FORUM MONDIAL NORMANDIE POUR LA PAIX

7 - 8 JUNE 2018

THE ESSENTIALS

1ST EDITION:
GLOBALISING PEACE
NEW WARS,
NEW PEACE

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RÉGION
NORMANDIE

A note to readers

This document compiles summaries of the speeches given at the first edition of the Normandy for Peace Forum. The remarks made during the debates, talks and conferences do not engage the Normandy Region's liability and do not reflect its position in any way. The summaries are not scientific articles. They include the different points of view and the essential elements of each sequence.

Whether you attended the 2018 Normandy World Peace Forum or not, the Normandy Region has created this document to summarise the highlights of the first edition of this event. **In this document, you will find summarised versions of the four major conferences, the twenty-three debates and the seven talks.**

The Normandy World Peace Forum in **a few figures:**

5,000 participants, 1,700 young people alongside many famous public figures, including former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

160 speakers from 39 countries came to discuss the fundamental questions of global security and peace.

50 hours of debate, combining geopolitical presentations, scientific expertise, engaging speeches and heartbreaking testimonies by veterans, child soldiers and representatives of the Rohingya community.

We hope you enjoy reading them!

The Normandy Region

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EDITORIAL

On 7 June 2018, President Hervé Morin opened the first Normandy World Peace Forum. During his speech, he asked speakers and participants to commit to peace and multilateralism. Here is a summary of his speech.

Normandy for Peace, an inclusive initiative

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now time for me to declare the first edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum open; I am thrilled, proud and slightly emotional.

The Normandy World Peace Forum is the result of the entire region's commitment to the duty of remembrance. This commitment is embodied by the creation of the Caen Memorial, thirty years ago. It is perpetuated by this Forum, which couldn't have happened without the active involvement of so many people.

I wanted this event, which will take place every year ahead of the events to commemorate June 1944, to focus on real action, in addition to observation and analysis. According to Human Rights Watch, *"major human rights abuses in a country often foreshadow conflicts with its neighbours."* This calls for analysis of the sequence of events which leads to a crisis becoming a war and identification of the major causes of conflict.

The Normandy World Peace Forum must provide an opportunity for dialogue to resume. Researchers, politicians, leaders of major international organisations, warring and peaceful parties and survivors of violence and terrorism from thirty countries have come to discuss this subject. Collectively, we must rethink our approach to ensure that peace is a constant in Europe and around the world.

"We wanted every generation to be represented, so that veterans can share their experiences and young people can listen and act."

I want this Forum to be a cultural event with a truly joyful atmosphere which brings everyone together, no matter where they are from, no matter what their intellectual interest. I am thrilled to see men and women from different countries and generations here in the Abbaye-aux-Dames, including audience members, veterans and speakers. This first edition is set to be attended 170 speakers and 5,000 visitors. I want to thank you for being here.

A hymn to human rights

As you can see, the Forum's programme is incredibly wide-ranging: from explaining the forms and causes of war to celebrating the tools and the people who make peace. Our objective? To understand war so that we can build peace.

"I want this Forum to be a hymn to human rights, a tribute to human dignity."

Although today's conflicts appear to be different, many elements remain the same. The Normandy World Peace Forum must consider the lessons of the past to prevent future conflicts.

Denuclearisation, new technologies, a Europe of Defence, the role of the former major powers and new international players in an inert world, civil conflicts, climate refugees, terrorism, the treatment of the Rohingya, women's role in wars and peace processes: these are all essential subjects when it comes to our future world and we must discuss them.

A tribute to Aristide Briand and his commitment to multilateralism and peace

I would like to pay tribute to Aristide Briand, a great man who taught us that no prejudice should stop us on the road to peace. He has shown us the difficulties and the risks of political endeavours along with their impressive potential, when the aim is to bring people together, to reconcile interests and people, the rights to freedom and dignity for all.

As I was writing this speech yesterday, I wondered what Briand would say if he came back and looked at our world today. He would see the Franco-German reconciliation, for which he worked so hard, and he would not be surprised by Brexit, given his in-depth knowledge of the British character. He would probably shudder to see the return of nationalism, he would be concerned by this fascination for the personalisation of power and he would wonder how the United States had managed to trample all over multilateralism.

I am proud that France shares Aristide Briand's values in its defence of Europe. Europe must use its soft power to promote culture, health and the protection of the environment as ways to foster peace. Multilateralism is part of these European values; we can and must fight for it to regain its rightful place.

Peace as an intention

Let us drink from the streams of peace which will be found in every speech over the next two days. Let us savour this peace because war and violence are never very far away. We are moving on from reconciliation and historic handshakes to outstretched arms, raised fists, blindfolded figures, a crying little girl running along a road in Vietnam.

"Peace is a hope, but more than that, it is an intention."

I want to finish with an idea of Emmanuel Kant's: although perpetual peace is impossible, we can definitely get close to it. So, ladies and gentlemen, let's follow in the footsteps of Kant and Briand to share these values.

Hervé Morin
Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region and Regions of France, former French Minister of Defence

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01.

THE MAJOR PLENARY CONFERENCES:

UNDERSTANDING NEW CONFLICTS AND RETHINKING PEACE

PLENARY
CONFERENCE 1

Plenary Conference 1: conflicts, tensions and contemporary violence: the state of the world
From left to right: Alexandre Orlov, Jean-Pierre Raffarin, Hubert Védrine

CONFLICTS, TENSIONS AND CONTEMPORARY VIOLENCE: THE STATE OF THE WORLD

7 June 2018, 9.30am - 12.30pm, Plenary room

Introduction by **Bertrand Badie**, Professor of Political Science, Sciences Po

Moderator:

- **Laurent Marchand,** Editor-in-Chief for European and International Affairs, Ouest France

Speakers:

- **Abdoulaye Bathily,** Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General for Madagascar, former Senegalese Minister of State, former Special Representative of the United Nations for Central Africa
- **Elisabeth Decrey Warner,** Honorary President of the Geneva Appeal, research fellow at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy
- **Renaud Girard,** senior reporter at Le Figaro and writer
- **Alexandre Orlov,** Ambassador, member of Leaders for Peace, Executive Secretary-General of the Trianon Dialogue
- **Jean-Pierre Raffarin**, former French Prime Minister, President of Leaders for Peace
- **Hubert Védrine,** former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

In the collective imagination, war is often seen as a clash between two states. Today, this vision of armed conflict no longer seems relevant because of the proliferation of non-state agencies. How can we characterise, identify and define these new forms of violence? This introductory conference lays the groundwork for the debate on the changing concept of war and draws up an inventory of contemporary conflicts.

New issues

Thomas Hobbes said that states had the posture of gladiators toward one another. Modern Europe invented the international system, putting war at the heart of relations between nations, but today the situation has changed.

Firstly, Europe is no longer the world's battlefield. Today, the battlefields can be found in Africa and the Middle East. This begs two questions: can Europeans appropriate conflicts which are no longer their own? Can we manage other people's wars? Secondly, do these conflicts resemble the wars we've previously witnessed? Three major differences are particularly notable: destatisation, deterritorialisation and demilitarisation. War is fuelled by political, economic and social issues. Weak states are often the primary cause, along with weak nations and weak institutions: a refusal to live side by side and the destruction of the social contract generate conflicts. Furthermore, the strength and quality of social connections are crucial issues. Behind all this lies perhaps the most profound reason for conflict: a lack of recognition and acknowledgement of other people on an international stage.

In view of such changes, do the approaches of the past still make sense? Arms are no longer of any use to societies and institutions which have already begun to crumble; instead, they are indicative of the existence of "entrepreneurs of violence". They validate their discourse of rejection, brutality and disrespect. Our military response, launched in reaction to their violence, reinforces it. This is the current cycle of the new style of conflict.

Are the concepts of power and territoriality still relevant?

What has happened to our allies? What's happened to the United Kingdom, having voted for Brexit, the embodiment of the destruction of Europe, which was created to be a symbol of peace? And what about the United States, which forces us to shut down factories in Iran and creates tension among NATO members, including our Eastern neighbours? Will our future allies be the allies of our past?

Eurasia could become the continent of stability, with a long-term leadership role. China is particularly committed to multilateralism. Although it has the same desire for power as other countries, it is willing to move slowly, as can be seen with its Silk Roads policy. With this clear policy, worth an equivalent of $1 trillion, ten times the value of the Marshall Plan, we must remember that the Chinese focus is not on creation but rather on adaptation to globalisation. This strategy is more compatible with peace than other countries' strategies.

For its part, Russia believes that chaotic global governance is the current problem, in the absence of a clear playing field. The situation is worse now than during the Cold War, when leaders were looking to compromise. Today, countries seek to impose their own laws, even at the risk of a world war. Some show total disregard for international law, their allies and other countries. They change their minds within twenty-four hours and with incredible arrogance. We must not give up; instead, we must respond as one. The world can be managed by international law or by the balance of power. Russia wants the United Nations to be at the heart of things, even if it is a flawed organisation. It is true that the United Nations must be modernised while retaining its initial spirit of dialogue and negotiation. The world's politics are no longer bipolar: other powers are demanding a place.

How can we analyse war and peace in the face of armed groups which don't belong to any state? How can we establish a dialogue and encourage mediation?

Today's conflicts are unlike those of the past. They pit armed groups against a state or another armed group. Excluding them from analysis will not resolve the problem. In fact, most conflicts are born of a revolt against a state which refuses to respect human rights. Examples include Colombian guerrillas, Burmese ethnic groups struggling to defend their rights and culture and Syrians demanding more freedom of expression. These armed groups cannot participate in negotiations and sign conventions and they receive no training in international law. Geneva Call works to raise awareness of respect for civilians and humanitarian law. This inclusion makes it possible to modify behaviour. Inclusion and pragmatism are solutions to the problem of civilian suffering in war. Every element of negotiations on a humanitarian issue prepares the way for future peace negotiations.

How can we describe the current international system?

Europe is struggling to understand the world, conscious of the fact that multilateralism is more complex than anticipated. We must take another look at our ideas so as to understand conflicts and exit strategies for war, which differ from the automatic systems of the past. For example, the frozen conflicts in Europe are the result of the mismanagement of the continent's relationship with Russia after the collapse of the USSR. We must establish a specific and realistic approach, which will require an effort on the part of Europe and its people.

Power takes various forms: today's world is a free-for-all between countries and big corporations, religions, mafias, terrorist groups and so on. Napoleonic power no longer exists in this form and Westerners no longer have a monopoly on power. Emerging countries may well want to take revenge by refusing to join the old system.

The United States, formerly a global police force, seems to have reached a crossroads since Donald Trump took office. The US President has made it clear that he is defending his own interests and is not worried about the global context.

Non-state agencies, the protagonists of new conflicts

In Africa, contemporary conflicts are connected by similarities which stem from the failure of nation-state building as a result of independence. Westphalian states have been developed without ensuring the successful management of diversity. The development model has increased poverty, with political and economic governance clearly failing. The perverse effects of globalisation are compounded by the exploitation of resources by large corporations (most of them Western) which exacerbate inequalities within African nations, leading to conflicts of identity which are a breeding ground for terrorism. Trafficking, particularly drug trafficking, also contributes significantly. These conflicts are also caused by climate change, whether in the Sahel or the Congo Basin, forcing millions of people to leave their countries.

This is an enormous challenge for world peace. In the 19th century, European migration to America, Oceania and Africa was the result of crises within nation-states. Today, globalisation wants to break down borders while countries want to close them. These political decisions are primarily motivated by social issues. This is a profound contradiction. We must establish new paradigms to ensure peaceful relationships in the global space, which belongs to the world's citizens.

What role does the West play in terms of the international balance?

In the 1990s, all of the world's major nations dreamed of resembling the West. The European Union and the United States lectured other countries, countries which respected them. Everything changed in 2001 with the American reaction to Islamist attacks. The neoconservatives' idea of a preventive war led to a disagreement with and mistrust between America and Europe. Since 2003 invasion of Iraq, the West's influence has waned even further.

The Arab world is a prime example. Our values don't apply in Libya, a country which is open to all kinds of trafficking. In the Middle East, America has no vision as to how to stabilise the region. Its influence is decreasing in the face of the Turkey/Iran/Russia axis. In Africa, presidents cling to power while Western pro-democratic views are ignored and Russia remains isolated from the European family. Lastly, the transatlantic line continues to crumble as China launches its Silk Roads policy, having "won" with the annexation of the South China Sea.

In view of this economic war, there is no clear Western strategy and Europe is extremely weak, unable to protect its borders and industries. In the end, we must be realistic: the West is rapidly approaching a strategic powerlessness.

Where and how can we rebuild a space for dialogue?

The variable geometry approach to multilateralism is a possible solution. The United Nations must evolve because it needs to be more representative and more efficient. Conventions and the United Nations will always serve a purpose if states remain flexible and pragmatic. They must show courage and fight against impunity. They must also be courageous in their negotiations by including all partners, even armed groups.

In conclusion

We are living in extraordinary times. In fifty years, mankind has been brought together within the same international system. This form of brutality is inevitably a source of tension: 20% of mankind explains which values should be adopted to the rest of the world. Given that the nature of conflict is changing, conflict management must also change, along with its means and methods. Today, war is waged by societies, which have replaced states. Conflict management is now social and must make it possible to fight the globalisation of these notions. To quote Bertrand Badie, "when you make someone your equal, you make someone a pacifist".

PLENARY
CONFERENCE 2

Plenary Conference 2: terrorism and new forms of violence: how to cope?

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TERRORISM AND NEW FORMS OF VIOLENCE: HOW TO COPE?

7 June 2018, 5pm - 6.40pm, Plenary room

Introduction by **Pierre de Bousquet de Florian,** Prefect, National Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism Coordinator.

Moderator:

- **Gérard Grizbec,** senior reporter for France 2's foreign service

Speakers:

- **Pierre de Bousquet de Florian,** Prefect, National Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism Coordinator
- **Bertrand Badie,** Professor of Political Science, Sciences Po
- **Céline Bardet,** co-founder and President of the charity We Are Not Weapons of War
- **Michel Chikwanine,** former child soldier, worker for peace

The emergence of a new form of terrorism at the dawn of the 21st century is one of the most notable developments in modern warfare. This threat calls for global responses. Yet the international community is struggling to find solutions which go further than security cooperation. This conference presents accounts of recent terrorist acts and new forms of violence by political and civil society representatives.

The inevitable reinvention of intelligence in response to changing terrorism

Terrorism has gained international relevance and has become a major consideration in international relations. New forms of extremely violent terrorism have regularly had a fatal impact on France in recent years. To combat this threat, the country has developed a system which is based on a strategy, prioritising intelligence and the judicialisation of terrorism, and a method, with close cooperation between departments which contribute to the fight against terrorism (primarily civil intelligence departments, the Directorate General for Domestic Security and the Directorate General for External Security, military intelligence departments and ministry departments), along with the highest level of international cooperation in years. In addition, additional tools have been established, including a legal arsenal which includes the creation of offences (such as the association of criminals in connection with a terrorist undertaking) and a management tool (for the coordination of intelligence, created in 2008 and strengthened by the President of the French Republic, Emmanuel Macron).

This coordination between intelligence departments includes a national centre against terrorism which focuses on preventive work. This aims to avoid intelligence's "blind spots" and to investigate terrorism's new areas and issues, including cryptocurrencies and cyberspace along with smart objects and artificial intelligence.

The coordination also has a vision which is primarily geopolitical. Today, there are between 180 and 200 states around the world, many of which have failed or have descended into chaos and terror. This geopolitical vision is coupled with a strategic vision, which questions the role of states in terrorism. Some of them have a complex role. For example, Osama Bin Laden started out in Sudan, was protected in Afghanistan and died in Pakistan, protected by Pakistani intelligence services. He was also assisted by Iran. It is often said that, since September 11, state terrorism is moribund, replaced by deterritorialised terrorism called ISIS. The old paradigm has therefore completely changed, simply because of the exponential growth of the problem.

To ensure progress, intelligence services should change some of their habits, using all techniques available to them to share information more quickly with their partners, including their international partners. These techniques are necessary: the advent of the internet and the digital world has simultaneously increased the capacities of our intelligence services and those of our enemies. Although the Islamic State has been defeated on a military stage, it remains resilient because its online influence and activism continue. Even without direct contact with ISIS, some terrorists have taken action, having been encouraged by this ability to communicate.

Intelligence services would also benefit from trusting more in human sources and enhanced cooperation with intermediaries, charitable associations, teachers and social services, which are able to identify certain indicators. The young perpetrators of the latest attacks in France are at what professionals describe as the "lower end of the spectrum". They hadn't been chosen to fight in the Middle East, Afghanistan, etc. Most had a background in petty crime and were often frustrated at not being able to become jihadists in the Middle East. These profiles take action with rudimentary means and it is difficult to identify them.

As a result, society as a whole must be more vigilant than in the past. The ultimate goal is to prevent terrorist acts.

Judicial responses to be established in accordance with the rule of law

The subject of the judicial treatment of those responsible for acts of terrorism has never been so relevant. Recently, a French woman was sentenced to life in prison in Iraq. There have also been convictions in France. What surveillance should be established, once these people have

served their sentences and are released from prison? The question goes beyond a merely judicial framework. It calls for a public debate which shows respect for the application of the rule of law, while recognising a societal problem. Furthermore, the issue must be considered from multiple angles. Currently, the focus is on the consequences of terrorism. However, we must also considered the political, social and societal causes of this phenomenon.

Analysis of social causes, a necessary component of an appropriate response to terrorism

Terrorism has gained international relevance and, furthermore, it has acquired real social relevance. The intersection between these two "international" and "social" dimensions produces results which are difficult to understand and analyse. However, it cannot be denied that today's world faces a new social pathology; if this phenomenon has grown, that is because it reflects a disease within modern-day society.

One of the ways to achieve this new violence is "mediation by entrepreneurs of violence" who are rational stakeholders, able to mobilise the means and the tools to achieve their objective, which is to satisfy an entire population's implicit demand for violence. Osama Bin Laden wasn't frustrated or unfortunate. He was an "entrepreneur of violence" who managed a social demand for violence, taking advantage of it for a number of benefits. The fight against terrorism must focus on these "entrepreneurs of violence".

We must also recognise the phenomenon of the mimetic management of violence. Most of the acts which are described as terrorist are committed by people who stab passers by and are driven by a desire to imitate, rather than by ideology. The media fuel this mimicry and create the image of a protagonist with whom some people would like to identify.

The idea of a globalisation of violence means that violence is no longer developed in local and national spaces, as it was in the past. Transnational professions of violence are almost the norm today, because of an explosion in communications, the transformation of the economy, the expansion of international systems and so on.

With regard to the development of a single international system, we must remember that many of the 7.5 billion people who inhabit the earth refuse to identify with these norms and values and choose to embark on a process of counter-socialisation which sets them apart from others. Although the counter-socialisation seen today often features Islam, it is likely to involve other mechanisms in the future. We must therefore stop stigmatising a culture and accusing it of being responsible for all ills.

Desocialisation opens the door to extremism. We must therefore undertake preventive work to prevent young people from being drawn to extremism which, in turn, leads to terrorism, and from falling back into it or radicalising other young people once they have been arrested and punished. To this end, it is worth mentioning the work of ACTED, a charitable association which works in Afghanistan to help displaced populations and to prevent conflicts.

In conclusion

We must use force and intelligence to prevent the scourge of terrorism; this is a condition of survival. However, most importantly of all, we must consider the social history of this phenomenon and understand that this social pathology is the norm in societies which have become "internationalised", or unified around the same model, too quickly. This social approach begins with respect for and recognition of other people. To tackle terrorism and new violence, we must focus more on their causes.

PLENARY
CONFERENCE 3

Plenary Conference 3: what are the factors of destabilisation behind tomorrow's conflicts?
Public figure: Ban Ki-moon

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WHAT ARE THE FACTORS OF DESTABILISATION BEHIND TOMORROW'S CONFLICTS?

8 June 2018, 10am - 12pm, Plenary room

Introduction by **Jean Fabre,** former Deputy Director of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Keynote:

- **Ban Ki-moon,** 8th UN Secretary-General

Moderator:

- **Michael Frendo,** former Maltese Minister of Foreign Affairs

Speakers:

- **Alain Boinet,** founder of the NGO Solidarités International
- **Getachew Engida**, Deputy Director-General, UNESCO
- **Shanker Satyanath,** Professor of Political Science, New York University

The world has an abundance of resources and produces ever more innovative technologies. Almost all countries have made progress in terms of human development; people live longer, healthier lives. They are also better educated. The paradox is that this planet's two billion young people under the age of twenty will soon have to deal with the most serious dangers and risks of conflict that mankind has ever had to face.

There are multiple destabilising factors. They are political in nature (rising nationalism and populism) but are also increasingly environmental (lack of resources, rising sea levels, climate change) and demographic.

The demographic challenge

The planet is currently home to 7.5 billion people. It will be home to 10 billion in 2050. In Africa, there were 230 million people in 1950; in less than a century, this figure will have multiplied by ten (2.5 billion Africans in 2050). In Niger, the population will increase from 20 to 60 million in 2050, half of whom will be under the age of fifteen. Will Niger be able to meet the vital needs of these young people, to enable them to go to school and to have a job? If not, they will leave to find these opportunities elsewhere, just like the 9 million Africans who have already left. The same question can be asked of all countries in which desperate people have already started to leave in an attempt to survive, along with those who are fleeing war, conflict and violence.

The challenge of the scarcity of natural resources and climate change

The scarcity of natural resources and extreme climate phenomena are some of the main reasons for migratory movements. In many countries in conflict, the income of individuals is highly dependent on the climate and the weather. War has a negative impact on food security – which should be guaranteed for all – and climate change is worsening this phenomenon. In particular, access to water resources is increasingly difficult in some places where critical availability has been exceeded. By 2050, a quarter of the population will face occasional shortages of all kinds and will face potential conflict as a result.

The emerging countries of Russia, India, China and Brazil have become major consumers of resources but are also major producers with significant technological capabilities. Other countries have joined them, but in a world of limited resources and growing demographics, can a sustainable balance be envisioned?

Human beings all live on the same planet and all need the same resources. But as these become scarce, new conflict risk factors arise. The rare metals used to make phones and tablets are already causing human deaths. What will happen tomorrow when countries seek to secure exclusive access to these resources? What about gold, zinc and copper shortages which are reported in some areas because of growing demand? What about oil? The first oil well was dug 160 years ago; the current generation will close the last oil well and it will take 200 million years before this resource is reproduced. How can we avoid the risk of conflict as we live through this interlude?

Climate change is also an issue. In the 1990s, 300 natural disasters were recorded annually; today, there are 500 every year. 124 million people were affected by natural disasters in 2012; in 2016, this figure almost doubled to 204 million people. It would take $40 billion a year to save these people but there is a shortfall in funding which is equivalent to 40%. However, failing to help these people increases the destabilising factors both in their immediate environment and in ours. According to a study by the French Development Agency (with Ipsos), 70% of French people think that what happens elsewhere in the world will eventually have an impact on them.

Poverty kills more people than war does. Currently, the risk of being in a conflict situation is four times higher in an impoverished country and the risk of experiencing armed conflict in a poor country is 15 times higher than in a rich country. Not only does poverty kill, it also prevents states from playing their part in tackling climate change, for example.

How can we encourage awareness of this?

These future challenges – climate change, inequality, access to primary resources – go beyond the security challenges to which the world has become accustomed. They create new conflicts between people, societies and countries, including those which have previously shown unconditional support for human rights and human dignity. Even in Europe, some countries build walls between people and populist and nationalist parties continue to encourage leaders to look inwards rather than outwards.

But responding to the challenges which face the world – and the conflicts which are inherent to them – is a global process by its very nature and therefore calls for solutions which are also global.

The preamble to the UNESCO Constitution of 1945 proclaims that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". We must develop a real understanding of what and how to share. Should resources always be regarded as belonging to the place where they are found or can they be considered to be the property of mankind? No single country, no matter what its resources, and no single leader, no matter what his or her power, can act alone. The world's leaders must act to serve both their own people and global citizenship.

To build peace, we must work on education, share scientific education, promote communication and information, all while focusing on freedom of expression. In a democracy, everyone must be able to express themselves, to reflect and to benefit from quality education. Knowledge must be shared, not used to benefit those who have the financial means to access it. In reality, the commodification of knowledge puts individuals and countries in competition with one another. This competitive model simply perpetuates this pattern of aggression, whereas tomorrow's world will be forced to live in interdependence to guarantee its survival. To develop a culture of peace, we must replace competition with solidarity.

Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations from January 2007 until December 2016, led a project to eradicate global poverty by 2030, to ensure quality education and employment, to reduce inequalities between women and men and to "take care of the environment". This project doesn't just involve governments, it also involves each and every person.

It hopes to eliminate the destabilising factors which threaten peace and hopes to leave future generations with a world without risk and violence. By working together, men and women can become crew members of a single boat, rather than its passengers.

PLENARY
CONFERENCE 4

Plenary Conference 4: defining a new peace
Public figure: Hervé Morin

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DEFINING A NEW PEACE

8 June 2018, 5pm - 7.30pm, Plenary room

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Introduction by **Nicole Gnesotto,** Professor at CNAM, President of the Institute of Advanced National Defence Studies

Moderator:

- **Gérard Grizbec,** senior reporter for France 2's foreign service

Speakers:

- **Steve Killelea,** founder and President of the Institute for Economics and Peace
- **Alain Lamassourre,** French MEP, former French minister
- **Justin Vaïsse,** Director of the Centre for Analysis, Forecasting and Strategy of the French Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs
- **Alexander Zuev,** Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations for the Rule of Law and Security Institutions

The dictionary defines peace as "a state in which countries or nations are not at war". According to this definition and to mention just one country, France cannot be considered to be at war. But the vast majority of the French political class decreed that the country was "at war" in the aftermath of the January 2015 and November 2016 terrorist attacks. Peace should no longer be equated with a simple state of non-war between two nations; it must now refer to a perpetually developing process.

The paradox when it comes to peace is that it is often defined negatively as the absence of something. Peace is commonly understood to be the absence of conflict or war, the absence of violence or the absence of fear of violence. To define it in a positive way and to give it new image, we must agree on a collective description by considering the following questions:

Is peace the ultimate value? In other words, is anything better than war?

Peace isn't necessarily the ultimate value. Thousands of soldiers and resistance fighters preferred to die rather than to accept the indignity of peace by accepting Nazism. Peace without freedom can be a tragedy and the common goal should be peace with freedom.

If freedom is vital for a definition of peace, is freedom therefore the ultimate value? Must we do everything possible to develop, to defend and to ensure the spread of freedom across the globe?

Led by US President George W. Bush, the US intervention in Iraq in 2002 was based on the idea that it would impose democracy in Iraq and then, by means of a domino effect, in the Middle East. Today, everyone knows the results of this undertaking. Freedom is not imposed with arms.

To create a new peace, we must walk a fine line between peace and freedom, which must be our objectives, while respecting otherness. We must set a course between these two ideals while avoiding two traps: firstly, we must not believe that it is possible to impose a Western lifestyle on the planet; secondly, we must avoid the relativism of universal values, these ideas which hold that everything is equally valid – for example, that the oppression of women is normal because it is cultural in some societies. We must therefore strive to build peace by avoiding these two excesses.

Is globalisation an agent of peace?

Montesquieu promised that "gentle commerce" would improve manners and that trading nations would not be able to declare war on one another. This statement provokes debate. Many consider that integrating different ways of trading and different means of communication or even different food standards makes it possible to create a global consumer and therefore a global citizen. In this case, globalisation could be seen as an offspring of peace. In global terms, the world has been at peace for forty years because the majors powers believe that there is more to gain from trading than from waging war.

There is another argument that globalisation is not a factor of peace, because there is a total barrier between genuine shifts in economic integration and shifts in political disintegration which are equally real. Passions and power struggles continue to exist, regardless of the pace of world trade. The challenge lies in understanding which side will triumph: economic integration which will ultimately bring cultures closer together and create global stability or, on the contrary, the forces of political disintegration.

In addition, another phenomenon precludes globalisation being seen as an agent of peace: globalisation does not encourage the saving of resources. Yet, over the next fifty years, we will see a finite world with finite resources which, in fact, are shrinking very quickly. In Asia, for example, water resources have already fallen by 5% and will continue to decrease as the population grows. It is very difficult to resolve this issue because a resolution requires reduced consumption to give everyone an opportunity before the point of no return is reached. How can an economic system based on consumption survive this equation?

Is Europe an agent of peace?

When asked "which country has the closest relationship between its people and the people of France?", two out of three French people answer: Germany. Historically speaking, such an answer would have been unimaginable until recent times. For older generations, Europe seems to have been vaccinated against war. Is the younger generation likely to share this sentiment too? It is highly doubtful, given that the two ideas which underpinned the very foundation of Europe have entered into crisis at the same time. Firstly, the idea of unlimited prosperity, ensured by economic integration, the single market, etc., and, secondly, the idea of flawless security provided by the United States, nuclear deterrence, etc.

The same external phenomena, such as cyber attacks and terrorism, threaten peace in Europe and further afield. But, above all, this democratic decline is occurring within the European Union itself. The foundation of peace, which is the democratic system, such as it is, is in danger. The wisdom acquired by the founding fathers of Europe can be swept away by nationalistic and populist sentiment, among others. Because of this, the best way to fight for peace is to fight for democracy in Europe.

What future is there for peace?

It is difficult to be optimistic when assessing the current international situation. Tensions between countries are steadily increasing and, conversely, the level of cooperation between them is decreasing. Populist and nationalist parties continue to encourage leaders to look inwards rather than outwards. International justice is disputed, the UN budget is being reduced whilst all other budgets are increasing and the internet, which promised freedom for citizens all over the world, has turned into a jungle, dominated by hackers and propagandists. It is difficult to be optimistic about peace when considering the current international system; all of this calls for a response. This response must be tailored to this situation, in which the people who believe in institutionalised cooperation within a united Europe are a minority.

How can we ensure peace in the future?

Ensuring peace requires diplomacy and cooperation between countries and institutions, starting with the United Nations, which must retain a central role in harnessing the political will of powerful countries. Peace is also affected by norms and standards which establish the rules of the game, by international justice and by regulations which ensure less friction. The overall objective is to show that there are still some antibodies in the international system against these worrying trends for the future: states and civil societies which believe that collective action is a good idea.

We must set ourselves the goal of developing specific governance strategies in all areas which will reduce the tensions which lead to wars and of better managing global public assets: the environment, shared spaces, new technologies, the inclusive economy. In short, let us share the profession of faith of Jean Jaurès, a fervent proponent of peace, who gave the following speech in front of secondary school students in Albi: "But a day will come, and everything tells us that it will be soon, when mankind is sufficiently organised and sufficiently in control to be able to resolve the conflicts of its groups and its forces by reason, by negotiation and by law. And war, as hateful and all-encompassing as it is when necessary, is atrocious and villainous when it begins to appear pointless."(Address to Youth, 1903).

02.

THE DEBATES:
ACTING BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

BEFORE THE WAR:
Considering the causes, the means and the forms of new conflicts to better prevent them

Debate 8: religions: excuses for war or factors of peace?

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G5 SAHEL: AN IDEAL FRAMEWORK FOR PEACEKEEPING?

7 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Abbesses room

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Moderator:

- **Neila Latrous,** Head of the Middle East and Maghreb Department, Jeune Afrique

Speakers:

- **Jean-Marc Châtaignier,** Ambassador, Special Envoy for the Sahel, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **Nicolas Desgrais,** doctoral student of International Relations, Brussels School of International Studies
- **Serge Michaïlof,** IRIS research fellow, former Director of Operations of the French Development Agency, former Director of the World Bank
- **Boukary Sangaré,** anthropologist, University of Leiden

The Sahel, a region stretching from Mauritania to Chad with 175 million inhabitants, half of whom live below the poverty line, faces significant security challenges today. In the main, these are caused by two conflicts: the first in northern Mali and the second in northern Nigeria, involving the Boko Haram terrorist group. These conflicts have their origins both in local dynamics which are often part of long-term historical challenges, and in issues which have been brought to the Sahel from further afield, particularly religious extremism – the Algerian civil war which lasted from 1991 until the early 2000s pushed jihadist groups towards the south.

Beyond these conflicts, the region is plagued by serious misfortunes: agriculture is affected by climatic instability and population growth is such that young people struggle to find a job. Of the limited opportunities to earn a living which are available to people there, one is to participate in drug and arms trafficking in the region, before integrating armed groups, which often have a religious aspect, to ensure the safety of traffickers. Indeed, involvement in these groups is not primarily motivated by religious beliefs but by economic and social interests, along with the rejection of the state or police and military forces.

Against such a backdrop, the creation of the G5 Sahel in 2014 may appear to be an opportunity to restore peace and stability in the region.

The G5 Sahel brings together five countries in the region and is inspired by the idea that security and development are intrinsically linked. It was established, without foreign influence, by the states directly concerned, at the instigation of Mauritania and its President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz. It has a real legitimacy among regional leaders and is an important step, given the sharing of security costs for the Sahel states, which have few financial resources, with some already spending 20% of their budget on their armed forces.

The approach encourages the Sahel states to strengthen the presence of their armed forces at their borders, which are known for being porous, so as to limit the spread of local problems beyond national frontiers. The establishment of a strong joint military force, capable of operating anywhere in the region, will be the second step of the process; for the time being, the lack of a clear definition means that the idea enjoys little support from the United Nations Security Council. Admittedly, the surge in armed groups has undermined the region's sovereign structures. When these groups failed to take control of Mali in 2013 and in view of the risk of a domino effect throughout the region, the West responded by calling for security forces to intervene to stabilise the Sahel (including the MINUSMA in Mali and the French military operation Barkhane). However, as has been shown by the war in Afghanistan, in this situation, it is national or multinational forces, rather than foreign armies, which succeed in restoring security.

At present, the 5,000 men who make up the G5 Sahel joint force are not enough to change the situation on the ground. However, the creation of an African multinational armed force makes it possible to coordinate a financial approach with an external focus. Unfortunately, even though the Sahel's instability is not without consequences for the European Union (especially with regard to the migrant crisis), European leaders have not yet understood the urgency and the importance of this approach and have not yet decided on adequate funding. Similarly, in the wake of the presidential elections in which Donald Trump was elected, the United States is now considering abolishing its budget for the United Nations.

In addition, a possible post-election crisis in Mali could have negative consequences on the strengthening of this joint force by reinforcing instability in the Sahel and the G5 remains little known, even in the region itself. In general, people are suspicious of all armed forces, which may have committed abuses in the past. It is therefore important that this joint force is equipped and funded in a way which ensures that it will be effective in the long term and that it will respect human rights and international humanitarian law in the region.

This consolidation of national armies and the sovereign systems which go with them will gradually resume control of the Sahel. The response to the region's problems must therefore be threefold: it must focus on politics (strengthening the state), security (developing the joint force) and economics. This last aspect is essential because the Sahel is experiencing major demographic and environmental tensions which are driving people to join armed groups. In the absence of tangible economic and social development, all these problems will be exacerbated.

In view of these issues, the G5 Sahel could play a vital role in the region; however, for it to take full effect, it must be supported by the international community.

What must the G5 do to achieve its long-term objectives?
(audience question)

The military cannot put an end to community conflicts on its own. A dialogue must be established at a local level, involving traditional leaders. In addition, it is impossible to ensure reconciliation without establishing a system of institutionalised justice. Lastly, many populations in the region now have their own militias. They must be disarmed so that the state can recover its monopoly on legitimate physical violence. This will lead to the return of states and their justice systems to these regions.

A EUROPE OF DEFENCE: AT LAST?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Robert Le Magnifique room

Moderator:

- **Serge Stroobants,** Lieutenant-Colonel, specialist in International Relations, Security and Defence, Director at SEKUR

Speakers:

- **Etienne Bassot,** Director of the European Parliament Research Service
- **André Dumoulin,** Attaché at the Royal Higher Institute for Defence (Brussels), Professor in Political Science at the University of Liège
- **Jean-Pierre Maulny,** Deputy Director of the Institute of International and Strategic Relations

Donald Trump's successful presidential campaign in 2016, which has called into question the role of the United States in the defence of European states, has sparked debate with regard to the concept of a Europe of Defence. This appears in the current European treaties in the form of a Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). A Europe of Defence is not trying to create a European army; instead, it is trying to pool some of European Union member states' national military capabilities for a threefold purpose: making the European Union (EU) more autonomous, especially with regard to the United States, ensuring its security and promoting its defence industry. However, its development currently faces numerous hurdles.

The current defence framework for EU member countries is the 2009 Lisbon Treaty and the resulting global strategy, which was adopted in 2016. They consider defence as part of a comprehensive approach, in which security is the focus of a broader context which also includes the promotion of democracy and EU trade policy. It is not a military alliance, unlike NATO, which includes 22 countries in the European Union. NATO sets standards and imposes limits on the technologies which are used, but also on military training, procedures and doctrines, which enable member countries to work together as part of armed interventions. In this way, a division of roles was defined when these institutions were first founded: NATO provides collective security while the European Union takes charge of crisis operations.

However, for the European Union, the situation has changed significantly. The election of Donald Trump forces the EU to oppose the United States in the strongest terms, particularly in view of the trade war that the United States has started with China and the country's withdrawal from the Iranian nuclear agreement. Yet Europe is not prepared for such opposition. While countries in northern Europe consider that the main threat to the EU comes from Russia (which annexed Crimea in 2014), southern European countries, where migration levels are high, see terrorism as the main threat. What's more, Great Britain has begun the process to leave the European Union. Lastly, if we look at the two countries of pivotal importance within the European Union, Germany has a military culture which is quite unlike that of France and favours civilian operations and development aid over military interventions, particularly in Africa.

This lack of convergence within the EU itself is one of the main obstacles facing the development of a Europe of Defence, especially as the European elections in May 2019 could lead to the election of Members of Parliament who are hostile to Europe. Furthermore, defence is not an objective in

itself; instead, it is always linked to foreign policy. Yet the European Union does not have authority which is dedicated to this.

Emmanuel Macron has suggested the establishment of a "European intervention initiative", which aims to create the necessary prerequisites for future coordinated military interventions involving several European countries, but this initiative has certain limitations because any joint intervention must be approved by national parliaments. Thus the EU is expected to reach a consensus at every opportunity and to convince different stakeholders of the need for the potential steps to be taken.

However, with the United States' decision to disengage from the North Atlantic Alliance, the EU needs to consider the resources at its disposal with which to ensure the security of its member countries. Although the European Parliament is already working on the development of national defence capabilities, it is also important to focus on the threats which are facing Europe today. What's more, in response to Brexit and the rise of populism, the European Union needs to be revitalised. However, security is a subject which can sway European citizens, which explains the recent implementation of two significant initiatives which are part of the EU's changing approach to defence: PESCO (or "permanent structured cooperation"), which is intended to strengthen cooperation between member countries (particularly when it comes to military recruitment, training and facilities) and to develop their response capacities and the creation of the European Defence Fund, which funds research and development. In addition, since 2016, member countries' national defence budgets have increased again.

While the Lisbon Treaty includes all the necessary elements for the establishment of a common defence, many obstacles to the long-term establishment of a Europe of Defence remain. Nevertheless, the EU defends essential values in terms of human rights and the promotion of democracy, values which are enshrined, beyond issues of security, in its commercial and development policies in the rest of the world. These fundamental values can undoubtedly give a tremendous boost to the concept of a Europe of Defence.

With Russia's annexation of Crimea, does the main threat to Europe come from the east?

The annexation of Crimea is a flagrant violation of international law on European territory. Moreover, Russian interference in elections and disinformation campaigns show the changing nature of such threats, something which Europeans must consider. However, the Russians are also aware that there are certain red lines.

It seems that Europe's lack of autonomy in defence concerns two areas: logistics and its capabilities in terms of deterrence.

Since 2003, the lack of drone reconnaissance and strategic transport within the EU has been identified and is being remedied gradually. In contrast, Europe's deterrence will scarcely change at all in the coming years. Nevertheless, even if France remains the only nuclear power in the EU after the United Kingdom's departure, the other member countries are just as capable of carrying out action, whether military or civil, which will play a role in keeping Europeans safer.

DETERRENCE, PROLIFERATION, DISARMAMENT: WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF MILITARY NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES?

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Abbesses room

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Moderator:

- **Elena Lazarou,** analyst, European Parliament Research Service

Speakers:

- **Tiphaine de Champchesnel,** nuclear deterrence and disarmament researcher at the École Militaire's Strategic Research Institute
- **Jean-Marie Collin,** spokesman of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Arms (ICAN)
- **Céline Jurgensen,** diplomat, Director of Strategy, CEA Military Applications Department

Nuclear proliferation is a hot topic because of development programmes in the field, led by Iran and North Korea, and also because of countries' different approaches to disarmament and discussions on the nuclear weapons of the future.

Since the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons came into force, a certain world order has emerged; the treaty made a distinction between states which had carried out nuclear tests before 1967 and others states which were supposed to give up on such tests. At the same time, protocols were signed to allow the development of civilian nuclear programmes while preventing military-related research. However, three states decided to reject this treaty: India and Pakistan, which were open about their desire to develop a nuclear arsenal, and Israel, which has not clearly stated its intentions with regard to nuclear weapons. Other states, which are theoretically bound by the treaty, have begun military nuclear programmes at varying stages, including North Korea. However, the number of countries involved is much smaller than analysts feared in the 1960s. Furthermore, a number of states rely on alliances with third countries for indirect access to nuclear deterrence.

Since the end of the Cold War, the size of the world's nuclear arsenal has decreased. 90% is owned by the United States and Russia. However, states with nuclear weapons do not want to give them up. They are a deterrent tool for defensive purposes: potential aggressors in the countries in question are faced with countermeasures which significantly outweigh the expected benefits of their approach. Nuclear force is seen as a weapon of "last resort", only to be used in exceptional circumstances. To this end, we must ensure that states which possess a nuclear arsenal do not consider it to be a quasi-conventional weapon with the potential to be used in a conflict.

On 6 October 2017, the Nobel Prize was awarded to the Abolish Nuclear Weapons campaign for its international advocacy work. Its message focuses on the fact that there are only two possible outcomes: either nuclear weapons will be completely eradicated or they will eventually be used. The threat remains omnipresent; thousands of nuclear warheads are ready to be deployed at any time.

States without the atomic bomb try to raise awareness of the indirect consequences of a possible nuclear war for other countries. The recognition of nuclear weapons as illegal under international law is a first step towards a possible decommissioning of nuclear arsenals, even if nuclear powers such as France refuse to consider this option and have refused to ratify this treaty. They believe that nuclear weapons are the principal deterrent available to them, irrespective of their military, space and IT programmes. Ukraine, which gave up its nuclear arsenal after independence, is the perfect example: it was subsequently invaded by its Russian neighbour, showing that no country is guaranteed to be able to maintain its sovereignty. The French position was shared by Japan; it argued that declaring nuclear weapons to be illegal would not be enough to remove the threat, a threat which is particularly potent for the island nation. The illegality of chemical weapons has not prevented their use in Syria.

Possessing nuclear weapons comes with an immense responsibility with regard to third-party countries. France has made specific commitments to limit its capacity to produce nuclear weapons. The current French position may be considered to be ambiguous in that it promotes respect for international humanitarian law even though the use of nuclear weapons would inevitably involve massive civilian casualties. A change of position in the long term cannot be ruled out.

There is also the question of the orthodoxy of countries which have developed nuclear weapons, having specifically agreed not to launch such a programme. Pakistan is one such example: it is developing very short-range missiles, suggesting the possible use of these weapons in a theatre of operations.

Can nuclear weapons really be considered to be a tool to be used to maintain a country's independence?

This idea has been discussed, most notably in Germany. The country, which was disarmed at the end of the Second World War and has agreed not to develop a military nuclear programme, would like France to extend the area which is protected by its nuclear deterrence to its neighbours.

How can we convince states with nuclear weapons to give them up? Must we wait for the United States and Russia to set an example by reducing their respective nuclear arsenals?

France has already halved the size of its nuclear arsenal in comparison with Cold War levels. However, the five major nuclear powers continue to modernise their arsenal.

CLIMATE CHANGE:

THE WAR OF TOMORROW?

8 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Auditorium

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Moderator:

- **Hassan Tlili,** journalist, Monte-Carlo Doualiya (France Médias Monde)

Speakers:

- **Magnus Berntsson,** President of the Assembly of European Regions and R20 - Region for Climate Action
- **Annick Hiensch,** Political Affairs Officer for the United Nations Liaison Office for Peace and Security (UNLOPS)
- **Valéry de Tannenberg,** Editor-in-Chief of Le Journal de l'Environnement, author of "Le réchauffement climatique, menace pour la démocratie ?" (Climate change: a threat to democracy?)
- **Shanker Satyanath,** Professor of Political Science, New York University

Climate change is starting to have a real impact around the world. Rising water levels, scarcity of resources and natural disasters are threats in themselves but they are also likely to give rise to armed conflict. How should the international community engage in what looks to be a genuine struggle?

First and foremost, global warming is displacing populations: 24 million people from 118 different countries migrated in 2017, a figure three times higher than the number of people who had to leave their countries because of war. In central Mexico, it has disrupted rainfall patterns, causing the destruction of rural land and leading to massive migration to the United States. In northern Nigeria, one of the region's major wheat-growing areas, rainfall has halved in the last 50 years, leading to the destruction of agricultural production. It is no coincidence that Boko Haram has become a significant terrorist group in the region.

Research has highlighted the direct link between climate change and armed conflict: torrential rains, floods and extreme temperatures can destroy crops; in countries with low levels of industrialisation, farmers' incomes fall and young people are vulnerable to recruitment by armed groups. Similarly, changes in commodity prices, particularly oil prices, destabilise countries whose economies are based on such commodities and are therefore likely to increase the risk of conflict.

The Middle East experienced its worst drought, lasting five years, in the early 21st century. Syria, which had always been self-sufficient in terms of food, found itself in great difficulty. The government allowed landowners to fire their farm workers. In a few weeks, a million people lost their jobs and homes and ended up on the streets. This situation led to protests by citizens, who were merely asserting their rights to food and housing. There was a severe crackdown on these protesters, which led to civil war. The government subsequently increased the tax on fuels. These two laws destroyed the country's agriculture sector and increased its dependence on foreign countries. 5 million Syrians are now waiting to enter Europe in camps in Turkey.

The destruction of the agricultural fabric in sub-Saharan Africa will produce similar effects. Millions of displaced migrants in Africa will eventually move north and more than 70 million people will try to reach Europe.

Today, China and the United States are the two largest emitters of greenhouse gases in the world. However, it is very difficult to impose environmental restrictions at an international level. The 2015 Paris Climate Agreement is particularly relevant here because it is based on countries' commitments and aims to bring countries together for cooperation. It also stresses the importance of the involvement of citizens and civil society. The consequences of climate change are a common enemy for the entire world and research, innovation and knowledge are an essential part of the fight. However, although scientific action is essential, citizens, in addition to their responsibility as consumers, can also make a useful contribution to research by actively participating in data collection. For example, the Observatoire des Saisons in France asks citizens to observe their environment: butterflies which disappear from gardens, unusually thin birds, trees which bloom out of season and so on.

Furthermore, although strong political will, particularly at an international level, is needed to combat climate change, regions and cities also have a vital role to play. The withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement (which requires governments, businesses and consumers to limit the rise in temperature to between 2.5 and 3 degrees Celsius by the end of the century) prompted a strong reaction from many American states, which then took up the issue of global warming. In contrast, international negotiations have not yet reached a consensus on legal obligations which would force states to implement systems to combat global warming in concrete terms, as was the case for terrorism. However, it is only through committed involvement at all levels that we will be able to fight climate change effectively.

How can we ensure that environmental issues are at the forefront of governmental concerns?

It is vital to make politicians understand that the fight against global warming is a society-wide undertaking. This means rebuilding cities, changing our ways of manufacturing and getting around, etc. These developments, which can be described as liberal, socialist or conservative, create wealth and employment. Scientists are trying to communicate this message; it must be understood by political figures.

Is it already too late to take action?

If we can still breathe, it is not too late. The world is now moving from awareness to action, which can begin at the lowest level: that of citizens, who can start by changing their habits and avoiding waste.

INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY: NEW WEAPONS OR NEW THREATS?

8 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Abbesses room

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Moderator:

- **Dominique Desaunay**, journalist for Radio France Internationale

Speakers:

- **Vice-Admiral Arnaud Coustillière,** Director General of Information and Communication Systems of the French Ministry of the Armed Forces
- **General Jean-Paul Paloméros,** former Chief of Staff of the French Air Force and Allied Commander Transformation at NATO
- **Deborah L. Wheeler,** Professor of Political Science, United States Naval Academy

Should elephants be scared of mice? In other words, are small groups able to destabilise entire states by using information technology? The consequences of September 11th indicate that the danger is real. Nineteen people were able to spread terror like never before in the United States and around the world. In response to this threat, Americans have spent $6 trillion in their fight against terrorism. The result? The countries of Iraq and Afghanistan have been weakened and Osama bin Laden has been killed, at the cost of many lives.

The internet can be seen as a tool for the widespread dissemination of ideologies which are dangerous to the national security of countries around the world. However, the Internet is also a means of democratic expression, so much so that suppressing it would be tantamount to falling into a fascist or dictatorial regime. It seems almost impossible to find the perfect compromise between freedom of expression, the rapid flow of information and security.

The legal uncertainty surrounding cyber attacks is soon to be remedied. There is a consensus that a cyber attack against a country with consequences similar to a physical attack, namely death and destruction, amounts to an act of war. This definition gives the state which is under attack the right to reply by any means which it deems to be appropriate, including the use of conventional weapons. More generally, computer networks can be used to spread an ideology and to recruit supporters, to disseminate false information so as to manipulate public opinion and to sabotage physical or immaterial goods. These attacks can also lead to collateral victims, such as Renault and Saint-Gobain, respectively because of WannaCry and a cyber attack against Ukraine. This begs the question as to the appropriate response for a state which sees a key industrial region come under attack.

The vast majority of "mice" and "elephants" use the same IT components and software; the difference lies in their expertise and the use of artificial intelligence, which is able to analyse masses of data to identify a potential threat.

Today, armies are simultaneously facing physical and virtual theatres of operation: they must be able both to counter threats (cyber attacks or attempts to manipulate public opinion) and to appropriate innovative technologies ahead of the enemy (artificial intelligence, quantum computing, etc.). NATO has adopted a cyber strategy and its member countries have already begun preparing their cyber fighters during joint simulations. Estonia, a small Baltic republic, is renowned for having created the best cyber war training structure in the world. Cyber fighter systems are protected by almost inviolable encryption algorithms, to such an extent that any possible leaks would have to be the work of the people within the organisation.

The digital sovereignty of a country relies on its citizens' awareness of a threat. Although states have institutions and laws which defend and protect them, such as the National Commission for Computing and Freedoms in France or the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in Europe, citizens also have their own role to play. They must exercise greater control over the information which they share on the internet and seek to identify any attempts at manipulation which may be made against them.

What do you think of the idea that robots will one day be included in the armed forces and have the ability to make potentially lethal decisions?

Despite progress in robotics, we are still many years away from seeing Terminator style soldiers on the battlefield. However, artificial intelligence is already a decision-making tool for soldiers, particularly when it comes to identifying potential targets.

Moreover, an ethical reflection seems necessary: there is no equivalence between developing a demining robot (which avoids risking human lives) and developing a robot with an independent capability to kill. Drones, for example, remain entirely subject to the will of their pilots, who decide whether or not to proceed with the proposed target. Furthermore, except in situations of total war, the identification of an enemy is sometimes difficult and the risk of collateral losses is real. The problem is that different countries' armies may not respond in the same way to these ethical questions.

There is another element to consider: if a robotic device falls into the hands of the enemy, there is a risk that the latter will use this device as a prototype which will then be used to develop a similar weapon with which to fight back. For example, ISIS has developed inexpensive armed drones from models which are available to the public and has learned how to use Google Maps to prepare for operations.

RELIGIONS: EXCUSES FOR WAR OR FACTORS OF PEACE?

7 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Auditorium

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Moderator:

- **Gill Scherto,** Executive Secretary and researcher at the Guerrand-Hermès Foundation for Peace

Speakers:

- **Mickaël Dahan,** Israeli chaplain of the North West Defence Zone
- **Jacques Garat,** Grand Officer of the Republic, Secularism and Education, representative of the Grand Orient of France
- **Monsignor Fulgence Muteba,** Bishop for reconciliation, Diocese of Kilwa-Kasenga
- **Philippe Perchoc,** analyst, European Parliament Research Service
- **Brannon Wheeler,** Professor of History, United States Naval Academy, Fullbright researcher at the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies in Amman

Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the USSR, religion has been at the heart of international discussions. Today, religious conflicts continue to be caused by extremism, terrorism and a complex geopolitical context. A quick look at a map of current conflicts around the world confirms the relationship between conflict and religion. However, religion also contributes to the common good and can play a role in peacekeeping. What place does religion occupy in contemporary conflicts?

At the beginning of the 20th century, Freud announced that religion was no longer necessary for humanity. Durkheim contradicted him, saying that religion was necessary for the construction of the collective identity of any society. The three monotheistic religions undoubtedly share a number of texts and prophets, principles and messages. These common features should contribute to peace between social groups but that's not what is observed. Durkheim explained how each group tries to show how different it is from the others in a bid to assert its identity. To belong to a religion, an individual must share beliefs and practices with a group, which also means that he or she is different from other individuals. This difference is inevitably a source of conflict.

Furthermore, sociology considers that any system of thought, particularly a religious system of thought, is likely to develop three types of violence. This violence can be expressed within a group (most often because of dogmatic issues) or towards another group which has chosen a different system of thought, but individuals can also inflict this violence on themselves (from penance to suicide bombings).

The planet's religious demography will be profoundly disrupted in the 21st century, because atheism is set to decline: today, most atheists live in China, where religion is booming. In addition, population growth will be most pronounced in geographic areas which are already experiencing religious tensions. These trends suggest that religious violence will grow in the coming decades.

However, religions are essentially protean and ambivalent. They can be private or public, personal or political, violent or peaceful. Most religions focus on a message of peace but this message is communicated by fallible men. They are certainly factors in conflicts; some tensions, which have no basis in religion, can develop religious dimensions. It may even be said that all conflicts have a religious component at some time, even if this isn't recognised officially. For example, during the First World War, all the warring parties appealed to God, and in France, the clerical and anticlerical sides forged an alliance, making the defence of the fatherland a sacred issue. Furthermore, certain factors, whether related directly or indirectly to religion, contribute to conflicts: fundamentalism (which exists in all religions), poverty, political instability and the politicisation and commodification of religion.

However, conversely, other factors contribute to peace: these include the original meaning of religions (and, above all, the fact that religion involves a personal relationship between human beings and God), the possibility of dialogue between different religions, the opportunity for each religion to explore and learn from other religions and the promotion of the essential religious values, which are similar across the board.

In the past, individuals and organisations related to religions have directly participated in the peace processes of social or armed conflicts, without denying their differences. For example, in 1988, in New Caledonia, after the Ouvéa cave massacre, Michel Rocard's government sent a mediation team which included a representative of each of the island's faiths. In 22 days, the team met with 1,500 people and re-opened a dialogue on the island. Religion can therefore play a mediating role between civil societies and the state. In a different context, Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, played a key role, along with a group of other religious representatives, in the peace-making process and democratisation of South Africa in the post-Apartheid era.

All religions exist in a tension between war and peace and are confronted with contradictory calls for hatred or reconciliation. The Rohingya tragedy in Burma reminds us that Buddhism is no more a religion of peace than Islam is a religion of war. Today, all religions must break free of these ambivalences and develop instruments for peace.

France is a secular country. Secularism is, by its very nature, a factor of peace and religion is a private matter in France. The fact that the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen guarantees freedom of conscience, including freedom of religion, should be sufficient when it comes to the subject of religious conflict in France.

In their present form, religions are heirs of a tradition which did not distinguish between the religious, political, economic and social spheres, but they continue to develop in modern societies which now make such distinctions. The world is increasingly religious while understanding and knowledge of religions are increasingly rare. For example, most young people in France are unable to recognise the mythological themes which are shown in paintings in the Louvre. Beyond their dogmatic message, there is often a lack of historical knowledge of religions, including among state representatives. To ensure that we act fairly in a world in which religion plays an increasingly important role, this knowledge is crucial, however. In the end, war and violence are always the result of the failure of dialogue and a lack of knowledge and understanding of other people.

WHAT IS THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN ARMS TRAFFICKING AND ARMS TRADE?

7 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Robert Le Magnifique room

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Moderator:

- **Georges Berghezan**, researcher for the Research and Information Group on Peace and Security

Speakers:

- **Jean-Charles Antoine,** former senior officer in the French Gendarmerie, author of the book "Au coeur des trafic d'armes. Des Balkans aux banlieues" (At the Heart of Arms Trafficking: from the Balkans to the Suburbs)
- **Frédéric Doidy,** Head of the Central Office for Combating Organised Crime
- **Jacques Launay,** Admiral (second section), Councillor Extraordinary

The majority of arms and ammunition transactions occur within a legal and international market, organised by states themselves; heavy weapons make up the majority of transactions, with a total annual turnover of approximately $1 trillion. In 2017, the main arms exporters were the United States, Russia, France, Germany and Israel, while Saudi Arabia, India, Egypt, Australia and Indonesia were the main importers.

Arms trafficking, which is illegal by definition, concerns almost all small arms and light weapons and involves individuals and groups who not have access to the legal market (criminals, terrorists, armed groups, etc.). Its annual turnover is estimated at a few billion euros, and it is most often associated with much more lucrative trafficking (such as narcotics or human beings, for example).

However, between trade and trafficking, a grey arms market has gradually developed; its existence reflects countries' ambiguous role in the sale of arms.

In France, illegal demand for arms comes mainly from traditional organised crime and terrorist organisations. It is therefore relatively limited in scope, while its supply chains are diverse and well organised. Historical weapon collectors can trade their arms once they have been recommissioned. Stolen firearms are also found on the black market (10,000 are stolen each year from armouries). The Balkans, where criminal networks own considerable stocks of weapons (often acquired legally during the conflicts in the 1990s), supply the illegal market in France.

Most weapons are produced legally in weapons factories. They can be diverted from the official market when they are shipped to a country at war or as a result of looting. Furthermore, when conflicts end, weapons can remain in the hands of the people there, as was the case in the former Yugoslavia. Their traceability (and that of their owner) is very often questionable, even in France where progress remains to be made in this area. Lastly, in countries in which the entire population has traditionally been armed, such as Yemen, firearms are handcrafted.

The grey market goes beyond these practices of the misappropriation of legally sold weapons, given that it is controlled by the states themselves. Indeed, it is primarily aimed at armed groups which are involved in conflicts and whose transactions and deliveries are not declared by exporting states, as required by international law. For example, since 2014, the United States has launched two programmes to arm opponents of both the Bashar al-Assad regime and ISIS. The main beneficiaries of these undeclared shipments include many groups which are affiliated with organisations which are recognised as terrorists by the United Nations.

In doing so, states violate many international regulations and challenge the dividing line between the legal market and the black market. These violations are not without consequence for the states themselves: for example, the arms delivered by France, England and the United States to Syrian armed groups which opposed Bashar al-Assad ended up in the hands of ISIS, sometimes on European soil. Conversely, the only legal shipments of arms during the conflict in Syria have been organised by Russia and were intended for Bashar al-Assad's government. These transactions and deliveries were completed in a commercial setting before the beginning of the conflict.

Why do Western countries resort to these illegal processes? A weapon is, above all, a tool for power; it enables a state to task others with the responsibility of doing something which the state does not want to do itself. Since the Arab Spring, arms are being sold on an ideological basis, rather than for economic or political reasons, as was the case after the Cold War. Some Western states have reaffirmed their willingness to provide their democratic model, which they consider to be the best, to other countries around the world and to reposition themselves geopolitically by means of large-scale military operations outside their borders. This is certainly true of France in Libya, Mali and Syria. In this way, ideological intent takes precedence over international legality.

These illicit practices are likely to conflict with the values which these states champion publicly. However, they must be put in context, which is often complex, particularly with regard to the Middle East. These practices are a response to both geopolitical issues and internal political pressures. They cause states to ignore legality and, in some cases, to seek to change legislation when it prevents them from achieving their objectives.

Citizens must question these practices without naivety, but without neglecting the moral questions which they involve.

Arms are sold legally, from one country to another, and are then used unlawfully by the latter (as was the case with arms sold by France to Saudi Arabia which then used them against Yemen).

Between 2008 and 2017, France's two main arms buyers, Egypt and China, were embargoed by the European Union. The legal arms trade has its own ethical questions, in the same way as grey market transactions. However, it would be unrealistic to try to disarm states. The priority must be to combat trafficking.

DURING THE WAR:
HOW TO COPE?

Wartime journalism: how can the unspeakable be told?
From left to right: Samuel Forey, Jon Swain, Renaud Girard, Rémy Ourdan

HOW SHOULD INTERNATIONAL LAW REFLECT NEW CONFLICTS?

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Guillaume room

Moderator:

- **Rahma Sophia Rachdi,** Director of the French Office of the United States Press Agency

Speakers:

- **Abdelwahab Biad,** lecturer at Rouen Normandy University, associate member of Centre Thucydide
- **Hauwa Ibrahim,** human rights barrister, Sakharov Prize
- **Professor Marcelo Kohen,** Secretary-General of the Institute of International Law
- **Eva Svoboda,** Deputy Director of International Law and Humanitarian Policy, International Committee of the Red Cross

The modern world must deal with a multitude of problems. Some are old but are changing in form, while others are fundamentally new: international terrorism, internal conflicts which are internationalised by the intervention of third-party countries, global warming and massive violations of human rights, to name but a few. Recurrent recourse to force in international relations, non-compliance with treaties and commitments and the continuing failure of the United Nations' collective security system raise the question of whether international law is actually able to address these problems at the present time.

It emerged from the rubble of the Second World War. Human history has seen all states and peoples become part of the same legal system, which was democratic in nature and which recognised a population's right to self-determination and stressed the need to respect a human being's fundamental rights.

More specifically, international humanitarian law governs armed conflict and specifies how a war should be waged. It lays down a number of fundamental principles, such as the necessary recognition of warring parties and the distinction between civilians and the military. It was established in an interstate context, falls within the framework of wider international law and is conventional or customary in nature. It strives to provide protection for civilians and to ensure that wars are not waged by any means.

Although international humanitarian law was not codified in its present form until 1959, the concepts it embodies are much older. For example, in 19th century Algeria, instructions were given to the soldiers who fought the French on how to treat prisoners of war humanely. Its principles govern more than just war; they govern the very fundamentals of mankind. It is therefore important to show that it can be useful when it is applied in practice, as a language common to all states and to all peoples.

International humanitarian law today faces two major developments: "new conflictuality" (which mainly refers to asymmetrical conflicts within countries between stakeholders of unequal power and involving non-state armed groups which do not always respect international law) and the introduction of new technologies in conflicts, which opens the door to cyber warfare and its accompanying anonymity, along with autonomous weapons (drones and combat robots). The legal problems associated with these developments can raise a smile (what should be done with a captured robot? Who is criminally responsible if a robot commits a war crime?), but they require certain aspects of international humanitarian law to be reconsidered.

However, the question is not so much whether international law, in its current form, can be applied to contemporary conflicts; instead, the question is whether it can be successfully implemented within the context of conflicts which are often longer and more complex than in the past, and which mainly involve non-state armed groups.

Indeed, the very concept of the legal system does not seem to be the problem; the problem lies instead in the political decisions counter to it, which are taken too regularly by states, and in the trivialisation of the non-respect of international law and violations of treaty obligations (in the form of the withdrawal from or termination of treaties). Moreover, we are now seeing a return to the culture of force as a normal response in international relations. Force is often perceived as a way of putting an end to violations of international law, particularly by Western countries, whereas this "solution" often proves to be as harmful as the problem which it is intended to solve and simply leads to further violence.

World peace is threatened on many levels by different types of conflict. However, these conflicts always involve people who, at some point, make a choice between peace and war. International law and the treaties which constitute it are merely the tools which make it possible to achieve an objective in a given context, and which are made available to stakeholders who remain in control of their use. People who live outside conflict zones need to be aware of the importance of protecting and preserving them, given the existence of a new world order, dominated by the chaotic strategy promoted by Donald Trump and by competition between the United States and China, which puts the balance of power at the heart of international relations. In this context, the European Union is likely to demonstrate its profound usefulness, and European countries should unite to form a hub of powers which are in favour of multilateralism and respect for international law.

In this way, international law can help to make the world a better place, but the real power lies with states and their populations and their decisions to respect or disregard it.

How can international law be used in a context of emerging populism which is creating dissension in many countries around the world, including in Europe?

The rise of populism is most often linked to a country's domestic politics, rather than to international factors. Consequently, international law is of little use in such situations. In fact, the solution lies in the European Union's ability to show the European people that it exists to protect and serve them, rather than the elite. An effort to ensure transparency and openness with regard to public opinion is undoubtedly necessary.

UKRAINE: AN EXAMPLE OF A "HYBRID CONFLICT"?

8 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Robert Le Magnifique room

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Moderator:

- **Monika Nogaj,** Unit Head, External Policy, European Parliament Research Service

Speakers:

- **Antoine Arjakovsky,** Director of Research at the Collège des Bernardins
- **Alexandre Orlov,** Ambassador, member of Leaders for Peace, Executive Secretary-General of the Trianon Dialogue
- **Konstantin von Eggert,** Journalist and political scientist, Editor-in-Chief of Dodj TV

In June 2014, Germany, France, Russia and Ukraine met for the first time in Normandy to lay the foundations for a long-lasting ceasefire and an end to the conflict in Donbass in eastern Ukraine. This war, which killed more than 10,000 people and created 2 million refugees, has often been called a "hybrid conflict", but does such a term reflect the reality of this war?

A hybrid conflict involves state and non-state agencies, disrupting the conventional distinction between the military and civilians. A hybrid conflict can also be defined by the use of conventional and unconventional means of combat, by the fact that these are not limited to a battlefield or even to a specific physical area and by three objectives: terrorising, destabilising and paralysing the enemy (particularly by mean of economic initiatives, propaganda and cyber attacks). The aim of a hybrid war is not always to conquer a country's land. The aim can be to isolate a country on the international stage, for example. In addition, a hybrid conflict is obscure: the attacking and defending sides are not clearly identified.

Because of the proclamation of Donbass' independence by the Russian-speaking separatists and the annexation of Crimea by Russia, the people in these areas are experiencing something which has not occurred in Europe since the Second World War: the transformation of borders of one state by another. This conflict is between the two largest countries in Europe in terms of surface area, Russia and Ukraine, but the way in which it has been conducted and its geopolitical consequences involve the entire world.

The European Union and Russia have different interpretations of this event. For Russia, the annexation of Crimea amounts to the return of land inhabited mainly by Russians to the "motherland", following a referendum organised by the local parliament in the wake of the events in Independence Square in 2013. This annexation didn't cause a single death and the subsequent elections for the Russian Federation's Parliament and the President of Russia seem to have confirmed the results of the referendum. However, the legitimacy of this annexation is challenged by Europe because Russia had recognised the borders of Ukraine, including Crimea, in 1997. Furthermore, the validity of the result of the referendum is debatable: the Russian military (often without official insignia) took control of decision-making centres before the referendum was organised and no international observer was present to monitor the legality of the process.

The conflict in Donbass is also linked to a protest by the former President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, but it was quickly reclaimed by foreign powers as a geopolitical issue. After the departure of Yanukovych and the appointment of a new temporary Prime Minister by Ukraine's politicians, one of the new government's first decisions was to impose the Ukrainian language as the country's sole language, even in the regions (including Donbass) where Russian was the first language of a large part of the population. For Russia, this conflict arose because of the Russian-speaking population's right to self-determination. However, the law in question never came into effect. For the European Union, the protests in Independence Square were a popular revolution which resulted in the overthrow of Yanukovych's government, a corrupt and Russian-backed government which had waged war against its own people. Furthermore, Europe believes that the conflict in Donbass directly involves Russia, something which the latter refutes.

Hybrid warfare involves lies and the creation of anti-democratic narratives, based on conspiracy and with the intention of legitimising acts of war. Given the dissimulation and contradictions surrounding it, the Donbass war seems to be an example of a modern hybrid conflict.

Today, we must work urgently towards reconciliation in Ukraine and Russia, but this would require both countries to focus on the truth, agreeing on a common narrative and on a number of facts, something which Russia and the rest of the international community have failed to do. It is very difficult to adopt such an approach in the context of a hybrid war which, by its very nature, involves the withholding and concealing of information. Unmasking the parties involved in the conflict requires a fight against "fake news", propaganda and half-truths.

Moreover, to find a way to end the Donbass war, all Ukrainian people must be willing to live together once more. The Minsk agreement of 11 February 2015, signed by Ukraine, Russia, France and Germany, anticipated a ceasefire and various other measures to maintain peace in the region. It is important that this agreement is put into practice and it is vital that international law is respected. However, it seems that President Vladimir Putin prefers to continue pursuing a strategy of controlled tension with the West, which allows him to dominate the post-Soviet space.

Nevertheless, it is possible to believe simultaneously in the strength of a vast country like Russia and the power of a great culture like the Ukrainian culture. If Russia, Ukraine and the European Union manage to agree on a shared vision both of the history of Ukraine and its territories and of the rule of law, reconciliation may be possible.

Crimea, without prior discussion. However, in the face of this Ukrainian conflict, the European media has encouraged a real crusade against Russia. Today, we must try to ease tensions.

Officially, Russia wanted to intervene quickly to prevent clashes between pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian groups from degenerating into war, which happened on 2 May in Odessa. However, it is right to want to take stock of events. Today, the conflict isn't so much between Ukraine and Russia as between those who want to do away with the past, without considering the crimes of the Soviet communist regime, and those who want to confront the past and to judge it fairly so as to be able to distance themselves from it.

YEMEN: THE WAR BEHIND CLOSED DOORS?

8 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Tocqueville room

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Moderator:

- **Kader A. Abderrahim,** lecturer at Sciences Po Paris, Director of Research at the European Foresight and Security Institute

Speakers:

- **Philippe Bolopion**, Human Rights Watch, Deputy Director of Advocacy
- **Laurent Bonnefoy,** political scientist specialising in the Arabian Peninsula, researcher at CNRD, author of "Le Yémen : de l'Arabie heureuse à la guerre" (Yemen: from happy Arabia to war)
- **Her Royal Highness Princess Nadia Fahad Al-Saïd,** member of the Royal Family of the Sultanate of Oman, Special Representative on the Executive Bureau of the International Peace Institute

Even if the warring parties seek to keep the international media out of the war in Yemen, it is possible to obtain information on the conflict and its consequences, particularly via the NGOs in the country. However, the war in Yemen is of little interest to policymakers and public opinion. The peculiarity of this war is the difficulty in identifying which side would be most legitimate: the Saudi coalition is criticised for bombing civilians (the main victims of the war), while the rebels believe in an ideology which is hostile to the United States and Israel. A Manichean presentation of the conflict in the media is therefore impossible.

In addition to the current conflict, Yemen's demographics have begun to alarm observers: its population has already reached 30 million, making it the most populous country in the Arabian Peninsula, and its population doubles every twenty years. Access to drinking water is already a particularly sensitive issue. Sanaa, a sprawling city with three million inhabitants, may be completely deprived of water in a few years. Neighbouring countries could be forced to deal with mass immigration from Yemen. The country's collapse would therefore have consequences for the entire region.

In three years, the coalition offensive led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates has done little to change the situation. The number of deaths is difficult to assess: there have certainly been more than 10,000 direct victims, while the number of indirect victims (caused by malnutrition, failing hospitals, etc.) is difficult to quantify. Yemen, which was the poorest country in the region before the start of the war, is now considered to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. Despite this, the international community is practically indifferent to the fate of the country's people. This indifference can be explained in part by the increase in the number of conflicts around the world, such as in Syria or Libya, for example, which tends to numb public opinion with regard to new and similar events.

The objective in such a conflict is not to encourage a fragile peace, the conditions of which are dictated by one side of the conflict, but to ensure the development of a long-lasting peace which is the result of dialogue. In Yemen, there can be solidarity between factions, ensuring that humanitarian aid can be routed across the country and even negotiating occasional cease-fires to organise their survival. Conversely, the severity of Saudi intervention will make peace negotiations more difficult. We may well question the reasoning behind the decision to bomb civilian populations and to impose a blockade lasting several years on an entire country in a bid to allow the government to regain power, having previously been driven out. NGOs are therefore trying to gather information on the behaviour of the warring factions, in the hope that the international community will end up influencing them.

How has Iran contributed to the rebellion in Yemen?

Iran has probably influenced the Houthi community and is likely to have provided it with financial and material resources (weapons), but it has not intervened directly in the country (unlike the coalition). Iran's level of responsibility in this conflict is therefore difficult to quantify. The conflict in Yemen can also be seen as a clash of two regional powers, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Could the international coalition be sentenced for war crimes in Yemen?

The actions of the international coalition in Yemen could come under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court but the United Nations Security Council would have to approve such a prosecution; Saudi Arabia has three allies, each of which has a right to veto: the United States, France and the United Kingdom. A public inquiry could be established, however.

Even if the Houthi have committed crimes, this can be no excuse for crimes committed by Saudi Arabia and its allies in retaliation.

Has the United Nations' ability to intervene in Yemen been shaken by the negative results of the offensive in Libya?

It is still possible to resolve this conflict through diplomatic channels. President Hadi no longer has unwavering support from the coalition and Saudi Arabia and its allies could therefore be open to discussion on how to establish a longer-term political solution for the country.

It would be unrealistic to think that an armed intervention would be approved to intervene between the Saudi coalition and the Houthi. As for individual sanctions against the member countries of this coalition, although this is theoretically possible, it is difficult to envisage for political and diplomatic reasons.

Lastly, the example of Libya has shown that unthinking intervention in a bid to protect people can have direct negative effects, such as the embedding of terrorist movements and a massive influx of migrants on European soil.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: HOW CAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BE MOBILISED?

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Robert Le Magnifique room

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Moderator:

- **Séverine Autesserre,** Professor, Department of Political Science, Barnard Faculty of Columbia University

Speakers:

- **Rémy Bazenguissa-Ganga,** Director of Studies at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)
- **Georges Berghezan,** researcher for the Research and Information Group on Peace and Security
- **Monseigneur Fulgence Muteba,** Bishop for reconciliation, Diocese of Kilwa-Kasenga

At present, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), several interlocking national, regional and local issues have led to the deadliest war since the Second World War and have provoked a major humanitarian crisis. It seems that the involvement of the international community is essential to end it but the action which has been undertaken so far has not been sufficient to bring peace to the country.

In the DRC, there is a fundamental link between the recurrence of conflicts and the country's electoral system. War is a consistent aspect of politics. Mobutu, who was the country's president for nearly 32 years, acted like a warlord. He was seen as the man who put an end to the civil war and helped to maintain Zaire's integrity by force and with the armed forces. This war-time dynamic was maintained after the end of the single-party system in the early 1990s, despite the establishment of the system of sovereign national conferences in many countries of French-speaking Africa. Mobutu's refusal to implement this peaceful process in Zaire provoked a new crisis which ended in an armed conflict. The balance of power forced Mobutu to give up power and led to the emergence of Laurent-Désiré Kabila, who declared himself president and renamed Zaire the "Democratic Republic of Congo" in 1997. After his assassination in 2001, he was replaced by his son, another warlord. In the two presidential elections which followed, he campaigned against other warlords. Today, Laurent Kabila has managed to postpone the deadline for new elections so that he can continue as the country's president, which, for his opponents, justifies their recourse to armed conflict.

This bellicose dynamic has been exacerbated by the proliferation of firearms within the country since 1994. Since this time, the proliferation of weapons has reached saturation because of high levels of arms trafficking in the region. Moreover, corruption is omnipresent at all levels of Congolese society. President Kabila's family fortune is estimated at $15 billion, while the country's annual budget amounts to just $7 billion. The elite class earned their fortunes from the sale of the country's raw materials (particularly its copper; the country has some of the largest deposits in the world) to foreign powers like China. Meanwhile, the country's people are starving to death.

Since 1999, the international community has deployed a peacekeeping mission (MONUSCO) in the DRC, and numerous NGOs, charitable associations and UN agencies are working on development and humanitarian projects. However, this international response has failed to improve the country's fortunes and, in some cases, has made things worse. Diplomats are often criticised for contributing to this state of war, while peacekeepers are criticised for not being able to prevent violence. MONUSCO's mandate is itself ambiguous. It is supposed to protect civilians but by refusing to oppose the Kabila regime directly, it is unable to prevent massacres. Furthermore, the international community's policy with regard to the Democratic Republic of Congo is inconsistent. Several UN resolutions have imposed the application of the New Year's Eve agreement, signed by the government and the opposition at the end of 2016. The African Union defends the country's sovereignty and the right to non-interference.

However, European sanctions have had positive consequences for the country and resistance forces are emerging within the Catholic Church, the political community and civil society. They oppose the regime which is in power, often losing their lives in the process. They deserve to be supported by the international community, especially as the vast majority of Congolese people is calling for stronger ties with other countries.

Catholicism is particularly important to the Congolese; the Catholic Church plays a vital role in everyday life and extraordinary crises. 53% of the country's schools and 45% of the country's health infrastructure are run by the Catholic Church, an institution which is seen by the Congolese as a form of resistance to dictatorship. In the past, it has denounced a departure from the "politics of authenticity" promised by Mobutu to mask the country's economic problems and corruption. Today, it advocates reconciliation and the creation of a democratic country which is capable of managing its natural resources, which must not be left under the control of armed groups. It is mobilising to call for President Kabila's departure and actively contributed to the signing of the New Year's Eve agreement, which is the only way to ensure a peaceful end to the conflict but which, sadly, is not applied by the country's current government.

The solution to the Congolese crisis will be found when efforts within the country are combined with the international community's efforts. The international community must now support all the processes to encourage the organisation of elections, as agreed in the New Year's Eve agreement (elections which, after many delays, finally took place on 30 December 2018).

Will electing a new president be enough to solve the Democratic Republic of Congo's problems?

It is not a question of personalising the debate or removing Kabila at all costs. The country's population is calling for political change, in the name of democratic principles and as detailed in the country's constitution, which would limit each president to two terms. The country must be rebuilt so that its natural resources benefit everyone and political change is the only possible way to do this.

However, it will not be enough on its own. Democracy doesn't always bring peace. Elections may have a positive effect on national causes of violence (including the fact that Kabila is clinging to power) but will have no impact on local causes (particularly the multiple regional conflicts around the country, customary powers and administrative powers). The support of local stakeholders who support peace, as part of an approach to develop peace from the bottom up (which is rarely considered by diplomats and the United Nations), seems to be essential to combat violence.

SYRIA: HOW CAN THE PEACE PROCESS BE INITIATED?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, CESER room

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Moderator:

- **Anaïs Renevier,** freelance journalist

Speakers:

- **Valérie Crova,** senior reporter at France Culture and Radio France
- **Salam Kawakibi,** Director of the Arab Centre for Research and Political Studies in Paris
- **Deborah L. Wheeler,** Professor of Political Science, United States Naval Academy

The Syrian conflict is particularly complex and pits different kinds of factions against one another: the regime and its allies, various other countries, Syrian rebels, various Arab militias and Islamist movements, including ISIS. Taking advantage of the international community's failure to react to Syria's use of both conventional and unconventional weapons (chemical weapons) against its own people, ISIS succeeded in recruiting sympathisers and gaining ground before becoming the target of virtually all other factions and retreating significantly.

Although the Syrian government is about to regain control of the country, thanks to its powerful Russian ally, an end to the conflict is still difficult to imagine insofar as the security conditions which would be necessary for the return of exiled Syrians have not been met. The latter are still present in huge numbers in neighbouring countries, particularly in Lebanon and Jordan, which risk being destabilised by the continued presence of "guests" who will eventually become "undesirables". Furthermore, Bashar al-Assad's government passed a law in April 2018, demanding the return of refugees within a month to present their property deeds or to risk seeing their property confiscated by the state. In a statement, Bashar al-Assad announced that while he "regretted" the loss of some 500,000 lives and seven million refugees (mostly Sunni Muslims), he welcomed the fact that his country would henceforth have a "homogeneous" population. This reflects the fact that Sunni Muslims, once the majority in the country, have become a de facto minority. In addition, a survey of refugees living in difficult conditions in Lebanon shows that the majority would not consider returning to Syria unless there were an effective political transition, a guarantee of their security and justice for war crimes committed during the conflict.

The opponents of Bashar al-Assad seem to have stopped calling for his departure, once seen as a prerequisite for any peace process. They refuse to rule out a transition period, during which Bashar al-Assad would remain in power until elections in 2021. Nevertheless, they hope to secure his departure by means of a democratic process before ensuring that those responsible for the country's war crimes are brought before the International Criminal Court. It is doubtful that a candidate will be found to stand against Bashar al-Assad by 2021.

For its part, Russia seems to have a very pragmatic view of the conflict: it will accept Bashar al-Assad's departure, if it approves of his successor. Some people believe that Russia's presence is an obstacle to a democratic resolution to the conflict. Russia is unlikely to give up its military base and a country which is in the path of a future Iranian gas pipeline and which will therefore enable it to retain control of Europe's gas supply.

As the head of the Syrian regime, Bashar al-Assad's position has remained constant throughout the conflict: his goal has always been the unconditional surrender of his opponents. This tactic was applied by encircling and crushing rebel areas until their surrender, worn down by hunger or exhausted by the bombing. This tactic was also applied to Hama in 1982 to punish a Muslim Brotherhood revolt, resulting in the slaughter of tens of thousands of people. During the Arab Spring, the city didn't dare to join the protest.

What does the future hold for Kurds in Syria?

The opposition is calling for a federalist system which would provide Syria's regions with some independence. Furthermore, it should be remembered that, unlike in Turkish or Iraqi Kurdistan, there has not been a continuous Kurdish presence in Syria. As for the regime, its tactics, which are very effective, entail the use of minorities and the monetisation of their loyalty to the regime, in return for certain benefits. This is what happened in 2004 to calm the beginning of a rebellion by Syrian Kurds.

THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: IS PEACE IMPOSSIBLE?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Abbesses room

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Moderator:

- **Matt Qvortrup,** Joint Editor-in-Chief of the European Political Science Review

Speakers:

- **Yossi Beilin,** Israeli negotiator of the Oslo Accords, former Israeli Minister of Justice and member of the Knesset
- **Alain Dieckhoff,** Director of Sciences Po International Research Centre, Director of Research at the French National Centre for Scientific Research
- **Elias Zananiri,** Vice Chairman of the PLO committee for interaction with Israeli society
- **Mounir Anastas,** Ambassador, Permanent Delegate of Palestine to UNESCO

In 1982, President Mitterrand, speaking in the Knesset, expressed his wish that the Palestinian people would one day have their own country, to which the Israeli Prime Minister replied coolly that Israel did not recognise the Palestinian people. Today, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has still not been resolved. The idea of a two-state solution had already been unsuccessfully proposed by the United Kingdom during the mandate it was granted by the League of Nations. This outcome may be acceptable for both communities and public opinion is prepared for this possibility, but significant political barriers still remain. It is true that Israel would obtain an immediate benefit in recognising the state of Palestine: it could enter into diplomatic relations with all neighbouring Arab countries.

Historically, the Ottoman Empire successfully oversaw the existence between the Islamic, Judaic and Christian religious communities on their land. There were two factors behind the creation of Israel: given the long-standing antisemitism in Europe which had culminated in the Holocaust, the Jews wanted to have their own country, while Western powers saw the opportunity to develop an ally in the Middle East.

The position of European countries with regard to the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians is rather ambiguous: they state their preference for a two-state solution but many are yet to recognise the existence of Palestine. The election of Donald Trump has also had an impact on the region, given that some aspects of his international policy seem to be dictated by Israel. Some people believe that Israel has de facto impunity for its behaviour towards the Palestinians since the United States can veto any UN resolution aimed at its ally. A second complicating factor is that power in Israel has been held almost exclusively, and for many years, by conservative and ultra-conservative parties which are hostile to a two-state solution. Lastly, the development of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Jerusalem has a particularly harmful effect on the chances of ensuring a successful peace process. The question of Palestinian refugees and the reintegration of Israeli settlers would be particularly difficult.

Palestinians suffer from a geographical and political split between the Hamas-led Gaza Strip and the West Bank where Fatah has a majority. As for the surrounding Arab nations, they have more immediate concerns than the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian problem, such as the war in Syria.

The Oslo Accords peace process is therefore unlikely to continue in the short term. It would still be possible to establish a process which would lead to the creation of two separate states but this would require powerful support from the international community. The longer the situation goes on, the more difficult it will be to resolve the issue. Although settlements in the occupied territories have been recognised as illegal under international law, Israel argues that it would be difficult to demolish them and to repatriate some 700,000 settlers. Each Israeli colony in Palestinian territory is like a torpedo to the two-state project: the Palestinian territory is increasingly fragmented and the idea of the reconstitution of a country seems increasingly remote.

However, there could be a solution: a confederal system. Israeli citizens living in Palestinian territory would be recognised as Palestinian residents and would be allowed to stay, as long as they agreed to abide by Palestinian laws. If they didn't agree, they would be asked to return to Israeli territory and would receive financial compensation for their property.

Could religious leaders be the trigger for reconciliation between the two communities? Similarly, can we hope that civil society might put an end to this age-old conflict?

Unfortunately, religious leaders are used by political parties, passing on the message that their own community has the right to claim the land as their own in the name of their own God - Jerusalem is a holy city for the three monotheistic religions.

As for civil society, there is indeed a non-negligible section of the population in Israel which favours peaceful co-existence between the two communities, under a regime which would ensure democratic representation for both.

WHAT RESPONSE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Plenary room

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Moderator:

- **Bostjan Videmšek,** European Young Leader (EYL40)

Speakers:

- **Ralf Gruenert,** Representative of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) for France and Monaco
- **Jean-Jacques Poumo Leumbe,** President of Action for the Protection of IDPs and Environmental Migrants in Africa

Today, the number of refugees has reached its highest ever level. In 2016, 22.5 million people were refugees around the world and 40.5 million people were internally displaced. What's more, these numbers have been steadily increasing since the 1970s. Currently, 24 people are displaced every minute. How can we respond to a crisis of this magnitude?

These are "refugee crises", in the plural. The 2015 refugee crisis in Europe was primarily due to the fact that the European Union didn't know how to deal with a massive influx of migrants. However, other countries have welcomed a much larger number of refugees. Migrants, many of whom are from Syria, make up a quarter of Lebanon's population while Turkey has welcomed some 3.5 million. In comparison, Europe has 500 million inhabitants and accepted a million migrants in 2015 and 2016.

The refugee situation in Africa is quite different. Given the rise of populism in Europe, the continent must show that it is protecting its borders with Africa. However, this continent is home to an increasing number of flash points. Conflicts are no longer between states but rather within countries and often extend beyond national borders (for example, the terrorist group Boko Haram is active in Chad, Nigeria and Niger). Refugees are fleeing from one country to another, only to find that their human rights continue to be violated. So they continue on their journey to Europe. For them, this is a question of life or death. As long as tensions remain in Africa, entire populations will try to reach Europe, which seems like a promised land.

According to international law, a refugee is an individual who crosses the border of his or her country because of persecution. These reasons are specified in the Geneva Convention but do not take into account global warming. When a person flees the consequences of global warming, he or she is considered to be an "environmentally displaced person". However, population displacement linked to the disasters caused by global warming or its more insidious effects can also be a source of conflict. For example, Lake Chad has seen more than 90% of its surface area disappear. The people of Nigeria and Niger who lived close to this resource have moved to Cameroon, where the effects of global warming have been less obvious; this has caused significant tension in this host country.

While the exponential increase in the number of refugees is primarily an effect of globalisation, which facilitates communication and transportation from one country to another, statistics must not mask the causes of these refugee crises. Some are visible: migrants are fleeing wars, persecution because of their ethnicity or religion, the consequences of climate change, etc. However, there are underlying reasons for these causes. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, many refugees are fleeing conflict, caused by the war for minerals which involves multinationals and foreign powers which want to share the country's natural resources between themselves. Similarly, a failure of democratic systems can be observed in many African countries. The European Union is keen to give lessons when it comes to democracy but also supports African leaders whose sole purpose is to remain in power.

In Europe, the temptation to opt for isolationism is not a solution to refugee crises. To fight it, politics must understand how to respond to the fears which are at its core (the fear of something different, of terrorism, that migrants might abuse the welfare systems of European countries, etc.), and must prepare the population for the new globalised world which is being established. If these fears are not discussed, they will be appropriated by populists who will use them for their own purposes. This dialogue must also be open to people who are concerned about welcoming migrants to their countries or who feel that they are being forced to welcome them. It is thus important to create meeting places and to work with towns and villages to help people to understand that welcoming refugees can be a truly rewarding experience.

Furthermore, we must work to facilitate the integration of migrants while focusing more specifically on the issue of female refugees. Responsibility for welcoming refugees must be more evenly shared at international, European and national levels and countries which welcome refugees must be given aid. The establishment of camps can never be seen as a solution.

The root causes of displacement must be addressed, rather than just its consequences. The answers must be transversal and collective, both in Europe and Africa. The European Union, which in the past has put humanist ideology before realism, now favours the latter. Once more, with courage and determination, it must come up with long-term solutions which are based on its core values and promote them within the international community.

Very often, refugees leave their countries for political or religious reasons, after the failure of democratic and diplomatic processes. In Africa, they flee dictatorships which are often supported by the West or which the West refuses to condemn. In such a context, the solution may come from civil society and European populations, rather than from the political world.

The underlying causes of refugee crises are protean. The weakness of democracies is one of them. Today, Africa needs strong institutions, not strong personalities. However, Africans must not just accuse the international community; they must also take their destiny into their own hands.

Civil society has a key role to play both in Africa and in Europe. It is very difficult to understand the realities of the refugee crisis. Silence continues to dominate certain conflicts. The work of charitable associations, the organisation of forums and, more generally, the strengthening of democracy will help to overcome existing obstacles.

WAR JOURNALISM: HOW CAN THE UNSPEAKABLE BE TOLD?

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Auditorium

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Moderator:

- **Samuel Forey,** journalist, winner of the Albert Londres Prize and the 2017 Bayeux Award for his coverage of the battle of Mosul

Speakers:

- **Renaud Girard,** senior reporter at Le Figaro and writer
- **Rémy Ourdan,** senior reporter at Le Monde
- **Jon Swain,** Sunday Times journalist

War journalists are witness to the most violent conflicts. They must ask themselves a multitude of questions about their job: how can they recount the exceptional events they witness and which they are often not ready to confront? What can be told and what can't be? How can we overcome victims' silence?

For a reporter, nothing is unspeakable. The unspeakable belongs to the victims and the witnesses whom war reporters meet. War can be terrifying and overwhelming; as a result, it often leaves silence in its wake. After several years of fighting, combatants can also retreat into a world of silence. Journalists must overcome this reticence to find a balance which ensures that these events can be told and will be heard. In 1994, after the assassination of Juvénal Habyarimana, the President of Rwanda, journalists travelled to see whether the rumours they had heard were true. They discovered lorries filled with bodies. As a precaution, the first articles did not use the word "genocide", which implies a form of systematic violence, but reported "massacres". However, journalists quickly realised that they were witnessing a genuine genocide. It plunged the country into such terror that its victims were not able to express themselves for a considerable period of time.

For a journalist, everything can be told; it is a question of finding the right way to tell the story. During the Rohingya crisis in Burma, reporters met a silence similar to that in Rwanda. The media was often lazy in the way it chose to report events: the term "refugee" was used across the board, although the word is more associated with natural disasters. The Rohingya were fleeing widespread ethnic cleansing and deportation. These terms should have been used; in this case, they really were the correct words. Sometimes these so-called "correct words" can be used to moderate the language of politicians or activists, who tend to use dramatic terms. On the contrary, in the case of the Rohingya, more radical action was required than anything proposed by the UN, which had not understood the scale of the deportations and accompanying atrocities.

War journalists are the eyes and ears of their readers. Above all, their task is to recount what they see, without coming to any hasty conclusions. Two French reporters were in Phnom Penh in 1975. One of them recounted the events he had witnessed in his dispatches. For example, he referred to old men being abused on a daily basis by young Khmer Rouge. The other wrote a long report on his meeting with the new regime's Minister for Agriculture and Planning and his plans for the development of the rural economy. In doing so, he forgot to tell his readers what he had seen and to give a voice to those who had witnessed what the Khmer Rouge had done. Journalists meet with witnesses but also speak with political and military figures who are directly responsible for such events. More often than not, they refuse to speak or carefully choose information which they agree to communicate, refusing to recognise the violence to which they resort.

In addition to the question of how to recount the unspeakable, there is also the question of why. Why should words be found for certain events and why, in contrast, should others be ignored? Furthermore, journalists sometimes work hurriedly. How much time do they have to consider the form of the message which they are going to share? A genocide or a massacre requires the use of very particular words but also demands a certain distance. Using a word like "genocide" to describe an event can have legal consequences. However, journalists are aware of the importance of their account: articles can sometimes make a difference, even if they've never managed to stop a war. Recounting the unspeakable can be a way of making the wider world aware of the reality of conflicts. However, it can also led to a feeling of powerlessness when there is no solution which is capable of ending these conflicts.

Why, then, should these stories be told? Above all, journalists tell their stories to honour the people they've met, these essential figures who often confide in them, telling the most tragic or intense stories of their lives. They are messengers. They have a responsibility. What's more, the truth must be written, even if it seems useless at the time. Indeed, it is always more difficult, particularly for those who are held responsible, to indulge in revisionism or denial after the fact, when the truth was written at the time. Lastly, experience shows that journalists' articles sometimes have political consequences and can lead to military action which may put an end to a war, as was the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina from July 1995.

For all these reasons, despite a falling readership, war journalists continue to become involved in conflicts around the world today.

Are war journalists in a race to be the first to share the latest news?

When situations are serious, when it is important to recount events of a magnitude which even journalists may not grasp, when journalists find themselves in dangerous situations, competition between the various newspapers disappears, all the more so given that reporters can recount the same facts in very different articles. On a battle field, there is no race to get a scoop.

AFTER THE WAR:
Embarking on reconciliation and reconstruction, defining a new peace

Women's rights: indispensable factors for lasting peace?
From left to right: Guy Mamou-Mani, Nicole Ameline, Céline Bardet, Frédérique Bedos

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THE KOREAN PENINSULA: A BIG STEP TOWARDS RECONCILIATION?

7 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Tocqueville room

Moderator:

- **Lina Sankari,** international journalist, L'Humanité

Speakers:

- **Antoine Bondaz,** researcher at the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS) and teacher at Sciences Po
- **Jean-François di Meglio,** President of Think Tank Asia Centre
- **Myung-lim Park,** Professor at the University of Yonsei and Director of the Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library

Two different worlds lie on either side of the border between the two Koreas: the south of the peninsula is one of the most technologically advanced and industrialised countries in the world, while the northern part is the last bastion of the Stalinist communist model. In a way, Korea remains a battle field of the Cold War, home to a frozen military conflict since 1953. The situation became even more complex with the North Koreans' development of a military nuclear programme and the verbal escalation with US President Donald Trump.

At the height of this period of tension, analogies with the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis became apparent. However, the way in which the Korean diplomatic crisis has been handled, with direct meetings between the leaders of the various countries involved, is unprecedented since the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The withdrawal of China, which was expected to play the role of mediator, has also been surprising.

Observers question North Korea's intentions. After defying the international community with nuclear tests and ballistic missile tests, Kim Jong-un announced the decommissioning of some nuclear facilities. It is also unclear as to whether the United States will give up its anti-missile "umbrella", housed by its South Korean ally. The denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula will probably not happen for many years. The first agreements and commitments date back to 1992 and have not prevented a radicalisation of the North Korean position since the arrival of its new leader.

This radicalisation is illustrated by the modification to North Korea's Constitution in 2012, with the country openly asserting itself as a nuclear power - the only country in the world to do so. Indeed, Kim Jong-un had announced his ambitions in 2013: the creation of ever smaller, ever more precise and wide-ranging nuclear weapons. The North Korean regime believes that it has achieved its objectives. Similarly, North Korea has announced that it now has the capability to equip an intercontinental missile with a thermonuclear warhead. The extent of the ensuing diplomatic crisis can be explained by the fact that North Korea is now potentially capable of striking the United States. As a result, it might seem that Kim Jong-un has chosen to decommission the facilities he used for his nuclear and ballistic tests simply because he believes he has an operational arsenal. This decommissioning process is not exhaustive; the facilities could quickly be put back into service when needed.

North Korea considers its nuclear arsenal as a form of "life insurance" against foreign powers planning to invade its territory. It should also be noted that the Pyongyang regime already has the capacity to bomb Seoul, the South Korean capital (forty kilometres from the border), with conventional weapons. Nuclear weapons don't seem to be perfectly necessary on a military level but they enable the Kim Jong-un dynasty to reinforce its legitimacy at the head of the regime and to whip up North Korean nationalist feeling, despite the numerous sacrifices imposed on the country's citizens. From this perspective, the denuclearisation of North Korea seems impossible in the short term. The meagre concessions gave the North Korean regime a respite from international sanctions and enabled it to disrupt relations between the United States and its allies. Japan would be the loser if there were an agreement which saw North Korea giving up its long-range missiles while retaining its ability to hit the Japanese archipelago.

Within the US diplomatic contingent, there are two opposing ideas: the continuation of negotiations in view of a long-term technical agreement and, supported by hardliners, a call for the short-term decommissioning of North Korean nuclear and bacteriological facilities before considering any military concessions. The North Korean authorities are aware of this and are doing their utmost to divide the US representatives with regards to the action to be taken.

Another worrying issue is the transfer of technology between countries which have nuclear weapons. North Korea has certainly been given help by other countries to enable it to master certain technologies and it is likely to do the same with other nations. For example, it is likely that the Soviets helped North Korea to build missiles and that the latter behaved similarly with Iran. The North Korean authorities have also helped Syria to build a nuclear reactor, which Israel specifically destroyed at a later date. The risk of collaboration between North Korea and other countries is even higher because exporting nuclear and ballistic technologies would be a way for it to obtain foreign currency despite international economic sanctions.

For South Korea, the conditions for reconciliation – or even reunification of the two countries – are far from being met. Although there has been significant détente since the peak of the crisis, relations between the two Koreas are still very tense, especially compared to earlier times when there was daily contact between the two. The South Korean government considers its neighbours' denuclearisation to be a prerequisite for any peace negotiations. Moreover, the South Korean constitution recognises the existence of a single Republic of Korea and the negotiation of a peace treaty is legally impossible with an entity whose existence is denied.

Do you think that a reunification of the two Koreas is possible in the long term? In addition to the political and economic divides, isn't there an ideological gulf between the two countries? Could the Pyeongchang Olympics be the first step to rapprochement?

The border between the two Koreas is, above all, an ideological frontier between the two former sides of the Cold War. However, this isn't the main obstacle to the peninsula's reunification. This will only be possible if all Koreans are able to agree on a common goal of long-lasting peace. A significant difference with regard to Germany must be pointed out here: although East and West Germany were separated for decades, the countries never went to war against one another. Reconciliation will therefore be essential before any possible reunification. Lastly, North Koreans' integration into South Korean society would be a very long process; we have already seen the difficulties encountered by North Korean refugees, in spite of the centres opened by the South Korean authorities to facilitate their integration. The Olympic Games did not contribute to the rapprochement between the two Koreas in a meaningful way, but they were an opportunity for South Korea to organise meetings between North Korea and the United States.

Given that the North Korean regime has strengthened its legitimacy by acquiring nuclear weapons, what could be the next step?

The North Korean regime faces a challenge: it seeks to develop the standard of living of its population without the collapse of its Communist model, as in the USSR. The recognition of North Korea as a major player on the international diplomatic scene has been a long-held ambition of the country's leaders and its nuclearisation has contributed significantly to this.

WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS FOR A NEW LIBYAN STATE?

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Tocqueville room

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Moderator:

- **Neila Latrous,** Head of the Middle East and Maghreb Department, Jeune Afrique

Speakers:

- **Abdulhamed Al Dabaiba,** founder of the Libya's Future movement, former President of the Libyan Investment and Development Corporation (LIDCO)
- **Mary Fitzgerald,** researcher and specialist consultant on Euro-Mediterranean issues, European Young Leader (EYL 40)
- **Frédéric de Saint-Sernin,** Deputy General Manager of ACTED, former French Secretary of State for regional development

When Gaddafi's regime collapsed in 2011, Libya was damaged by the absence of indispensable institutions for the formation of a new state. Concerned about being overthrown by a military coup, the dictator had disbanded the Libyan army, for example, preferring to entrust national security missions to militias who were loyal to him. Similarly, power was extremely centralised under his regime which created significant regional divides, particularly between western and eastern Libya. The country did not have a constitution and lacked vital infrastructure. In fact, Libyans are practically novices in terms of democracy, having lived for forty years under a regime in which engaging in politics was viewed very negatively. The surrounding chaos has been exacerbated by the migrant crisis and the permeability of Libya's borders, making it a frequent crossing point for Africans who leave in search of a better future in Europe. Many Libyans today feel deprived of a country in which practices such as slavery had never been seen.

Fortunately, the situation in Libya is not as grave as in countries like South Sudan, the population of which is largely dependent on humanitarian aid. The current humanitarian crisis in Libya can be attributed to the war; in a few years, it is possible that a sufficiently solid state will develop, enabling Libyans to provide for themselves once more. The main beneficiaries of humanitarian aid are migrants, people displaced by war and former exiles who lost everything they owned while they were out of the country. What's more, there are few ethnic or religious divides in Libya (as opposed to in other African countries), something which encourages observers to believe in the country's rebuilding in the medium term. In addition to humanitarian aid, NGOs are helping to find future officials and political representatives and to rebuild the country's intellectual elite (doctors, academics, etc.). The number of migrants has dropped strongly since 2016, thanks to the collaboration between the young Libyan state and the European Union.

President Macron has called for the organisation of presidential and parliamentary elections in the country by December 2019. This statement was widely welcomed, because preparing for the first presidential elections in Libya's history and the first parliamentary elections in half a century represents a significant challenge. Observers agree that the country should draft a genuine constitution which must be submitted to a referendum vote. Adherence to the schedule put forward

by President Macron in a functioning state would be nothing short of a miracle. A first draft of a constitution was written by a constitutional college, but a year's work would still be needed to create a comprehensive document. For the time being, the country is still far too fragmented to be able to hold elections. Several factions are fighting for control of territory and there is a real risk of civil war if some of these factions are not represented as they hope to be in Parliament. On the other hand, if a constitution is approved, the results of future elections will be more easily accepted by all Libyans.

How can as many Libyans as possible be involved in the drafting of the constitution?

Involving too many people could lead to endless quarrels. It would therefore be preferable to appoint someone within the provisional government to be in charge of working on the text, using the draft which has already been produced, before presenting this work to the rest of the government.

What are the main problems facing inhabitants?

Libyans face significant difficulties in accessing everyday consumer goods. Corruption is rampant across the country.

The population is educated but the country currently lacks political and economic leaders. Libyans quickly need to find a job to help to rebuild their country. Rebuilding a sufficiently strong private economic sector, particularly in the oil sector, is a priority, so as to be able to offset the weakness of the state. As for the rebuilding of infrastructure, the preferred strategy involves making investments which require few resources and which can be completed quickly.

Should the interests of all factions be addressed during the transitional phase?

Although there are some ethnic minorities, such as the Tuareg, divisions are not as significant as in the past and Libya is relatively unified today. It is also a fairly conservative country and Islamists do not have a strong influence. Furthermore, tribal authorities could actively participate in the reconstruction of their respective regions. Libyans must agree on a common agenda to ensure a return to economic prosperity through oil exports and economic developments so as to guarantee their prosperity when the oil age comes to an end.

WESTERN BALKANS: ENDLESS POST-WAR

7 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, CESER room

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Moderator:

- **Alexandra Kamenskaya,** former Director of RIA Novosti in Paris

Speakers:

- **Emmanuel Dupuy,** President of the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe
- **Isabelle Ioannides,** analyst, European Parliament Research Service
- **Naim Rashiti,** Executive Director of the Balkans Policy Research Group
- **Igor Stiks,** Croatian writer and philosopher

The success of the European Union in the Balkan region is relatively limited, despite significant technical and humanitarian efforts. This is partly due to the profusion of international actors which are present in the region: NATO, the United Nations, the United States, Russia, China, etc. Nevertheless, because of their geographical proximity, there is no question that the future of these countries is closely linked to a possible accession to the European Union. The latter therefore invited the relevant countries to embark on a long process of accession in a bid to establish long-lasting peace across the region. However, since the integration criteria are difficult to meet, many obstacles remain. What's more, there is no guarantee that the replication of the Western European economic model is the most relevant solution for the Western Balkan countries. Although a well-to-do class has developed, the daily life of the rest of the population has hardly changed.

Moreover, the reforms which promised a rapprochement with the European Union have not really been implemented. The local elite is partly responsible for this situation. Moreover, some countries, such as Serbia, are looking for partners both in the West and in the East, given their position in the centre of Europe; both options (becoming a member of the European Union or the Eurasian Economic Union) are available.

For countries within the European Union, an increasingly widespread thesis presents the integration of the Western Balkan countries primarily as a means of countering the rise of other interests, such as those of Russia (via the construction of new gas pipelines, for example), Turkey and China, with its considerable investment in port and airport infrastructure. Some observers believe that the integration of the Western Balkans into the European Union would be a way of stemming migration and strengthening border controls. This is confirmed by certain countries such as Macedonia, which consider themselves to have been abandoned in terms of the fight against illegal immigration. The issue of migration has also led to a rise in the region of xenophobic and populist parties, which appropriate the fight against immigration as their warhorse - even if the flow of migrants has decreased by roughly a third.

Balkan Europe is facing another challenge: that of demographics, with an ageing population, a decline in birth rates and a consistent pattern of young intellectual elites leaving for foreign countries. Young people have also developed a more acute sense of nationalism than the previous generation. This is a consequence of the failure of the process to bring war criminals before international tribunals. Interethnic conflicts are hidden but not forgotten; linguistic divisions at school are palpable. The rejection of the neoliberal model is also quite strong. The development of the Balkan countries' economies was intended to reassure foreign investors, in exchange for a promise of economic prosperity. However, it serves the interests of multinationals better by allowing them to increase their profits, rather than those of the local population.

The situation in the Balkans could be summed up with the following metaphor: the vaccine which the European Union has been trying to administer to its Balkan "patient" since the early 1990s has lost its effectiveness and the latter is not able to develop its own immunity. The elites have found a path to prosperity but democracy has regressed, even when compared to the communist era. Kosovo is developing very slowly and the situation in Bosnia has worsened since 2001.

What do you think of the fact that five members of the European Union refuse to recognise an independent Kosovo?

The issue goes beyond the European Union, given that 35 countries do not recognise Kosovo's independence. The Serbian situation is a major obstacle. It is true, however, that the prospect of rapprochement is weakened by the heterogeneity of the positions of the European Union's countries, combined with the absence of a clear political message for the countries of the region.

Could the pressure of public opinion put an end to the oligarchy of the elites?

The divide between the people and the elites has become significant. These countries' populations are aware of the existence of corruption within the ruling class but have no alternative. What's more, young people who could replace the ruling elites go abroad to study and don't consider returning to their country.

AFGHANISTAN: HOW CAN THE CURRENT SPIRAL BE STOPPED?

7 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, CESER room

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Moderator:

- **Dawood Azami,** multimedia writer at the BBC World Service, European Young Leader (EYL 40)

Speakers:

- **Alain Boinet,** founder of the NGO Solidarités International
- **Wolfgang Danspeckgruber,** founder and Director at the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Professor at Princeton
- **Christian Destremau,** Second World War historian, winner of the Académie Française's Prix de Biographie, entrepreneur in Afghanistan and NGO manager
- **Alpaslan Özerdem,** Professor, Co-Director of the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations

Since the Soviet invasion of 1980, Afghanistan has been in a permanent state of war. The situation is complicated by the fact that the international community ignores information about the various factions and their motives. The Taliban are commonly referred to as Islamist terrorists but the reality is more complex. Many Taliban are Afghan farmers who are defending their land against people whom they consider to be invaders. Any military victory against them seems impossible because they are more of a political force than a rebel faction. Worse, the weakening of the Taliban factions during the US intervention has permanently affected parts of the country, where insecurity, trafficking and corruption abound. The example of opium is particularly informative: the country's opium production had fallen to its lowest level under the Taliban regime. Since their departure, many poor farmers have abandoned food crops, turning to poppies, which has allowed mafia networks to develop in the country. This situation is not dissimilar to Colombia's coca culture.

The reconstruction of the country is complicated by three factors: the fact that almost two generations of Afghans have only ever known war, the existence of significant regional divisions and the fact that the country finds itself torn between Pakistani and Indian interests. Any political solution to the situation in Afghanistan requires negotiations involving the entire international community and regional powers. The United States tried to initiate negotiations between regional factions and the existing government but the latter was seen as illegitimate by the regional leaders, who wanted to negotiate directly with the United States.

This shows the limits of the solution which was found by Westerners, who failed to take into account the ancestral tribal authorities and wanted to impose their own democratic model. Afghanistan is a mosaic of different ethnicities; each one is entitled to equal representation. A federalist model, in which each region would enjoy a certain level of autonomy, would therefore have a greater chance of functioning, especially since this model could be based on long-established tribal systems of representation. Lastly, Afghanistan's long-term stability depends on the establishment

of a proper international status which will enable it to benefit from the financial support of the international community and to protect it from the ambitions of its powerful neighbours: Russia, Pakistan, India and China.

Afghanistan is also let down by the fact that the media focuses on war and terrorism. International public opinion overlooks two facts: that Afghanistan faces a wide range of challenges, such as the threat of famine this year, following a significant drought, and that Afghans are able to take charge of their future and already have several success stories to their credit. The Afghans have an entrepreneurial spirit but they don't have any models to follow.

Although its record remains mixed, the presence of the international community in Afghanistan has enabled the country to accelerate its development, particularly in terms of health and education. Unfortunately, the rural population cannot benefit from these improvements and peace is not yet possible, particularly given that the Taliban now controls 30% of the country and is expanding its control. Peace can only be achieved by inviting the Taliban to the negotiating table. The Afghan President has said this himself but the wave of attacks which followed his speech shows that it is difficult to establish a dialogue, particularly given the Taliban's make-up of several autonomous factions. An end to this conflict may still be a remote possibility.

How can China contribute to the resolution of this conflict?

The Chinese authorities have met with Taliban leaders on several occasions and also have good relations with the Afghan government and neighbouring Pakistan. The country seems to be an acceptable mediator for all the parties to the peace process.

CHILD SOLDIERS: PREVENTING THEM FROM BEING RECRUITED AND ENSURING THEIR REINTEGRATION

7 June 2018, 3.30pm-4.45pm, Guillaume room

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Moderator:

- **Cynthia Illouz**, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Chari-T

Speakers:

- **Juan Arredondo,** photojournalist, 2016 winner of the Humanitarian Visa d'Or Award of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
- **Philippe Brizemur,** Co-Chair of Amnesty International France's committee on children's rights
- **Michel Chikwanine,** former child soldier, worker for peace
- **Juvence Ramasy,** lecturer at the University of Toamasina, Madagascar

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted in 1989 and signed by every country except the United States, prohibits the recruitment of children under the age of eighteen for participation in armed conflicts. However, child soldiers are found all over the world: they are particularly numerous in African countries and also in India, Pakistan, Colombia and other countries. The list of these countries is included in the annual report of the United Nations Secretary-General for Children in Armed Conflict. Every year, it presents analysis of the countries which commit grave violations of children's rights and includes a so-called "list of shame" which listed 56 state and non-state organisations which used children in armed conflicts in 2017. Children are also recruited to join armies which are not at war. For example, a quarter of the new recruits in the United Kingdom's army in 2015 were between 16 and 17 years old.

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of child soldiers around the world. It is estimated to be between 250,000 and 300,000, but in the 10 years since the Paris Commitments, UNICEF and the United Nations have demobilised 150,000 child soldiers, suggesting that the number is actually much higher.

Thomas Lubanga, who was a key figure in the bloody conflict in the Ituri region in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2002 and 2003, was the first person to have been sentenced by the International Criminal Court for recruiting and actively using children in armed conflict. The Court considered that children were forced to participate actively in hostilities and were a potential target. Child soldiers are used in combat and to commit suicide bombings, to hold checkpoints, to guard prisoners, to carry ammunition or loot and more. They are used as combatants, spies, human shields and also as sex slaves, whether they are girls or boys.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is an essential text in tackling the recruitment of child soldiers, particularly because it commits the countries which have signed it. Although this is an undeniable legal advance, unfortunately, we must accept that it is difficult to apply, if only because

in many countries, particularly in Africa, children's births are often not registered. According to UNICEF, four out of ten children around the world are undocumented. It can therefore be difficult to determine their age.

Furthermore, the legal system is not sufficient to combat the recruitment of child soldiers. Work must be done on the ground, in the communities where they are recruited. Children can become soldiers after being kidnapped but they can also join armed groups to defend a cause or because they have no other means of survival.

Beyond the question of recruitment, there is also the issue of reintegration once these children have stopped being soldiers. They have been separated from the world they knew, often traumatically: by being abducted from their families and by being forced to kill other human beings. The reintegration process must ensure their progress from a quasi-savage state to a civilised state, given that these children are often stigmatised, abandoned and without economic opportunities, having missed out on their education. Most eventually return to their original armed group, unable to find any other means of survival.

The successful reintegration of child soldiers requires a willingness from communities to accept them. They are often abducted at a very young age and forget where they are from. NGOs try to find their families, often by distributing their photographs in the hope that they will be identified. When they do, families aren't always ready to take back a child who has committed crimes or who has forgotten them. These families may also be scared of retaliation from the armed group to which the child formerly belonged. The process of preparing families to welcome back children who have fought as soldiers can be as long as the process to prepare children to return home.

Lastly, to combat the recruitment of child soldiers, the root causes of conflicts around the world must be addressed. Despite numerous conventions and treaties which have been signed internationally, many countries, including the G7, continue to sell arms. These arms, which are economically profitable for France, the United States and the United Kingdom, end up in the hands of child soldiers in countries like Yemen. Furthermore, armed groups recruiting child soldiers often rely on poverty and misery.

To fight against the recruitment of child soldiers in an effective manner, we must start funding peace, instead of continually funding war.

In France, child protection services will have to take responsibility for child soldiers who have been recruited by ISIS. How can we approach their reintegration while ensuring that we don't make their situation worse?

In the event of a trauma, whether or not it is linked to a conflict, the brain stops emitting endorphins and suspends the long-term memory. As a result, there is no point in asking the child soldier to tell his or her story, time and time again. However, it is possible to discuss the child's life prior to the traumatic event. This approach, asking children to recall their childhoods rather than their experiences of war, can be an effective way to help child soldiers to recover.

CULTURE AND SPORT: VECTORS OF PEACE?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Tocqueville room

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Moderator:

- **Jean-Christophe Bas,** former Deputy Director of the United Nations Alliance of Civilisations

Speakers:

- **Anilore Banon,** sculptor
- **Laurent Dupont,** Director General of Peace and Sport
- **Laurence Fischer,** triple world champion in karate and founder of Fight for Dignity

A study by the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, published in 2014, showed that post-Cold War conflicts were characterised by warring armed groups within countries. Of the 130 contemporary conflicts identified in this study, 107 had a cultural dimension (religion, ethnicity, language, etc.), showing that culture is capable of dividing people. At the same time, it is also a way of bringing people together.

Conflicts are often borne of a fear of other people, caused by disaffection and a misunderstanding of people who are perceived to be different. This fear brings out the worst in mankind but remains highly publicised, as shown by the plethora of images of humanitarian or climatic disasters which the public is constantly fed.

Culture and art offer a different perspective. They make it possible for us to contemplate other people, to look at them without fear so as to overcome what separates us. They show that it is possible for very different people to live together and to share the same planet, which is, after all, the very meaning of peace.

Peace is not just the absence of war. It is a social model in which everyone agrees to make an effort with other people. Peaceful co-existence requires an understanding of other people and a dialogue with them. Peace is not a given: it is taught and learned and future generations can be helped to better understand each other and to better enter into dialogue with one another.

Sport also features in this approach. Today, it is governed by international federations which lay down rules which are applied across the globe. In this way, sport is universal. Moreover, it is both an enormous economic market (worth some $800 billion a year) and an amplifier. One in two human beings watched at least one World Cup football match in 2018. Lastly, with its rules and its practices, sport provides framework for guidance. Individuals of different nationalities and different religions agree to follow the same rules and, in this way, can begin a dialogue.

Furthermore, peace always begins with inner peace: a healthy relationship with oneself is a pre-requisite if we are to understand other people. Sport and culture contribute to this understanding of oneself. For example, sport can help to rebuild self-esteem or to heal bodies which have been destroyed by trauma (such as wartime sexual violence).

Diplomats can be dismissive about approaches which focus on art or sport, considering them merely to be anecdotal. However, peace is maintained by multiple elements and by anything which encourages us to look differently at other people. Sport and art are part of these elements and work on several levels.

The first is diplomacy through sport which aims to use a sporting event to convey messages. For example, the exchange of ping-pong teams in the early 1970s between Richard Nixon's United States and Mao Zedong's China paved the way for a revival of Sino-US relations and was described as "ping-pong diplomacy". Similarly, in April 2017, during the preparations for the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games, South and North Korea met in a test match which led to the creation of a joint women's ice hockey team. Athletes served a cause which was bigger than them, as individuals, to show that peace was possible between two nations with simmering tensions.

The second level is more local: for example, sport is used in the context of the migrant crisis. It is used in host countries as a means of integrating and understanding other people but is also used in refugee camps to reduce community tensions. Culture can have the same role in regions where tensions are heightened between populations or ethnic groups. For example, the conductor Daniel Barenboim created the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which includes Palestinians and Israelis, to show that the two populations were capable of communicating.

Lastly, culture is used at the highest level, with heads of state, because it opens doors and encourages dialogue.

Beyond these three practical levels of intervention, peace is built first and foremost among citizens who listen to and understand other people. We must not wait for artists, athletes and politicians to act. Every person can play a role if he or she is brave enough to engage. Maintaining a culture of peace on a daily basis with family, neighbours or colleagues is an example of such an engagement.

Does a state have an interest in organising a major sporting or cultural event, other than economic or geopolitical interests?

Major events inevitably have economic and tourist interests, in addition to the way in which they showcase a region or a country, but they also contribute to the societies which host such events, either in terms of real investments (the renovation of roads or infrastructure, for example) or in terms of their symbolic impact, which is often long-term.

Sport and culture aren't always used ethically. For example, they can be used for propaganda or the propagation of hate speech.

Culture contributes to peace but it can also divide. Beyond the conflicts it can provoke, it can give rise to harmful practices. For example, the development of sport around the world goes hand-in-hand with the development of the online betting industry. It is important to promote initiatives which make use of culture and sports as factors of peace, without being naive.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS: INDISPENSABLE FACTORS FOR LASTING PEACE?

8 June 2018, 3.30pm - 4.45pm, Auditorium

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Moderator:

- **Frédérique Bedos,** founder of the NGO Le Projet Imagine

Speakers:

- **Nicole Ameline,** former French minister, member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- **Céline Bardet,** co-founder and President of the charity We Are Not Weapons of War
- **Guy Mamou-Mani,** Co-Chair of Open and member of the French High Council for Gender Equality, Co-Chair of #JamaisSansElles

In many parts of the world, the fact that women do not occupy the roles they deserve explains a number of imbalances and tensions. Indeed, women have shown that they often play a positive role in the emergence, construction and consolidation of democracy and the rule of law. In fact, one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals identified by the United Nations is gender equality. What role is there for women's rights in the development of a more just and peaceful world?

If we look at the facts, women are the first victims of armed conflicts and their rights are repeatedly violated. Wartime sexual violence has been a constant in almost every conflict since the end of the Cold War. Yet the subject is scarcely mentioned. Its victims remain invisible and the perpetrators enjoy impunity, mainly because wartime sexual violence is regarded with a certain inevitability as something which accompanies any conflict. In actual fact, it is a weapon which is used as part of a war strategy. It is an inexpensive weapon which has effects not only on the victim but also on the victim's family and community. It is used for specific purposes: for example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, armed groups rape women to ensure population displacement, so that they are then free to exploit the mineral deposits which are abandoned by the people who flee. In Libya and Syria, men are raped for political ends. In these countries, a man who has been raped can no longer play a public role. During the Bosnian war and the Rwandan genocide, the rape of women was seen as a tool for ethnic cleansing. Rape, which is primarily an act of domination and is designed to destroy a part of a country's population, is often collective and public.

However, wartime sexual violence is beginning to be recognised as an element of international war crimes. On the one hand, laws are being strengthened, but on the other hand, the perpetrators are most often exempted from any legal proceedings and, in general, international humanitarian law is increasingly ignored. Human rights activists, humanitarian convoys and civilians (particularly women) are now regularly targeted during conflicts.

We must assert states' responsibility for the abuses which are committed within their borders, whether these abuses are carried out by state armed groups or not, and we must also fight against impunity. The response must be legal in nature, but that's not all: the paradigm of women's place in the world must change. Female victims of wartime sexual violence are survivors and are seeking justice, rather than revenge. Moreover, they had a life before having to endure such trauma and continue to have a life afterwards; they have a role to play in society.

A woman's right to participate in the prevention and management of conflict, the negotiation of peace and the reconstruction of democracy must be recognised around the world. Women are not meant to be victims. They must be included in decision-making and power must be shared with them.

Furthermore, women must embrace today's changing world to prevent conflict and crises. This issue concerns wider society and not just women.

New technologies contribute to the construction of this new world by challenging the concepts of distance, time, employment and property. Even in developing countries, they offer new opportunities for women to take their rightful place in the world while offering societies the chance to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. For example, Kenya is now the most advanced country in terms of mobile banking: the most popular application is used by 28 million of the country's 45 million inhabitants. With new technologies, it is much easier to become an entrepreneur, particularly for women. In Africa, digital companies now offer services to people which states cannot provide. Digital technology is therefore not necessarily a dehumanising tool which will lead to job losses, as long as we take an active role, rather than a passive role, in its use.

If women are excluded from the development of these technologies for objective reasons (routine violence, gender stereotypes, etc.), they will not contribute to the conceptualisation of this new world. At best, they will be its beneficiaries; at worst, they will be its victims. This is a challenge for civilisation: not only would it deprive this new world of the contribution of half of the world's population, it would also constitute a major risk in global destabilisation, because inequalities and exclusion always contribute to war. Digital technology makes it possible to develop a new equality in terms of opportunities and rights and provides many women with access to new jobs, without them having to endure traditional education systems and traditional stereotypes.

This new world, in its very concept, must favour a culture of peace rather than the culture of war which has dominated in centuries past. This approach provides roles for everyone, male and female, as witnesses and ambassadors. It is their responsibility because, as people, we all build the world around us.

What legislation is there for children born of wartime rape?

Legislation on this subject differs from country to country. Most pregnant women who have been raped want an abortion but this is banned in many countries, including in cases of rape. At birth, they often want to abandon their baby. Children end up in orphanages or on the streets. Some choose to raise their child, at the risk of being socially stigmatised. The subject is far from anecdotal: in Rwanda, between 20,000 and 30,000 children are estimated to have been born of rape during the 1994 genocide and are now in their twenties.

COMMEMORATING, RECOUNTING, EDUCATING: HOW CAN A PEACE CULTURE BE FOUNDED?

8 June 2018, 2pm - 3.15pm, Plenary room

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Moderator:

- **Thierry Rabiller,** Editor-in-Chief of Paris Normandie

Speakers:

- **Jo Berry,** founder of Building Bridges for Peace
- **Latifa Ibn Ziaten,** founder of the charity Imad-Ibn-Ziaten for Youth and Peace
- **Marwa Mansouri,** President of the charity Cultivons la Paix, founder and Secretary-General of the charity Coexistence
- **Pierre-François Veil,** barrister, President of the French Committee for Yad Vashem

Remembrance, human rights and citizenship, the Sustainable Development Goals: a wide range of subjects can strengthen the sense of belonging to a community. However, a culture of peace cannot be imposed, even by means of education. It is developed and three ways of learning about other people contribute in a fundamental way: commemorating, recounting and educating.

Commemoration, first and foremost, because societies are like individuals: they can only look to the future by understanding the past.

The Yad Vashem Memorial was established in Israel in 1953, not only to honour the victims of the Holocaust but also, in the first instance, to find their names. The name of the memorial comes from Isaiah: "And to them I will give within my temple and its walls a memorial (Yad) and a name (Shem) that will endure forever." The Hall of Names features the names of each of the 4.8 million victims. Yad Vashem also honours the non-Jewish people who helped Jews to escape the Nazis, granting them the title of "Righteous Among the Nations". 4,055 French citizens have been given this official title, although there were many more who helped the Jews during the war. Because of them and the commitment of a number of Catholic and Protestant religious authorities, three quarters of the French Jewish community survived the Holocaust.

Honouring these anonymous heroes contributes both to the remembrance of the victims and to the culture of peace, because it reminds us that, at any time, it is possible to choose peace and to continue to embody its values (particularly the value of solidarity).

Furthermore, although the slogan of "never again" was widespread after the Holocaust, genocides continue to this day. They have taken other forms and have targeted other populations. The teaching of history is an essential part of the fight against the genocidal phenomenon, to truly understand it and to identify the signs so as to be able to calm tensions between communities as soon as they appear.

Testimony: a meeting of minds is at the heart of any genuine peace. It seems vital to create safe places in which people can share their stories, free of any prejudice. In France, associations set

up meetings between migrants and the inhabitants of the regions which welcome them to foster the intercultural dialogue which is necessary for peace.

Lastly, education: school is not necessarily the best place in which to teach peace because it can be difficult to interest children and teenagers in such a subject. Moreover, the national education system cannot cure all of society's ills. Education about peace is often informal and is taught by children's parents and families. They pass on the essential values of living peacefully together to their children, starting with the importance of respect for other people. Nevertheless, family breakdowns are increasingly common, making this work difficult.

However, civil society as a whole can also contribute to this informal education. For example, in Tunisia in 2010, after the Arab Spring, in a society which was increasingly divided between conservatives and secular citizens, a new model of citizenship had to be established. In schools, there was no textbook on human rights or the purpose of citizenship. Justice, freedom and the rule of law are not enough to ensure a peaceful society: they are merely the means with which to develop this new model of citizenship which is needed for peaceful co-existence. Associations were created work on education programmes on citizenship, using workshops and meetings to tackle topics as diverse as non-violent conflict management, prioritising communication in all situations and intercultural dialogue. Their work focused on seeing other people as a positive for every member of society, rather than as a threat to the identity of an individual or a population.

Thus, the building of peace begins with the exemplary role played by every citizen who maintains an everyday open-mindedness about other people with regard to commemoration, testimony and education and ends at the highest level: since 2000, the United Nations has worked to establish an international culture of peace and non-violence. This work is based on a definition accepted by its 193 member states: "The culture of peace can be defined as a set of values, attitudes and behaviours which reject violence and which promote conflict prevention by addressing the root causes and by solving problems through dialogue and negotiation between people, groups and nations."

A culture of peace is well founded but in a world in which the culture of war is omnipresent in international relations, we must continue to promote it.

Some parts of France have become "ghettos". How can we encourage education for peace in a school, for example, in such a situation?

In some French schools, 90% of children are of North African or African descent. In the total absence of diversity, how can these children feel French? Before we can even begin to encourage dialogue, we must start by preventing any kind of separation.

03.

THE TALKS:

WORKING FOR PEACE

SPEECHES BY RAMÓN LUIS VALCÁRCEL SISO, NICOLE AMELINE AND ANILORE BANON

7 June 2018, 9.45am - 10.30am, Plenary room

Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso, Vice-President of the European Parliament, reminded us that Normandy is an area which is naturally associated with the ideals of freedom and peace. On 6 June 2014, France, Germany, Ukraine and Russia met at the Château de Bénouville to lay the foundations for a cease-fire in Ukraine; the ensuing negotiations were the result of the Normandy Format, proof of the region's symbolic strength.

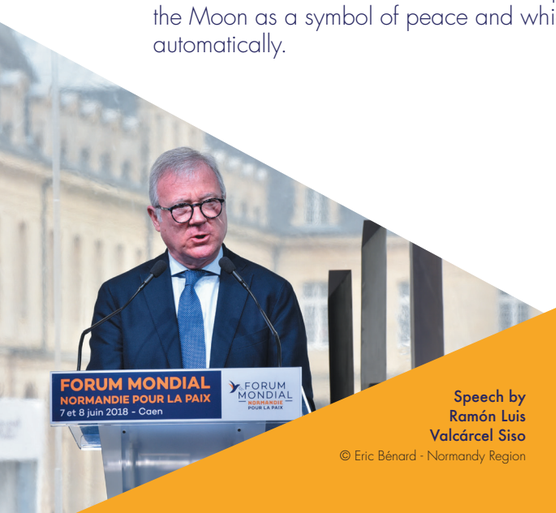
The creation of the European Union has contributed to the establishment of a truly long-lasting peace among its member states, which is unique on a global scale. The prospect of joining this group has contributed to the democratic transformation of Southern and Central European countries by encouraging their leaders to focus on European quality of life. This contribution to peace was recognised in December 2012 when the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

However, the challenges facing the European Union and its neighbouring countries are numerous: conflicts in the South and East, global warming, globalisation, crime, migration, cyber attacks and disinformation are just some of the issues which European institutions must address. That's why the European Union has recently adopted an ambitious policy of permanent defence cooperation and has developed a specific fund to enable members states to invest together in their security. In the Balkans, it has tried to replicate the model which brought about its renaissance at the end of the Second World War.

In this context, the European Parliament is thrilled to contribute to the founding of the Normandy World Peace Forum.

Nicole Ameline, a member of the United Nations Committee on Women's Rights, said that fundamental rights are both a universal platform for civilisations and a force for peace. This Forum is held in a region which, 74 years ago, saw some of the fiercest fighting during the Second World War; we must never forget this catastrophe nor the events which preceded it. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals provide a plan of action for everyone to live in peace and prosperity on a healthy planet. In a world in which threats continue to intensify, multilateralism is more important than ever.

The sculptor Anilore Banon, who created the sculpture called Les Braves on Omaha Beach, has worked on the Vitae project for ten years. In response to the terror created by multiple attacks, she is working to bring humanity together in a symbolic way with a lunar sculpture project which will be seen from Earth. Made from shape-memory materials, the structure, which will be left on the Moon as a symbol of peace and which will feature a million hand prints, will open and close automatically.



Speech by Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso
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Jean-Pierre Raffarin
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LEADERS FOR PEACE

7 June 2018, 12 - 12.30pm, Plenary room

Jean-Pierre Raffarin, former French Prime Minister and President of Leaders for Peace, remarked that if war breaks out, the factors of peace diminish and peace is not taught. Yet peace requires work and is a scientific and strategic process which is difficult to develop. The word "war" should not be trivialised.

When founded, Leaders for Peace was based on three fundamental principles. Firstly, it was founded in response to the challenge of multilateralism: some thirty committed individuals, each with significant expertise, each representing his or her own country and each sufficiently detached to be able to play a role in ensuring genuine multilateralism. The second principle was educational, with the aim of mobilising public opinion and providing clear explanations of crises, such as the Mexican crisis or the Turkish crisis. An annual report is published on specific crises because without awareness of war, nothing can be done to build peace. Lastly, the third principle is that of influence; Leaders for Peace aims to be able to present any ideas which are developed to world leaders.

We must all understand that peace requires an effort and that if public opinion does not appreciate the importance of peace, it may not be able to recognise the advent of war in the future. Peace must be developed collectively, particularly by a community of peacemakers.

GLOBAL PEACE INDEX

8 June 5pm - 5.25pm, Plenary room

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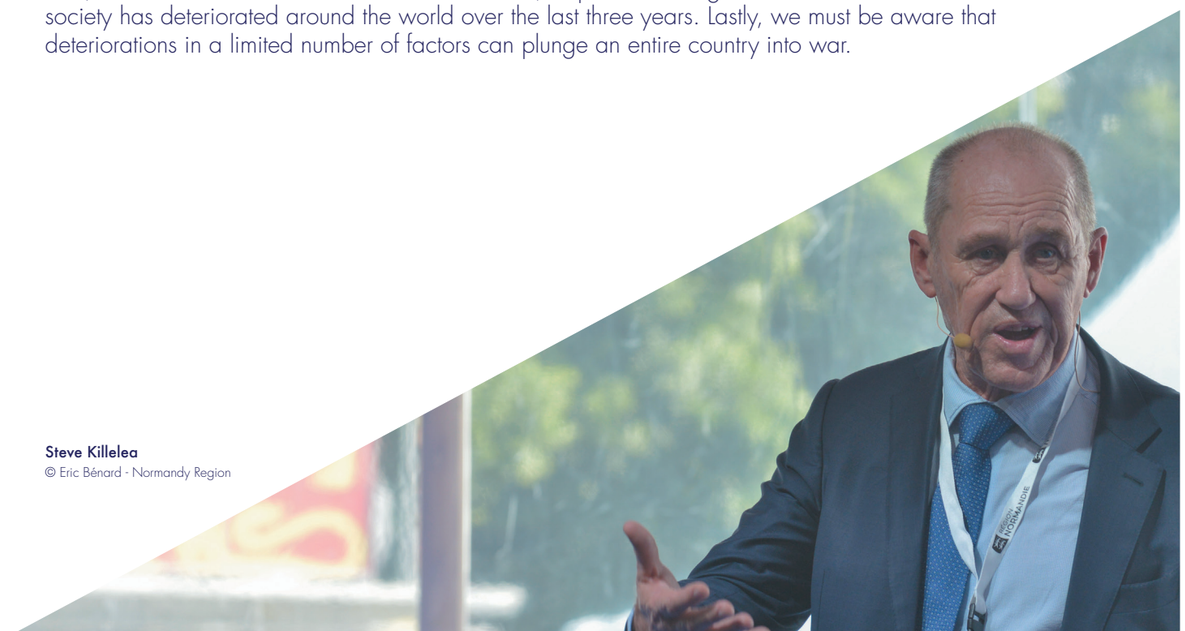
Steve Killelea, founder and President of the Institute for Economics and Peace, founded this body in 2007 to measure the relative level of peace in 163 countries, covering 99.7% of the world's population. To do so, it uses the Global Peace Index which is based on 23 criteria, split into three categories (international conflicts, domestic security, level of militarisation).

Europe is currently the most peaceful area in the world but the continent's results are beginning to crumble. In contrast, Africa and the Middle East are the most violent regions. Overall, the index is down 0.27% in 2018, the fourth consecutive year of decline. 71 countries saw an improvement in their index, while 92 saw their situation worsen. In particular, Syria was lowest on the index and Qatar and the Democratic Republic of Congo have seen the sharpest deterioration. By contrast, Iceland remains the most peaceful nation.

Over the last ten years, the average level of peace has declined by 2.8% and in more than half of European countries. In particular, 62% of countries have experienced an increase in terrorism and 1% of the world's population is now considered to be refugees. In contrast, military expenditure has dropped in 119 countries and the number of countries at war overall is decreasing. However, the number of conflict victims has increased dramatically (+264%), reflecting an intensification of conflicts.

The economic cost of violence is estimated to be 12.4% of the global GDP. Indeed, the ten countries which have been most affected by violence recorded a 45% increase in the cost of this violence relative to their GDP. It must be understood that 1% of the cost of violence in the world is equivalent to the world's entire budget for development aid. Another statistic: countries which have enjoyed peace for 60 years have recorded an income growth per capita of 1.5% above average.

Elements which characterise a peaceful society (distribution of resources, level of corruption, free flow of information, relations with neighbouring countries, respect for the rights of others, human capital) were defined to develop an index which measures different countries' potential in terms of peace. This predictive index has seen improvements over the past decade but appears to have stalled in the past three years. The situation has deteriorated most significantly in the Middle East, North Africa and South America. In addition, respect for the rights of others within the same society has deteriorated around the world over the last three years. Lastly, we must be aware that deteriorations in a limited number of factors can plunge an entire country into war.



Steve Killelea
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Hervé Morin and Tun Khin
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NORMANDY'S CALL TO STOP THE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE ROHINGYA PEOPLE

8 June 2018, 12pm - 12.45pm, Plenary room

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Moderator:

- **Boštjan Videmšek,** journalist and author, war reporter and foreign correspondent, European Young Leader (EYL 40)

Speakers:

- **Hervé Morin,** President of the Normandy Region and Regions of France, former French Minister of Defence
- **Philippe Bolopion,** Deputy Director of Advocacy at Human Rights Watch
- **Tun Khin,** President of Burmese Rohingya UK (BROUK)

Since Burma's independence in 1962, the west of the country has resembled an open-air prison in which the Rohingya are deprived of their nationality and their fundamental rights. The current conflict, which began in 2016, has led to the situation worsening. Following the attack on police stations and border posts by armed groups of rebel Rohingya, the Burmese authorities responded disproportionately by burning entire villages, massacring people and using rape as a weapon of war. Nearly 700,000 Rohingya had to leave Burma in the following weeks and have since been moved to refugee camps in Bangladesh. But since then, the international media seems to have forgotten this conflict.

Sittwe, in the west of the country, is now a ghost town in which entire neighbourhoods, which were previously inhabited by the Rohingya, are now in decay. It is surrounded by camps guarded by the Burmese army. In these camps, the Rohingya are locked up in inhumane conditions and are treated as second-class citizens.

The situation is all the more shocking as Burmese society and authorities acknowledge their racism with regard to the Rohingya and their desire to encourage their exile. In these circumstances, the intervention of the international community is essential to prevent the long-term demise of this population. Aung San Suu Kyi, the former opponent of the military regime and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is now a fallen icon in the eyes of human rights defenders.

In the face of the international community's indifference to this troubling situation, participants at the Normandy World Peace Forum appealed for an end to the violence against the Rohingya.

Hubert Dejean de la Batie, students from Cherbourg's Lycée Thomas Hélye, Zoé Marcelet and Tanina Tala Ighil, Walk the (Global) Walk's Public Award, and Jacques Rao, Advisor to the President of the French National Committee for UNESCO.

FINAL EVENT OF WALK THE (GLOBAL) WALK

7 June 2018, 1pm - 4pm, Plenary room

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are an inconsistent feature in the educational programmes of the various European states and are all too often unknown to young people. Based on this observation, the Walk the (Global) Walk programme aims to develop a peace culture and to promote the SDGs through human rights and citizenship education.

Local authorities in twelve European states (France, Italy, Croatia, Greece, Portugal, Wales, Scotland, Cyprus, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania and Bulgaria) will implement educational programmes in their schools until 2021, with the support of associations and non-governmental organisations.

Supported by the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, the 2017-2018 edition which launched the programme in Normandy was a genuine success; 850 secondary school students and apprentices worked on 33 class projects on the Sustainable Development Goals, learning more about them during the process.

Seven initiatives were chosen to be presented at the final event of Walk the (Global) Walk. This was held during the 2018 Normandy World Peace Forum; the aim was to showcase pupils' projects, in front of a panel of judges with relevant expertise in the programme's subjects.

A panel of judges, including Denis Rolland (Rector of the Académie de Caen), Sophie Chaussi (Co-Chair of Le Graine), Hubert Dejean de La Batie (Vice-President of the Normandy Region, in charge of the environment), Caroline Guillaume (Regional Director of Food, Agriculture and Forestry), Christine Lazerges (President of the National Consultative Commission on Human Rights) and Jacques Toubon (human rights defender), considered seven projects presented as part of the Walk the (Global) Walk initiative. The panel of judges endeavoured to assess the initiatives while considering the strength of their message, the reasoning behind them, the group's stage presence and the quality and originality of the group's performance.

The Innovation Award was presented by Hubert Dejean de La Batie, Vice-President of the Region in charge of the environment, and Jacques Toubon, human rights defender, to the young people studying a high-level sports course at Lycée Porte Océane in Le Havre on the subject of gender equality. The focus was on the gender wage gap, particularly in the world of sport. This project wasn't always easy; some secondary school students had to overcome the initial misogynistic comments of their classmates. But the process helped boys and girls to overcome their differences and to develop mutual respect. In particular, a day on the theme of gender diversity helped to change attitudes.

The Action Learning Award was presented by the President of the National Consultative Commission on Human Rights to the project by students at the Lycée Alain Chartier in Bayeux on gender inequality. The purpose of the project was to raise awareness and to show the importance of inequality in all areas, at all ages and at all levels.

The Best Video Presentation Award was presented by Yacine Ait Kaci, author, transmedia artist, director and producer, to representatives from the class studying for a BTS in Technical Sales at the CFA NaturaPôle in Mont-Saint-Aignant on the subject of tomorrow's world of equality. The project focused on educating children aged 8 to 14.

Lastly, secondary schools and apprentice training centres were acknowledged for their commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals.

In the wake of the successful 2017-2018 edition, the next edition of Walk the (Global) Walk will focus on the United Nations' eleventh Sustainable Development Goal, "sustainable cities and communities". The final event will he held during the Normandy World Peace Forum.

IRAN, KOREA, BREXIT: AN AWAKENING FOR EUROPE?

7 June 2018, 5pm - 5.30pm, Plenary room

Moderator:

- **Gérard Grizbec,** senior reporter for France 2's foreign service

Speakers:

- **Hubert Védrine,** former French Minister of Foreign Affairs
- **Nicole Gnesotto,** Professor at CNAM, President of the Institute of Advanced National Defence Studies

Europe has experienced two awakenings. The first was particularly surprising. Like all others, European states have experienced the increasingly fast pace of global politics. Never before have we seen so many events affecting the international structure in such a short time (the Arab Spring in 2011, the war in Syria in 2013, the Ukrainian conflict in 2014, the waves of terrorist attacks since 2015, the diplomatic rapprochement of the two Koreas in early 2018, among others). Europe is utterly flabbergasted, having existed for sixty years under the illusion that the United States policed the world.

The second has raised questions of identity. It has come in the wake of the shock of Brexit, proof of the reversibility of the process to build the European Union, and the election of Donald Trump, who demonstrates how our American ally can threaten European interests. Although this awareness is real and a specific European identity is emerging, it remains to be seen whether Europe's identity-based awakening can last in the long term.

It should be noted that there is a chasm between pro-European elites and the people who want to be in charge of their own identity, sovereignty and security. Given the risks, some of the European elites are in denial, as evidenced by recent European expansion projects supported by the European Commission. By contrast, other leaders believe that Europe must reform in order to be able to influence global events again. In the face of the threat of the demise of the very idea of Europe, we must demonstrate the utility of Europe to citizens who have become sceptical. This demonstration must focus, first and foremost, on controlling migratory flows, a major link between internal turmoil and external crises.

Indeed, Europe finds itself in the front line when it comes to refugees and political migration, a subject which it has chosen to overlook for 60 years. It is also a major casualty of the consequences of the Syrian crisis (mass immigration, terrorism, etc.). Similarly, it continues to suffer the consequences of catastrophic American policies (Iraq, Iran and others). To fight against these concerns, which include the migration crisis, terrorism, ageing populations and income inequalities, Europe must manage the refugee crisis in a spirit of solidarity, by ensuring that refugee resettlement is a shared issue. Yet today, a number of Eastern European countries have closed their borders. Would it not be appropriate for European economic solidarity to be subject to political conditions, particularly with regard to the welcoming of refugees? The creation of an "Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons" could also be a solution to enable the standardisation of asylum rights and conditions for granting asylum in Europe.

Furthermore, the gravity of the migration crisis also requires the strengthening of Europe's external borders and the differentiation between asylum seekers and economic migrants. Among other steps, this would include the development of a joint approach to manage the flow of economic migrants, working with their countries of departure.

Lastly, beyond the issue of migration, it is hard to refute the fact that Europe was built for the "winners" of globalisation. The establishment of genuine social policies could be a second way to demonstrate the utility of Europe to sceptical citizens.

Nicole Gnesotto, Gérard Grizbec and Hubert Védrine
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Frédérique Bedos and Lassana Bathily
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PERSONAL ACCOUNT BY LASSANA BATHILY, WITH FRÉDÉRIQUE BEDOS

7 June 2018, 6.45pm - 7.15pm, Plenary room

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Lassana Bathily, survivor of the hostage taking in Porte de Vincennes on 9 January 2015

When the terrorist entered the shop, I was in the stock room, tidying boxes. I heard a noise. When I saw customers rushing down the stairs, I realised that I had heard shots. I immediately thought it was a robbery, given that there had been another robbery six months ago. It was only when a colleague came down to collect the keys to the shop, at the request of the terrorist, that I understood the real nature of the attack.

I called my colleague who worked in another Hyper Cacher in Vincennes and my "sponsor" to tell them to call the police. The hostages then asked me if there was an emergency exit but I thought it was too risky to take them to it. After spending ten minutes trying to calm the hostages, I hid six people, including a baby, in a cold room, then I used the lift to leave the premises and to warn the police. The terrorist heard me and gave chase but he failed to catch me.

I ran towards the police. Initially, they thought I was one of the terrorist's accomplices, until my colleagues identified me. I was able to give them a lot of useful information, particularly about the shop's layout, and I gave them the key for the shop's iron shutter, which the terrorist had closed.

After these tragic events, I was interviewed many times. I was shocked by reporters who asked me if, as a Muslim, I had hesitated to save Jews. I pointed out that I had saved lives. I feel that questions like this are likely to stoke hatred between communities and religions. We must all be aware that there are good and bad people in all religions, just as there are in every family.

This attack changed my life. I am seen as a role model. I can't make any mistakes now! However, I published a book after the attack, called "Je ne suis pas un héros" (I Am Not A Hero). I believe that I simply acted like a good citizen. In my opinion, the real heroes are the people who have fought for peace and justice. Nelson Mandela is a hero of mine.

Given that terrorists seek to separate us, we must show that we are stronger than they are. We must continue to live normally, to work, to enjoy life, not to hide ourselves away. In addition, I speak in schools and alongside charitable associations which campaign for peaceful co-existence.

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The Region's senior management for making this event a success.

The 5,000 people who came to discuss, learn, explore and debate the issues at this first edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum.

NORMANDIE POUR LA PAIX

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