You need consensus, but too much consensus will paralyse your action. OK, this is the catch 22 in which he is tonight. Meaning I need consensus. I need the acceptance of all political forces for my government and my future action.

00:38:41

Including Hezbollah and Oshi attended, but if I include them too much in this consensus building, I take the risk of buying myself the tools of my own paralysis for the year and a half to come again. The president can say OK.

00:38:57

I can live with a year and a half of that, and then next elections I will.

00:39:03

Create a new majority and I have still four years to come, so this is where if you want, we have to be very cautious now.

00:39:14

I'm taking too much salt.

00:39:16

Take too much.

00:39:16

Time. Everything you're saying is absolutely fascinating. So.

00:39:20

See what you have to say.

00:39:20

Right, OK, no, fine. Let me now.

00:39:22

And then we'll look at it.

00:39:26

Pick and unpack a little bit this question of the Shia conundrum. OK, because it's a crucial question for the future of the country.

00:39:36

Let me put it this way.

00:39:39

First of all, we have to differentiate between Hezbollah and its public Amal and its public. Then Amal and Hezbollah together and their public and the Shia public at large. OK, who are sometimes.

00:39:54

Opponents to them, far from them, but in a way or another, that have to admit that they are representing today the interests of the community in a country with politics, is communal so far, OK.

00:40:07

Now this constituency and mainly Shia and mainly Amaland Hezbollah have been extremely weakened by the.

00:40:16

This is.

00:40:16

Not a question. It's no debate about that. However, they are weakened not.

00:40:23



That, but and this is very important. And here I'm opening a new a new a new line if you want and I alluded to it before. However, they are weakened, eroded almost.

00:40:36

I mean this arm, but in a way where their ego is deeply wounded and this is very important.

00:40:44

It's mainly more important. I mean there is you have a a sort of political animal. I would say that feels a very strong sense of humiliation, humiliated by Israel, humiliated by the defeat, the exodus of 1,000,000 people.

00:41:02

A community that was until four months.

00:41:05

So, living itself, perceiving itself, feeling itself as my almighty in the country, you couldn't do anything without the acceptance of this political force.

00:41:17

Their constituency would consider that Hassan Nasrallah was a semi God his his dead in a in a in a in an under in a basement.

00:41:29

OK, they are today forced to accept a political result. They were able three months ago to completely block and torped and so now they are saying, OK, how much is too much? How much can I still swallow?

00:41:46

As humiliation, as people stepping on my own dignity on my rights and etcetera, OK, and this is very important in AI, don't want to sound culturalist, Eugene, but in a community, in a culture.

00:42:01

PR community, where the idea of martyrdom of disenfranchisement.

00:42:07

Of humiliation is very resonating, is very powerful. This is what constitutes what we call the Karbalai culture. OK, so sometimes they could be tempted by saying, OK, if this is it, let's commit suicide.

00:42:24

Let's go to the end. Let's commit suicide and to kill the country with us. OK, let's go completely in a way. Where we go back to Clandestinity underground. We did it in the 80s in the 90s and we succeeded.

00:42:38

Let's go this way. OK, this.

00:42:40

The main danger?

00:42:42

But any move of the president and the Prime Minister could be faced with to have a community that in 5-6 months will say, OK, fine, you've you elected the President, that we didn't want, you chose a Prime Minister against our will. You formed a government without us, you are unable to make Israel respect the ceasefire in the South.

00:43:04

Telling us you cannot go back to your villages because there is no enough money. OK, fine. Let us now we the share.

00:43:12

Us. Turn the table, topple the table and go back to a sort of popular unrest revolt. We don't have weapons anymore like before, but we can impede and torpedo political and social life. This would be the huge risk. If you want that we are facing today and This is why I think we have to.

00:43:32

Very much acknowledge this. This sense of of humiliation that we are. We are faced with now.

00:43:41

What could help to change this? What could help to soothe this and to really put the country. This is my opinion at least on the right track and to fulfil the promise that has been opened by this rosy page of unsalaam a week ago.

00:43:59

It would take many things. First of all, next Sunday it will take.

00:44:04

Solidification the consolidation of the ceasefire in the South. You have to have it in order to tell this constituency.

00:44:12

Fine. You took blows. You were maybe humiliated, but now we are reaching.

00:44:18

An interesting result, a promising result Israel will withdraw. We will have a ceasefire. The army which you like.

00:44:26

Will deploy in the. You'll get back to your villages in dignity and in pride. OK, this is the first thing that we have to do. And this only will allow.

00:44:37

In 5-6 months, the Lebanese army, who's again commander in chief, is today the President of the Republic to fulfil the rest of the obligations that are written in the ceasefire agreement.

00:44:48

Meaning the army has to go north of the Litani, and this arm, Hezbollah in an agreed way, you cannot take the.

00:44:56

Risk of seeing the Lebanese army, who maybe 40-45% of the rank and file and officers are Shia, to go and clash with Hezbollah and Amal in order to take weapons by force. You have to do it with consensus and to do it with consensus you have to have laid the ground politically.

00:45:15

The way I described second.

00:45:18

Related to that, you will have so Israel's behaviour is a key component of this soothing mechanism that would help.

00:45:27

If you want to come over and get over this feeling of humiliation that the Shia community is today resenting.

00:45:35

The second challenge for also addressing the Shia conundrum is very simply, I mean very concretely. You have today a shadow army. Hezbollah is 50,000 armed people. These.

00:45:50

Whose age are between 17 and 35? They never did anything else in their life, but fighting they are well trained, armed. They are fighters, they are ideologized.

00:46:05

Some of them are radicalised.

00:46:06

To absorb them in the institutions.

00:46:10

And mainly in the security institutions. Some people hate to listen, to hear that in Lebanon, but this is the only way you can do it. How will you do it? Is the Lebanese army able or the Lebanese armed forces able to absorb this? If you don't want to get this way?

00:46:26

How would you dismantle demobilise reshape?

00:46:32

Transfer the the the the skills of these people into something positive. This is a huge challenge that you have to address.

00:46:39

It has to do like in Syria, with Ahmad Sarah absolving and dissolving and absorbing his own facile and factions. You have to have enough economic growth in order to produce jobs in order to make these people live.

00:46:54

If not, they will become drug dealers, smugglers, et cetera, et cetera, or they would reconstitute a shadow militia and Hezbollah in 5-10 years could become again the militia. It has been under different form if the Middle East.

00:47:09

Of course, takes a new dynamics, which is my concluding point if I.

00:47:13

Still have time, OK?

00:47:15

So these are the challenges and these are the the, the stakes and that would add on that something that we were discussing before, which is the Nexus and this very strange relation between Amal and Hezbollah. OK, so we talked about Hezbollah, but we have also.

00:47:33

And Amal apparatus, whose chief is today the speaker in power.

00:47:37

Parliament, someone who's actually probably the most astute and the most agile politician in the bad sense of the term in the Lebanese political life. But he's someone who's 87 years old and he's probably going to disappear in the coming years.

00:47:54

And no one knows what will be the future of this political apparatus. OK, now, before turning to Syria, and this will be my transition. If you give me time to talk about Syria.

00:48:06

All this is happening and this is the last huge challenge. All this is happening and I'm sorry to remind us all of that in the Middle East, where the film has not ended. We have seen the end of season one or two.

00:48:23

But there are other seasons yet to come. What will happen with Iran in the coming months? What does Donald Trump have in stock for the region?

00:48:32

What is going to happen or what is happening tonight in the West Bank? Is Israel going to go on in annexing aggressing, et cetera, the West Bank? What repercussions will all this have on countries like Jordan, like Syria, like Lebanon, like et cetera? So the film is open. So this.

00:48:54

Where is the Middle East heading and this will inform most of the questions that we are talking about in a year and a half when Salamone will be faced with legislative elections that will be crucial for the rest of the mandate. Where will the Middle East be? I don't know. OK.

00:49:10

Where will Iran be? This will very largely determine Hezbollah's decision. If Iran is on the ground, Hezbollah will take a choice. If Iran is resisting in the region, Hezbollah will make another choice and this way.

00:49:24

Impede and this will affect everything that I have discussed so far. 2nd and this brings me back to Syria.

00:49:31

His theory is Syria over, I mean, is the Syria question over far from it. And if I have time, I would say a few words about it. If Syria goes in a positive way, inclusiveness.

00:49:46

Reconstructing security, a good transitional justice economic growth opening to the Arab world.

00:49:54

Turkey behaving more or less as it should and et cetera. Fine Lebanon will, of course reap the benefits and will live in a better way. But what if Syria goes the bad way? What if clashes?

00:50:09

Increase with the Kurds. What if the Alawi community does not accept the new ruling and some external players come back and try to play with that? What if Israel continues to grab land?

00:50:20

II.

00:50:21

Remind you that Israel since Assad since Assad's fall, have grabbed.

00:50:26

Have almost tripled its occupation of Syrian land, so this is a huge question. Also, what will happen tonight? I was saying that I was seeing that there were clashes between smugglers and the Lebanese army at the Syrian Lebanese border, which is something.

00:50:41

You Eugene Rogan, know better than any other because this is 100 and more years phenomenon. The the, You know, the toufar and the smugglers and et cetera with a

weak state in Syria. Is that going to continue? And what will it create as consequences between Lebanon and Syria?

00:50:58

Countries whose history is very complicated.

00:51:02

Convoluting with a lot of revenge and accounts to settle. These are questions that are completely open now. I have the choice. I can stop here and I can continue and.

00:51:17

This is too big a decision for.

00:51:18

Take.

00:51:20

Or for me for you.

00:51:22

I hate to take decisions for Eugene.

00:51:23

No, no. I'm going to put it down.

00:51:24

So I need to have a quick show of hands. Would you like the analysis to extend to Syria? Now, show me your hands.

00:51:30

Yes.

00:51:32

And who is dying to move to questions right now, and we have two.

00:51:33

Okay.

00:51:35

Here, right.

00:51:36

OK, I think they.

00:51:37

I'll try to cover Syria quickly, OK?

00:51:37

The decision for you, Joseph, tell us.

00:51:41

Ah, some of some of the points I wanted to make on Syria. I will even not mention them and make them very quickly. Some people here are very knowledgeable about the Syria landscape. The first question is what did exactly happen and how did it happen in 11 days? I mean, you had a country that everything.

00:52:02

Frozen for 12 years. Unfortunately a very awful way.

00:52:06

And all of a sudden in 11 days, you had the fall of a regime that everybody thought would be more.

00:52:16

At least resistant second, more fearful and and and and let's say.

00:52:23

More aggressive and bloody before it accepts defeat. We didn't have that. OK. What did happen? It's too complicated to say, but I would say that this is where I come back to my question.

00:52:35

Beginning all of a sudden you had someone who's called Erdogan in Turkey, who said, OK, Netanyahu is reshaping the Middle East. He has done a lot of things. He had completely broken Hamas. He had broken Hezbollah, his weakening Iran.

00:52:51

Assad is today on his knees. He has refused every offer I made to him. Fine. OK, I will.

00:52:57

Get into the game into this huge poker game that Netanyahu has started and try to grab my own card, which is north of Syria, but then the regime started to crumble



unexpectedly and he found himself arriving to Damascus and then to Daraa and taking the entirety of Syria.

00:53:16

Israel making the.

00:53:17

Move and accept. This is what happened, OK?

00:53:20

And all of a sudden you have someone who is abom Mohammed Julani, who is today Mohammed Ashara.

00:53:28

Rebranded completely in terms of discourse of profile, of looks, of even the way he dresses and et cetera, coming to Damascus and becoming the new strongman of Damascus.

00:53:39

Without getting into details, I would say that this is the first big point that we have to follow if we have to see if Syria is going the right way or not the right way.

00:53:52

This is the result of something that has happened regionally. We have to admit it, which is the weakening of the Iran axis, a sort of very reluctant acceptance by Russia that it cannot anymore defend the regime.

00:54:09

But big question here, did it really accept definitive defeat and ousting from Syria tonight? There's a news that.

00:54:17

The new power in Syria has completely relinquished the contract for Russia for 50 years on the management of the Tartu Sport. The Tartoo Sport is the most important naval base for Russia in the world okay, so we'll put and accept that this is an open question and then you have the Gulf States and the Arab States and Jordan.

00:54:38

Maybe Israel somewhere.

00:54:40

Seeing Erdogan become becoming the powerful man in Syria, will they accept that? Will they try to share power with him or to topple him in Damascus? These are the sets of question that are open now in the domestic I'm sorry, I'm I'm going very, very quickly. But because I want to conclude by bringing back both countries and.

00:55:02

On the domestic level, there are huge challenges as well. The first challenges is like in Lebanon, how will you? How will you create a political economy that is powerful enough, growing enough, successful enough.

00:55:18

That will reabsorb whole segments, entire segments and a lot of segments of the Syrian societies see Syrian society that are today completely in disarray. How will you bring back the refugees?

00:55:32

6,000,000 refugees 1.5 in Lebanon and the rest in Jordan, Turkey and in the.

00:55:37

First, how will you rebuild?

00:55:42

An economy that has lost.

00:55:44

Since 2012 until today, almost 80% of its GDP, the GDP of Syria today is the same GDP of of Syria of Syria that was there in 1974.

00:56:00

Just to give you an idea. OK, it's a meaning that it's a country that has lost 40 years of economic growth. How will you tackle that? And then you have the questions of the society everyday. The question of security. Damascus is secure, but what about Hamas? Halab, Aleppo, Hama de Resort, the suburbs?

00:56:21

2nd the questions of the outlook of the power is it a religious power? So far, the measures that have been taken are ambiguous on education, on women's right, on minority rights, etcetera.

00:56:34

The way you will absorb the fossil, as we said, the factions of HTS that are more than 42 factions, some of them really to the right of Shara and wanting to control every decision that he's making and finding it not enough.

00:56:52

Accord in accordance with Sharia and et cetera, he's playing, he's trying to navigate between this and the international community's observance on him and and and control of him. What will you do with the Kurdish challenge? And this will be probably.

00:57:07

The point of.

00:57:08

Rest of the relation between Turkey and Trump and the new US administration, and we will see where it goes. And then what would you do in order to give the impression that ultimately it's not an Islamic revolution that won in Syria, but really the revolution of 2011.

00:57:28

With its own principles, norms, values and etcetera. And then you have of course the rest of the problems that I have mentioned that have to do with the economy and.

00:57:40

Very quickly, the scenarios for Syria are like for Lebanon, they could go the good way and they could go the bad way. The good way would be, first of all, a power that consolidated.

00:57:55

Let's admit it, it will be authoritarian, of course, but it has to be authoritarian, inclusive. I'm. I'm, I'm sorry to say it. OK? Meaning it will be something. It will be something like a sort of Turkey plus.

00:58:11

Or Pakistan minus? I don't know. OK, now the other alternative is.

00:58:18

Go the Libyan.

00:58:20

To go the Libyan way. OK, you will have local militias grafted on, certain identity, politics dynamics and etcetera. Saying we don't accept the new ruler. They will be Kurds. They

will be alloys. They will be tribes from the South. They will with a lot of foreign intervention. If some actors in the region.

00:58:41

Perceive that this Syria is not enough to then like and here you know the candidates for.

00:58:46

That maybe Israel, maybe the Emirates, maybe others, et cetera, maybe Russia, maybe Iran, if Iran wants to play again and This is why and I think that Shada is doing the right thing, a sort of quick inclusion of Syria in a sort of Arab fall.

00:59:04

Mainly through Saudi Arabia and Raleigh Dalla here wrote a very good paper on that as I think the smart thing to do in order to avoid the bad, the bad scenario.

00:59:16

And so we are really on something.

00:59:18

Think that I hate to give proportions, but I would say it's a 60/40 sixty to good way until tonight. OK, which is good 60 until tonight is the good scenario, which means that things could go.

00:59:24

Oh.

00:59:34

In the good direction now I will conclude on both countries and on on that last point, I would say first what I said.

00:59:42

First of all, the film is not over. The region is not over yet. What will happen with Iran will be key in the coming months for the Shia forces or the Shia axis in the region and the Shia proxies in the region.

00:59:57

But also for the stability of Syria and the stability of Lebanon. Second, the second factor.

01:00:04

Here I am.

01:00:07

Am talking to you as a historian. You know that until 1970, contemporary Syria and this is what we owe to Patrick seal in a way or another. Syria was an arena like Lebanon has always been, of regional and international.

01:00:23

This is the first book of Patrick Siege, the struggle for Syria before he wrote his second book, which is an apology of Hafiz Assad. Unfortunately, that was subtitled Syria. The struggle for the Middle East. But what Patrick seal?

01:00:38

Said is that in the 50s, sixties and until early 70s, Syria was a a chess board on which players used to play Assad for for bad reasons, transformed it with his iron fist.

01:00:54

Into a regional player himself.

01:00:56

Is today Syria back to the seals struggle on Syria of the 50s? What I describe let's you know or leaves you enough room for you to say that yes, there are strong probabilities that this is the case. OK. So this is one question. The second question is.

01:01:15

What will happen with Iran and et cetera? The third question and this is something and I'll end on this personal note, my institute and myself are keen on working very much now is what type of.

01:01:29

Lebanese relations. Are you going to?

01:01:31

Construct that will have to tackle very huge challenges of labour force of migration and refugees, of smuggling, of political economy, of security and of more or less common fate.

01:01:47

In a Middle East that is still under shaping with a lot of violence of aggressivity, and that is shaped and has been shaped until so far by blood and fire and and ski.

01:02:01

I will stop there.

01:02:04

Oh.

01:02:09

You know, I introduced you by talking about how they're seen to have been a transformation from a crisis to an opportunity, but.

01:02:17

Following your amazing lecture, I'm still not feeling so optimistic as I hoped I would.

01:02:25

You know, Eugene, I mean everybody who knows me, some of them are here in this room, know that I'm not exactly known for my.

01:02:34

Let's say open optimism usually. So my my note of of pessim for my note of optimism or for hopefulness in the beginning, is something enormous for.

01:02:44

To admit that there is an opening and the glimpse of light in this bloody Middle East that has shown us to until today that everything, everything that could happen is, is always in the bad direction.

01:02:57

Which is why we graduate people with.

01:03:00

Reason pest optimism.

01:03:03

But if I were to go through the notes I've taken of, you're absolutely fascinating.

01:03:07

I'm sorry, it was a bit confused at the end, but I had to run and.

01:03:11

I'm flattering you. There's absolutely no need to apologise. You know, I'm saying this is a wonderfully fascinating lecture.

01:03:17

And where we really did benefit from.

01:03:20

Your proximity to the events that are going.

01:03:23

But I'm going to focus in my one question that I'm going to open up to you guys, I promise.

01:03:29

On what?

01:03:29

Be done in Lebanon now and your right time is not on the side of this administration.

01:03:36

And they can't do everything. They're going to actually have to decide.

01:03:39

On the things that they.

01:03:41

Would like to achieve before they go to elections, so the economy will still.

01:03:45

A.

01:03:46

Case reconstruction really won't get off the ground. The most they can hope to do is create a political scenario that will encourage the Gulf states in the first instance, the international community in the second that Lebanon is safe to invest in.

01:04:00

That's all they can hope to do to get the.

01:04:02

Going and for that?

01:04:05

From your analysis, it seems like it hinges on the way in which relations with the Shia tandem as you call them, will be played out.

01:04:15

And you talked about.

01:04:16

That in turn is dependent on what will happen with Iran. This is where things.

01:04:20

Clearly, in a sense, what Iran has.

01:04:25

Will prevent them providing the kind of support that Hezbollah would need to re establish itself as both a militia and a political force. Because without Syria as a land bridge.

01:04:37

We know we're getting armament to South Lebanon or to Lebanon anywhere.

01:04:37

That.

01:04:42

Then the scope to re establish Hezbollah as a militia is finished and what Israel destroyed of their arsenal, they will not recover.

01:04:53

So their role as a militia, which has always been Lebanon's problem since Hezbollah was the one party that did not adhere to the tariff formula of dissolving the militias in becoming a political force.

01:05:05

In a sense, this need not be an existential threat for Hezbollah as a political force, because they still have the plurality of voters that will give them a block in Parliament.

01:05:11

You're sleeping.

01:05:18

So this is this is exactly the sort of discourse that needs to be channelled today to he Hezbollah, that OK, the the whole page is over.

01:05:29



The Middle East has changed. It's time for you to completely integrate politics and you have enormous means to integrate it to your advantage. Play it completely, and be assured that we will not going to be after you.

01:05:36

Exactly.

01:05:44

On that level, so you have to accept the ceasefire agreement with all its its points, meaning disarmament and etcetera. But and here the footnote is important, Israel has to also show that it is playing by the rules that it has accepted.

01:05:45

My questions with.

01:06:00

You know.

01:06:00

You have no control.

01:06:00

In the seaside.

01:06:01

That. Yeah. And you're dealing with a country that's.

01:06:04

Behaving without concern for the international community and Syria and Lebanon about two week to be able to in any way influence decision making in Israel, but you have every control over decision making in Lebanon. So wouldn't the smart money be to give the finance minister?

01:06:22

To a Shiite candidate.

01:06:25

As a way of demonstrating that this is not a government that seeks to marginalised them and makes a basis for the handover to the army and the dissolution of Hezbollah as a militia.

01:06:29

Lucky.

01:06:37

The foundations that make people trust the investment in Lebanon again give the Shia tandem a stake in the new future of Lebanon.

01:06:47

Good.

01:06:48

To achieve a kind of stability that Nawazs Alam could then take to parliamentary elections in a year's time, doesn't it all come down to this decision this weekend on how you shape a cabinet that gives a Shia?

01:06:54

I mean.

01:07:01

A steak.

01:07:02

Eugene OR I think that you should. You should be sent to Beirut to be the.

01:07:07

And the top, the senior advisor of of the Prime Minister. I'm. I'm very serious. I think this is exactly what has to be done. I would like to answer your question originally that you asked me once the government is formed, if it's formed under.

01:07:21

This rationale what are the 2-3 top priorities it has to address in order to approach elections in a good way?

01:07:28

The first one is very quickly after the formation of a government and I hear that we will have a fantastic minister of economy and maybe a good central bank, governor, foreign affairs and maybe a Minister of Foreign Affairs who we know will.

01:07:44

They have to first thing they have to do in the coming months is to prepare a very solid file for the first conference that is going to be held in Paris next month on on reconstruction of Lebanon and of the South with Gulf Ionia.

01:08:00

Go there with a real file of the immediate priorities, healthcare, education, housing, water, sanitation, etcetera, concrete things and come back with X billions if you come back with this.

01:08:17

I can assure you that most a big part of the Shia anger today will start to come down. OK, we are seeing good signs.

01:08:27

This government going to take care of us, maybe it got it's going to do it, it is going to do it in a better way than Hezbollah was doing it. This is a huge thing that you have to do. Second thing you have to send a strong signal.

01:08:42

To the Lebanese society.

01:08:45

On at least two issues, justice, the independence of justice. It was very striking that the first point.

01:08:52

On which elaborated a lot in his this in his inauguration speech, the President of the Republic stressed on that said the first law. I will ask the government to put to Parliament is a new law on the independence of judges.

01:09:09

It doesn't mean only theory. It means something that is still a sort of wound.

01:09:14

And the Lebanese body, which is the Port explosion inquiry, you have to have a concrete result on that thing. We probably won't have full justice on that, but you have to give people something on that front. This is a symbolic.

01:09:17

Yes.

01:09:30

That also has to do justice with the way you will very quickly in the three months to come start to address the other wound of 95% of Lebanese which is their money.

01:09:44

Been evaporated if not stolen by 15 bankers in the country. Yeah, I'm. I'm sorry to put it this way.

01:09:46

Yeah.

01:09:51

Yeah, you have to start addressing that. It will not be solved in a month or two or three or maybe a year, but you have to do two or three things. There are two laws today that are sleeping in Parliament. The Prime Minister has only to say to 10 of the MPs who nominated him.

01:10:10

You reactivate these laws and vote on them, bank secrecy lifting and the bank restructuring, and the IMF discussion. If you do that.

01:10:21

Start to put Lebanon on the right way.

01:10:24

Money will not come back in 10 months, but you tell people justice is here for you and you will have your eyes. This is the second thing that you have to do. The third thing that you have to do is not to embark quickly in politics. Hearing, playing with the electoral law and et cetera, giving people the service delivery that they want to have very quickly.

01:10:45

Quickly we are, I said it. We have 6 hours of electricity a day. Make it 18. Make it 15. You can do it tomorrow.

01:10:54

By bringing electricity from Syria from Egypt, buying fuel from elsewhere, etc, you have the means to do it. If you do these three things, I can assure you that in 10 months, if Nawaz Alam.

01:11:07

Goes for a walk in the street. He will be.

01:11:09

On on shoulders.

01:11:11

OK. And this is not rocket science. I'm not saying you will have to solve the the problem of the Middle East, the two state solution.

01:11:12

Mm.

01:11:20

Cancelling political sectarianism? No, this is easy. These are low hanging fruits, but you need a political will and the political courage to say to tell the mafia look, step aside. I won't cut your head. I won't. Maybe touch your.

01:11:37

Existential interest. But some things I have to do.

01:11:41

For the people.

01:11:42

Well, tonight we have launched our term seminar series by addressing one of the most critical issues in the region in the past.

01:11:51

I'd like to invite you all back next week when we will be analysing the impact of a national army going to a war with a paramilitary force, laying absolute waste to the landscape in which the threat of genocide hangs over the country.

01:12:08

Yes, we're talking Sudan and we will be welcoming Richard Baltrop back to the centre to address the Sudan crisis for us next week.

01:12:17

But before we break, I hope you all agree that Joseph Bahut has given us an absolutely brilliant analysis.

01:12:27

It looks like it's I'm trying I.

01:12:30

Got close my phone.

