

5th
EDITION



THE ESSENTIALS

SEPTEMBER 23 & 24, 2022

 **WORLD
FORUM**
- **NORMANDY** -
FOR PEACE



DOWN WITH THE WALLS!

THESE CONFINEMENTS
THAT MAKE WARS



RÉGION
NORMANDIE



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**Writing, graphic design
and editorial layout:**

JMLC (Jean-Michel Le Calvez and Thierry Piers)

Photography: Noémie Berthet - Adobe Stock -
PoolPhoto-NPP : Eric Biernacki (Normandy Region), Arnaud
Tinel, Nicolas Broquedis

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Notice to readers

This book is a compilation of the summaries of the proceedings of the 5th Normandy World Peace Forum. Comments made during this event are not the official viewpoints of the Normandy Region and do not reflect its position. Summaries are not scientific articles. They present the different points of view and the key elements identified in each proceeding.

'Down with the walls! These confinements that make wars'.

It was on this topic, at the heart of current events, that the discussions of the Normandy World Peace Forum took place on 23 and 24 September 2022 at the Abbaye aux Dames in Caen. The 5th Normandy World Peace Forum took place against a particularly dramatic international backdrop, characterised above all by the conflict currently taking place in Ukraine. The consequences of this war, combined with those of the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, pose major risks of destabilisation for the rest of the world, particularly in terms of food and the economy. The 5th annual event was once again a chance for reflection and exchange, an opportunity to think about the world of tomorrow, thanks to the numerous speakers -

political figures, representatives of international institutions, geopolitical experts and members of civil society - but also thanks to the members of the public who took part. This year the Forum offered, in addition to the plenaries and debates which are at the heart of the Forum, activities dedicated to families in the Peace Village, such as live shows, exhibitions, fun workshops and testimonies. We hope that this compilation will make the discussions of this 5th Forum accessible to everyone.

Summaries of the plenaries and debates, as well as interviews and summaries of the key moments of the Forum have been compiled in order to transport you to the heart of this event, supported by the Normandy Region.

The Normandy World Peace Forum in figures:



The Forum has brought together thousands of participants, including **more than 1,500 young people**, who came to attend the plenaries and debates, including 4 dedicated to the youth, as well as exhibitions, workshops and other highlights of this Forum.



157 panellists from 27 countries took part in the Normandy World Peace Forum, either face-to-face or by video conference.



Finally, the Forum is supported by **24 debate partners** and the Peace Village, as well as committed entrepreneurs who share the goal of preventing conflict, breaking down walls and building peace.

Happy reading and see you next year!

The Normandy Region

Find the recordings of the Forum plenaries and the latest from Normandy for Peace throughout the year on the website, normandiepourlapaix.fr

NORMANDY FOR PEACE

at a glance



The Normandy for Peace initiative was born of the Region's desire to continue the major work of remembrance carried out since 1945 in Normandy in order to become a test bed for lasting peace.

Normandy for Peace has 4 main axes, each covering several topics which are present throughout the year in the actions of Normandy for Peace and the projects built with its partners.

A SERIES OF INITIATIVES THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS, SYMPOSIA, SEMINARS, UNIVERSITY EXCHANGES, ARTISTIC CREATIONS... : THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, NORMANDY FOR PEACE GIVES RISE TO MANY ACTIONS ORGANIZED BY THE NORMANDY REGION AND ITS PARTNERS.

> 4 MAJOR THEMES <



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
CAMPUS



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
RESOURCES



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
DIALOGUE



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
CULTURE AND SCIENCES

> TOPICS PROMOTED BY <



THE FORUM



THE EVENTS



THE NETWORK

A look back

The Origin of the Normandy Chair for Peace

During the World Forum and throughout the year, initiatives, designated projects and events highlight the values of peace and freedom that Normandy holds dear.

The 'Normandy for Peace' days of 23 & 24 March 2017

introduced the Normandy for Peace initiative and proposed several debates on the topic 'A world without peace?'

As a result of the Launch of the Normandy for Peace initiatives,

the Region supports local projects or projects linked to Normandy in order to promote the universal values of peace and freedom. The actions supported are given the label Normandy for Peace.

The Launch of the Normandy Chair of Excellence for Peace

in partnership with the CNRS and the University of Caen Normandy. The Normandy Chair of Excellence for Peace is dedicated to topics at the heart of contemporary issues: peace, environment and the rights of future generations.

The First publication of the European Parliament's Normandy Index.

This index measures levels of conflict on a global scale, country by country, year by year.

The 2nd Normandy World Peace Forum on 4 June 2019.

Three plenary plenaries and 30 debates brought together 6,000 visitors, including 2,500 young people on the topic 'Peacemakers'.

The 75th anniversary of the Normandy landings

The Normandy Region has widened the scope of projects supported this year through the call for initiatives to include memorial and historical projects related to the Second World War.

The End of the European Programme Walk, The Global Walk and launch of the regional initiative ECHO

This educational programme, implemented by the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, has enabled a thousand high school students in Normandy to commit to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) throughout the school year.

The 4th Normandy World Peace Forum On 30 Sept & 1 October 2021

on the topic of 'World Peace and Global Security: How to Govern Peace?'. The fourth Forum met on 30 September and 1 October, with nearly 7,000 participants, including 4,000 young people, involved in 22 debates and 2 plenaries as well as a cultural evening.

2017

2018

2019

2020

2021

2022

The Launch of the Freedom Prize

The 1st Normandy World Peace Forum
on 7 & 8 June 2018

Development of year-round events

The Launch of the Parliamentarians for Peace initiative

The 3rd Normandy World Peace Forum
on 1 October 2020

Normandy P4

During the Forum, the Normandy Region, in cooperation with the Indian think tank, Strategic Foresight Group and the Geneva Center for Security Policy, organised an international round table on global security issues. In order to advance the ideas of the Normandy Peace Manifesto among the opinion makers of four of the permanent member states of the UN Security Council, the 'Normandy P4' initiative was launched to bring together experts from France, the UK, the US and China to address the long-term challenges of global security, nuclear disarmament and the reduction of the risks to human civilisation from weapons of mass destruction.

The Seminar on Russia with the Collège des Bernardins.

The Normandy Region hosted a seminar organised by the Collège des Bernardins which brought together Russian and European experts. It focused on the future of democracy in Russia in the context of the increasing control of Vladimir Putin's regime over Russian society, from the media to the universities. The seminar was held over the course of three round tables which examined Russian consciousness in relation to its past, the conditions for memorial justice and the future of the rule of law in Russia.

The 5th Normandy World Peace Forum

on 23 & 24 September 2022

with the theme 'Down with the walls!' The 5th Forum involved 9,000 participants on 23 and 24 September, including 4,500 young people taking part in 2 plenary conferences, 17 debates and workshops for the general public, 4 youth workshops and 2 screenings for young people, 2 closed sessions and a continuous programme in the Peace Village.

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THE PLENARY CONFERENCES:

UNDERSTANDING MAJOR ISSUES

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Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region:

'Everyone is very worried'

« Hello everyone and thank you for your concern about my health. I'm getting better and better and, honestly, if it wasn't for the health regulations that require me to spend seven days in quarantine, I would be with you. I confess: it is a heartbreaker not to be at the Normandy World Peace Forum today! We set up this project together. It is a great adventure and today we are celebrating the 5th Forum. Without being chauvinistic at all, this event is worth at least as much as the Paris Peace Forum in terms of the quality of the debates, its exchanges and the significant figures who are present. Without François-Xavier Priollaud, nothing would happen. I would like to tell the audience that without him we would not have the energy to organise such a packed and well-organised event. Thank you for your presence every year. Thanks also to the European and International Affairs Department of the Normandy Region. Thank you to the more than 150 employees of the Region, many of whom are volunteers and decided to commit themselves to making this Forum

happen. Thanks to them. So, when you love your community, you benefit from public servants who are fully committed! Thanks also to the two great figures of French geopolitics, Nicole Gnesotto and Bertrand Badie, who provide us with their insights to help build the programme each year. Finally, thank you all and thank you to those I have not mentioned - please forgive me. I shall not spoil the wonderful introduction that is to follow, but I would like to remind you that three years ago, through the topic of 'peacemakers', it was explained that most conflicts and major crises were no longer linked to states but had sub-state causes. This analysis was of course linked to religious conflicts, digital wars and, probably tomorrow, food wars.

'The word yesterday was that peacemakers go far beyond the state. But the Ukrainian crisis has brought us back to a truth that we thought had passed: right now, there can still be severe and intense conflicts on the continent of Europe.'

It is all about the big questions

This situation brings us back to the pattern of civil wars, where one nation wants to impose the law of the strongest on the other nation. Faced with this, we have some major questions and this 5th Forum will attempt to answer them. As a result of this war, the international system is in great danger and, consequently, also the



1945 Charter. At the same time, I believe that part of the West has also been an actor in the crisis of multilateralism, by not always respecting what we had built together. It is a return to the logic of the blocs. No one imagined a future like this. It was thought that globalisation and the fall of the Soviet Union would change all that. However, we are seeing the emergence of this bloc logic again, but with a major difference. Russia is aggressive, but now there is also China, a major international player, which wants peace because trade, as a rule, does not align with war. Russian aggression also raises the question of nuclear power.

'I believe, unless I am mistaken, that, apart from perhaps the Cuban crisis, this is the first time that a nuclear power has brandished this terrible threat, which would lead to the annihilation of the planet through the use of a weapon which should never be used.'

As I just mentioned, the only previous time this danger was global was during the Cuban missile crisis. The leaders of the time had lived through the Second World War, which brought them to their senses both culturally and intellectually. Today, that is no longer the case. We need leaders who have strong nerves and cold blood, who are not romantics because this is a complicated, dangerous period. I heard the message earlier in the recap of last year that the state of peace is not natural. But with the war in Ukraine, the feeling prevails that we are not that far from the abyss. I don't want to be pessimistic. But let's admit that everyone is very worried... In this situation, how do we Europeans react and what is Europe doing? Will she finally take her destiny into her hands and live up to it? We can say that we stood together this time, that we held on and that we were more courageous than we could have imagined. Was it the courage of cowards?

I know that at some point we will have to put proper security architecture on the table. Yesterday, a brilliant intellectual mentioned the weakness of France's support for Ukraine on these issues. The former Secretary General of NATO also asked this question, which means that we have to think through our military repositioning.

Taking education, culture and democracy as remedies

I would like to end with a message to the young people of Normandy of whom there are so many here today in Caen, as well as those who are listening to us and watching us remotely across France. At a time when so many of our compatriots, in France and elsewhere, are sometimes attracted by the new Robespierre, the new Marat, the new Saint-Just, I would like to say this to them: behind these questions of peace for which we do not necessarily have all the answers, of course, education and culture are essential in order to be able to respect others, to appreciate otherness and to understand it. I believe that democracy is the greatest possible protector of peace because it is the people who decide between hell and peace. It is the people who ultimately decide their future.

'The belligerent countries in the current crises are all under the rule or dominion of autocrats and dictators, who have forgotten that nothing, absolutely nothing, is worth sacrificing tens and tens of thousands of young people on a battlefield.'

Today, only democracy can still guarantee us the security and peace we desire. Never forget how lucky we are that France is still a democracy. Thank you and have a nice day!

WALLS, OBSTACLES TO PEACE

Conference No. 1 | Friday 23 September 2022 | 09:30 AM - 11:30 AM | Plenary Room



Rony Brauman, Bertrand Badie, Sophie Beau, Pierre Micheletti, Frédérique Bedos and François-Xavier Priollaud

More than 1,200 people attended the opening of the Normandy World Peace Forum 2022, whose first conference entitled, ‘Walls, Obstacles to Peace’ highlighted the physical, political and ideological barriers to peace. The seriousness of the international situation was strongly emphasised by the speakers, whose concern is commensurate with the current situation.

Although less prevalent than in previous years, Covid-19 made its presence felt again on the 5th occasion of the Normandy World Peace Forum. Having contracted the virus, the President of the Normandy Region, Hervé Morin, gave his inaugural speech by video conference (read page 10). Nevertheless, the event was held with no mask mandate to the delight of the large audience, who attended both in person and remotely via YouTube and the social networks that attract more and more Internet users each year. The event began with the testimony of a previous speaker, Mohamed ElBaradei Nobel Peace Prize 2005, former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) (read page 19). His speech, which was ominously topical in the wake of the war in Ukraine, alluded to the nuclear threat from Vladimir Putin.

The origins of walls

Bertrand Badie, Professor Emeritus of universities, was then invited to cover the different themes of this first conference in his opening remarks. The expert in international relations explained that, in a globalised world, separation is, in essence, belligerent and a source of misunderstanding, enclosure, exclusion, fragility and transgression. He expressed concern about the paradox that the more humanity progresses, the more walls are created. True, the Great Wall of China may be a thousand years old, but it was erected to protect against invasion, not to prevent movement. *‘Throughout history, we’ve gone from defensive walls to offensive walls’*. For Bertrand Badie, in a world of communication where 3,000 billion dollars are exchanged every day, building a wall



Bertrand Badie

makes no sense. It is explained above all by fear, with the consequence of locking oneself into this fear and, ultimately, *‘denying the other person until you suffocate’*.

The example of the ‘We ask you to take out your greatest pickaxe – the one that comes from the depth of your humanity – to break down these walls that are a perpetual source of wars, violence and conflicts’.

Bertrand Badie

Israeli-Palestinian conflict

In the first round table, Elias Sanbar, a diplomat and writer, spoke about the Israeli Palestinian wall, the name of which he refutes. *‘It is an Israeli wall that’s been imposed on Palestine, the purpose of which is annexation, not separation’*. He points to the mobile structure of the building which can be moved like Lego. *‘This wall moves and swallows up even more earth. From its conception, its construction was*

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE:

- **Bertrand Badie**, Professor Emeritus of the universities, Sciences Po

MODERATOR AND FACILITATORS:

- **Frédérique Bedos**, Founding President of the NGO, the Imagine Project
- **François-Xavier Priollaud**, Vice-President of the Normandy Region

SPEAKERS:

- **Paolo Artini**, Representative for France and Monaco, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
- **Sophie Beau**, Co-founder of the European sea rescue association SOS MEDITERRANEE and director general of the association’s French branch
- **Rony Brauman**, former President of Médecins Sans Frontières. President of the 2022 Freedom Prize Jury.
- **Farhad Khosrokhavar**, Professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (EHESS)
- **Pierre Micheletti**, President of Action Contre la Faim (ACF). Former President of Médecins du Monde.
- **Claude Quézel**, historian at CNRS. Former Scientific Director of the Caen Memorial
- **Elias Sanbar**, former Palestinian Ambassador to UNESCO (2005-2021)
- **Jean-Claude Samouiller**, Chairman of Amnesty International France
- **Charles Enderlin**, French-Israeli journalist
- **Hervé Morin**, President of the Normandy Region and former Minister of Defence, France

to absorb what remained of the territory devolved to Palestine’. Strong words from a speaker who participated in the peace negotiations, in the late 1980s and was a participant in the Madrid Conference¹.

Charles Enderlin, a French-Israeli journalist,

¹ First attempt in 1991 by the international community to start a peace process in the Middle East through negotiations involving Israel and Arab countries including Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. The conference succeeded in fostering peace talks that led to the 1993 Oslo Accords and the 1994 Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty.

recalls that *'the wall was created at the time of Ariel Sharon, at the beginning of the 2000s, for security reasons, but above all for demographic reasons, by separating the Palestinian populations of the West Bank from the Israeli Arab population'*. He believes, like Elias Sanbar, that the current situation benefits the Israeli annexationist right. *'60% of the West Bank territory is now totally under Israeli control where the settlement policy continues, with over half a million Israelis living in the settlements. The rest of the territory, the majority of the Palestinian population, is led by Mahmoud Abbas with a police force whose role is to fight against Hamas and against terrorism, and to cooperate with the Israeli security services. It is an occupation, absolutely'*. On the other hand, his views differ as regards the solutions to get out of the rut of this conflict. *'I think Elias Sanbar won't agree with me, but I believe that we must simply dissolve the Palestinian Authority, which only serves to enable the occupation of the West Bank'*. The captivating debate then moved on to broader issues, including economic issues. *'As Charles Enderlin explained, the Israeli occupation doesn't just cost the Israelis nothing, but also makes them money. In Palestine, you even buy a box of matches from Israel'* says Elias Sanbar, underlining Israel's stranglehold on a Palestinian state that lives in part on European aid. *'These*



Elias Sanbar

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subsidies are delivered by Europe out of fear that the situation will turn sour. In a way, you, the European taxpayers, are financing the Israeli occupation'. When asked for their conclusions, both guests agreed on the lack of short-term solutions. Charles Enderlin noted that a large part of the American Jewish community is very much opposed to the Israeli annexationist policy, while Elias Sanbar called for secular negotiations, separate from religious issues. He maintained that *'the Palestinian state will have to resign itself to accepting the loss of part of its territory'* even though, according to author, *'all of Palestine is its homeland'*.

Regarding the history of walls

Historian and author of the book *'Murs, une autre histoire des hommes'*, Claude Quétel, alluded to those buildings across time that were mainly defensive walls, such as The Great Wall of China and the Roman Limes. As for the Berlin Wall, it is the ultimate political wall, which *'prevented exit rather than entry'*. In addition to the Israeli-Palestinian wall already mentioned,



Charles Enderlin (video) et Bertrand Badie

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necessarily all rich retirees – are said to live in 80,000 of these protected spaces in the United States. Alongside the favelas of Rio, entire cities have also been born on this concept. This phenomenon is in some ways reminiscent of increasingly *'secured and inward-looking'* real estate programmes in France, which the speaker compares to walls of segregation...

The border between law

'The fall of the Berlin Wall gave rise to a sense of hope. The one separating North and South Korea since 1953 has been forgotten. The Korean Wall, hypermilitarised and totally hermetic is, in a way, the living ancestor of the conflicting borders barred by walls that have continued to multiply to this day in India, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Cyprus and so on. Walls have a future. Especially as their purpose has diversified. Other families of walls have been born and are in the news today: the wall against terrorism, the wall against illegal immigration, the wall of segregation...'

Claude Quétel

and morality

What right do States have to control their borders at all costs? This question was the focus of the second round table of the morning. Paolo Artini, UNHCR Representative for France and Monaco, did not question the sovereign right of States to manage their borders and their migration policy, provided that they strictly respected fundamental human rights and,



Claude Quétel

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Claude Quétel also considered the one built between the United States and Mexico, the most widely publicised and internationally reviled. Known as the Tortilla Border, the world's longest barrier, 3,141 km long, was erected to try to stem illegal Mexican immigration, estimated at 500,000 migrants per year. Less well known, however, are the barriers at Ceuta and Melilla, built to block illegal immigration from white and black Africa to Europe. Claude Quétel also mentions the shift in illegal immigration routes: from Libya to Italy; from Cyprus and now from Turkey and Greece to the Balkans. Walls have been built in Hungary, Greece and Austria facing Slovenia. Brussels lets each Member State manage their own borders as if they were their own and not the Schengen area. The same is now true in the East. Poland, Lithuania and Latvia have decided to erect barriers against Belarus, which is accused of letting through large numbers of illegal immigrants from Afghanistan and Pakistan. *'Walls against illegal immigration are the clumsy response of the strong to the weak, the rich to the poor, the rich reacting to pressure from the poor. We must focus more on this cause than on its consequence'*, continues the former Scientific Director of the Caen Memorial. To conclude, Claude Quétel underlines the proliferation of gated communities, secure housing blocks. 8 million Americans – not

first and foremost, the right to life. Jean-Claude Samouiller, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Amnesty International, considers it unacceptable that 1,200 to 2,000 people die each year trying to cross the Mediterranean or that migrants from Libya, who are condemned to torture, forced labour or prostitution in their own country are turned back. As such, he calls for the intangible respect of the right to asylum, recognised by the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugee status and ratified by three quarters of the world's states. The latter also mentions 'administrative walls, i.e. policies designed to make it difficult and even prevent access to the territory for refugees' in an increasingly deleterious climate towards migrants. Using the example of the European solidarity that has welcomed 7 million Ukrainians, the speakers believe that evidence has shown that solutions are materially possible, castigating the increasingly unabashed populist and hateful discourse.

Bricks of suffering

The third round table of the morning focused on the suffering created by these walls against which the lives of men, women and children are shattered. Sophie Beau, co-founder of the sea rescue association, SOS Méditerranée, began her speech with



Jean-Claude Samouiller



Sophie Beau

a revealing figure: 20,000 migrants have drowned in the Mediterranean since 2014, the date when this macabre count began, not counting the victims of invisible shipwrecks. Recalling that her connection with this issue materialised because of the failure of the States which left search and rescue boats in port, the speaker expressed her concern about the trivialisation of these tragedies. She cites the example of a shipwreck of 130 people in 2021 that the media did not cover, explaining that it is becoming increasingly difficult to mobilise public opinion. Rony Brauman, former president of Médecins sans Frontières and President of the Jury of the the 2022 Freedom Prize of the Normandy World Peace Forum, recognises this passivity which he condemns, believing that 'we must not resign ourselves'. He recalls the European-funded Operation Mare Nostrum, which saved 100,000 human lives, hopelessly lost at sea in 2014. This action remains the largest rescue operation of all time, proving that actions are feasible, as soon as there is a humanistic political will, which is the antithesis of some of the comments heard during the last French presidential elections. In this respect, he challenges 'political correctness', including in the humanitarian field, using the example of the outcry caused by Amnesty

International which investigated abuses or forms of action adopted by the Ukrainian army or Ukrainian officials on the Ukrainian population, which the public did not want to hear...

Plea for a different kind of approach

Pierre Micheletti, President of Action Contre la Faim (ACF), testified about his experience on Palestinian territory. 'You don't return from Gaza unscathed. By this I mean that being immersed in a territory surrounded by walls and without hope is a machine for manufacturing violence'. He also invited the audience to consider the despair of those who leave their country and are aware of the risks they take in migrating, especially by crossing the Mediterranean. The NGO Representative addressed another wall: that of money. 'Global humanitarian aid represents 40 billion dollars, three quarters of which is provided by nation-states and international organisations, and the rest by the NGOs themselves'. If the financial aspect is part of the sinews of war to finance peace, Pierre Micheletti advocates another approach. 'Rather than erecting walls, or taking shelter



Pierre Micheletti

behind repressive operations, I advocate organising migration in a structured way with the governments of the countries of origin, the host countries, NGOs and the United Nations. I'm talking about seesaw migration, where people go to a country for several years and then return home armed with a nest egg and experience. This approach will make them agents of development in their country of origin'.

The wall of fanaticism

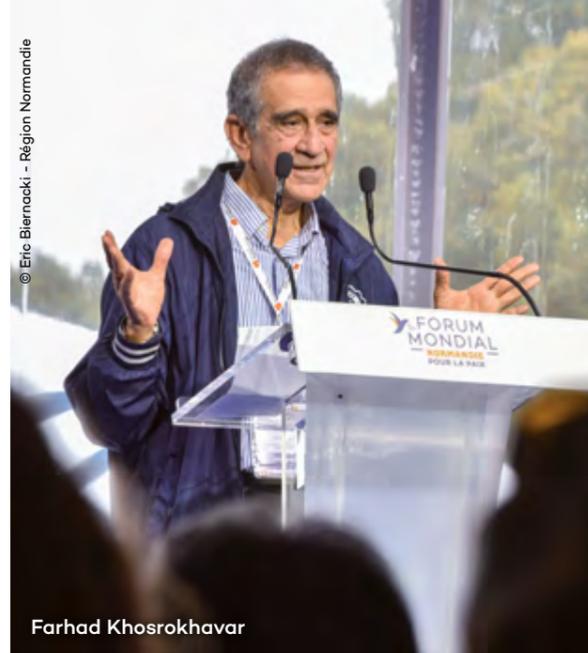
'We're told that we can no longer afford to fund the 40 billion dollars in global humanitarian aid, yet this amount represents only 10% of Amazon's turnover! At the same time, the richest countries spent 2,000 billion dollars on arms last year alone. As an association leader and a citizen, I can't accept this premise...'

Pierre Micheletti

Farhad Khosrokhavar closed the first conference. The expert on the most radical forms of Islam, who is a professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (EHESS), addressed the issue of the wall of fanaticism. However, he first recommended replacing these barriers with 'a dialogical space that is a kind of Limes, that is, a space where otherness and individual identity can somehow interact and bear the fruit of their dialogue'. Referring to destructive jihadism, he stresses that its mission is to demolish walls, not create the conditions of openness towards others, but to subdue and subjugate, even to put others to death. He observes in this fanaticism a fascination with death, linked to the

² What makes an individual unique constitutes a part of their identity by making them similar to themselves and different from anyone else.

despair of life in most cases, which itself results from humiliation and suffering, whether real or imaginary. Moreover, he noted that politics no longer exists in jihadism precisely because it is subsumed in a form of mortifying religiosity that is not at all a reproduction of traditional Islam. *'It is an invention of modernity that is, to a very large extent, influenced by the modern fascism and totalitarianism that originated in Europe, whether we like it or not. In jihadism there's also a form of neopatriarchal family worship, which is also the antithesis of our modern experience.'* Without trying to excuse terrorism in any way, Farhad Khosrokhavar believes that the dominant powers are also responsible for its emergence. This is especially the case when dominant classes repress communities, as in China, for example, with the Uyghurs. This was also true, according to him, when, from the 1950s to the 1970s, Europe brought in a workforce from North Africa, crammed into insalubrious and isolated neighbourhoods and stigmatised, with the result that many Muslims felt deeply unworthy.



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Farhad Khosrokhavar

'Walls don't just make it impossible to reach others, but also to reach ourselves. Understanding ourselves requires understanding of others. Hence, there's a part of our responsibility that we must calmly accept and understand before we accuse another and before we hurl accusations at them.'

Farhad Khosrokhavar

WORTH KNOWING

As an adjunct of the Normandy Peace Manifesto and the work of its originator, the President of the Indian think tank, *The Strategic Foresight Group*, Sundeep

Waleskar, a meeting was held at the Abbaye aux Dames on the eve of the opening of the Normandy World Peace Forum. The meeting brought together experts from four permanent members of the UN Security Council: China, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The experts from these four countries known as P4, explored possible ways of cooperating to combat the escalation of conflicts in the world. The meeting in Caen was the first in a series of meetings to be held in Normandy and Switzerland in conjunction with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. Its members, who were present at the first conference, were warmly applauded.



A WEAPON more invasive than dissuasive

Four Nobel Peace Prize winners participated in the 2019 edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, including Mohamed El Baradei, former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The latter spoke on video to introduce the first conference at a time when Vladimir Putin was posing a nuclear threat...



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Mohamed El Baradei (video)

'In 2019, when I took part in the formulation and issuance of the Normandy for Peace Manifesto, we had called for the creation of a new world order based on inclusion and equity. A new security paradigm based on dialogue, cooperation and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. We reiterated the call, from the Russell Einstein Manifesto, to renounce war before it ends the human race. Unfortunately, the situation hasn't improved since then. We're witnessing an unprecedented convergence of violence, polarisation, ultranationalism, inequality, famine and disease. We're becoming almost oblivious to these swords of Damocles hanging over our heads.'

Change the paradigm

The West has also failed to deliver on its promises to provide developing countries with the necessary funds - one hundred billion annually - to mitigate and adapt to the impact of climate change. This crisis is progressively decimating the world, especially the most vulnerable and poorest, who are the first victims of a crisis that they didn't cause. I'm thinking of Pakistan, Somalia, Ethiopia... There are more than 130 million people who are currently falling back into extreme poverty as a result of conflicts, wars, pandemics, climate degradation and geopolitical confrontations between the world's major powers. In this landscape, the United Nations Security Council is completely paralysed, al-

most devoid of any legitimacy. It is clear today that the world has become a darker place since we last met. Beyond self-pity, we need to ask the right questions. What can we do to change this situation? We need to change our mindset, to choose cooperation over confrontation. We also need to establish a collective security system based on equity and inclusion. There is clearly no place for weapons of mass destruction in this system. I remain confident that human genius and resilience will allow us to adapt to the realities of tomorrow. I only hope that we'll be able to act as soon as possible...'

'I think of the risk of nuclear weapons and the degradation of our environment while a war rages in Europe with no end in sight. There are nine nuclear powers that have no intention of disarming. Some even threaten to use this weapon...'

Mohamed El Baradei

BREAKING DOWN THE WALLS

Conference No. 2 | Saturday 24 September 2022 | 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM | Plenary Room



Xavier Driencourt, Nicole Gnesotto, Mahamadou Abou Tarka, Delphine O, Jean-François Di Meglio, Frédérique Bedos and François-Xavier Priollaud

Organised for the first time in its history on a Saturday, the 2nd conference of the Global Forum for Peace followed on from that of the previous day. After having touched on ‘the obstacles to peace’ yesterday, today the speakers endeavoured to show that solutions do exist, notably through dialogue, cooperation, diplomacy and education.

As a prelude to this second morning, the speech from the Minister of the Armed Forces, Sébastien Lecornu, confirms the influence of the Normandy World Peace Forum, if it even needed conformation. His speech took on a particular resonance as the war in Ukraine continues (read page 26).

Nicole Gnesotto, the Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute and Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM), was invited to set the tone for the day's discussions. She began by quoting the first sentence of a letter that Antonio Guterres, Secretary-

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE:

• **Sébastien Lecornu**, Minister of the Armed Forces

MODERATOR AND FACILITATORS:

- **Frédérique Bedos**, Producer, Director, Founder of the NGO Project Imagine
- **François-Xavier Priollaud**, Vice-President of the Normandy Region

SPEAKERS:

• **Mahamadou Abou Tarka**, President of the High Authority for Peace Consolidation (HACP)

• **Nicole Gnesotto**, Professor emeritus at CNAM, Vice-President of Jacques Delors Institute

• **Mohamed ElBaradei**, Nobel Peace Prize 2005 and former Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency (AEIA)

• **Benoit Thieulin**, Former Commercial Attaché at the French Embassy in Indonesia

• **Jean-François Di Meglio**, President of Asia Centre

• **Maxence Brischoux**, Author of "Trade and Force"

• **Hadja Idrissa Bah**, President of the Club des Jeunes Filles Leaders de Guinée

• **Delphine O**, Ambassador, Secretary General of the Forum Génération Egalité

• **Albin Rey**, Founder of the Ink for Peace initiative

• **Stéphane Raison**, Managing Director HAROPA PORT

• **Xavier Driencourt**, Former French Ambassador to Algeria



Nicole Gnesotto

General of the United Nations, sent to all heads of state at the opening of the last session of the international organisation's General Assembly. *'Our world is scarred by war, battered by climate chaos, bruised by hatred and shamed by poverty and inequality.'* Echoing this message, Gnesotto, who is also the Scientific Director of the Normandy World Peace Forum expressed the dizzying feeling that *'everything is moving too fast towards the worst outcome, climatically, economically, energetically and in terms of war'*. Faced with this bleak picture, she explained that this 2nd conference must try to propose solutions, tools and remedies *'to bring our common humanity together'*. While, echoing the words of the Minister of the Armed Forces, she stated her belief that history must enlighten, and warned that it *'must not blind us to all that'*. As a prelude to the morning's round tables, Nicole Gnesotto focused on three key topics: the role played by diplomacy, trade and education in breaking down walls...

No wall is impassable

In discussing diplomacy and using the fall of the Berlin Wall as an example, she observed *'that no wall is impassable, even the one that had been thought most eternal. Renunciation is not part of political action'*. While diplomacy played

no role in the destruction of the Berlin Wall, Nicole Gnesotto pointed out, on the other hand, how essential it was in framing, controlling, accompanying and maintaining the decolonisation of the Soviet Union in peace, recalling *'that not a single shot was fired during this period'*. The Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute nevertheless questioned the need to destroy all walls at all costs, especially when they are immaterial and informal, and constitute a lesser evil. She explained how, since 1971, Taiwan's security has been based on an unspoken agreement that serves to maintain the status quo. To put it plainly, if Taiwan¹ does not declare its independence, China does not invade this small island state and America retains a tacit neutrality in this three-way game. Continuing her analysis of the impact of trade in relation to the theme of this second lecture, Nicole Gnesotto quoted Montesquieu, who believes that *'the natural effect of trade is to bring about peace. Two nations that negotiate together make themselves reciprocally dependent'*. Armed with this maxim, many believed that as globalisation increased, so would peace. *'Yet we see that this liberal belief is an illusion. During the health crisis, when France discovered that Doliprane could not be manufactured without resorting to raw materials 99% monopolised by China, it became aware that economic interdependence could also be a strategic risk'*. The speaker felt that Europe should reconsider the peacemaking virtues of trade because it had based its power around this concept. As for education, which she linked to culture and commitment, she stated that two major cultural and political divides are playing out in the West in favour of confrontation and not integration. She argued that the first divide results from the clash of civilisations dear to Samuel

¹ The island of Taiwan enjoys administrative, political, diplomatic and military independence from China, but this has never been proclaimed by either the island or mainland governments. The People's Republic of China considers Taiwan its 23rd province and does not hesitate to nip any hint of independence in the bud. US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022 sparked an angry reaction from China, which staged the largest-ever military manoeuvres around Taiwan in response.

Huntington², and the second from the head-on opposition of democracies and autocracies. As such, she found it objectionable that Poland and Hungary are trying to play up their virtue over Ukraine by appearing to be the greatest defenders of freedom in the fight against Russian authoritarianism, while both countries – especially Hungary – are threatening and repressing democracy and freedom in their own countries. ‘You can’t be the champion of freedom outside and the champion of populism inside’ she exclaimed. The author of *Europe, change or perish* concluded with a quote from Albert Camus that illustrates the duality of human things. ‘*What is man? He is that force which always ends up balancing tyrants and gods...*’

‘If trade were a source of peace as is being argued to promote globalisation, Russia should never have attacked Ukraine, as Russia’s economy is totally dependent on Ukraine’s gas and oil exports.’

Nicole Gnesotto

Power of diplomacy and diplomacy in power

The first round table ‘Diplomacy at the foot of the wall’ was moderated by four speakers who were highly qualified to address the topic. Brigadier General Mahamadou Abou Tarka, President of the High Authority for the Consolidation of Peace in Niger, opened the floor. ‘*My work is in the Sahel, a war zone that pits states against a number of jihadist groups such as Al-Qaeda or Islamic Maghreb. Their insurgent terrorism involves recruiting from the population by exploiting the anger of*

² An American political science author who, in his book, ‘The Clash of Civilizations’, set out his theory based on the description of a world divided into eight civilizations, defined by objective elements such as language, history, religion and subjective elements of self-identification. For Samuel Huntington, a conflict is more likely to become a major crisis if it involves states of different civilisations.



communities – particularly nomadic ones – who feel neglected. We do not enter into dialogue with terrorists. On the other hand, we seek to counter their discourse in order to defuse their political aims. Delphine O, Ambassador and Secretary General of the Generation Equality Forum, is engaged in a struggle other than those of the states, namely, the universal issue of equality between men and women. ‘*I’d like to speak here not about a wall but about a gap*’ she prefaces. ‘*The one that is being dug between dictatorships and autocracies and liberal democracies on the altar of the ‘devirilisation’ of the West, deemed “decadent” for having made room for LGBT rights, gay marriage or women’s rights.*’ She explained that among the new areas of conflict, gender inequality between one half of humanity and the other must be a priority, whereas it is often considered a secondary issue by diplomats. ‘*Women’s bodies have become a battlefield*’ she insisted. Like the Forum of the organisation she represents, Delphine O asserted that diplomacy must go beyond intergovernmental dialogues and include civil society in all its components: NGOs, youth, trade unions, the private sector, philanthropic foundations, etc. Xavier Driencourt, the former French ambassador to Algeria, focused his speech on ‘*memory which can constitute a wall*’ in reference to the Algerian war. He questioned why the approach that

was successful with Germany failed with Algeria. Jean-François Di Meglio, president of the Asia Centre research institute, responded on this subject. His analysis was that tensions have existed for a long time between South Korea and Japan, even though these warring parties give the impression ‘*of being on the same side*’ politically. In his view, Asia has not overcome persistent national and nationalistic tensions. He referred back to the origins of the Great Wall of China, ‘*which never stopped invaders from rushing into China*’ to explain that the Middle Kingdom is seeking to reconstitute a new wall through cyberspace...

Trade in all its states

Reinforcing Nicole Gnesotto’s earlier remarks, Maxence Brischoux, a senior civil servant, makes the point in his book, *Le Commerce et la Force*, that international trade can be a factor of tension. Based on his own experience and current events, he notes ‘*a manipulation – a weaponisation as the experts say – of economic relations.*’ Citing Voltaire describing the London Stock Exchange in the 18th century, he notes that ‘*capitalism is cosmopolitan and transcends all barriers, whether religious or ideological.*’ Yet for all that, as we see in Ukraine, ‘*geostrategic imperatives, national, imperial ideologies*



and the manipulation of memories are stronger and have more power than the strict interest to trade.’ Similarly, he concludes, as in China for example, that ‘*globalisation does not necessarily bring democratisation and that the economy does not solve political problems.*’ Stéphane Raison is the Managing Director and Chairman of the board of Harora Port, one of the largest river-sea ports in Europe. Echoing Emmanuel Macron who had said at the Assises de la Mer that ‘*the 21st century would be maritime*’, he notes the predominance of sea lanes in the last two major global crises, that of COVID-19 and the war in Ukraine. Sea freight has become a pressing issue, as 80% of world trade passes through ship containers. As such, we learn that the top three container shipowners in the world are European. ‘*In this respect at least, we haven’t given up control to other types of countries!*’ It also reminds us of ‘*a forgotten event*’ which has even more significance today. In 2010, the French government had looked into gas sovereignty. The Energy Regulation Commission then launched the construction of four LNG terminals in France. Only one was finally built. The idea, which did not come to fruition due to a lack of infrastructure, was to protect against a possible closure of the gas tap by Vladimir Putin, even back then. Stressing the vital role of ports as a tool to help solve climate problems, Stéphane Raison responded to the question of the Chinese takeover of certain European ports in Belgium. Putting their strategic



importance into perspective, the speaker recognised the acuteness of the problem, with China's desire to create a maritime silk road...

Young people and education take the lead

The youth have always fought against walls. However, how do they go about denouncing infamy in the 21st century and what weapons do they use to do so? Benoît Thieulin, former President of the Conseil national du numérique, was invited to open this new round table. In the age of digital natives, he advised against underestimating the societal significance of digital tools, the emergence of which has been compared by the philosopher Bernard Stiegler *'to the transition from oral culture to the culture of the written word on the scale of history'*. Observing that the first to use the Internet were people with no media capacity who very quickly perceived the power of *'this new weapon'*, Benoît Thieulin reminded us of the impact of the web in the Arab Springs. He also stressed the *'real'* dimension of a tool that is too often limited *'to the virtual'*. *'Someone who has to manage a Facebook event with tens of thousands of people is concretely measuring the organisational power of the Internet'* he continued, highlighting the possible reversal of power

relations thanks to the Web. *'When three people demonstrated under the windows of Ben Ali or Mubarak, they were chased away by the police. However, when you have 500,000 demonstrators thanks to the spread of messages on digital social networks, it is the forces of order that flee.'* The internet is a double-edged sword, though, as it has also been used as a tool for propaganda or malfeasance, as the former president of the National Digital Council explained. *'Daesh would not have existed without the Internet'* he added, *noting with regret 'that we are rebuilding walls in digital form'*.

'To break down walls, the new generations are now using digital technology, which has been reduced to a technological revolution, even though this innovation tool is deeply involved in an anthropological and cultural transformation of our society.'

Benoît Thieulin

Hadja Idrissa Bah can testify to the benefits of the Internet. The young woman, now 23 years old, has been involved in feminist activities since the age of 12, founding the Guinean Children's Parliament and the Guinean Girls' Leaders Club. *'I come from a very conservative family and was circumcised at the age of 8. When I gained access to education through school, I became aware that a better world could exist. I first rebelled against my family, then against the practices in Guinea and the violence against women'*. The young activist, who was warmly applauded, explained that she is firmly against female genital mutilation for this reason, but also against forced and early marriage *'which I fear being forced into too'*. Convinced that the laws passed and the conventions



Benoît Thieulin and Nicole Gnesotto

Hadja Idrissa Bah, The voice of young girls against FGM and forced marriage

The Normandy World Peace Forum has moments of grace when the audience, whatever their opinions, are in complete agreement with the testimony and action of a guest. Hadja Idrissa Bah's speech will remain a highlight of this 5th Forum. As Frédérique Bedos and François-Xavier Priollaud put it so well, one can wonder at the energy and determination of this young Guinean girl who, from the age of 12, has spoken out against FGM and the forced and early marriage of young girls in her country, first through social networks and then in the form of an association. Her path led her to rebel against her family and, after years of commitment, to bring the causes she defends to the table of the world's decision-makers. The young woman who became free and independent took part in the G7 in Biarritz in 2020. She also spoke to Women 7 1 and was invited to lunch at the Élysée Palace by French President Emmanuel Macron. She also spoke on behalf of all girls, who are victims of FGM and forced and early marriage, to Representatives of the United Nations and



Hadja Idrissa Bah

the Gates Foundation. Kidnapped by religious and community leaders for her stance, Hadja and her journey could only elicit one possible reaction from the public: admiration and a standing ovation!

¹ A grouping of some 100 organisations and associations from around the world, responsible for proposing recommendations on gender equality to the Heads of State on the occasion of the G7 in Biarritz.

ratified by her country would not be enough to change attitudes, she used social networks to mobilise groups, put pressure on the police, retrieve the underage girls and negotiate with their parents to formally commit to not marrying their child before 18. *'It was the only possible strategy'* she asserts. *'No one dared talk about these tragedies. We had to wake up. I'm still continuing this fight to this day.'* (see box on page 25). Beyond kind words, however, she expects action on the ground, especially in education. *'I'm sorry, but we can't find a solution in Africa until education is effective at home. This is a problem because we don't have schools, health centres or support for rape victims'*. Her outburst made its mark. *'If you want to be with us and support everyone worldwide, involve the youth effectively and don't just use them as a decoration for international days'*. In another vein, Albin Rey, 17, founder of Ink for Peace, also participates in raising awareness, but

through the prism of culture. As a law and political science student, he launched a manifesto of poems by young people from all over the world to publish them on social networks and to publish a collection for Unicef.

'The war in Ukraine has made a lot of young people in Europe feel more concerned than they were during other conflicts. It is chilling. As young people, we ask ourselves how it is still possible to start wars when we have a heritage of memories that attests to its horrors. My idea was to act through art and culture to help break down the walls through imagination and expression.'

Albin Rey

Sébastien Lecornu, Minister of the Armed Forces

New paradigms

The Normandy World Peace Forum 2022 was an opportunity for the French Minister of the Armed Forces to discuss some very current issues, based on the topic of the 5th Forum, including the war in Ukraine. Here is his speech in full.

Good morning to you all. I would like to extend a warm welcome to the organisers of this day, of these two days, starting with the President of our Regional Council, Hervé Morin, unfortunately absent because of Covid. François-Xavier Priollaud, my elected colleague from the Eure... I like it when the elected representatives from the Eure come to Calvados and have their finger on the pulse! Thanks to him for the energy he has brought to this Forum for the past five years. It is an idea that he has carried through as a regional councillor and which he has succeeded in making into a system, a system that is all the more indispensable as we Normans owe a debt to peace. There are many initiatives in Paris, around the world, in Europe, in France. But it is clear that the 50,000 civilians who fell here - as well as a contingent of nearly 130,000 Allied troops - create a glorious legacy that imposes a special duty on us. In the end, there is no peace without remembrance.

This Peace Forum, even if it leads us to project ourselves into the future, also allows us to remember. I greet the parliamentarians, the elected representatives and the celebrities. Rather



than read you out a speech, I wrote down some thoughts in the car. I have been Minister of the Armed Forces for nearly five months; I come from Normandy and like you, I obviously have political convictions which are well known. So, in order to reflect on and respond to the way in which France

'Down with the walls' is not really an obvious idea. There is a Pavlovian reflex: when we are afraid, we try to protect ourselves and put ourselves in a position to protect ourselves against the other person from whom we imagine danger is coming. It is not at all intuitive to break down the wall or to put oneself in a situation of exposure, to have to go and seek out this insecurity. But it is walls that create insecurity, as you demonstrated yesterday.'

is preparing, I thought it best to provide you with some collective thoughts to which we would do well to respond carefully in the times ahead. That is what the President of the Republic will be doing.

My first thought this morning is about the place of law, which is the only way to avoid escalating walls. It is also the legacy of 1945, the universalism of certain values, the primacy of law, of international law, which guarantees good order. My first thought is this: we must not confuse walls with order. The world order that emerged from the Second World War recalls the primacy of law, i.e. the law recognises borders that allow sovereignties to be framed and the problem of the relationship between the strong and the weak and the weak and the strong to be resolved. The President of the Republic reminded us this week that the aggression and war waged by the Russian Federation in Ukraine are a profound challenge to international law. Now, the boundaries between Ukraine and Russia concern these two countries, but they also concern all the countries of the world because it is the very recognition of the value of these borders that is at stake. When we think of Africa, the Near or Middle East, when countries are in serious economic and social difficulty and have to fight against major climatic phenomena, against major economic and social problems, their only wealth is their boundary. The boundaries recognised by international law. That is why almost all the countries of the world have signed the UN Charter and are participating in the UN's work, according to which much will have to be reviewed in light of the circumstances.

'In any case, we cannot say 'down with the walls' without asking the question of law and particularly international law, which prevents the construction of these useless walls in the first place.'

Putting it on the table affects our alliances. This is the other legacy of 1945. Alliances

are a bit like everyday life: like attracts like, or at least more or less. This should lead us to two sets of reflections on two types of alliance. First, our Atlantic alliances, NATO, about which much has been said and also caricatured. France has a key and unique role in this Atlantic Alliance. The President of the Republic was able to comment that it was intellectually moribund. This was partly true because the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and all the decisions taken in the 1990s had led us to believe that conventional or nuclear threats were behind us. We must ask ourselves what France's position is within the Atlantic Alliance and obviously, the position of the European Union.

This is absolutely key. You can see that the walls have shifted there. The accession of Sweden and Finland represents a historic element this year with the enlargement of the scope of the Alliance, something that is not always consensual in the public debate. As General de Gaulle had wanted, it is a question of being allied but not aligned and this is an effect of every moment. These are also convictions that François-Xavier Priollaud, in particular, has held for years. As for Europe, we must not beat ourselves up because it has held firm. Given a shock or crisis, it was felt that the European Union could implode. However, this has not happened. Even better! In

'It is not enough to have helped and supported Ukraine a lot at the beginning of the conflict. Efforts must continue in terms of maintenance, support for Ukrainian soldiers and equipment. We can see that this question of alliances is also key to dealing with the 'down with the walls' approach because, depending on these alliances, real or fake walls are built which can recreate conditions of profound insecurity for our European nations.'

terms of sanctions and our ability to provide a collective response, especially in the early days, it is the Europeans

who did not wait. It is the Europeans who were reactive. We see this with the Ukraine support agenda: we need to maintain it over the coming weeks and months. The third thought that I have for you is that there is no point in lecturing others if we do not reflect on the walls that we have in our own country, not only in Western and liberal democracies, but particularly within our French democracy. We have been through difficult crises, due to economic and social problems, including with the yellow waistcoats. Individualism, the role of the individual, which can sometimes dominate the collective spirit, the rise of abstention... These new walls constitute a major challenge for our democratic model, which constitutes a political gamble with regard to our values. The fundamental implication is that our liberal democracies are decadent, that our liberal democracies are vectors and providers of weaknesses and we must also face up to the fact that our own walls do not contribute to our resilience. Our own weaknesses also prevent us from defending the model of which we are all footsoldiers because it is the republican model. We cannot detach the issues we have to deal with in this Forum from the domestic political elements in the noble sense of the word and the challenges that must unite us. I come back to the fact that we must not lecture and that many of the answers to the walls that are being erected must be found within French society and the French nation. As we said a few moments ago with the former president of the IHEDN, a society's contributions to peace can no longer be based solely on the armed forces or on diplomats. There is a lot of talk about the lessons from Ukraine. If there is one lesson from the experience of Ukraine, it is obviously that there is no medium or high intensity, as they say, without the resilience of an entire social body. This is one of the key elements that we also need to tackle. The question of Universal National Service, according to which the Government will have to specify the

content of this project, forms part of this reflection. Schools have a role to play, but we must provide additional elements for all young people to prepare themselves. This is obviously the question of the reserves, whereby the table must be turned around so that we are no longer in a situation in which we talk about a duty to participate in defence, when we have a commitment to serve in the reserves. On the contrary, the right of every citizen to participate in collective defence must be developed. Accepting indeed that the law of maximum annoyance is possible, we have the right to experience terrorism, a pandemic and a war at the same time! The preparation of the whole nation in relation to these issues is key here, but also regarding the climate.

'The Overseas Territories are the first to be vulnerable to climate change, but France is also exposed to potential disruptions. Security threats are becoming multi-faceted. Blessed are they who are and will be engaged in whichever way they can, this is also one of the challenges we have to meet in order to break down these walls. And I would not be doing my job as Minister of the Armed Forces if I did not also reaffirm that, unfortunately, war is now fought without walls.'

If I said it were just a matter of tearing down walls, or at least some walls in order to have peace, this would be misleading to public opinion, since we now have new fields of conflict that are being organised before our very eyes. It is clear: this war in Ukraine is being waged because there has been a diversion from the intended doctrine. I come back to the value system I was talking about earlier, the nuclear deterrent, which, basically, President Putin is exploiting to supplement the conventional

war of aggression. This is an element that we must also reflect on collectively since France is a nuclear power and France is a permanent member of the Security Council. To speak of peace, of course, to speak of defence, to speak of preparation for the future, is also to re-explain to each of our fellow citizens why General de Gaulle wanted France to be an armed power, what are the foundations of this doctrine and why we have two components, airborne and naval. The aim is not to get into a nuclear logic ourselves. I was struck by the debates this summer on high intensity: would France be able to hold out for two or three weeks? It doesn't make sense. There is also a complete defence system which I will not go into this morning because it is not the subject of this meeting, but for which we also have an answer. This is not the only issue at stake now. This is the high intensity that can be deployed even below the nuclear vault. That is the lesson of Ukraine. Including for France. This is obviously the case with so-called hybrid and cyber threats. This is the information warfare that is being waged against us by a number of adversaries. It is blackmail by energy or agricultural raw materials, these are elements of the civil infrastructure that are being diverted and taken up for military purposes. This is still below the nuclear vault and we are vulnerable to these threats because democracies will always be more vulnerable than a certain number of countries, particularly in terms of the information warfare against which we must prepare ourselves. A month ago, a hospital in the Essonne region of France was the target of a very serious cyber attack and found itself in great difficulty in terms of accomplishing its mission: to treat our fellow citizens. This serious event was only reported on briefly. If a terrorist had entered that same hospital with a weapon, he would have made the news. A hybrid threat is just as dangerous as any other, as the paralysis of several French hospitals would inevitably lead to the death of patients or have significant after-effects. We must look at this danger collectively. Technology inevitably brings new threats for which we need to find countermeasures. These are basically

outside the walls because blackmail by cereals, energy, cyber threats or space are other forms of walls that we do not deal with adequately and collectively. The same applies to terrorism. I hope that, as Normans, Ukraine will not render us short-sighted regarding the security situation, especially in Africa.

'When I hear that some people are ready to caricature the results of Barkhane, the French armed forces, what the Europeans have done with Takuba in Africa, I worry.'

Those who say that the terrorist threat cannot add up on Europe's eastern flank and that what happens in Africa has no impact on the security of Europeans are lying. What do Africa and Ukraine have in common? Wagner's presence. Africa is becoming a continent where certain elements of great power competition are emerging. The walls have come down here too and basically we are having to respond to several challenges at the same time. These are some of the thoughts I wanted to share with you. I could, of course, have talked to you about the ingredients of the next military programming law, the national strategic review, what the European strategic compass is, the new NATO concepts or the way in which the armed forces are preparing in depth for these new challenges. But I think that this kind of Forum should not adopt a top-down approach with a speech and some truths here and there. I believe that a number of thoughts should be shared. I am firmly convinced that some of the walls, unfortunately, are also in our own backyard and that we will have to arm ourselves to break them down because it is not just the fault of others. This resilience must also be French in order to be European and Western, in order to lead the political project of peace, which is also the project of the Republic. Thank you all.



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CULTURAL AND FESTIVE EVENTS

WAR IN UKRAINE: VLADIMIR PUTIN AND THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

EUROPE AT WAR

23 September 2022 | 2:00 PM – 3:30 PM | Plenary



Tatiana Kastoueva Jean and Émilie Aubry

The invasion that is reshuffling the cards

On 24 February 2022, Russia's invasion of Ukraine was launched on the orders of Vladimir Putin. Seven months later, as this war finally settles in for the long term and against the backdrop of the international energy crisis, the team 'Le Dessous des Cartes' have studied the Russian President's relations with the post-Soviet space. Émilie Aubry, the programme's editor-in-chief, questioned Russia's true influence and the possible denials of Vladimir Putin, who openly claims nostalgia for the Soviet Empire. To open the debate, Émilie Aubry interviewed Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Researcher and Director of the Russia/NIS Centre at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), in relation to the access of younger generations to international news. Tatiana noted the relevance of the concept of the 'four Russias'¹, which can explain the gap currently felt across the country. She explained: *'Vladimir Putin announced a mobilisation that is partial*

in name only. The Russian middle class cannot afford to fly out of the country and pay exorbitant prices to escape being sent to the Ukrainian front. As for the villagers, they knowingly engage in this war because the salary offered is attractive, yet they understand neither the objectives nor their real missions'.

The ambiguity of the Sino-Russian relationship

After a viewing an unpublished issue of the film, 'Le dessous des cartes' (Putin: the nostalgia of the empire), Émilie Aubry returned to the Sino-Russian relationship. She mentioned the statement² by the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson, given on the sidelines of the UN General

¹ A concept formulated in 2015 by Natalia Zubarevich, a geographer and economist. This theory highlights Russia's regional divisions and explains the underdevelopment of the peripheries in favour of increased development of the country's centres.

² Proposals made on 20 September 2022



Assembly, calling for a ceasefire in Ukraine through dialogue. According to Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, this is a perfect example of the 'cautious and ambiguous' neutrality displayed by China since the beginning of the conflict. For while China criticises the unilateral sanctions imposed by the European Union and the United States on Russia, it simultaneously affirms Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty. In economic terms, Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean acknowledged a certain concern on the part of China: the war is still going on, while the country is already experiencing an economic recession following COVID-19. The country is increasingly bypassing Russian territory in favour of Kazakhstan and the Caspian Sea. This is a friendship, not an alliance, with two pillars, according to the speaker. The first of these is energy (China needs Russian oil and gas), the second geopolitical (the two regimes advocate common values, including non-interference in each other's internal affairs). Émilie Aubry responded to these remarks, adding the two countries' common desire to 'de-Westernise the world'. This argument was confirmed by Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, who responded that both Russia and China seek to rely as little as possible on the dollar. She concluded that China is

also taking a close interest in the war in Ukraine 'to draw conclusions for itself in regard to Taiwan'.

'As is often said in Russia, Russia and China aren't always together, but are never against each other'.

Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean

Changing power relations

Émilie Aubry addressed the issue of Central Asia, pointing out that the embassies of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan had sent 'a communiqué, separately, to prohibit their nationals from participating in the war in Ukraine, even though they are members of the CSTO'³. A suspicion of loss of influence in this area was confirmed by Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, who focused on the compelling example of Kazakhstan, for which the European Union is now the leading trading partner. In economic, infrastructural and security terms, the researcher also highlighted Russia's slowdown, compared with countries such as China, which is beginning to sell its arms to Central Asian countries. She did the same with Turkey, which has signed strategic agreements with them, as well as with Iran, since the beginning of the war. Finally, Émilie Aubry cited Kazakhstan's Russian-speaking minority as the 'potential reason why the

MODERATOR:

Émilie AUBRY, rédactrice en chef du Dessous des Cartes

INTERVENANTE :

Tatiana KASTOUÉVA-JEAN, chercheuse et directrice du Centre Russie/ Nouveaux États Indépendants (NEI) de l'Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI)

³ The Collective Security Treaty Organisation is a politico-military organisation founded in 2002 and led by Russia

country didn't recognise the annexation of Crimea, with the possible fear that this region could one day meet the same fate'. This hypothesis was supported by Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, who nevertheless warned of the dependence of Central Asian countries on Russia, taking their emigrants, who are often isolated from the rest of Russian society, for example: 'A new Russian law simplifies the granting of citizenship to foreigners who pledge to go to war in Ukraine; a number of migrants are likely to be seduced.' Émilie Aubry continued the debate by mentioning the

'In the days of the USSR, there was a lot of talk about brotherhood in Soviet culture. Ukraine was undoubtedly Moscow's beloved little brother: it is a link that's constantly put forward in the whole Putin narrative.'

Émilie Aubry

Slavic part of the post-Soviet space and the 'referendums' announced by Putin in four Ukrainian regions: Zaporizhia, Kherson, Lugansk and Donetsk.

The journalist asked Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean about the balance of power that has become favourable to the Ukrainians and the new phase of conflict that has taken hold. The latter stressed the danger of the current situation, both regarding the organisation of these 'pseudo-referendums' (the outcome of which will obviously be in favour of integrating the Ukrainian territories within the Russian Federation) and the threat of the use of nuclear weapons. According to the researcher, this possible escalation was provoked by the success of the Ukrainian offensive towards Kharkiv in early September. She noted the importance of geography in this invasion, as the

annexation of these territories allowed Putin to link the separatist republics of Donetsk and Lugansk and thus open up Crimea. Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean also stressed the importance of the positioning of the West, the object of Russian gas and military blackmail, in the aftermath of this conflict: 'Vladimir Putin is counting on the public pressure on governments over heating and electricity this winter'. Émilie Aubry noted the importance of this public opinion since the beginning of the Ukrainian invasion and asked Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean about the so-called 'partial' mobilisation of the population decreed by the Russian president last September. According to the moderator, this designation was used 'so as not to awaken the trauma of the first Chechen war'. Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean noted the inconsistencies in this announcement. The decree signed by Putin remains effectively vague, allowing him a very wide margin for manoeuvre. She also noted the recently voted amendments to the Russian penal code, which increase prison sentences for those who refuse to fight. Between flight, protest or loyalty, the Russian population is sinking into three classic strategies according to her, while the outcome of this war remains uncertain...

REFERENCES

- ▶ **2014.** Eight years ago, Russia had already annexed a part of Ukraine, Crimea. The Kremlin had also organised a 'referendum', a legal chimera preceding military action in this region.
- ▶ **15.** Fifteen independent countries replaced the USSR.
- ▶ **55 500.** This is the number of Russian soldiers that Ukraine announced it had killed in September 2022. In reality, it is difficult to assess the number of deaths in this war, as both Russia and Ukraine understate their losses and exaggerate those inflicted on the enemy.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND WAR IN UKRAINE: FROM DISAPPROVAL TO ACTION?

EUROPE AT WAR

23 September 2022 | 16:30 - 18:00 | Gold Room



Fabienne Keller, Xavier Chemsseur, Vadym Omelchenko and Céline Bardet

Maintaining the effort

More than 210 days separate the beginning of the war in Ukraine and the organisation of this debate, moderated by Xavier Chemsseur. This is an opportunity to take a step back from the reactions of international institutions over the past six months. From the outset, France 24's editor-in-chief has underlined the impression of 'powerlessness' suggested by the organisations as a whole, as regards their difficulty in finding a consensus and guaranteeing 'both peace and respect for human rights'. He has questioned the need to rethink the current operating rules and invited Vadym Omelchenko, the Ukrainian ambassador to France, to begin by giving an account of the Ukrainian situation so far. For him, 'the liberation has begun'. He took advantage of the context of the World Peace Forum to compare his host region to Ukraine: 'Our own Normandy is the Kharkiv region. It is in this region that the great counter-offensive and the Ukrainian offensive have begun'. He then went back to the beginning of the conflict and, in his opinion, the Russian plan to take and

annex the territories in three days was confronted by the spirit of resistance of the Ukrainian people. He develops his argument by identifying the three dimensions of this war: the military aspect, the humanitarian aspect and the aspect of displaced persons. 'Today, 12 million Ukrainians, women and children, have been displaced and half of them have found refuge in France'. This is why Vadym Omelchenko asks about the fate of young people.

'Their friends are scattered all over the world, some of them dead... They only want it to end as soon as possible so that they can go home. Today, we have to admit it: we are witnessing our young Ukrainians who are here in France destroying themselves.'

Vadym Omelchenko

Fabienne Keller, MEP, who visited Ukraine, as well as the refugees in Moldova, talked about *'the extraordinary example of courage'* shown by Ukrainian citizens. Their lives are being totally disrupted by the war, and as a Member of the European Parliament she stressed the importance of visiting the region. In her view, the country's application to join the European Union, as well as that of Georgia and Moldova, should serve as a reminder of our responsibilities as democratic societies. Céline Bardet, founder and president of the NGO, We are not Weapons of War, is keen to address the military angle of this conflict, with particular emphasis on the violence, rapes and war crimes being inflicted on the Ukrainian population. She condemns Russia's *'policy of humiliation and destruction. Rape*



Xavier Chemisseur, Vadym Omelchenko and Céline Bardet

MODERATOR:

Xavier CHEMISSEUR, Editor-in-Chief France 24

SPEAKERS:

Vadym OMELCHENKO, Ukrainian ambassador to France

Céline BARDET, founder and president, We are not Weapons of War, lawyer and international criminal investigator

Fabienne KELLER, member of the European Parliament

François RIVASSEAU, former French ambassador to the UN in Geneva, professor at Kedge Business School

humiliates the other person to his/her innermost being and destroys him or her totally as well as those around him/her and the entire community'. She asked how these wounds can be repaired, comparing it with the example of young people in the Balkans who, having experienced war at a very early age, still retain traces of these traumas. She is also a lawyer and international criminal investigator, who recommends support through *'processes of justice, reparation and social reconstruction'*.

A first positive assessment

Citing Joe Biden's call for reform of the United Nations and the Security Council, the moderator asked François Rivasseau about the need to *'take action'* and the existing means to do so. In the eyes of the former French ambassador to the UN in Geneva, the Ukrainian conflict is special and particularly serious *'because it is the first time that a permanent member of the Security Council, Russia, has attacked a neighbouring country to steal territory'*. Before defining an action plan, he said, it is necessary to take stock of the steps already taken, which he divided into two categories. Firstly, traditional humanitarian action, which, although having worked well until now, is weakened by a very limited financial system. Secondly, the action of international judges, set up to *'uphold moral and ethical rules'*. He welcomed the existence of numerous tools at international level, each of which, at its own level, tries *'to assist and to restore economic conditions'*.

'The New York Fire Department has a larger budget than the entire UN Secretariat. Are we prepared to spend a little less money to move to 5G and give a little more to international organisations?'

François Rivasseau



François Rivasseau, Fabienne Keller, Xavier Chemisseur and Vadym Omelchenko

people. She stated: *'Europe has responded strongly and is still doing so. War is back on our doorstep, and we must continue to fight for democracy, for respect for everyone and against totalitarianism like that of Vladimir Putin.'*

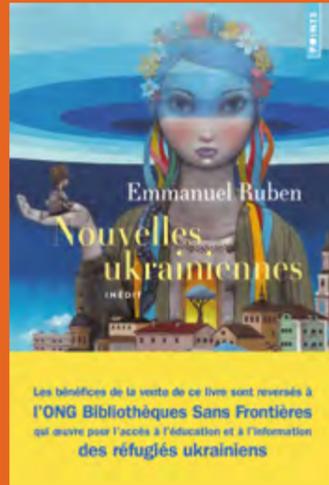
The possibilities in the aftermath

Vadym Omelchenko, aware of Vladimir Putin's war on global Western civilisation, emphasised the importance of true solidarity that is not just *'compassion'* but rather *'comprehension'* and the defence of a *'common home and shared values'*. While he considered the level of humanitarian aid received to be *'miraculous'*, he did not downplay the importance of the reconstruction project in Ukraine and said so explicitly: *'it is going to be about business.'* According to the estimates of the experts he mentioned, this market is already valued at 1 trillion. Vadym Omelchenko therefore stated that as Ukrainian ambassador to France, he would like *'France to enter this market'*, specifying that President Zelensky's ambition in this respect is, above all, to bet on a *'modernised and highly advanced'* country, guaranteeing that American companies would not be given preference. Still on the theme of reconstruction, Céline Bardet emphasised the opportunity for Ukraine to *'look to the future'* as it considers the society it wants to see grow. Like Fabienne Keller, the NGO president explained that the EU *'has done a lot of things without us realising it. This has shifted the links, the whole geopolitical situation, not to mention the administration of justice. Typically, the International Criminal Court has shown us that it can react promptly, as it opened an investigation very quickly. We are in a rather unprecedented situation'*. Opting for a cautious tone, she nevertheless urged people not to be complacent and called for the continuation of international solidarity efforts. Hopeful expectations, in a cloudy but not dark sky.

The former ambassador also discussed the future reconstruction of Ukraine. He emphasised the need to establish funding channels that will work, while noting that the UN and regional organisations are ready to engage in this. He nevertheless stressed that while there is no lack of tools, *'the will, the money and the means'* are still lacking. Reflecting on the possibility of a reform of the Security Council, mentioned by Xavier Chemisseur, François Rivasseau made reference to the possibility, often put forward, of abolishing the States' right of veto. This reform would be unjustified in his view, as the veto is the very guarantee of the UN's existence and effectiveness: *'If you lose it, you no longer have the right to decide. We are therefore condemned to impotence.'* When asked about the famous red line which Europe has had to constantly negotiate in recent months, namely: *'acting without being seen as a belligerent in the eyes of Russia'* Fabienne Keller spoke of Europe's ability to respond quickly to the crisis,

through resolutions and rounds of sanctions, decided upon as early as March 2022. She welcomed the consensus reached by the heads of government, adding that *'the vision of European defence has been profoundly strengthened by the reality of the war in Ukraine'*. She cited the partnership between the European Parliament and the Rada (the Ukrainian parliament), and the various types of IT, technical and organisational assistance provided to the Ukrainian

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA: SEVERAL CULTURES, ONE INFLUENCE



EUROPE AT WAR
24 September 2022
12:00 PM - 1:00 PM
Gold Room

Another Tower of Babel

In Ukraine, thousands of civilians have been killed and millions displaced. Ukraine also has a rich cultural, religious and literary heritage. This conflict sees a committed reaffirmation of Ukrainian culture in the face of historical Russian influence. How can we understand the role of language and religion in the relationship between the two countries? How can culture, transformed into a flag-bearer, fight against nationalism and become an instrument of peace?

The discussion was symbolic of the issues at stake in this conflict. These testimonies allowed the audience to better understand the weight of culture and ideology in the war unleashed by Russia against Ukraine. Anna Colin Lebedev thus explained her experiences *'having been brought up in the Soviet school where Moscow was the centre of the world and Ukraine hardly existed'*. The author of *Jamais frères? Ukraine et Russie, une tragédie postsoviétique* (Éditions du Seuil) lived in Ukraine and became aware of the shifted and biased view of Russia and, more broadly, of the Soviet space towards its neighbour. *'To understand this war'* she said, *'you have to take into account the idea conveyed by Putin in all his speeches,*

in order to justify the invasion, that Ukraine and Russia are one and the same people'. She cited the words of a Ukrainian poet who says to the Russians *'we will never be brothers'* to explain the difficulties of a possible common future shattered by this war. According to Anna Colin Lebedev, Russia is experiencing an internal political earthquake. She explained that the Russian social contract, which is characteristic of authoritarian regimes, leaves it to the authorities to carry out whatever policy they wish, provided that it does not affect the citizens. To this end, the regime needs a somewhat demobilised population. Its discourse over the last few months has consequently been to minimise the impact of the war and to ensure that the Russians

passively support this armed conflict, but above all that it does not concern them. However, in a few weeks, we have gone from a deliberate demobilisation to a situation where every Russian family understands that they may be affected by the war and sent to the front. *'Russian power has never been tested this much and this will lead to major changes'*. However, she added that we should not expect huge demonstrations in the streets. *'Russians are protesting in other ways, through sabotage, avoidance, circumvention and by abandoning the state. Russian power has never been in more danger than today!'*

On resistance and its language

When talking about this conflict, Emmanuel Ruben dared to draw parallels with the Algerian war, in particular the fact that it is above all a question of colonisation. *'Putin's Russia has never accepted Ukraine's independence. It regards this country as a vassal by striving to keep men in power who were subservient to Moscow.'* Yet Ukrainian resistance has been a determining factor in the page of history that is now being written.

'We forget the historical Ukrainian pugnacity that often claims to follow the Cossacks, who used to choose a leader to lead the battles'

Emmanuel Ruben

The writer, who is currently directing the publication of a collective volume of Ukrainian authors, entitled *Hommage à l'Ukraine* (éditions Stock), reminded us that Ukraine is a country of diversity and hybridity. It has been at the crossroads of different empires – Russian, Ottoman and the Grand Duchy of Poland-Lithuania – and has been a land interspersed with a large Jewish population. Ukraine, a democracy since 1991, has demonstrated its capacity for resistance against the

MODERATOR:

Julie CLARINI, journalist at L'Obs

SPEAKERS:

Emmanuel RUBEN, writer

Anna COLIN LEBEDEV, lecturer in political science

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

L'OBS

Nazis, but also in its struggle against Soviet power in the 1950s. For her part, Anna Colin Lebedev sought to understand the passivity of the Russian population in relation to the aggression exerted by their country against a neighbouring country, i.e. people who look like you and who have done nothing to you. She wondered about the impact of the law of silence that prevails in Russia, both at state level and within families, of *'tongues that do not loosen'*. This was an opportunity for Julie Clarini to mention the Ukrainian language which, is often regarded as a dialect on the periphery of Russian. Anna Colin Lebedev contested/refuted this idea because although the Russian and Ukrainian languages are close, they are different on a lexical level. She pointed out that Russian and Ukrainian are as far apart as French and Portuguese. *'If the country is bilingual, it is not bilingual in the sense that one part of the country speaks Russian and the other Ukrainian, but because the whole population masters both languages and indicates its preferences by its language.'* A new Tower of Babel is being formed between Russia and Ukraine...

'For citizens of Ukraine, the central political action is to speak Ukrainian and to reject the Russian language. This dynamic has become extremely strong during the war'

Anna Colin Lebedev

EUROPE, THE RETURN OF THE BLOCS?

EUROPE AT WAR

23 September 2022 | 16:30 - 18:00 | Nacre Room



Michel Duclos, Nicole Gnesotto, Sabine Dullin and Marc Semo

Between blocs and non-blocs

'When you look at the UN, you get the impression that it is paralysed as in the worst days of the Cold War with shifting blocs'. Marc Semo launches the debate with these words, indicating that three major groups share the world: the Western democracies, a Euro-Asian bloc of authoritarian regimes and, between the two, the Global South¹, which is searching for a choice between them. In this context, he believes that NATO remains a structured military alliance that has been reinvigorated by Russian

aggression in Ukraine, giving it 'a new vitality and purpose'. The moderator noted that authoritarian regimes are resentful of the West. He cites China, which has no military alliance treaty with any other country except North Korea. As for Russia, he explains that it has tried in vain to transform the collective security organisation of the former republics, especially in Central Asia, into a new Warsaw Pact².

The resurgence of a dark past

Sabine Dullin proposes a focus on the Russian and Soviet empires to understand what is happening in the East. She castigates Vladimir Putin's idea

¹ This term, which was coined in the 1980s and is also known as the Countries of the South or the South, refers to countries with a low HDI (human development index) and GDP (gross domestic product) per capita, which are mostly located in the southern part of the emerging continents, as opposed to the richer northern countries. The Global South contains around 5 billion people.

² Signed in 1955, the Warsaw Pact is a former military alliance of Eastern European countries with the USSR to create a vast economic, political and military entity.

MODERATOR:

Marc SEMO, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the discussion and ideas section, Le Monde

SPEAKERS:

Nicole GNESOTTO, Professor Emeritus at CNAM, Vice-President of the Institut Jacques Delors

Sabine DULLIN, Professor of Contemporary Russian History at Science Po, author

Michel DUCLOS, Special Advisor to the Montaigne Institute

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

LE MONDE

of revising borders through war and his desire for revenge after the humiliation of the collapse of the USSR, reminiscent of the 1930s and Hitler's advance into Europe. She also states that the principle of referenda in newly occupied areas looks back on events following the German-Soviet pact in 1939, when Red Army troops entered eastern Poland. She also condemns Moscow's rhetoric about Ukrainian Nazism, arguing that the great patriotic war is being replayed with far less heroism and conviction on the Russian side than in the past, as its citizens try to escape conscription. The professor deciphers the references to 'the Cold War', 'nuclear weapons', 'NATO coming together' and the notion of the 'free world' making a strong come-back, as well as the idea of blocs and non-alignment. She recognises the Russian attack as yet another colonial war by an empire that harbours fears of its decline and refuses to accept the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. However, the speaker is keen to distinguish between yesterday and today. First of all, she hears in the Russian leader's words, in his anti-Westernism and in his declaration of war against the West, a Chekist legacy, since Vladimir Putin was a member of the KGB. According to her, such a strategy mixes 'the old Soviet schtick with a new discourse of a tradition that

is opposed to our democracies, which are considered decadent'. Although there are some comparisons between the current situation and the Iron Curtain, she believes that the situation has changed, with Russia trying to expand regionally on the one hand and a Western bloc, on the other, which has rebuilt itself in the face of this aggression. Neither does she see 'the stability of the Cold War which, through a kind of balance of terror, ultimately made life fairly safe for the continent of Europe'.

'When you listen to Vladimir Putin's statement on 21 September, you feel like you are living in a waking nightmare, as you are witnessing a journey through time containing all the ingredients that led to a series of tragedies in the 20th century.'

Sabine Dullin

Impacts around the world

Rather than two opposing blocs, Michel Duclos distinguishes in this conflict between a country that is acting in response to what it perceives as a threat and a reunified continent that is reacting to an aggressor. He links this war to Putin's destiny, which has given it a very strong personal element. However, given the effect of the war in Afghanistan on the USSR, 'he cannot believe that the Russian President can survive a setback in Ukraine', which seems inevitable 'because he cannot win'. Referring to the impact of this war on the rest of the world, he said that the conflict had added a further notch to the rivalry between the Chinese and



Sabine Dullin and Marc Semo

the Americans, with the former hoping to benefit from a Russian victory. However, it is in the Indo-Pacific that the geopolitical consequences of the war in Ukraine are likely to be strongest, according to the special advisor to the Montaigne Institute. A Chinese attack on Taiwan seems even more likely today than before, because a taboo has been lifted: that of invading your neighbour. He believes that the Chinese will learn from what is happening in Ukraine. *'They are observing that the West is less decadent than they thought and that an invasion requires preparation in which it is necessary to annihilate political power and cut off information around it'*. Taking up the concept of the Global South, Michel Duclos confirms that the acrimony of the countries involved in relation to the West is being instrumentalised by the Chinese and Russians. He is also concerned about the rise of the major Southern powers that are benefiting most from the war in Ukraine, such as Turkey, India and Saudi Arabia, which are ultimately being courted by all sides.

'For the West to maintain its advantage over China, it needs to triangulate some of the powers of the Global South and to be able to co-opt key players in the South.'

Michel Duclos

The impending retreat into blocs

Nicole Gnesotto is one of those who does not like to talk about *'the return of blocs'*. While she concedes that the formula is easy to remember, she considers that it gives a false idea of the extremely complex reality we live in today, which will lead us *'from a false idea to false*

solutions'. For her, the 21st century will, in particular, be a confrontation between two models, American and Chinese, the question above all being who will win the Global South, *'this hybrid space of countries that are neither democracies nor dictatorships'*. The Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute does not believe in the return of blocs for three reasons, which she explains as follows. First of all, the current Western bloc is different from the Cold War bloc and is not homogeneous, according to her. She explains that we are a bloc of democracies, some of which are authoritarian countries, such as Turkey, Poland and Hungary. She also complains that these countries *'defend democracy in their foreign policy but stifle it at home'*, citing Poland, *'which is trying to make a virtue of welcoming Ukrainian refugees when it is a dangerous country in terms of democratic stability'*, without forgetting to point out that *'the far right has just won part of the elections in Sweden'*. For her, *'the democratic bloc has a hole in it'*, which is a point of weakness since *'the autocratic opponents will use our hypocrisy in international relations, believing that we have no lessons to teach because our democratic regimes are far from perfect'*. Nicole Gnesotto further emphasises our isolation, listing the *'friendly'* countries that abstained at the UN General Assembly in March, when it came to condemning the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In this regard, she said the world was too complex to be divided in two, urging Europeans to find solutions in conjunction with the Ukrainians to get out of the current conflict.

'War is now possible in Europe, perhaps even with nuclear weapons, because deterrence no longer protects anything.'

Nicole Gnesotto

RETHINKING EUROPEAN SECURITY

EUROPE AT WAR

23 September 2022 | 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM | Auditorium



Edward Hunter Christie (video), Emmanuel Dupuy, Alexandre Vautravers and Guillaume Lasconjirias

A sine qua non condition at the time of the Ukrainian conflict

Emmanuel Dupuy introduced the debate by noting that European security was developed in the early days of the European idea. The European Defence Community took shape three years before the Treaty of Rome of March 1957, which created the European Economic Community. According to our moderator, *'this old idea of European defence may seem a bit unrealistic even as a war is going on in Ukraine and the house is*

burning down on Europe's doorstep'. This situation proved that the question should have been asked before the tragedy of the Ukrainian people. He felt that the European security architecture needed to be deepened and reformulated because it concerned not just its member states, but also the wider Atlantic Alliance. He referred to two strategic documents which planned the means and ambitions of European defence up to 2030, one carried by the European Union and the other by NATO. The moderator wondered whether they are redundant or complementary. Regarding NATO, which would increase from 30 members today to a potential 32 tomorrow with the accession of Sweden and Finland, he pointed out that the balance of power is not necessarily that favourable to European countries, since this organisation has *'only'* 21 European Union countries. He then launched a series of questions for the guests: does Europe allow for defence in the case of aggression from a third country? Does this *'Euratlantic'* security cooperation benefit the countries across the Atlantic

MODERATOR:

Emmanuel DUPUY, President of the Institute for Prospective and Security in Europe (IPSE)

SPEAKERS:

Alexandre VAUTRAVERS, Editor of the Swiss Military Review, Professor at the University of Geneva

Edward HUNTER CHRISTIE, Senior Research Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Guillaume LASCONJIRIAS, Director of studies and Research at the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale (IHEDN)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

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or the European countries? Is European defence, the foundations of which date back 70 years, still able to cope with today's threats? Is NATO not being distorted in its vocation as a provider of security everywhere and not only in Europe?

Multiple questions

Guillaume Lasconjirias was the first to attempt to answer these various questions. He explained that *'the defence of Europe or European defence isn't quite the same thing, depending on whether one is on the side of the EU or on the side of NATO'*. He used a metaphor to explain his words. He compared Europe to a child experiencing divorce whose parents are glaring at each other, with a father who comes from Mars (NATO) and a mother who lives on Venus (the EU). He acknowledged that things have changed, particularly since the Russian offensive in Ukraine, which he reminded us is the first inter-state conflict since the fall of the Soviet bloc. The speaker clarified that this reality obliges us not only to rethink our security, but also our defence, making a clear distinction between the terms *'military defence'*, *'national defence'*, *'national security'* and *'international security'*. Estimating that *'Europeans have no choice but to wake up'*, he advocated rethinking European security through documents and bodies of doctrines based around this, stating



Alexandre Vautravers

'European defence represents a cost but it is priceless. Hard times are ahead, but if we don't act to defend our principles, our values and ultimately our homes, we'll be unable to respond to a state that decides to violate international law by invading its neighbour.'

Guillaume Lasconjirias

that four fundamentals: acting, investing, working in partnership and designing a 360-degree defence approach. This inevitably raises the question *'of the means' in view 'of the ambitions'* affected.

Difficult choices

Alexandre Vautravers stated his belief that there are two approaches to security, depending on the political regime. For example, in democracies, the debates are about priorities and trade-offs between military and social spending. *'There's a lot of discussion, a lot of debate, a lot of politicisation and then not much is done'* he summarised. *'Conversely, in Russia, we imprison people who would certainly like to debate these issues, we don't debate but we act...'* This leads him to believe that *'we're in an extremely privileged space'* much like his country, Switzerland, which is known for its neutrality. The former was called to vote on the popular initiative *'for a Switzerland without an army and for a global peace policy'* in 1989. This was rejected by the people (64.4%) and the cantons (4 out of 6). *'A significant minority of the voting population in Switzerland and in particular its youth felt, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, that there'd never be another war and that the construction of Europe would protect us from such dangers'* continued the journalist. *'We're beginning to realise today that we're coming out of this period during which*



Guillaume Lasconjirias

we've benefited from peace. The idealism of the 90s strikes us, penalises us and still prevents us from seeing certain realities', Alexandre Vautravers declared that many countries have disarmed themselves prematurely, even though France and Germany professionalised their armies in 1996 and 2010, respectively. *'We cannot miss our dates with history as a result of what's happening on the borders of Europe'* he explained. He also criticised the European Union's soft power policy in the 1990s in opposition to the two genocides of that period in the Balkans and in Rwanda. Emmanuel Dupuy wondered: who in NATO or the European Union would defend the European continent in the event of aggression, unless a third approach, such as the non-alignment proposal championed by President Macron, emerges. Guillaume Lasconjirias stated his belief that the first essential point to understand is that it will be necessary to negotiate with Russia, to find a modus operandi with it, regardless of its political system and its leaders. According to him, the situation that will emerge from this period invites us to think about how to engage our European neighbours as well as emerging countries or powers. *'The EU is divided and its rules of operation seem to be out of touch with the needs of the time,'* he said. Alexandre Vautravers, for his part, stated that there are two ways of looking at things. The first of these is political, academic and rhetorical, whereby one can invent solutions that do not exist, and the second one involves choosing among the strategic options immediately available. According to him, most Central European countries believe that NATO is to ensure the security and defence of the European

continent because no one else is able to do so. As for defining the perimeter of intervention for European security, Guillaume Lasconjirias said that the new types of conflict make it necessary to go beyond the defence of land, air and sea to include space, but also the seabed, which is becoming increasingly conflictual. He also detailed the risks linked to cyber space, analysing that it is not always clear where this type of threat is coming from. In this regard, we learned that NATO indicated in 2016 that a cyber attack could lead to the activation of Article 5 of its regulations and could trigger a response as if it were an armed attack. Edward Hunter Christie countered that the article had only been invoked once after 11 September 2001. He argued that NATO's threat is primarily intended to be a deterrent, but does not specify the nature of that response. In addition to the Atlantic Alliance's support for an ally under military attack, he pointed out that some countries were beginning to play a greater role in military cooperation, particularly in the Indo-Pacific. He pointed to the emergence of new agreements in this direction, for example between Japan and Australia, opening the way to new solutions...

'I'm optimistic that Europe can do much better than it has done so far in the field of defence. To do this, our leaders must make relatively bold choices to invest in our military and security capabilities in order to give ourselves the means to achieve our ambitions.'

Edward Hunter Christie

WALLS IN EUROPE: THE VALUES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AT RISK

EUROPE AT WAR

23 September 2022 | 10:30 - 12:00 | Nacre Room



Bénédicte Feuger, Lucia Gonzales, Elena Lazarou, Adelgard Scheuermann, Ferran Terradellas Espuny and Mikayil Tokdemir

Demolishing walls to build a better Europe

The EU has and still does come up against walls symbolising ideological divides. They go against its values: dignity; freedom; democracy; equality; rule of law; human rights. While the fall of the Berlin Wall opened up new stages of EU enlargement, walls still exist in Europe and others are being built. So what European levers can be activated to contribute to peace, mutual respect between peoples and the protection of human rights?

The session started with an interactive questioning with the classes present, to find out whether, according to the young people, there are still walls in the EU. The overwhelmingly positive response showed that the young people present were aware of this fact. As to where they stood, there were many and sometimes awkward answers: Poland, Hungary, Austria, Turkey, Spain, Ukraine, Greece, Slovakia, England, Belarus, Germany and even France. This first exchange accordingly highlighted the educational and civic interest of a

youth event, with the theme of the Berlin Wall as the main focus. Ferran Tarradellas Espuny was rather amused by this survey, explaining that *'he came from Spain to Normandy and didn't encounter any walls until he entered the Normandy World Peace Forum because a badge was required there'*. Adina Revol, who works at the European Commission, was born in Romania during the Iron Curtain era. She testifies that she only learned of the existence of a wall in Germany after it was destroyed. Martin Cartolano Loeffler,

MODÉRATEURS :

Mikayil TOKDEMIR, Director of the House of Europe in the Eure, EUROPE DIRECT Normandy Évreux

Bénédicte FEUGER, Director of the European Rural Carrefour of Actors in Normandy (CREAN) EUROPE DIRECT Normandie Vire

Lucia GONZALEZ, Centre Manager Europe Direct, Regional Information Centre Youth (CRIJ) Normandy Caen

SPEAKERS:

Elena LAZAROU, Policy Analyst, European Parliament Research Service (EPRS)

Ferran TARRADELLAS ESPUNY, Head of the Communication Sector at the Representation of the European Commission in France

Adelgard SCHEUERMANN, Professor of German, history and politics, a witness to the fall of the Berlin Wall

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

Collective for Normans and Europeans

who experienced the construction of the Berlin Wall from the East German side, has written about his experiences. Adelgard Scheuermann grew up in West Germany and was able to talk about the Berlin Wall from its construction to its destruction. His story captivated the young people: *'They built the wall on 13 August 1961. It was a small wall with barbed wire and people didn't believe it. At the last minute, some people jumped the first stones to go west. On 9 November 1989, all eyes in the world converged on Berlin. It was a surprise. Walls can come down in a few days, but this was the result of years of preparation by opposition groups, intellectuals and artists who had mobilised to be ready for the big day. Reunification and reconciliation have taken a long time. You have to have patience and know how to adapt to live together.'*

Physical disappearance, mental impact

This workshop is also marked by the testimony of the young generation, thanks to the many members of the CRIJ of Normandy (Regional Youth Information Centre). Chiara, a young German woman, admits that she does

not think about the Berlin Wall in her daily life. For her, it is more about the history of Germany and accordingly the history of the Second World War. However, she knows that *'older people often still make a mental separation between West and East Germany, a divide that leads to prejudice'*. This raises the question, alongside the physical disappearance of walls, of their mental imprint and whether or not ideological barriers are maintained. The young people present indicated, again by means of a real-time survey, the words they associated with the use of walls. The terms most often cited are *'separate, security, divide, control or protect'*. This session launched the third and final part of the morning, namely the topic of migration. Ferran Tarradellas Espuny stressed the need to further enlarge Europe, whose motto *'united in diversity'* shows the way. For him, the EU will not be complete until the Balkan countries join, which means accepting them with their differences, which must be seen as enriching. Like the Ukrainians who see the EU as an area of peace, freedom and democracy, he wants to see the enlargement of Europe, which breaks down walls that are sometimes visible, sometimes invisible. Elena Lazarou agrees with this idea. She reminds young people who may have been unaware that democratic and tourist countries such as Spain and Greece were once dictatorships. These states have changed their regimes, which is a precondition for joining the European Union. She explains that Turkey, which has wanted to join Europe for decades and has been an official candidate since 2004, has still not been admitted because the conditions for democracy and respect for human rights are not being adequately met. The testimony of a young Hungarian from the CRIJ, who reported on the current deleterious situation in Hungary, reminds us that nothing can be taken for granted, even in Europe. Walls against freedom of expression and democracy still exist and it is necessary to deconstruct them to build a better EU.

NATIONALISM: WHY IS THE WORLD CLOSING UP?

BORDERS, POWER ISSUES

24 September 2022 | 2:30 pm - 4:00 pm | Azur Room



Frédéric Encel, Philippe Le Corre, Xavier Chémisseur and Nicolas Bouzou

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From discourse to reality

'The fall of the Berlin Wall made it possible to imagine a different, more open world, embodied by the European market model and globalisation that was seen as beneficial, happy and peaceful. However, three decades later, the world seems to have closed up. Is this really the case and if so, why?' In response to this introduction by the moderator, Frédéric Encel argued that this questioning is first and foremost geopolitical. *'A lot of people believe that war is making a*

MODERATOR:

Xavier CHEMISSEUR, Editor-in-Chief
FRANCE 24

SPEAKERS:

Frédéric ENCEL, Professor of geopolitics,
Essayist, Consultant in international relations,
founder of the Trouville Geopolitical Meetings

Philippe LE CORRE, Teacher-researcher at
Harvard University, specialist in international
issues

Nicolas BOUZOU, Economist and Essayist

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:
**GEOPOLITICAL MEETINGS OF
TROUVILLE-SUR-MER**

return, thinking that it was buried a very long time ago. Yet it continued to wreak havoc in Africa in the 1990s and 2000s. But because this hell was happening on another continent, we were less interested in it.' He noted profound differences between the various types of nationalism, whether this concerns the Italian, Flemish, Catalan, French or Hungarian model. He observed that some of them do not necessarily advocate closing borders to the extent that one would expect, but rather a kind of self-containment, just as some regimes had tried to effect in the 1930s. *'Just because there's a proliferation of parties that want to be nationalist in Europe and elsewhere doesn't mean that once they come to power they will necessarily implement their programme.'* On the other hand, in Sub-Saharan Africa, in the Arab world and in part of East Asia, he reported a strong resurgence and instrumentalisation of clan, tribal or ethno-confessional themes to stir up the will to fight with neighbours.

Chinese nationalism

Philippe Le Corre in turn developed his vision of a hypothetical *'closure'* of the world. He took as an example the Peking Spring of 4 June 1989, which briefly sparked hope for the birth of democracy in China. The country simultaneously opened up commercially, making it a geopolitical power on a par with the United States. He stated his belief that trade has not answered the political question. Instead, it contributes to China's polarisation as a nation that exports but its access to the internet remains otherwise controlled. To him, the word *'polarisation'* accurately reflects the concept of multipolarity in a world where the poles have become stronger: that of the United States, China, Russia, the African continent... He found it interesting to compare the types of nationalism of the two dominant poles. He mentioned that of the United States, which *'still elected Donald Trump'* and that of the Middle Kingdom. *'The word nationalism fits especially well with the Chinese Communist Party, which could just as easily be the Chinese Nationalist Party, except that such a party already exists in Taiwan. In fact the Chinese Communist Party is synonymous with China because the party owns everything: the universities, the companies, the administrations, health, the army and the media. Nationalism is*

the Chinese religion'. In this regard, he declared that China's zero Covid policy isn't working and has created a domestic policy shock. With the Communist Party refusing any foreign vaccines, the country is becoming paralysed and experiencing a decline in growth. Now, as China represents the world's largest exporter, concern is mounting as its difficulties impact the European economy¹.

'China has based its power on its nationalism. All its decisions, whether geo-economic, geopolitical or military – including cyber-attacks on Taiwan – are made according to public opinion.'

Philippe Le Corre

The impact of globalisation

Nicolas Bouzou confirmed *'a clear rise in economic nationalism over the last decade or so, which goes hand in hand with political nationalism'*. This is true in France, as nationalist forces are winning a huge amount of support from voters. The economist stated that globalisation partly explains this trend. He also pointed to two mutually reinforcing phenomena. The first is innovation, which provides companies and consumers with new technical processes that make it possible to buy products and to trade. The second is globalisation, which results in increased competition between countries and encourages them to innovate. Such interactions contribute to *'a movement of creative destruction'*, in other words, phases of great upheaval that participate in the polarisation of ideas. The economist recognised a

¹ L'Opinion reported in September 2022 that China's strict public health strategy penalises 75% of European companies.



Frédéric Encel and Philippe Le Corre

© Nicolas Broquedis

breeding ground for nationalism in this split – between those who are ‘for’ or ‘against’ these profound changes. As such, he sees the strong rise of radical Islam in modernising Muslim countries as a symbol of reaction. According to him, fighting against nationalism requires being able to listen to those who are victims ‘of an open society’ even if he advocates it. This means that Nicolas Bouzou is, to a certain degree, critical of the laudatory discourses about innovation and globalisation. Being in favour of it should not exempt us from the intellectual exercise of fighting against the negative effects of a system that we consider positive. According to Frédéric Encel, the fact that the European Union has not managed to demonstrate its effectiveness in a tangible way opens the door to nationalist discourse. He recalled that the EU’s ambition since the 1957 Treaty of Rome has been an economic one. If its success on an industrial, normative or financial level is undeniable, he wondered whether we should now switch to a Europe that is a power in its own right. It is not impossible that Mr Putin’s imperialist nonsense could be part of it’ he says. He stated this situation may lead Europe to bang its fist on the table to indicate to nationalist countries that they must accept a number of common rules in return for European money. He also noted that Europe has been seeking to reclaim the manufacture of strategic products on EU soil since COVID-19

‘Social despair always constitutes one of the fundamental drivers of nationalism or, more precisely, a manipulation tool used by more or less fanatical or cynical politicians’.

Frédéric Encel

highlighted its dependence on China. As for the United States, Frédéric Encel does not believe a radical change in American policy towards China will happen because, while that country is highly critical of China in political terms, it is more open when it comes to the economy.

Proposed antidote

When asked about the antidote to nationalism, Nicolas Bouzou suggested that the solution would be to help people realise that this doctrine does not work. He also noted that in countries with free elections, the type of party that comes to power is not systematically reappointed. The example of vaccines in China, mentioned earlier by Philippe Le Corre, seemed to him to reveal a breach of the social contract between the rulers and their citizens, with the former guaranteeing the latter growth in return for authoritarian governance. Now, growth has disappeared in China but authority remains... The speaker took the case of the United Kingdom, which is experiencing a worrying financial crisis, as another example. In his view, what is happening across the Channel is not very surprising and confirms that nationalism does not work in the economic field and that ‘*such ideas should have disappeared of their own accord from the very end of the 18th century*’. Finally, he quoted the Nobel Prize winner for literature, Mario Vargas Llosa, who explains that ‘*nationalism is a by-product of human intelligence*’ based on the fact that there is no major nationalist intellectual work, as this view is based on the principle of oversimplification. According to Nicolas Bouzou, ‘*nationalism can be evocative, but it is not functional because it hits the wall of reality, as is currently happening with China, which refuses Western vaccines in favour of Chinese vaccines, which are much less effective.*’

ISRAEL – PALESTINE: WALLS, OBSTACLES TO PEACE

BORDERS, POWER ISSUES

23 September 2022 | 2:00 pm – 3:30 pm | Nacre Room



Elias Sanbar, Rony Brauman, Hala Kodmani, Hanna Assouline and Damien Simonneau

Tour and contours of a wall with variable geometry

Following the second intifada of 2002, the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, decided to build a wall separating Israel and the West Bank. Twenty years later, Hala Kodmani, a leading reporter for Libération and the moderator of the debate, invited us to question ourselves about this wall which, although impactful at the time of its construction, ‘*doesn’t shock us today, because we’ve become used to it*’. Damien Simonneau, lecturer at INALCO, was keen to begin by clarifying the nature of this separation. For if the collective imagination often represents it as this ‘*7-metre high concrete wall in Jerusalem, drawn on and tagged by a number of artists*’, 95% of it is, above all, a high fence reinforced with barbed wire and equipped with sensors. It is more wire mesh than concrete, then, and a complex security arrangement that regulates Palestinian mobility. Damien

Simonneau reminded us that it was built over nearly 700 km, which is much more than the ‘*Green Line*’, the border that separated Israeli forces from Arab forces from 1948 to 1967. He invited us to remember the precise reasons for this undertaking – why was this wall built? He mentioned three justifications. First, security: ‘*there was a need to respond to the increase in suicide attacks and the terrorist threat*’. Then, the demographic factor, which was understood to be Israel’s will to separate the Israeli and Palestinian populations, to limit intermarriage and thus ‘*to maintain the Jewish character of the state*’. Finally, from the Israeli point of view, this wall also stemmed from pressure on Sharon’s government (which, at the time, felt that ideologically, that the space between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River should not be separated and should

MODERATOR:

Hala KODMANI, Leading Reporter, Libération

SPEAKERS:

Hanna ASSOULINE, Documentary Director

Damien SIMONNEAU, Lecturer at the Institut National des Langues et des Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris

Rony BRAUMAN, former President of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), President of the Jury of the 2022 Freedom Prize

Elias SANBAR, former Ambassador of Palestine to UNESCO (2005-2021)

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rather be returned to the Israelis). With this context in mind, Damien Simonneau then questioned the reality of this wall, recognising that it has one constant: that of ensuring survival.

‘This wall has made it possible to move the conflict away from the main urban centres of the Israeli coast, the Mediterranean coast or sometimes Jerusalem. There is a strong symbolic effect of invisibility’.

Damien Simonneau

The speaker clarified the rather *‘illusory’* character of this separation, as the wall is extremely porous. It has known gaps, which today act as new control valves for the Palestinian population, assisting the Israeli military authority. Damien Simonneau explained that following the Israeli-Palestinian war of 2021 (a series of clashes led by Hamas between April and May), the government committed the sum of 93 million dollars to renovate, if not complete the separation wall. He concluded his speech by noting that today, *‘the wall no longer has any of the significance it might have had in 2002; no one sees it as a potential border.*

There are more questions about the differences in rights and settlement mobility in these spaces’.

Violence with multiple faces

Rony Brauman, former President of Médecins Sans Frontières and president of the Jury of the The 2022 Freedom Prize, recalled his visits to the Palestinian territories: *‘I saw the way the wall disfigured people’s lives’.* He observed the impact of the construction on both sides of the population, the *‘excluded’* (Palestinians) and *‘walled-in’* population. He effectively observed a real enclosure of Israeli society, which, beyond the violence it inflicts on the Palestinians, also operates in a completely unequal way. He cited the internal example of the survivors of the Shoah, of whom *‘a good part now live below the poverty line, even though they’re the emblems of a kind of moral alibi that excuses almost everything’.* Social violence within Israel that is reflected in *‘oblique indicators’*, is also fuelled by road rage, spousal violence and domestic violence, all of which are continually increasing. Coming back to the Palestinian side, in the West Bank and Gaza, Rony Brauman underlined *‘the occupation of space and time’* that this wall now represents to the populations. Elias Sanbar, former Palestinian Ambassador to UNESCO, took up the concept *‘of invisibility’* mentioned earlier, declaring that the wall allows the Israelis to *‘maintain the invisible status of the occupied people’* and to count on the investment of the local settlers. He added: *‘invisibility is a fundamental element in this history, since in 1948 the word Palestinian did not exist. We were Arab refugees; then it was Arabs of Israel, then Arabs of all the territories altogether’.* Addressing the role of the wall, he agreed that it is primarily a tool integrated into an overall system of control over the territory, pointing out that other or more insidious tools contribute in their own way to the

strangulation of the Palestinian lands. He cited *‘the bypass roads, on which Palestinians are forbidden to travel’*, as an example. These are evidence of the now total Israeli strangulation, of which the wall is in fact a very apparent figure.

‘Palestinians are by definition, by nature, absent, invisible and nameless’.

Elias Sanbar

Do not forget about peace

Hanna Assouline, director of the documentary *‘Women Wage Peace’* highlighted the role played by Israeli and Palestinian women; they are peacemakers, and too often rendered invisible for their taste. She described her encounters with them and other grassroots peace activists, *‘more numerous than we think’.* She pointed out that they want to *‘prepare the minds’* of the people and to revive the idea of a potential agreement and of a new peace. When asked by Hala Kodmani about the current status of the Women Wage Peace, the documentary filmmaker confirmed the persistence of the movement, pointing out that they regularly sit in front of the Knesset¹ to question the MPs. Hanna Assouline insisted on the need to relay the word



Hala Kodmani and Hanna Assouline

of all peacemakers, an undeniable factor, according to her, of progress in the *‘legitimisation of the other on both sides’.* The moderator then referred to the peace attempts in the past, which now seem remote. This was confirmed by Elias Sanbar, who stressed the need for addressing what he saw as the constant lack of equality in the conflict. According to him, there is a lamentable *‘permanent imbalance’* of power, both among negotiators and among pacifists: *‘we give solutions, we give territories... But the other side doesn’t realise that we’ve already accepted having only 20% of our homeland.’* Citing the tragedies of Kafr Qassem² (1956) and Sabra and Shatila³ (1982), he also highlighted *‘the absolute impunity’* of the State of Israel, to be fought with strength, so that one day a semblance of hope can be reached.

¹ The Knesset is the parliament of the State of Israel sitting in Jerusalem.

² The Kafr Qassem massacre refers to events on the eve of the Sinai invasion, when Israeli border police shot 48 Israeli Arab civilians in cold blood.

³ The Sabra and Shatila massacre was perpetrated in September 1982 against Palestinians in the Sabra neighbourhood and the Palestinian refugee camp of Shatila located in West Beirut, by the Christian militia of the Phalangists (estimated to be between 460 and 3,500 victims).

REFERENCES

- ▶ **162 000.** This is the number of Palestinians crossing the border in 2022, either with a permit approved by the military authority or through gaps in the wall.
- ▶ **84.** This is the number of ‘gates’ that allow passage to the Palestinian land between the Wall and the Green Line. Only 9 of them are open every day.
- ▶ **20.** This is the percentage of the ‘Arab-Israeli’ population in Israel, the descendants of the Palestinians who did not leave in 1948.

NORTH KOREA, WHAT IS BEHIND THE WALLS?

BORDERS, POWER ISSUES

23 September 2022 | 4:30 PM – 6:00 PM | Plenary



Véronique Mondon, Antoine Bondaz and Patrick Maurus © Nicolas Broquedis

Development aid as a means of decompartmentalisation

Antoine Bondaz proposed approaching this debate from a novel angle, i.e. discussing North Korea from the ground, and not from the prism of the media, or even through recent media events, as could be done in 2017 or 2018¹. He pointed out that before the country was closed due to COVID-19, it had four resident NGOs, all European, including two French ones. Contrary to what some people think, France and Westerners have very specific experience in their country. The European Union (EU) and its member states have been providing humanitarian aid to the communist regime since the late 1990s, following the occurrence of an unprecedented food crisis in the country. This led the moderator to say that some NGOs have even more knowledge and experience than China, Russia or the United States, which also conduct occasional missions

¹ Period of crisis between North Korea and the US due to missile and nuclear tests which greatly increased tensions in the region. The tensions have since decreased thanks in part to a declaration of 'denuclearisation' of the Korean peninsula.

in the country. To this end, he invited the two speakers who have lived in this closed country to talk about their experience. Patrick Maurus highlighted the many problems that have arisen between the North Korean authorities and the NGOs. The latter decided, rightly or wrongly, *'to criticise the way the North Koreans distributed foreign aid'*. This provoked a strong reaction from North Korea, which sought to expel them. Some NGOs have managed to remain by changing their names. Véronique Mondon, who resided there for a total of 8 years through

MODERATOR:

Antoine BONDAZ, Researcher at the Foundation for Strategic Research

SPEAKERS:

Véronique MONDON, Head of the Iraq mission at Triangle Génération Humanitaire.

Patrick MAURUS, Professor Emeritus of Korean language and literature at INALCO (Paris).

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

Foundation for Strategic Research

various stays in the state ruled with an iron fist by Kim Jong-un, rounded out the discussion by explaining that Pyongyang no longer recognises NGOs as their own entity but considers them to be offices of the EU, which funds the majority of humanitarian aid in North Korea. She notes that in 2006, the North Korean government claimed that humanitarian aid was no longer needed but that the Democratic Republic of Korea – its official name – needed development aid because of its obsolete technology in certain sectors. This information was supplemented by Patrick Maurus, who pointed out that this change in priority established a second stage of discussion since helping North Korea not to eat but to develop was *'violating UN prohibitions'*. He added that *'the Americans pushed hard to prevent this from happening'*.

'The European Union's development aid to North Korea proves more ambiguous than food aid because it raises the question of whether we should help North Korea prosper when they're not our friends. Some people even think that it might be better to ignore their difficulties, which raises ethical questions...'

Véronique Mondon

The walls of discord

Antoine Bondaz returned to the diplomatic relations of the EU and its Member States with North Korea. He indicated that the first contacts between Brussels and Pyongyang dated back to 2001, at a time when many Western European countries



Patrick Maurus

such as Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Ireland were scaling up their talks with the North Korean regime. Relations with the then communist Central European countries are older, as they contributed to the reconstruction of the country in the 1970s. Some nations such as Sweden, Finland, Switzerland or Austria had, for their part, a *'neutral'* attitude during the Cold War, which gives them a diplomatic role even today. For example, Sweden is the US consular authority in the country because the ties between Pyongyang and Washington have been cut. In practical terms, if something happens to US nationals on North Korean territory, the Swedish authorities will handle the situation. This also explains why following the high tensions in 2017 and 2018, some of the negotiations between the two states were held in Sweden. Patrick Maurus explained that he fell into Korea at a young age since he was *'in his father's luggage'*. At that time, his father was working in the land of the morning calm. Professionally, he has taught at 7 Korean universities scattered across *'the three Koreas'* as he calls them, namely South Korea and North Korea, but also Chinese Korea. This is an autonomous district that does not claim independence from Chinese rule and is radically different from the other two Koreas. *'It does a lot of good to go there to get out of the mutual barking*

between the North and the South' he attested. He illustrated the rift between these territories by explaining that each of them uses a specific name to refer to 'Korea', a way of demonstrating there can be no agreement. While the separation of the country has been effective since 1953, the academic pointed out that the separation between the two countries dates back to 1945 with a particularly hermetic border on the northern side.

'In North Korea, we know one thing: that a wall has four sides, two sides to prevent people leaving the country and two sides to prevent people entering it'.

Patrick Maurus

Antoine Bondaz also brought up this separation dating from the autumn of 1945 with two occupation zones, one Soviet in the north, the other American in the south, which divide the peninsula. Historically, these two occupation zones were supposed to merge and reform a Korea that had not been divided for almost a thousand years, at least institutionally. The creation of the two regimes in 1948 and then the invasion of the South by the North created a political but also a physical division, in the demilitarised zone, known as the DMZ. In addition to this land boundary, he noted that the maritime border poses many more problems. It has been the source of many of the inter-Korean incidents of the last twenty years. When asked to talk about literature in North Korea, the former professor of Korean languages and literature described mainly 'a combative literature' with which people are not allowed to disagree, as well as 'a realistic literature' that is about describing reality and simultaneously embellishing it. 'The authors describe people who are always a little bit better than they are in reality. They don't deny the problems but show how to solve them. The books always

have a strong didactic or pedagogical element, knowing that one can criticise what's changeable, as long as one stays within the framework set by the regime'.

Supporting the development of the local economy

Véronique Mondon related her experience as a humanitarian, specifying that it currently involves technical exchanges and development through long projects, which last at least 3 years. Interventions can be carried out in hospitals, but also in the food sector, in particular in very large collective high production farms, where up to 5000 people work. 'The humanitarians who work on the farms are agricultural engineers who have learned certain techniques that we're trying to mirror with the engineers or farmers in North Korea'. The head of the Iraq Mission at Triangle Génération Humanitaire reported that the NGOs are working to revise local agricultural practices, favouring more environmentally friendly practices. Although she had observed a good osmosis of approaches between European engineers and Korean engineers or farmers, she said that the challenges lie more in finding a farm that will accept a collaboration with foreign authorities. The NGOs manage to get farmers out of the country without too much difficulty, to attend field training in France or Belgium. However, she points out that political commissars are placed on these farms to look out for the slightest criticism of the regime. Nevertheless, the cohabitation works because Korea is aware of the positive impact of this cooperation. Patrick Maurus concludes that North Korea does not function like a pyramid with the great Kim Jong-un at the top and the others all at the bottom. 'It is a series of juxtaposed pyramids that have almost no connection with each other within a compartmentalised society'.

BLUE ISLAND



As part of the partnership between Docs Up Funds and Normandy for Peace, the film Blue Island was shown to the young people present at the Forum. The documentary tells the story of Hong Kong's tumultuous history through three pivotal periods of the island's story, marked by movements of major rebellion and numerous questions about relations with China.

Supported by Serge Gordey, representing Docs Up Funds, director Chan Tse Woon and producer Catherine Ki Chan came from Hong Kong to present their feature film to the Forum audience and answer Questions.



Catherine Ki Chan, Chan Tse Woon and Serge Gordey,

the 3 guests accompanied by Mr Mihalkovich and François-Xavier Priollaud.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR A DEMOCRATIC BELARUS?

BORDERS, POWER ISSUES

23 September 2022 | 16:30 - 18:00 | Auditorium



Democracy in Belarus: so far, so near...

Antoine Arjakovsky reminds us in the introduction of this debate that the 2020 presidential elections in Belarus were contested by observers and have not been recognised by the international community. According to official figures, the incumbent president, Alexander Lukashenko, who has been in power for decades, won with 80% of the vote. On the other hand, other sources indicate that the majority of votes were obtained by his opponent, Svetlana Tiranovskaya, which led to a mass protest. Pavel Latushka considers that Alexander Lukashenko should not be given the title of President because he 'lost the elections and is not recognised as such by France'. He thanked French diplomacy for this stance, which he said was 'a precious demonstration of solidarity with the Belarusian society and people'. According to the speaker, the regime will continue to repress opposition violently, which raises the question of whether the international community will let this happen. The opponent foretells: 'If Europe does not react, Belarusian society will no longer have faith in democracy, freedom or human rights'. This will underpin the idea that European diplomatic relations with Belarus are limited to commercial interests.

Pavel Latushka says that as deputy head of the United Transitional Cabinet, which garners opposition to Alexander Lukashenko, his task is to find and support political initiatives for a political transition. In particular, he explains to colleagues who want a democratic Belarus, the role of Alexander Lukashenko in the war in Ukraine, calling him a co-author of the conflict. 'He is the only Putin ally who has offered all his territory to the Russian armed forces, who have stationed 20,000 soldiers and fired 700 missiles.'

Without Alexander Lukashenko, the war might not have happened. The problem is now Europe-wide and action is urgently needed. As such, he advocates issuing a very firm ultimatum to the Belarusian dictator, including 'a complete severing of Belarusian financial systems to the point of an embargo if necessary'.

He also wants all Russian military bases to be withdrawn from Belarus and demands that no negotiations with Alexander Lukashenko be conducted without the participation of his organisation. 'We are the government of the new Belarus and nobody can decide the fate of our people behind our backs'.

MODERATOR:

Antoine ARJAKOVSKY, Director of Research, Collège des Bernardins

SPEAKERS:

Pavel LATUSHKA, Former Belarusian Minister of Culture

Alice SYRAKVASH, Co-president of the association Communauté des Belarusses in Paris

Violaine DE VILLEMEUR, Special Envoy for Belarus

Jakub PRZETACZNIK, researcher, European Parliament Research Service

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

Collège des Bernardins

'Alexander Lukashenko killed his political opponents. He keeps more than 1,300 political prisoners in prison, an official figure that is a fraction of the real number. He has liquidated the independent media, closed down associations and suppressed all forms of opposition, causing hundreds of thousands of Belarusians to leave the country so as to flee the repression.'

Pavel Latushka

The tightening vice,

specified by Violaine de Villemeur in the preamble of her speech highlighted that Belarus is a member of the United Nations and that the country is recognised by France. She referred to the European Union's sanctions against it, the first of which date back to September 2004. These targeted measures were suspended by the European Council in 2015 and then fully lifted in February 2016, following the release of all political prisoners and due to the change in Belarus' attitude and improved relations with the EU.

She considered that 'this first set of sanctions had been successfully concluded

before a second set of sanctions was put in place following the fraudulent presidential elections in August 2020'. The special envoy for Belarus from the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs in Paris also reports on the 'most serious incident' of 23 May 2021, when an intra-European flight was forced to land illegally in Minsk to arrest an opposition journalist who was flying over Belarusian territory. This 'international piracy' had also led to sanctions, notably financial or commercial. Violaine de Villemeur then lists the objectives sought by these measures: to target the authorities in order to push them to change their behaviour and respect the commitments they had made in the framework of the organisation of security cooperation in Europe; to prevent new acts of air piracy in the particularly dangerous Belarusian airspace; to avoid the circumvention of the sanctions adopted against Russia through Belarus. As for the effectiveness of these provisions, she considered that the sanctions put real pressure on the authorities and could be having a preventive effect on violence against the population. In the longer term, she considered that 'the international community's lack of confidence in the Belarusian economy may have a beneficial effect'. Finally, she stressed that France and the EU would continue to support refugees and democratic forces abroad in preparing for the post-Lukashenko era.

Preparing for the post-Lukashenko era

In line with the previous speaker, Jakub Przetacznik said that the EU had begun to provide direct assistance to the victims of repression in Belarus since 2020 as well as support for civil society organisations and independent media. This includes non-material but equally important aid: legal advice, training, assistance to help students who want to leave the country, etc. He pointed out that the European commission had adopted a plan for the democratic future of Belarus in 2021, with 3 billion euros to support the country's economy and its stabilisation, as well as economic reforms to initiate the beginnings of democratic

change in the country. Such an outcome will be conditional on actions related to respect for human rights and freedom of expression: an end to repression, freedom for political prisoners, return of exiles who wish to return, free elections, freedom of the press and media...

In this context, the European Parliament intends to play a key role in mobilising the Member States and the European Commission. In this respect, Jakub Przetacznik recommends the implementation of the European Commission's plan: to ensure the protection of human rights advocates by granting them emergency visas, to increase support for democracy advocates, to establish evidence of human rights breaches in preparation for legal action, including against Alexander Lukashenko and to strengthen the dialogue with representatives of democratic forces in Belarus *'The Parliament considers that this is a golden opportunity for Belarus to change its country in a fundamental way and that it is necessary to anticipate these future changes now'*.

Solidarity to cope

Alice Syrakvash testifies that her country has been experiencing a tragedy since 2020, the date of the last elections when many Belarusians fled abroad. These exiles felt the need to show solidarity with a people who were expressing their overwhelming support for the opposition candidate. She tells how she witnessed clear fraud in the polling station of the official Belarusian embassy in Paris where she was. She organised an exit poll. This poll indicated that 210 people had voted, while at the end of the election, Alexander Lukashenko had... 229 additional votes¹ *'We understood that this embassy did not represent the Belarusian people who need democracy and free elections. We then created a worldwide Belarusian diaspora network with associations in each country'*. Mentioning that this movement is intended to provide information about the actual situation in Belarus - because unfortunately not everything is translated or reported - but also to maintain cultural

¹ The daily, Le Monde, had headlined 'Belarusian election: the mystery of 200 'ghost' votes at the Paris embassy'.

links, the co-president of the association, *'Community of Belarusians in Paris'* insisted that her people are part of European history. This structure also helps exiles who arrive in Europe and who are often destitute: *'The members of our association have helped Ukrainian refugees on French soil with logistics and translation'*. She ended her remarks with the last words spoken in court by Marfa Rabkova, a Belarusian human rights advocate sentenced to 15 years in prison: *'(...) I plead not guilty to all charges. I consider them fabricated from start to finish, absurd, invented by the officers of the Directorate General against Organised Crime and Corruption. Neither do I regard the thousands of people languishing in prison in our country as guilty. Every individual has rights, every individual is a human being, every opinion must be respected, and life and liberty are supreme and absolute values'*.

'Solidarity is important to us. That of our people in 2020 has inspired us enormously. People supported each other during the repressions, even if they didn't know each other.'

Alice Syrakvash

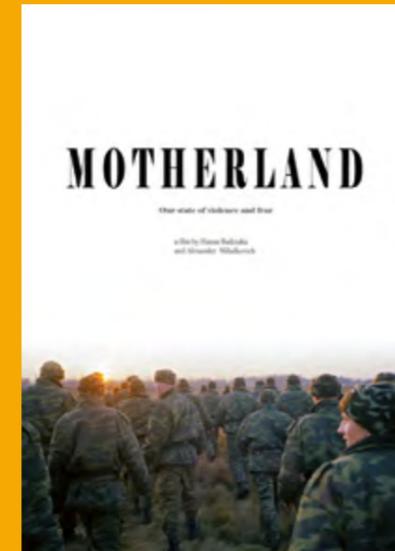
HISTORY IS BEING MADE AT THE NORMANDY WORLD PEACE FORUM

By inviting Pavel Latushka to the debate, the Normandy Region did more than just open the floor to an expert from his country. It allowed an official Representative of the Belarusian opposition in exile to express himself, a group led by Svetlana Tikhanovskaya, officially recognised by the Western community as the legitimate leader of Belarus. Pavel Latushka warmly thanked the Normandy World Peace Forum and sent a timely message, as the autocratic regime of Alexander Lukashenko continues its internal policy of repression and its external policy of supporting Russia in the war in Ukraine.

MOTHERLAND

Also in partnership with Docs Up Funds, the documentary *Motherland*, in a first, non-final version, was offered to the audience at the Normandy World Peace Forum. The film features a journalist, Hanna Badziaka and a former military conscript, Alexander Mihalkovich, in an attempt to break the silence on the abuse of young recruits in the Belarusian army and thus expose the consequences of autocratic and institutional violence on an entire society.

Serge Gordey from Docs Up Funds and Mr Mihalkovich were present at the screening to introduce the documentary and answer initial questions.



INTERNET: NEW OPENINGS, NEW BORDERS

IMMATERIAL WALLS

23 September 2022 | 10:30 - 12:00 | Auditorium



Weaving the web while avoiding its pitfalls

By proposing a geopolitical approach to the digital world, this workshop addressed its great paradox: infinite access to information and a feeling of freedom, but a use that is controlled by economic or political forces. How can this public space be pacified? How to get around the walls created by algorithms that often lock users into the same bubbles and expose them to hate speech?

Members of the association, 'Centre for Training in Active Educational Methods' (CEMÉA) explained at the beginning of the workshop that they were going to meet young people to discuss their digital practices with them. The only one of its kind in France, the initiative entitled, 'Éducation aux écrans' (Education on Screens) is an initiative from Normandy which, in particular, makes it possible to discuss certain dangers of the Web: addiction to social networks, misinformation, moral or sexual harassment, etc. Founded in

1937 and recognised as being a public utility, the CEMÉA association seeks to disseminate the ideas of Popular Education and New Education on a national and international scale. Pascale Garreau presented SavoirDevenir.net, which focuses more on ethical and human rights issues through the media. Interactive through quizzes, videos and questions/answers, the workshop started with a playful video animation, with archival footage that tells the story of the beginnings and birth of the Web. The young audience

discovered the first page of the famous acronym www. (World Wide Web) and the story of its creator, the American researcher Tim Berners-Lee, at the dawn of the Internet.

A new revolution was born...

The distant days of utopias. Originally, the 'open, free and transparent' web was intended 'for sharing knowledge'. As early as 2004, the researcher warned of all kinds of risks and abuses: takeover of the technology by a State or a private company, manipulation, espionage, censorship, etc. All these phenomena are unfortunately well known today. Pascale Garreau addressed another, lesser known issue. She explained that the Web is unequal because of American predominance, both economically (through GAFA ¹) and technically (control of root server centres). She also mentioned the use of the Internet to influence information based on real-time data, notably through algorithms that can be harmful. As such, she detailed how 'confirmation bias' is used to find totally irrational or outlandish content on the Internet that leads individuals and communities to self-persuade themselves of beliefs that are disproved by facts or science. The workshop is highly operational and provides advice on how to get around Internet tracking. Information on browsers was provided in an exchange with the audience. One

MODERATOR:

François LABOULAIS, National Director assistant in the national association, Ceméa

SPEAKERS:

Pascale GARREAU, co-founder and editorial director of the association SavoirDevenir.net

Théophile HLADKY, in charge of media, information and digital literacy education at Ceméa

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

Centre for Training in Active Educational Methods



student said that she cut herself off from certain social networks for a period of time in order to 'detox'...

Hate speech

The broadcasting of a video on hate speech marked the second highlight of this workshop, which also deciphered the mechanisms that lead to sexist or racist speech, particularly under the guise of anonymity. Pascale Garreau also explains how these scourges are the result of individual and collective resentment and advocates the 'AIR' method: Analyse, Interpret and React! Some of the young people present admitted to having sent 'unpleasant' messages over the Internet. The workshop also looked at issues related to privacy, image rights and, more broadly, respect for the dignity of each individual, a subject that addresses everyone. In conclusion and without ever using an accusing or moralising tone, this workshop made an audience, that is familiar with the Web and social networks, reflect on their practices, in the hope that their enjoyment of these will become more responsible. In other words, weave their own web on the net without falling into its traps!

¹ Acronym for Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon. Term used by extension to define the American digital and new technology giants from Silicon Valley

PERSECUTED UYGHURS: HOW CAN WE BREAK DOWN THE WALLS OF SILENCE?

IMMATERIAL WALLS

23 September 2022 | 4:30 PM – 6:00 PM | Plenary



Rémi Castets, Marine Mazel, Baptiste Fallevoz, Laurence Defranoux and Jean-Claude Samouiller

From crime against humanity to genocide

'This debate focuses on one of the greatest tragedies of the current century, namely the fate of the Uyghur population in China who, for decades, but especially in recent years, have been subjected to extremely brutal repression by the Chinese authorities because of their Muslim origin.' Baptiste Fallevoz launched the discussion by mentioning the Uyghur people located

MODERATOR:

Baptiste FALLEVOZ, Chief Editor and Columnist at France 24

SPEAKERS:

Rémi CASTETS, Lecturer in the Department of Chinese of Chinese Studies at the University of Bordeaux Montaigne

Laurence DEFRANOUX, Asia Journalist, Libération

Marine MAZEL, Mission Officer at the Uyghur Institute of Europe

Jean-Claude SAMOUIILLER, President of Amnesty International France

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

Amnesty International

in the Xinjiang region in northwest China. Jean-Claude Samouiller indicated that Amnesty International France classifies the Chinese persecution as a crime against humanity, i.e. *'an organised system of persecution of a people'*. The NGO does not have the evidence to use the term genocide, the definition of which is very precise in international law as it refers to *'the eradication of a population or part of a population'*. Marine Mazel no longer agrees on the lack of evidence. She pointed out that the Uyghur institute she represents does not work at the same level as Amnesty International. *'Our group of researchers, activists, psychologists and sinologists aims to push the boundaries'*. She also stated that a court of opinion¹ has spent a year investigating, collecting and cross-checking evidence, listening

¹ This is a deliberative assembly that denounces acts that it considers reprehensible, particularly those relating to international law. Publicised by the media, this type of trial with jurists and a jury pronounces fictitious sentences based on real legislation.

to experts or hearing from concentration camp survivors. This work resulted in a judgement in December 2021 that recognised the genocide, contrary to the UN report, which was nevertheless damning for China.

'Today, there's a consensus among scientists and experts in international law that this is indeed genocide, contrary to the report of Ms Bachelet, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.'

Marine Mazel

Big brother is watching you

Rémi Castets acknowledged that the issue divides the scientific community because the notion of genocide is legally restrictive. He stated that the solution lies in answering the following question: *'Is the evidence undeniable and sufficiently convergent to demonstrate the Chinese will to eradicate an entire people?'* Like other speakers, he denounced the violent forced sterilisation policies that have been in place for several years and which have reached a level never before seen in China, with a system that extends to all the prefectures where the Uyghurs live. In some areas, the birth rate has fallen by 84%. The dramatic issue of internment camps was also discussed. The academic specified that it is difficult to obtain and verify reliable information on the number of people concerned, those who come out of them and in what conditions, specifying that the Chinese system of *'de-radicalisation'* proves to be especially complex with different methods and layers of persecution. His words were starkly evocative of George Orwell's 1984. In a way, this pressure also applies to their defenders.



'Le peuple ouïghour est sans doute le peuple le plus surveillé au monde par un réseau de caméras dantesque, par des check points à tous les coins de rue et par des intrusions. La police peut prendre votre téléphone pour connaître son contenu et, selon le cas, vous emprisonner.'

Jean-Claude Samouiller

'All those who denounce China's attitude experience pressure' confirms Marine Mazel, referring in particular to institutions, researchers, journalists, MPs and other players. This brought up the question of the *'wall of silence'* that activist associations have managed to break. How did they do it? The young woman replied that you need to tell a story that will touch and raise awareness and make people react. The Uyghur Institute of Europe focused its message on consumer products made in the 1,200 concentration camps stained with blood and forced labour. *'Together with MEP Raphaël Gluckmann, we drew up a list of the brands of shame, explaining, primarily to young people, that they were indirectly complicit in the persecution of the Uyghur people. This action really*

raised the awareness of this public, who felt they had a duty of conscience'. This mobilisation makes it possible to take the message to politicians to make them act on a legislative level. Accordingly, there are plans which will require European companies to trace the raw materials that make up their production, as is the case in the United States, in order to combat forced labour.

The walls of shame

Jean-Claude Samouiller recalls that China denied the existence of concentration camps before being presented with undeniable proof thanks to satellite images. *'The wall of denial is cracking and we must continue to break it down so that the international community knows what's really happening in this region of China'*. His description of the situation was chilling. He talked about 1.8 million people being locked up in 2018, but also about house arrest for some, travel bans for others and permanent surveillance. All of this is done arbitrarily and for the sole reason that they are Uyghur women and men. The phenomenon is becoming exponential, with the speaker reporting a tenfold increase in the number of people imprisoned in Xinjiang between 2016 and 2017, with additional long prison sentences for over 90% of the 400,000 citizens. He also talked about the torture and sexual violence being perpetrated against them. In light of this, should we continue to engage in dialogue with China as France does? Laurence Defranou thought so, but immediately pointed out that this is not enough. The journalist also wondered about the nature of these exchanges. She pointed out that direct trade between Xinjiang and the European Union has increased by 136% in one year, with more than one billion euros worth of imported products made under the conditions that we are now aware of. Instead, she advocated banning the import of Xinjiang products into the European Union, as North America does, unless it can be proven

that the goods are not the result of forced labour. She stated that *'The burden of proof must be reversed'*, explaining that commercial pressure will be heard more by Beijing than talk of men's and women's rights. Rémi Castets confirmed that China is dependent on its international partners and that trade could indeed be a weapon. The problem, according to him, is that the West is also economically dependent on China. One of the avenues would be to counter the Chinese soft power strategy on a global scale by rallying Africa and the Arab world, who are so far relatively unaware of the situation, to the cause of the Uyghurs. In fact, a veritable omerta is practised on the subject by certain Muslim-majority countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia or Morocco. To wrap up the title of the debate, the president of Amnesty International invited the participants *'to communicate on the repression of the Uyghurs as the Normandy World Peace Forum does to break the walls of silence'*...

IMPORTANT REMINDER

The debates of the Normandy World Peace Forum included exchanges between the speakers and the audience. These moments were extremely valuable as they allowed the questions of the latter to be answered. Here is an example with spectators who wanted to know 'how the state can put pressure on French brands that indirectly endorse forced labour', 'how students could act to help the Uyghur cause', 'how Chinese opinion reacts to these actions', 'what was the UN doing to fight this genocide' or 'whether the Chinese embassy in France could extradite Uyghurs and whether France was taking in refugees'. Unfortunately, due to lack of space, our summary cannot include these particularly rich discussions. But don't worry: you can find them in a video along with the full content of the talks at <https://normandiepourlapaix.fr/>

LIFTING THE WALLS OF INEQUALITY

IMMATERIAL WALLS

23 September 2022 | 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM | Gold Room



Ahmed Galai, Magali Lafourcade, Nicole Ameline and Jonas Bochet

An anthem to the rights of men and women

The growing division between rich and poor threatens social cohesion and hinders economic growth. Investing in reducing inequality means investing in all areas of sustainable development: preserving the planet, fighting poverty and ensuring sustainable growth. The aim of this workshop was to explore different aspects of inequalities throughout the world and in France, as well as concrete ways to reduce them.

Nicole Ameline, President of the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, launched this youth event, with a vibrant message to the high school and university students present. *'You're the heart of this World Forum for Peace and the heart of the priorities of the Institute for Human Rights and Peace. The idea of walls, whether real or virtual, contradicts tolerance, openness to others and a sense of otherness. The most fundamental inequality is still*

that between men and women in law. We must absolutely trust international law, the international system, the universal foundation of human rights. It is extremely important that you be the vanguard of this support for the law.'

An interactive workshop

Ahmed Galai was invited to address the issue of inequality in the world, highlighted by some startling figures:



Nicole Ameline

50% of primary school age children live in conflict zones when out of school, only 32 countries allow same-sex marriage and 2.9 billion people have never used the internet in their lives. This last figure resonated with the young viewers present who are used to living in an ultra-connected world. They were asked to indicate on a map the places on the planet where they felt the most inequality existed. The 2015 Nobel Prize winner, who was rewarded for his contribution to the democratic transition in Tunisia, proposed 'building bridges' instead of

MODERATOR:

Benoist CHIPPAUX, Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

SPEAKERS:

Ahmed GALAI, Nobel Prize winner and defender of human rights

Magali LAFOURCADE, Secretary General of the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights (Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'Homme – CNCDH)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

walls. He spoke of rising inequalities and criticised the widening gap between rich and poor. Ahmed Galai underlined the impact of climate disruption, which, like war, is driving millions of people to migrate with their children. He insisted that 'there's an urgency to act, to say no and to be creative in finding solutions together'.

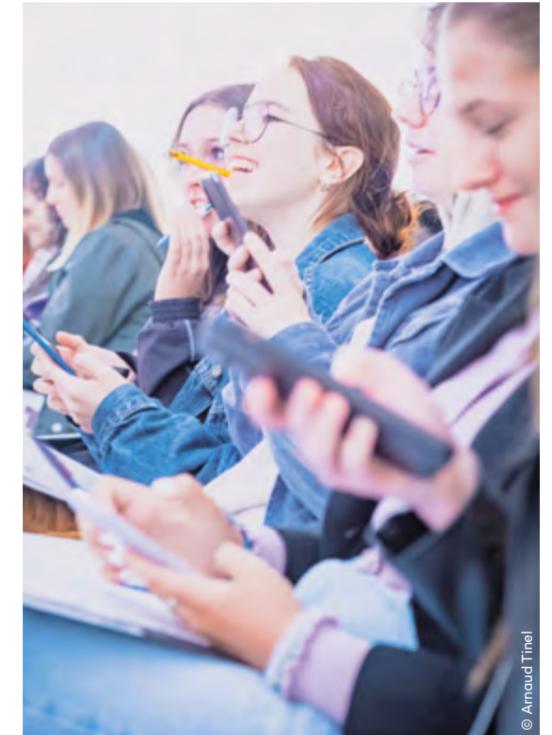
'The 500 richest people in the world have a combined income higher than that of 416 million of the poorest people. This is a humanistic indecency at a time when 600 million people live in extreme poverty and 262 million children are out of school.'

Ahmed Galai

In France too

As an awareness-raising tool, this workshop also proved its educational worth. While all the young people present were aware of the inequalities in the world, they realised that this scourge also affects our country, albeit proportionately. An original activity consisted of presenting the school classes present with a press drawing, to encourage them to decide whether or not this drawing reflected the situation in France. The aim was to get them to react to the difficulties in terms of access to education, health care, culture and leisure activities, equality between men and women and the issues of disability or fair justice, among others. This was an opportunity for these young citizens to learn that French law lists 25 criteria for discrimination. Magali Lafourcade presented the role of the CNCDH¹ and took advantage of her speech to remind young people of their

rights, from freedom to demonstrate to freedom to vote. She appreciated that the younger generations have the legitimacy to stand up and be indignant in the face of inequalities. 'You can be very optimistic in action when you're very pessimistic in the diagnosis' she explained. Echoing these words, a real-time survey, conducted on the cohort of young people present indicated that 85% of them do not feel that their views are sufficiently taken into account and heard by decision-makers. Engagement on social networks, demonstrations and awareness-raising among young people by young people are their preferred means of action. Benoist Chippaux explained that recommendations on the theme of quality education were made by high school students in Normandy to the Region with concrete actions: more in-depth learning about rights in schools, organising discussion groups led by students, etc. However, the measure that caught the attention of the day's assembly was the need for more staff to be present and to listen to issues regarding mental health and harassment. The workshop ended with the testimony of two high school students, Sokona and Nina, who worked on the issues of sustainable development through a



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specific topic. 'Our priority was to try to change stereotypes because they don't belong in society and also to have an impact long term' explained these students, who addressed the issue of sexual harassment in class. It is a problem in society and is taboo because we don't talk about it among ourselves. Young people aren't necessarily aware of this and when they're victims of aggression, they normalise it in some way'. These are words to reflect on!

'Young people have a strong political awareness and have understood the stakes in the fight against all inequalities'

Magali Lafourcade



Benoist Chippaux and Ahmed Galai

¹ Institution nationale des droits de l'Homme, la CNCDH a trois missions principales : conseiller les pouvoirs publics en matière de droits de l'Homme, contrôler le respect par la France de ses engagements internationaux en la matière et éduquer aux droits humains.

JOURNALISTS: THOSE VOICES BEYOND THE WALLS

IMMATERIAL WALLS

23 September 2022 | 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM | Azur Room



Zoïa Svetova, Grégory Rayko and Antoine Bernard

The freedom of the imprisoned press

As an introduction to this debate, Gregory Rayko rattled off these figures from another time that are nonetheless topical. He said, *'572 journalists are imprisoned at the time of this debate, which is also intended to champion the legislative walls of censorship and the digital walls that simply prevent people from accessing content'*. Antoine Bernard, an acknowledged expert and practitioner of human rights, international justice and NGOs, saw the awarding of the 2021 Nobel Peace Prize to Russian Journalist Dmitri Muratov¹ and Filipina Maria Ressa², as a clear signal in favour of freedom of expression, which *'forces us to shed light on these walls that enclose journalism and on the attempts of some to bypass these*

MODERATOR:

Grégory RAYKO, Head of International Section, The Conversation France

SPEAKERS:

Antoine BERNARD, Director of Advocacy & Assistance at Reporters Without Borders (RSF)

Zoïa SVETOVA, Journalist at Novaya Gazeta

Denis KATAEV (video), Russian Journalist from Dojd in residence at Radio France

ZACH (video), Filipino Editorial Cartoonist

walls and keep people informed'. However, the speaker also expressed concern about *'the epidemic of imprisoning journalists, a figure that has been steadily rising in recent years'*. China, Burma and Belarus make up the grim podium of countries in which journalists are arbitrarily detained. Other countries include Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran and Morocco. *'I'd like to mention two countries in particular. Eritrea, which holds the sad record of having the world's longest detained journalist, Dawit Isaak, who was arrested in 2001, as well as Cameroon where 72-year-old journalist Amadou Vamouké, began his seventh year in prison last July after 127 postponements of his trial.'* Antoine Bernard also denounced *'the wall of denigration'* of journalists on social networks. In addition to its psychological impact, this hatred can also lead to physical violence. He also recounted the

¹ Dmitri Muratov was one of the co-founders and editors-in-chief of the newspaper Novaya Gazeta, one of the few remaining independent publications in Russia, where dissent is met with fierce repression.

² Maria Ressa co-founded the digital investigative journalism platform, Rappler, in 2012, which shone a spotlight on 'the controversial and deadly anti-drug campaign of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte's regime.

abusive complaints of powerful people who, under pressure due to investigations and reports, try to neutralise journalistic work with spurious appeals to silence journalists, or at least corrupt and delay their work. Finally, he criticised the legislative wall that consists of using national laws to reduce or even destroy the international provisions that protect freedom of expression and press freedom. RSF's Advocacy and Assistance Director acknowledged the right of democracies to keep information confidential for security reasons. On the other hand, he launched the debate on *'business confidentiality'* which is increasingly invoked to withhold information of public interest. *'There's always a sensitive point of balance to be found between journalism and its social function'* he explained, taking the opportunity to denounce the covert practices of surveilling journalists³. As for digital walls, Antoine Bernard alluded to China and its control of the Internet, and extended it to the digital world, where disinformation and propaganda circulate six times faster than reliable information (that which is collected, verified, cross-checked and rectified if necessary, i.e. information that is regarded as journalistic).



Antoine Bernard et Grégory Rayko

³ Spyware such as Pegasus or the Predator malware virus were cited. These malicious tools are used in some countries to hack into the communications of human rights activists, political opponents, public figures and, of course, journalists.

'Only about fifty countries in the world are lucky enough to have free and pluralistic information. There can be no freedom of opinion if there's a wall between citizens and reliable information. This is a major problem.'

Antoine Bernard

Russian journalists speak out freely

A journalist at Novaya Gazeta, Zoya Svetova, says her Russian media suspended operations on 28 March 2022 after the launch of *'the special military operation'*, a euphemism for the outbreak of the conflict with Ukraine. *'Those of us who live in Russia aren't allowed to describe what's happening in Ukraine because just using the word "war" can get us 15 years in prison'*. Even though her newspaper is no longer in print, the journalist continues to publish articles on *'free'* websites. Zoya Svetova, an author, who was named a Knight of the Legion of Honour in 2020 and winner of the Sakharov Prize, testified that *'freedom of speech no longer exists in Russia, nor does freedom of conscience'*. However, she remains hopeful. *'I tell myself that wars will end one day and dictatorships will fall. Then we'll have the chance to reformat the future'*. In the meantime, the journalist used her freedom of speech at the Normandy World Peace Forum to castigate Vladimir Putin. *'When he came to power in 2000, we knew he was from the KGB but our Russian oligarchs forgot about him and wanted to see him as a young democratic leader. Bit by bit, his mafia-like entourage and secret services have taken over, seeking in particular to remove potential opponents via the*

*Foreign Agents Law*⁴ of which more than 200 journalists in our country are victims'. As a result, journalists are leaving Putin's Russia and the few independents who remain risk either mobilisation or prison for high treason. For example, his compatriot Denis Kataev, a Russian journalist in residence at Radio France, had to flee his country after the closure of the independent channel Dojd for which he worked. The channel is still broadcast on YouTube from Europe and has three million subscribers. It already allows his fellow citizens to hear a different voice from the pro-government Russian television and wants to keep informing not just Russians but also Europeans.

'Even in exile, I believe that we can change Russian public opinion because it is progressive minorities that change history. I've seen a lot of tension in my country since the beginning of the conflict and panic after Vladimir Putin's declared mobilisation.'

Denis Kataev

The Philippines in the sights of the International Criminal Court

Zach, a Filipino Editorial Cartoonist, looked back at the dark periods in his country's history. The country has been under martial law for the past five years, echoing the 1970s and 1980s, before democracy took hold (in the 1990s and 2000s) and before the return of terror. Zach reported on a massacre of 59 journalists in the southern Philippines in 2009. Former President Rodrigo Duterte,

⁴ This law was passed in Russia in 2012. It obliges organisations receiving funding from abroad to register as such with the Ministry of Justice and to mark their publications with this term. Its scope was later broadened to include individuals, such as journalists or bloggers.



Dessin de ZACH (video)

who was in power from 2016 to May 2022, has been portrayed as violent in his actions and unpredictable in his methods. In addition to his outrageous comments, he is the subject of serious accusations. In his fight against drugs, he is suspected of having ordered the summary execution of hundreds of people and even of having participated personally. Believing that the end justifies the means, and buoyed by the confidence of the electorate, he symbolised the archetype of the all-powerful leader. He nevertheless decided not to stand for re-election in 2022, in accordance with the country's constitution, which allows only one term. The profile of his successor, Ferdinand Marcos Junior, son of former dictator Ferdinand Marcos, does not bode well for a country where disinformation reigns supreme and freedom of expression is suppressed. 'I've been threatened and harassed because of my cartoons, but that gives me even more motivation to keep doing my work. Defending the truth has really become a battle cry of many journalists, citizens and civil society actors who are being persecuted in the Philippines'. Antoine Bernard maintains that the Philippine Archipelago, which has long been in the sights of international organisations, including the International Criminal Court, should not emerge unscathed from its abuses. Amnesty International is committed to denouncing, but also to exposing, acts of abuse throughout the world. In Ukraine alone, the NGO has filed 7 complaints concerning 50 events involving crimes against journalists and the media. It has also opened a Ukrainian press freedom centre to support 600 journalists in the country and found funds to try to support the media there. And in this way, it is fighting to make the voice of journalists heard beyond the walls...

EUROPE-AFRICA: HOW TO AVOID A RUPTURE?

IMMATERIAL WALLS

24 September 2022 | 14:30 - 16:00 | Auditorium



Alain Antil, Niagalé Bagayoko, Moussa Tchangari (video), Valériane Gauthier and Pierre Vimont

I love you, I love you not

Valériane Gauthier began with an overview of relations between Europe and Africa. She described the burning of French flags in Chad and Mali's decision to break off relations with Paris and move closer to Moscow. She also cited the abstention of many African countries during the vote on the UN resolution on the war in Ukraine, an abstention that was resented by their European colleagues. Niagalé Bagayoko offered several explanations. The explanation relating to the past and the

liabilities of the colonial legacy are still valid but *'nowadays, they are overemphasised'* according to her. The acceleration of the deterioration of the links between Europe and Africa is, according to her, mainly due to the Sahel crisis because of the divergent strategic interpretations to which it has given rise. *'Too often this crisis has been seen as a way to fight terrorism and migration to the continent of Europe'*. However, for her, it is *'a real insurgency that is jihadist and politico-military in nature. The rebellions are seeking to assert autonomist claims that have led to the fall of democratically elected regimes'*. The European approach to the crisis did not, in her view, do justice to the complexity of the local environment. The lack of results in relation to the resources deployed has even led some to believe that the EU is in fact complicit with the jihadists.

A dialogue of the deaf

Pierre Vimont argued that the relationship between the European Union and Africa

MODERATOR:

Valériane GAUTHIER, Journalist-Presenter France 24

SPEAKERS:

Niagalé BAGAYOKO, President of the African Security Sector Network

Alain ANTIL, Researcher and Director of the Sub-Saharan Africa Centre at IFRI

Pierre VIMONT, Research Associate at Carnegie Europe

Seidik ABBA, journalist and writer

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

African Security Sector Network

is *'running on empty'*. He recommended analysing the causes of this 'dialogue of the deaf'. The colonial past cannot be trivialised, he said. *'Of the six founding states of the European Economic Community, born of the Treaty of Rome, two were former colonial powers that insisted on maintaining links with Africa'*. He goes on to discuss geopolitical issues, arguing that in its structural relationship with Europe, Africa is still hung up on the Caribbean and Pacific countries which have evolved in a totally different way. In this respect, he regretted the organisation of the European Commission, which continued to distinguish between North Africa and the rest of the continent through directorates that work in silos. He also criticised the EU-Africa summits for their lack of listening and dialogue, although he did acknowledge some recent progress. For him, *'Europe still has difficulty in understanding the evolution of the African continent, its economy and its new dynamics, in the digital field for example'*. He regretted that the EU is only dealing with two factors that directly impact on it: immigration and security, including the situation in the Sahel. Alain Antil notes that most European countries solely have a recent or almost non-existent relationship with the African continent, citing the Baltic States, Norway and some Central European

countries. The risk would be to focus all relations between the two continents on Franco-French history. He pointed out that France had intervened militarily more than fifty times since independence, unlike the British, who had had an equally large colonial domain. He also mentioned an evolution of the relationship between Europe and Africa over time. Until the late 1990s, the EU was the main trading partner of the African continent. Since the 2000s, Africa has become more global with investors from the Gulf States, Asia, Russia and Brazil.

'There is a form of mistrust on the part of the European citizen with regard to the effectiveness of the aid given to Africa. At the same time, there is frustration among African populations who hear about billions in subsidies that they do not see in practice.'

Alain Antil

An unequal partnership

Seidik Abba, like Alain Antil earlier, argued that the relationship is asymmetrical. He sees in this unequal partnership a vertical pattern, whereby the choices made by Europe do not necessarily correspond to African concerns. *'The EU has thus required Niger, in the framework of its cooperation, to make the fight against immigration an absolute priority, to the point that this country has prevented all sub-Saharan who came to its territory from moving to the northern boundaries with the Maghreb, from where the migratory flows start. This has in fact created tension between Niger and other ECOWAS countries'*. The consequences of this policy can be seen in public opinion, which is seeking to look for partners other than Europe, since the



Niagalé Bagayoko

© Eric Biernacki - Région Normandie

latter has not met all their expectations. *'We have to listen to this frustration even if I am not convinced that the partnership with Russia or with groups like Wagner is more effective'*. This rapprochement had already been verified on a military level, as Russia is the leading supplier of arms to Africa, according to the moderator. She asked Seidik Abba why many African heads of state are expanding their bilateral and multilateral relationships. The journalist and writer replied that this diversification *'gives Africa the opportunity to choose according to the added value of the country'*. He mentioned that *'many Africans go to Turkey to do business, but also to Dubai and other parts of the world'*.

'I think the best thing for Africa is not so much the issue of increasing its partnerships but how to make the most of this diversification.'

Seidik Abba

A bilateral challenge

Alain Antil, while hearing the criticism of the EU, argued that Europeans have always promoted human rights in their partnership. He maintained that this impulse has had a positive impact on the political life of the continent. *'With the arrival of new partners, we are witnessing a democratic turn on the continent'*. He also criticised corruption in sub-Saharan Africa, which is not the fault of Europeans. *'In the Sahel, we have been fighting for 10 years against the consequences of bad governance without ever tackling the causes'*, referring to the scandals linked to arms sales contracts. Niagalé Bagayoko picked up on this point and indeed argued that *'African states are responsible for the ambiguity in their demands. The common bias is to see them only in the light of what they want to show, i.e. as aid applicants'*. She stressed a certain

paradox and contradiction in the discourse of some Africans who demand full enjoyment of their own sovereignty while at the same time requiring assistance. She also highlighted the European doublespeak which advocates *'the promotion of democracy and human rights'* but *'at the same time validates seizures of power in breach of all constitutional provisions, as has happened in Chad'*.

Pierre Vimont expressed the dismay of European countries that have a real interest in Africa and are struggling with the EU's loss of influence in Africa. *'They feel abandoned by the Chinese steamroller on the one hand and by Russian malevolence on the other'*. He observed that the war in Ukraine was also being transferred to Africa in a way, because of the presence of the Wagner Group or Russian influence in a number of African countries, which was making new European countries ask questions. Niagalé Bagayoko was absolutely convinced that Africa only has a future through its own solutions. As for the remedies to avoid a breakdown in relations between Europe and Africa, the speakers were unable to develop their ideas due to a lack of time. Alain Antil also played down the risk of a schism, pointing out that *'Europeans are extraordinarily well placed in terms of direct foreign investment'*. He also cited the human dimension between the two continents, with binationals, diasporas, cultural links and shared history. Seidik Abba was also certain that there would be no break, but that there was room for improvement. This view was shared by Pierre Vimont, who nevertheless argued that it was necessary to *'roll up our sleeves and really listen to each other'*, while Niagalé argued that the ball was ultimately in Africa's court. *'It is up to her to succeed in imposing her agenda and her real interests'*. So there seems to be hope...

ALGERIA-FRANCE: WHAT DIPLOMACY CAN RECONCILE MEMORIES?

IMMATERIAL WALLS

24 September 2022 | 2:30 PM – 4:00 PM | Plenary



A highly sensitive issue

Nathalie Funès championed relations between Algeria and France by recalling the colonial context of this territory, which is composed of three departments, and was part of France even before the annexation of Nice and Savoy. She mentioned colonisation that lasted 132 years and ended in a war that lasted eight years and left traces and tensions that never truly subsided. Xavier Driencourt, for his part, compared relations between the two countries to the stock market, with bullish and bearish

periods that all the former presidents of the 5th Republic have experienced, from Jacques Chirac to Emmanuel Macron. The primary characteristic of these reports is the fact that *'the situation can flare up at any moment'*. He stated that the equation is complex for our politicians because *'to champion France and Algeria is to address questions of internal and external policy, diplomacy, immigration and colonisation'*.

The memorial issue

Benjamin Stora, who submitted a report at the request of the Élysée on the reconciliation of the memories of France and Algeria, addressed this issue. He confirmed that this aspect, which no President of the Republic has really dared to address, played a decisive role in Franco-Algerian relations. However, he acknowledged that there have

MODERATOR:

Nathalie FUNÈS, journalist, L'Obs

SPEAKERS:

Benjamin STORA, Historian

Rachid ARHAB, Member of the Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel (CSA), Author

Xavier DRIENCOURT, former French Ambassador to Algeria

been some attempts, citing Jacques Chirac who had tried to establish a friendship treaty but had failed. He also referred to certain statements by Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande. *'The concern is that these words have not been followed by actions'*, he said, going on to say that *'the African man still hasn't entered history'*. On the other hand, he noted concrete actions thanks to President Macron. In particular, he referred to the official recognition of the responsibility of the French state and the French army in the assassinations of Maurice Audin¹ and the nationalist activist Ali Boumendjel², the President's recollection at the Bezons Bridge³, and the reinstatement of the joint Franco-Algerian commission on the military and nuclear plan. He also listed the creation of a scholarship to bring Algerian researchers to France, and the launching of a colloquium on the great French intellectual figures, who took strong positions on this issue. Nevertheless,

'We can't understand, address or repair 132 years of history through speeches alone. It is necessary to implement an in-depth pedagogical work on colonisation, which doesn't just concern Algeria, but a much larger part of the former French colonial empire'

Benjamin Stora

according to him, much remains to be done because apologies are not enough. In this respect, he recommended the creation of a joint commission between the two countries, to jointly gather documents and questions concerning colonisation, in anticipation of a joint written report, something that does not seem possible today. The historian stated that *'Fabricated French nationalism'*.

Fault lines that still run deep

Rachid Arhab presented himself to the public as *'a simple citizen'*. Born French in Kabylia, he became a de facto Algerian in 1962. He regained French nationality in 1992 after refusing to become binational for a long time. *'It felt like a luxury that I didn't need. My personal itinerary allowed me to be at peace between my two countries, which were at war for so long and then continued a latent conflict. At my age, I think I've reached a kind of balance, even if wounds reopen from time to time'*. On the other hand, he admitted to being concerned about the generations to come, who have not known this history



¹ A French mathematician and supporter of independence, he was arrested during the Battle of Algiers on 11 June 1957. Murdered, his body was never found.

² An Algerian lawyer and political activist. His assassination on 23 March 1957 had been made to look like suicide.

³ The official commemoration ceremony 60 years after the October 17, 1961 massacre of Algerians in Paris during a demonstration along the Seine. On this occasion, the President denounced the 'inexcusable crimes of the Republic'.

and *'who are reappropriating it with all the risks of historical revisionism that this entails'*. He talked about his fears that time will not erase wounds and rejected the idea of apologising. *'Who am I going to ask to apologise? France or Algeria? I don't want to be trapped in this dilemma. I understand that the question can be asked in these terms at the level of peoples and states. But on an individual basis, it is up to each person to come up with answers and try to propose solutions.'* Xavier Driencourt explained at this point how we moved



Xavier Driencourt

in 2005 from the notion of *'memory'* to that of *'repentance'*. He denounced those who have *'instrumentalised'* this concept to make it *'a business'*. In this regard, Nathalie Funès underlined *'the living memory of millions of residents in France who have a link with Algeria, whether through immigration, Franco-Algerians, descendants of piedsnoirs, former soldiers in Algeria, former Harkis...'*. Addressing Benjamin Stora, she

said that his report had been criticised by the far right and part of the right. She referred in particular to the proposal for the *'pantheonisation'* of Gisèle Halimi which was so strongly criticised that the Élysée backed down on this point. She asked the historian how he explained these tensions. According to him *'the Franco-Algerian question is also and above all a Franco-French question'*. He chronologically retraced all the major stages of the Algerian War, which mobilised a total of two million young French people. He talked about how the weight of French public opinion ended this conflict, and described the progressive evolution of General de Gaulle's positions until independence. Benjamin Stora outlined fault lines *'which cannot be erased overnight while there are still things left unsaid'*. Returning to the reactions to his report, he confirmed the strong opposition from the far right, but also highlighted the silence of the left-wing political parties. He explained this with an *'anti Macron'* front but also *'because this issue isn't talked about or considered'*. While he was pleased to see that 15 of his 22 recommendations have been implemented two years after the publication of this report, he regretted that they are not the result of citizen mobilisation.

A need for appeasement

Rachid Arhab, co-author with Xavier Driencourt of the book *'Quatre Nuances de France'*, written with a young Franco-Algerian, Karim Bouhassoun, and a young Algerian, Nacer Safer, sought to display in his work the common ground between the two peoples and what brings them closer together. He cited numerous examples in the field of music. He was struck by the extent to which the subject of relations between the French and the Algerians was a subject of film scripts and novel manuscripts

the fundamental difference between *'native French people and French people of immigrant origin'*. *'I find it extremely concerning for a society that's on the verge of breaking up itself'*. Summarising his professional career as an ambassador to Algeria, Xavier Driencourt specified how his mission had a domestic political dimension, *'We don't talk about Algeria in the same way in Paris, Perpignan or Marseille. At a time when social networks are watching, monitoring and amplifying and even distorting every word spoken, my predecessors and I have been trapped on several occasions because of what we said or didn't say or the interpretation of this or that phrase'*. A final example that illustrated the exacerbation and tension on the subject.

'The Algerian war was passed over in silence in my family. My parents didn't want to make me carry this painful story and I understand that. I've since done my own research. But the most important thing is to pass the knowledge on to future generations to avoid falling back into the current pattern of either completely ignoring the issue or over-investing in it'

Rachid Arhab



Rachid Arhab

on both sides of the Mediterranean. He also mentioned the national football teams of the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), which are mostly made up of binationals trained in France and who return to defend the colours of their parents' country of origin. He sees this process of identification as a kind of questioning. As such, the former member of the CSA strives to highlight *'those who create and not those who destroy; those who advocate appeasement and not those who stir up quarrels'* via his media PLUMM⁴. *He feels this attitude is essential 'given the climate of the country in which I live, which is proving to be unbreathable with a particularly nauseating last election campaign'*. In this regard, he castigated the way politicians approach the issue of immigration and their rhetoric about

⁴ 100% social video platform, dedicated to popular culture around the Mediterranean basin

RECONCILIATION WITH GERMANY: A MODEL FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRANCE AND ALGERIA?

IMMATERIAL WALLS

23 September 2022 | 10:30 - 12:00 | Azur Room



Karima Dirèche, Claus Leggewie and Britta Sandberg

Comparison is not reason

After a war, memory, which differs from one point of view to another, can form a wall between peoples. Modified or denied, it can be exploited for political purposes. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the end of the Algerian war, what are the possible ways of achieving a rapprochement between France and Algeria? What role can the youth in both countries play? Regarding the example of Franco-German rapprochement, what dynamics can be put in place within a Franco-Algerian-German triangle oriented towards the future?

The 60th anniversary of the Evian Agreements was an important topic at this Forum of the Normandy World Peace Forum. In addition to the debate on Algeria-France: what is the role of diplomacy in reconciling memories? A summary of this debate can be found on p76-79: a special event dedicated to young people was devoted to the question of Franco-Algerian reconciliation. Initiated by Britta Sandberg, the discussion focused on the difficulties of France and Algeria in

overcoming their colonial past, but also on the role that the youth of both countries can play. In this respect, Claus Leggewie claimed a concrete utopia, namely *'to make the Franco-German and Franco-Algerian duo a triangle oriented towards the future of the Mediterranean'*. Karima Dirèche, however, did not believe in it. According to her, the two leaders of the time, Konrad Adenauer and General de Gaulle, brought hope and a purpose, whereas the conditions for this

MODERATOR:

Britta SANDBERG, political correspondent of DER SPIEGEL for France, Head of the Paris Bureau

SPEAKERS:

Karima DIRÈCHE, Director of Research at the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme Aix-en-Provence

Idriss JEBARI (FROM LONDON), academic researcher at Trinity College (Dublin)

Claus LEGGEWIE, political scientist and author

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reconciliation with France are not present in Algeria.

Idriss Jebari argued that *'public opinion is often relegated to a secondary role in a project of this type, when in fact it plays a very important role, for better or worse'*. This was particularly the case between France and Algeria, according to the academic researcher, and the involvement of civil society could either facilitate a rapprochement or frustrate it. He highlighted the emotional weight of the subject and the willingness or unwillingness to learn to live together again and to determine the future desired. Reconciliation, he said, required the implementation of a rapprochement, which could take the form of cultural initiatives. Building on the friendship between the city of Caen and the city of Würzburg in Germany, Claus Leggewie wants to believe that resilience is possible on a large scale. He mentioned the 250 twinnings between French and German municipalities. On the other hand, he argued that the Franco-Algerian duo is completely sterile and sclerotic on a political level, whereas the civil societies of both countries are in favour of a rapprochement. According to him, Algerian youth under 30 years of age, who represent 54% of the population, are less interested in the Franco-Algerian war than in the future.

Building on good practice

For Karima Dirèche, there has to be a union between peoples. To this end, she listed

the concrete actions implemented in the Franco-German friendship and suggested that the same be done between France and Algeria. She cited the idea of the two countries, through their presidents, creating a Franco-Algerian Youth Office. But very quickly, the question of *'common history'* came up again in the exchanges and, with it, the sensitive subjects at the heart of the debate on the question of memories between France and Algeria. This leads the speakers to think that we should perhaps not try to reconcile two countries at all costs over an episode as violent as colonisation. So the convergence of memories should be treated as a step for the future, rather than a goal of reconciliation. Idriss Jebari said *'the reconciliation between France and Germany made sense because at that point Europe was created'*.

The speakers mentioned Algeria's economic assets, in particular its oil, which allows it to increase its clout on the international scene, due to the current energy crisis. They also mentioned the agreements with Germany to help the Maghreb country succeed in its energy transition. Claus Leggewie regretted that Algeria did not sign the UN declaration against the Russian invasion of Ukraine, a neutrality perceived as support for Putin. In the end, it is difficult to see in the reconciliation between France and Germany a model that can be superimposed on the situation between France and Algeria. Comparison is not reason, even if the avenues mentioned would have merited more time to be explored. One thing is certain: relations between France and Algeria will continue to be the talk of the town.

'Reconciliation requires the same approach. We must consider that the past of one is the past of the other.'

Karima Dirèche

DRAW-ME-PEACE MEETING

IMMATERIAL WALLS

24 September 2022 | 16:30 - 18:00 | Gold Room



Gabor Papai, Vladimir Vasak, Denis Lopatin and Hossien Rezaye



Hossien Rezaye



Denis Lopatin and Hossien Rezaye

Press cartoonist: a high-risk job

As symbols of freedom of expression, cartoonists have always been a target of choice for authoritarian powers - political or religious - that do not tolerate criticism and satire. All over the world, many cartoonists are subject to censorship or persecution and are forced to flee their countries if they have not already been imprisoned or, even worse, murdered (as the cartoonists of Charlie Hebdo were in January 2015).

The testimonies of cartoonists, Gábor Pápai (Hungary), Denis Lopatin (Russia) and Hossien Rezaye (Afghanistan), brought by Cartooning for Peace to the Normandy Peace Forum, show how fragile the profession is, essential though it may be for democracy.



Hossien Rezaye

'In a country like Afghanistan, the drawing itself is already a problem.'

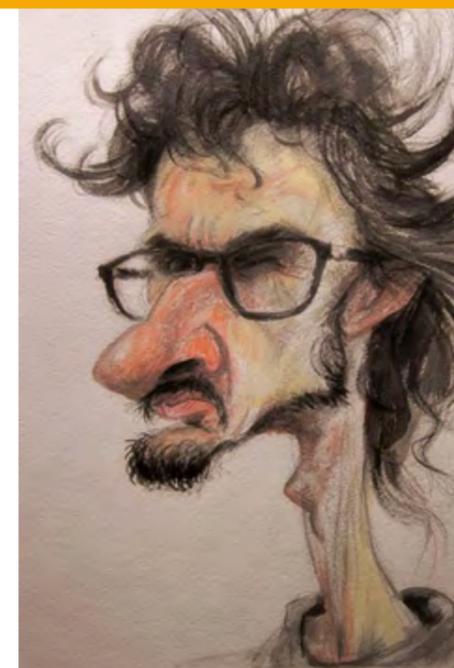
'I continue to draw but it is difficult because I am far from my sources of inspiration.'
(talking about his exile in the Netherlands)

'When you belong to a minority, it is much more difficult to be heard by the world. One day I decided that each of us should be a voice for those whose voices are not heard.'

Denis Lopatin

'France must understand that it is right to bring all the world's intellectuals to its shores and not the extremists.'

'Democratic countries are not doing enough, except for a few enthusiastic cartoonists.'



Gábor Pápai

'The Hungarian press has become extremely impoverished on both sides. [...] At the end of day, there is no longer any press in Hungary.'

'Do I have the right to drag my newspaper into difficulty? Because it is the last independent newspaper in Hungary...'

TAIWAN, RENOUNCING PEACE TO AVOID WAR?

COVETED SPACES

23 September 2022 | 02:00 PM - 3:30 PM | Gold Room



Vincent Grillon, François Wu, Jean-François Di Meglio, Antoine Bondaz and Laurence Defranoux

A climate of persistent tension

By way of introduction, Jean-François Di Meglio recounted all the crises that have marked the history of Taiwan, and stated that this would be a key year for the island located in south-eastern China. An analysis of the considerable antagonism that arose at the end of the Second World War between Taiwan on the one hand (officially known as the Republic of China), and the Chinese mainland, led by the Communist Party (People's Republic of China since 1949), on the other,

is necessary for understanding this debate. The island has always claimed independence, while Communist China has always wanted to annex it, generating persistent tensions ever since. More broadly, China's increasing rhetorical and military provocations are endangering peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region, observes Joseph Wu. *'Military exercises, cyber attacks, disinformation campaigns, economic strangleholds, etc. China's current aggressiveness poses a serious threat to the status quo and security in the Taiwan Strait. It might escalate into a war with global repercussions.'* In addition to the human drama such a situation would cause on an island of 23 million people, the moderator of this debate detailed its economic stakes. Taiwan, a country at the cutting edge of technology, produces more than 80% of the world's most advanced semiconductors. *'If a war breaks out in Taiwan, mobile phones, washing machines and electric cars will not work sustainably. Factories all over the world will also come to a stop,'* he

MODERATOR:

Jean-François DI MEGLIO, President of Asia Centre

SPEAKERS:

François WU, Ambassador of Taiwan

Vincent GRILLON, Strategy Consultant and Senior Analyst East Asia for AESMA

Antoine BONDAZ, Researcher at the Foundation for Strategic Research

Laurence DEFRANOUX, Asia Journalist, Libération

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predicts. The situation is of concern for the international community, with the European Parliament having recently adopted a resolution on the situation in the Taiwan Strait. The ambassador also pointed out that the last session of the UN General Assembly dealt extensively with interconnected crises and called for common solutions through international solidarity. Recalling that Taiwan was the first country willing to alert the WHO in December 2019 about China's abnormal health situation and was among the first to send masks to Europe, Joseph Wu stressed *'Taiwan's willingness to integrate internationally and to contribute to the sustainable development of this world'*. Bullied and threatened by China's authoritarian regime, Taiwan as such shows empathy for Ukraine and its people, and follows the news about them closely. From the early stages of the conflict, Taiwan condemned the Russian intervention and contributed some \$45 million in material and financial aid to Ukraine. Some believe that Ukrainian resistance may have dampened the Chinese President's desire to invade Taiwan...

'As a democratic country at the forefront of resistance to authoritarianism, the bravery and tenacity of the Ukrainians is a source of inspiration for Taiwan.'

François Wu

The ability to resist

Antoine Bondaz detailed the concept of *'one China'*, which is interpreted differently depending on whether the speaker is in Europe or China. He expanded on the idea that the West recognises Chinese power and establishes diplomatic relations with Beijing while developing cooperation with Taiwan. On the other hand, the Chinese authorities consider Taiwan to be part of a unified China,



Vincent Grillon

which was never the case in reality. He stated that *'the recent Chinese pressure is not new but has been increasing politically, militarily and economically since President Tsai Ing-wen, who was reelected in 2020, came to power. Beijing is consequently seeking to take control of Taiwan for historical, strategic and ideological reasons'*. According to him, Taiwanese society is probably the Asian society that Europeans have the most in common with, thanks to its progressive character. At a historical level, Vincent Grillon noted that if Taiwan under the Tsai Ing-wen era had a desire to reconquer, it now only thinks of defending itself. An area in which it is not helpless. *'Taiwan has the capacity to produce fighter aircraft or to use its shipyards to design missile corvette-style vessels adapted to its needs'*. Citing detailed military arguments, he rejected the idea that China would easily invade Taiwan. According to him, thanks to its technology, its population that is prepared for the worst, and its geography, including 286 mountains over 3,000 metres, Taiwan is capable of resistance, *'not to mention possible reinforcement from the Americans, or even the Japanese or other riparian countries'*...

China's duplicitous proposal to Taiwan

Florence Defranoux returned to the idea of peace, explaining that a peaceful solution dubbed *'One country, two systems'* is being proposed by Beijing to Taiwan, based on the model of Hong Kong. Put forward at the end of the 1990s, at the time of the handover of Hong Kong to China, this system is based on the promise of the Chinese Communist Party to keep Hong Kong for 50 years while guaranteeing fundamental freedoms: independence of the judiciary, the police and education, freedom of the press... aspects unknown in the Middle Kingdom and which have been diminished more than ever in the last 10 years. However, this proposal is a real deterrent, since mainland China is increasingly intervening in Hong Kong's internal affairs: suppression of booksellers, pressure from Beijing on pro-independence democratic parties, disqualification of Hong Kong elected officials, etc. The Libération journalist pointed out that, since 2019, a law on extradition has been discussed in Hong Kong. It would allow any Hong Kong resident to be forcibly sent to China if the latter requested it. Like the rest of the world, Taiwan has seen the images of China's violent crackdown on Hong Kong in 2020 and the climate of terror that followed: newspaper editors arrested, newspapers closed, protesters jailed. *'The justice system in Hong Kong under the authority of Beijing is a charade'*



François Wu and Jean-François Di Meglio

she said, describing a state of Chinese psychosis that could be described as pathological. She decried the sentencing of a speech therapist to more than a year in prison on the grounds that he had used a drawing depicting sheep and wolves in a professional capacity. The local judges, under the influence of China, saw it as a dangerous parable, the sheep representing demonstrators and the wolves the police! We can understand why Taiwan rejected this system. Florence Defranoux quoted the Chinese ambassador to France, who declared the following to the media: *'Taiwanese who don't think correctly must be re-educated, as the population is indoctrinated and intoxicated. We must eliminate separatist thinking and secessionist theory'*. These are comments that were retweeted by the Twitter account of the Chinese embassy, in other words, validated by the high Chinese authorities, which does not bode well for relations between China and Taiwan...

REFERENCES

- ▶ **At the antipodes.** The island of Taiwan contrasts with neighbouring communist China, both economically and politically. It is a democratic state with the first Chinese-speaking president in the world elected in 2016: Tsai Ing-wen.
- ▶ **Formosa.** The former name of the island of Taiwan, which came into being during colonisation, comes from 'Ilha formosa', which in Portuguese means 'beautiful island'. This is an opportunity to point out, as did the speakers in the debate, that this territory, although claimed by China, has never belonged to it.
- ▶ **The Taiwanese Miracle.** This expression relates to the rapid industrialisation of the island and its dazzling growth during the second half of the 20th century. By the 1990s, Taiwan was considered a developed country. Today, it is a state, with a level of economic, social and human development on a par with Europe. Its GDP is estimated at 850 billion dollars in 2022, which places it in 21st place just behind Switzerland and ahead of Turkey and Sweden.

SPACE: ENDLESS COVETING?

COVETED SPACES

24 September 2022 | 14:30 - 16:00 | Pearl Room



Thomas Delage, Chloé Duffort, Pascal Legai and Xavier Pasco

Launching new markets into orbit

Thomas Delage explores the international space scene, which has long been marked by competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, whose space rivalry is no longer limited to a question of prestige. The main development is the arrival of a growing number of new players in the space market, with both defence and/or

civil applications at stake. The moderator indicates that the share of space in the world economy could quickly rise to USD 2.7 trillion per year, compared with about USD 350 billion today. *'Are we heading for a new Wild West space where it is first come, first served?'* In 2015, President Obama passed the Space Act, which allows US citizens engaged in the recovery of space resources *'to avail themselves of their possession, ownership, transportation, use and sale'*.

MODERATOR:

Thomas DELAGE, Editor-in-chief, Diplomatie Magazine

SPEAKERS:

Chloé DUFFORT, PhD student in the law of armed conflict at the University of Bordeaux and Laval University

Pascal LEGAI, Senior Advisor for the European Space Agency

Xavier PASCAU, Director of the Foundation for Strategic Research

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Diplomatie Magazine

A new era

Xavier Pascau confirmed a change of era and area, orchestrated by three major areas of space activity: exploration, satellites in orbit (the number of which has increased by a factor of 7.5 in the space of a few years) and finally the military (which creates a new geopolitical situation in space). For him, the rapprochement of space and the world

of information technology, digital and online was a trigger. In fact, the majority of low earth orbit satellites are for telecommunications, which are designed to meet the growing consumption of information, bandwidth and data flows. The arrival of new pioneers with their own resources is also changing the situation, citing the financial power of Amazon, Microsoft, Google and Alibaba, which is worth tens of billions of dollars. *'This influx of money is being used by governments as a conduit for their own programmes,'* he mentioned. The Director of the Foundation for Strategic Research deciphered the strategic changes that have taken place over the past decades. He also compared space to fibre, which is now becoming more of a means than an end, which suggests that we are moving towards the industrialisation of space. However, geopolitics was not absent from the game, as Xavier Pascau reminded us, pointing out that China's ambitions in this area are also contributing to this renewed interest. In this respect, he explained the differences between Presidents Bush, Obama and Trump on this issue, while Russia and Europe were rather behind the game at the moment.



Chloé Duffort

'Satellites used to be custom-designed, very expensive and powered to meet a specific mission. Today, they are mass-produced, cheaper and multi-purpose.'

Xavier Pascau

The Artemis Challenge

Pascal Legai acknowledged that the US takes more risk than the Europeans in terms of putting systems into orbit and launching rockets. In this regard, he detailed NASA's Artemis ¹ programme *'which plans to establish a continuous or near-continuous presence on the Moon as an intermediate step before an eventual manned flight to Mars'*. He listed the difficulties of such an exercise, as it would take years to deploy this human and technological challenge. *'The journey to get there is six months, six months to come back, plus the time spent on this planet to gain knowledge. Will the crew going to Mars have the physiological and psychological capacity to take on such a challenge?'* He addressed the financial aspect of such a project which, if completed, would represent a budget of several hundred billion. To give a small reference scale, he calculated that the international space station, which began operating in 1998, has cost USD 115 billion to date. The solution would be to enter into international cooperation, as many countries have done or are about to do: Ukraine, South Korea, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, Poland, Mexico, Israel, Romania, France... Pascal Legai also mentioned the legal framework of this mission, which could be contrary to the Space Treaty of 1967 and the Moon and Celestial Bodies Treaty of 1979.

¹ This project will lead to the creation of a permanent station on the Moon to develop the equipment and procedures to be used during future manned missions to the surface of Mars.

A form of no man's land

Chloé Duffort explained that space law was created in the 1960s during the Cold War. Its foundations were based on a peaceful vision, with the main objective being to avoid the nuclearisation of space between the USSR and the USA. Accordingly, the 1967 treaty essentially prohibits the use or placement of nuclear weapons in outer space. Under these circumstances, the Artemis programme was not in contradiction with international law. On the other hand, according to the lawyer, just because there is a principle of free access and freedom in space, that did not mean that this would not be a source of conflict. Hence the need, in her opinion, to provide a framework for this new conquest. Chloé Duffort explained that within the UN the open-ended working group on reducing space threats was developing standards for responsible behaviour in space. She said that it was complicated but essential to have common definitions and benchmarks on the subject, as it involved underlying political and security parameters. She also described the difficulty of reaching international agreement on the concept of *'space weapons'*, which was leading to hold-ups at the risk of *'viewing the law as being one more war behind'*. However, she was hopeful that states would negotiate in good faith and that behavioural norms could be created, as was the case for cyberspace or for operations on the high seas.

Legal arguments

Pascal Legai wished to make a distinction between the *'militarisation and weaponisation of space'*. In the first case, satellites are used for military purposes on the ground to support military operations. In the second, weapons of various shapes are placed in orbit around the earth. It was difficult today, in his view, to define precisely

what a weapon is in space, a sine qua non for characterising an act of aggression, given that it would then have to be determined whether or not it is voluntary. The concept of territoriality also arises since outer space does not belong to anyone, thus excluding any concept of breach of private space. Chloé Duffort points out that, according to the United Nations Charter, *'aggression occurs when force is used and that the use of force is not necessarily linked to a weapon'*. For her, space law is in a grey area, as one cannot yet speak of a hostile act in the sense of the law of armed conflict. Pascal Legai built on this topic by explaining that most space activities have a dual purpose that could serve both civil and military interests. The establishment of a space command in many countries, including France, was indicative, according to the Senior Adviser for the European Space Agency, of *'the realisation that a potential war could happen in space'*.

'The international community has become aware of this risk and discussions are taking place within the United Nations to ensure that international law is in line with the times and the space applications of our age.'

Chloé DUFFORT

ARCTIC: THE ICE WAR

COVETED SPACES

September 24, 2022 | 2:30 PM - 4:00 PM | Gold Room



Lydia Ben Ytzhak, Lars-Anders Baer, Olivier Faury and Nicolas Escash

Burning issue, chilling perspectives

Lydia Ben Ytzhak set the scene for this debate by explaining how global warming is threatening part of the planet. The Arctic is in danger of disappearing in the long term. While this part of the globe used to allow sea passage from one ocean to another for only a few days a year, the melting ice is changing that. She stated that within 15 to 60 years, *‘these areas are going to be easier*

and easier to reach and for longer and longer periods of time during the year, which is going to have consequences for the biodiversity of the area and its indigenous peoples.’ According to the journalist, this situation is attracting a lot of interest as it opens the way for new activities, including industrial fishing and maritime transport. This was confirmed by Una Jóhannsdóttir. She explained that the Arctic region, which has a population of almost 4 million, is facing environmental challenges and political pressures related to climate change. She pointed out that the local temperature increase is three times greater than in other parts of the world. She recognised that melting glaciers are fuelling economic opportunities, which means that the sustainable management of resources in the region around the North Pole must be ensured. She said that these new security and strategic realities require a balance between Arctic states and external stakeholders. The Representative of the Icelandic Embassy in France emphasised the cross-cutting international dialogue

MODERATOR:

Lydia BEN YTZHAK, Journalist, France Culture

SPEAKERS:

Nicolas ESCASH, Director of the Caen Campus (Sciences Po Rennes), geographer

Olivier FAURY, Associate Professor in Supply Chain Management

Lars-Anders BAER, Councillor, Sami Parliament of Finland

Roberto RIVAS HERMANN, Associate Professor at the Centre for High North Logistics, Nord University (Bodø, Norway)

Una JÓHANNSDÓTTIR, Deputy Head of Mission at the Icelandic Embassy in France

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

City of Caen

conducted on this subject via the Arctic Council, which comprises eight countries (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, United States) plus six indigenous peoples' organisations. *‘Although not an internationally recognised entity, this intergovernmental Forum for cooperation is important because it promotes the environmental protection and sustainable development of the Arctic.’*

‘Climatic phenomena are increasing in the Arctic, as recently another huge storm in Western Alaska caused extensive damage and severely impacted the communities living there.’

Una Jóhannsdóttir

Between fantasy and reality

Nicolas Escash balanced the promises, dreams and fantasies surrounding the Arctic with its current realities. *‘The Arctic crystallises many things that are said too often, said wrongly and not said at all. Some issues have been targeted at the expense of others, including the Northern Sea Route, which at a stroke would allow faster travel from one end of the world to the other, avoiding bottlenecks and piracy. Yet, while it is the talk of the town, this route still represents only limited traffic.’* He also mentioned the exploitation of hydrocarbons, since the Arctic is a reserve area for gas, oil and rare metals. He reported that the Yamal Peninsula alone in the Arctic can provide 15% of the world's LNG (liquefied natural gas) supply. This potential exacerbates Russia's interest but also raises the question of relations with the indigenous populations. However, politics may yet dampen interest. The new government of Greenland has taken robust measures in 2021 by banning the exploitation of oil,



Una Jóhannsdóttir (video)

uranium and rare metals on its territory. Nicolas Escash also explained the attraction of the Arctic from a military point of view. This region represents a prime location for monitoring military ships between Greenland, Iceland and Great Britain. *‘This strategic zone allows us to rapidly reach all parts of the world using the earth's circumference’* he clarified. Finally, he detailed the struggles for influence between the United States and China that go beyond the issue of hydrocarbons. Listening to him, it is clear that what's at stake is the takeover of territories that have not yet been exploited, which constitute a potential Eldorado in the eyes of the great powers. This explains their investments in a number of Arctic cities in terms of property development, universities, telecommunications, airports, etc. The geographer believes that there is a certain amount of fantasy at stake, as there are numerous climatic, political and economic uncertainties. This dream is also challenged by complex physical realities. He gave the concrete example of iceberg-producing glaciers which, depending on the currents, risk blocking a number of local ports.

From Finland to the Pacific peoples

Lars-Anders Baer reported that winters are getting warmer in Finland, with the recent phenomenon of recurrent rainfall instead of snow. The rain then turns to

ice, which has consequences for the country's traditional activities. These are affected by the disruption of the market economy. He explained that the Arctic area was colonised very late because the climate was too harsh. He also mentions the presence of Chinese companies looking for gas and oil, but also searching for rare metals, which worries him greatly, especially as these activities are not always carried out in accordance with the rule of law. The indigenous Sámi people of Finland claim rights to the land while governments feel they have the right to exploit these resources on behalf of nation states. He also confirmed that powers such as China are interfering in the local economy, seeking to take over areas that are now exploitable due to global warming. Lars-Anders Baer called for even greater international mobilisation, as the problem does not only concern the Arctic, since the melting ice is also affecting the peoples of the Pacific, who are seeing their coastal waters rise inexorably. In this respect, he stated that he considers himself rather fortunate to have efficient education and health systems in Scandinavian countries, unlike the majority of indigenous peoples in Brazil, Africa or Asia.

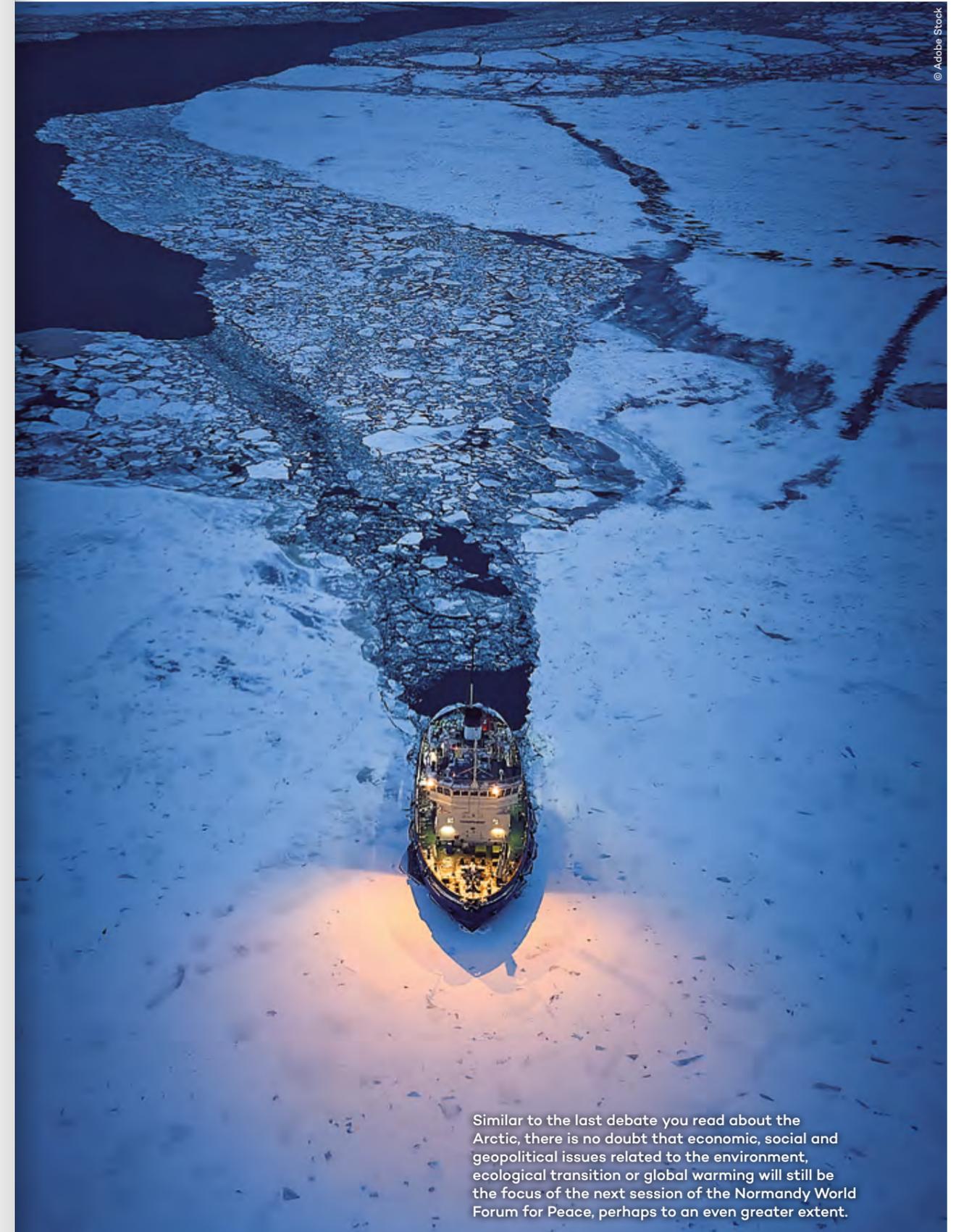
The problem of maritime freight

Roberto Rivas Hermann considered the three maritime routes in the Arctic. He focused on the northern route, which is the main section of the Northeast Passage. It runs through the Behrens Sea and connects the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean via the northern coast of Russia. This route saves around ten days compared to the usual sea journey between Rotterdam and Shanghai via the Suez Canal. However, it is not more economical for shipowners because it generates additional costs. Olivier Faury estimated that this route saves 40% in terms of distance compared to the Suez Canal route, but acknowledged that

the cost of transport is higher since it requires sophisticated ships capable of withstanding ice pressure. He went on to say that *'the difficulties of shipping in Arctic waters affect the profitability of freight as you know when you're leaving, but not necessarily when you'll arrive!'* This led Nicolas Escash to say that this maritime route, although it is very much on people's minds, is still in its infancy for economic reasons. With a surface area half the size of the EU, Greenland has only 50,000 inhabitants. However, according to Nicolas Escash, its urbanisation is becoming more and more prevalent and generating conflicts of use. In conclusion, beyond the economic and energy issues, he reminded the audience that the Arctic is part of humanity's memory. To this end, he quotes an extract from a text by Emile Poivet on permafrost, i.e. the permanently frozen and absolutely impermeable soil in the Arctic regions: *'Along with the rock and the earth, permafrost is the third memory medium of the earth's activity (...). The polar regions are archives of knowledge about our planet. In this sense, global warming not only threatens our future but also, to some extent, our past. Knowledge preserved in the ice archive could shed light on the historical and root causes of climate change.'*

'Climate change affects our ecosystems but also touches the roots of our own history and humanity as they disappear in smoke.'

Nicolas Escash



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Similar to the last debate you read about the Arctic, there is no doubt that economic, social and geopolitical issues related to the environment, ecological transition or global warming will still be the focus of the next session of the Normandy World Forum for Peace, perhaps to an even greater extent.

MAKING PEACE WITH THE EARTH

24 September 2022 | 14:30 - 16:00 | Salle Guillaume



Tony Oposa



Nicole Ann Ponce, Antonio Oposa, Emilie Gaillard and Ben Boer

Doing justice to the environment

Under the direction of Tony Oposa, holder of the CNRS Chair of Excellence Normandy for Peace, a workshop entitled, 'Making Peace with the Earth: the Transcultural and Transgenerational Approach to Rights' was organised. At a time when the United Nations Programme had published a report on the need to make peace with nature and the UN had just voted in two different Forums for a right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment, it was time to stress the need for a cross-cultural and cross-generational approach to rights.

The CNRS Normandy Chair of Excellence for Peace highlighted the Good Stories movement, made a plea for the preservation of evidence and presented a global youth initiative to seek an advisory opinion on climate justice from the International Court of Justice. The workshop also highlighted the need to protect the rights of environmental advocates. The session was chaired by the general coordinator of the Chair of Normandy for Peace, Emilie Gaillard, and began with a presentation by Tony Oposa. He presented the Good Stories movement and the Chair's aim to help change the narrative and mobilise positive action. He also presented for the first time the Asian Marine Park for Peace initiative: a people's petition to the United Nations for nations



The question of the right to environmental defence was at the heart of this workshop.

MODERATOR:

Emilie GAILLARD, responsible for plenaries

SPEAKERS:

Antonio OPPOSA, holder of the Normandy Chair for Peace, lawyer specialising in environmental law

Nicholas ROBINSON, member of the Normandy Peace Chair, professor of environmental law

David BOYD, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and the Environment

Nicole ANN PONCE, human rights lawyer

Ben BOEER, human rights lawyer

Durwood ZAEKE, Founder and President of the Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development (IGSD) in Washington, DC and Paris

Pascal BULEON, Director of the Centre for Research in Human Sciences, University of Caen Normandy

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to unite. Ben Boer, Professor Emeritus of Environmental Law and Fellow of the Australian Academy of Law, then spoke about the protection of environmental human rights advocates in the Asia-Pacific, a historical necessity illustrating the close links between environmental law and human rights. He linked this to his experience of working on a project for the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), investigating the plight of environmental advocates and focusing on 10 countries, in South Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific Island region.

Nicole Ann Ponce, presented the *I am Climate Justice movement and the World's Youth for Climate Justice (WYCJ)*. In She was a founding member of this organisation, which highlighted the work of young people around the world in bringing cases to the International Court of Justice. She explained that the movement was seeking to empower

young and like-minded people to use the Court's role as guardian of the rule of law at international level, to influence and convince states to address the climate crisis. Not by force, but on the basis of mutual interests and shared values. This was the kind of real and transformative change we needed to achieve climate justice. The debate ended with a presentation by Durwood Zaelke, founder and president of the Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development, Washington DC and Paris, University of California, Santa Barbara. He presented the Montreal Protocol and the importance of reducing short-lived climate super pollutants, in order to slow the rate of climate change.

ACHIEVEMENTS

TAKING ACTION FOR PEACE

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THE NORMANDY FOR PEACE PLATFORM

Major actions to remember

Co-hosted by François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region and Frédérique Bedos, founder of the NGO Imagine Project, the Normandy for Peace panel presented the major actions carried out by the Region and its colleagues within the framework of the permanent Normandy for Peace programme:

- The Normandy Manifesto for Peace
- The Normandy Index for Peace in Parliament
- The ACTED/Normandy emergency fund
- Ukraine: French local authorities show solidarity
- The Normandy/Madagascar Cooperation
- Presentation of the Normandy Dove for Peace
- Two sculptures for peace: Mursmûrs and Vitae
- Parliamentarians for Peace
- The Bayeux Prize
- Docs Up Fund: a fund for the production of human rights documentaries
- A wall, walls, for what?



ZOOMING IN ON

NORMANDY P4

Nuclear disarmament first

The Normandy Region, in partnership with the Indian think tank, Strategic Foresight Group and the Geneva Center for Security Policy, organised an international round table on global security issues.

In order to advance the ideas of the Normandy Peace Manifesto among the permanent members of the UN Security Council, the Normandy P4 initiative invited influential experts from France, the UK, the US and China to address the long-term challenges of nuclear disarmament and reduce the risks to human civilisation from weapons of mass destruction.

More dialogue in the UN Security Council

The round table deplored the serious deterioration of the dialogue between the five UN Security Council powers, while the use of artificial intelligence and new technologies in nuclear weapons should be urgently discussed. The participants considered it essential that the human factor remains a controlling element in the decision to launch a weapon of mass destruction. In particular, they recommended that researchers and policy makers work to increase the decision time in conflict management and reduce the use of automation. In addition, the international community must make progress on transparency and the regulation of Autonomous Lethal Weapon Systems. Finally, disarmament and non-proliferation must be given a



International experts in the Normandy P4 initiative have put forward proposals to address the long-term challenges of nuclear disarmament and to reduce the risks from weapons of mass destruction

new lease of life through the negotiation of robust, new treaties for risk reduction.

New events on the programme

In view of the urgency of these issues, the participants in the round table considered it important that other sessions of this type be held in the future.

Normandy Manifesto for Peace

The Normandy Manifesto for Peace is an initiative of the Strategic Foresight Group and the Normandy Region, inspired by the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955. At the height of the Cold War, mathematician Bertrand Russell and physicist Albert Einstein published a plea highlighting the dangers of nuclear weapons. Supported by several renowned scientists, they called for peaceful solutions to international conflicts by challenging people's consciences with the following question: 'Are we going to end the human race or will humanity give up war?'. In the face of new threats to humanity in an increasingly uncertain world, this question unfortunately remains relevant.

In 2019, Denis Mukwege, Nobel Peace Prize 2018, Leymah Gbowee, Nobel Peace Prize 2011, Mohamed El Baradei, Nobel Peace Prize 2005, Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Prize

1997, Anthony Grayling, philosopher and Sundeep Waslekar, President of the Strategic Foresight Group, wrote the Normandy Manifesto for Peace and called on everyone to take action for a sustainable peace, from citizens to representatives of civil society and governments

Indeed, the Manifesto stressed that war is a choice. If men and women everywhere become aware of their common humanity, they would make the right decision to cooperate for a better world.

'It is our responsibility to tell you that we have a great threat ahead of us and that we need to change our path.'

Mohamed ElBaradei



© Noémie Berthet

THE SEMINAR ON RUSSIA

WITH THE COLLÈGE DES BERNARDINS

The Normandy Region hosted a seminar organised by the Collège des Bernardins, with the support of the European Parliament Research Service, which involved representatives of the Russian democratic opposition, intellectuals from the former Soviet space and European specialists on Russia. The objective of this seminar: at the end of their exchanges, in addition to condemning the Russian state's war against Ukraine, the participants of the seminar agreed on several major points to define a path towards the democratisation of Russia. To this end, they analysed the failure of the democratic transition in the 1990s from the perspective of its causes, namely the failure to bring to justice the crimes of the Russian and Soviet regimes of the 20th and 21st centuries

or its consequences, notably the Russian attacks on neighbouring states. They argued accordingly that building a sustainable democracy in Russia requires providing the means for memorial justice for past crimes as well as reconciliation among Russians and with other nations, especially European countries. They also outlined the first steps towards a new rule of law in Russia, including a real separation of powers, a shift towards parliamentary institutions and a decentralisation of the state. For the participants of the seminar, this was basically a debate about the struggle for democratisation in Russia. They would meet again to respond to this challenge and were already working to share their findings with future supporters in Russia and Europe.

NORMANDY 2022 INDEX

Published for the first time in June 2019 on the occasion of the Normandy World Peace Forum, the European Parliament's Normandy Index, designed and prepared by the European Parliament's Research Service and developed by the Institute for Economics and Peace, provides a scientifically based annual measure of conflict on a global scale, country by country. It is based on eleven threat factors identified in the EU Global Strategy: climate change, cyber security, democratic processes, economic crises, energy insecurity, fragile states, homicide, disinformation, terrorism, violent conflicts, weapons of mass destruction. It currently studies 136 countries and an interactive platform open to all allows the level of threats to be compared by geographical area or over time. In her preface to the 2022 Index, the President of the European Parliament, Roberta Metsola, summed up the findings of the 4th Normandy Index as follows:

demonstrates positive developments, including the sustained convergence of some countries in the European neighbourhood, such as the Western Balkans, showing that their European integration is underway and is affecting their economies and societies even before they join the Union. Thus, one must not fall into the trap of pessimism and doubt. On the contrary, with our political action, we must remember that our creative efforts to safeguard peace must be proportionate to the dangers that threaten it.'

DISCOVER THE NORMANDY INDEX ON THE INTERACTIVE PLATFORM:

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/infographics/peaceandsecurity/index.html#/>

'The Normandy Index reveals some weaknesses and critical points, but it also

A VILLAGE FOR PEACE

The village that is the beating heart of the Forum!

Throughout the Forum, visitors were treated to entertainment organised by the Village for Peace. Meetings, exchanges and sharing experiences were the order of the day! Return to the exhibitions and shows on offer...

Exhibitors: Working for Peace

In the Working for Peace space, numerous school students and visitors engaged in an exchange with various associations and NGOs. Amnesty International, the Normandy Delegation of the French Red Cross, and SOS Méditerranée were present to provide information on their activities and demonstrate their commitment to Peace.



Exhibitions that have left their mark

MurMurs (WallWalls), an interactive work by the sculptor Anilore Banon

Through her monumental work, Anilore Banon proposes a different approach to walls. You have to get closer to listen to the murmur of the work; sounds and stories interpreted by symbolic and anonymous voices.

Living despite the wall, a partnership with Paris Match

A look at 6 regions in the world where the wall makes or has made history. Thirteen large-format prints that focus on the daily lives of those men and women who live and survive on either side of these walls.

Ukraine: life as it was, in partnership with the Women's Festival

An exhibition by independent Ukrainian photographer, Oksana Parafeniuk is showing her snapshots of Ukraine over the last six years, preserving the memory of Ukraine's towns and villages.

The INA in a web series

In a web series of five episodes on the theme 'A wall, walls, what for?' This year INA is presenting a thematic exploration of the walls of our world.



A VILLAGE FOR PEACE

Studio Agora

in collaboration with the editorial staff of the SIPA Ouest -France group extended the exchanges between the Forum participants and the audience. These debates, at the heart of international current affairs, clarified and explained some issues of the Ukraine war, a return to the situation in Afghanistan and included a presentation of careers in journalism. On Saturday, the public, speakers, artists and committed celebrities and personalities were able to meet or exchange opinions regarding the various kinds of cultural, culinary, sporting or artistic entertainment.



CONCERTS, SHOWS, DANCE AND CINEMA

The art of being together

This 5th edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum which is being held for the first time on a Saturday, has laid on a vast programme of artistic events and entertainment for all audiences and all free of charge.

Several concerts were held during the Forum. The folk duo **Soufflant Manchot** presented their varied repertoire and created a great atmosphere on Friday, followed the next day by **Classico Ma Non Troppo**, music that is classical but just not too much... The village then moved on from music to words with **Monsieur. Passemolemot** (Mr Letmespeak) an author and story teller who roamed the Village for Peace, recording visitors' comments, and then rang the bell to announce the town crier. A celebration of live entertainment, the Village also applauded the performance by the **Compagnie In Fine - Hors le Mur** (Outside the Wall): acrobatic dance, music, contortionists,

painting... every artistic discipline came together to evoke those physical and imaginary walls and to try and bring them crashing down. Finally, and by way of bringing down the curtain on the event, the Forum showed the film **Joyeux Noël** (Happy Christmas) by Christian Carion on the big screen, in collaboration with Cinéma Lux which deals with the First World War. An exchange between Gautier Labrusse, Director of Cinéma Lux and Nicolas Leboulanger, a Caen history teacher, allowed the public to participate in a discussion of the major themes addressed in this film which takes a look at a perennially topical issue, namely, the discovery of others, beyond languages and frontiers.





PARLIAMENTARIANS
FOR PEACE ONLINE:
<https://www.p4p.global/>

Parliamentarians for Peace

Since 2020, the Parliamentarians for Peace project has been bringing together elected representatives from five continents to discuss the geopolitical challenges of our world and to work on transnational solutions for sustainable peace.

After two editions marked by the urgency of the global crisis of Covid19, Parliamentarians for Peace wished to highlight the poor progress of the Sustainable Development Goals, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Stockholm Declaration on the Environment. Unfortunately, the war in Ukraine has reminded us how the *'Decade of Action'*, invoked by Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, to achieve the UN 2030 Agenda, has become the *'Decade of Dangers'*.

While achieving the Sustainable Development Goals remained their priority, Parliamentarians for Peace also wanted to look at a potential post-2030 Agenda to solve the *'polycrisis'* of our time. They were working towards reflecting on the future Sustainable Development Goals for the 2050 Agenda, with the essential promotion of democracy and the transformation of our economies towards sustainable societies at the heart of their exchanges.



Frédérique Bedos, Thomas Friang, Catherine Morin-Desailly and François-Xavier Priollaud

Acknowledgements

This 5th Forum, organised once again in a particular context, that of the return of war to Europe with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, was once again a great success, thanks to all those who made an effort to ensure that it could be held in the best possible conditions. I would like to thank them warmly for their involvement, with special thanks to:

- ▶ **The public, especially the young people**, who attended the Abbaye aux Dames in large numbers or who followed the Forum remotely;
- ▶ **the speakers and colleagues** of the Normandy for Peace network, who offered numerous avenues of action and reflection to break down walls, thanks to their experience and expertise;
- ▶ **the sponsors and media partners**, who support and participate in the dissemination of this regional initiative
- ▶ **the services of the State and the City of Caen**, as a result of which it was possible to hold this event;
- ▶ **the elected representatives of the Normandy Region and the teams deployed each year for the Forum**: the staff of the regional authority, service providers and volunteers, who contributed fully to the success of this event;
- ▶ **The European Parliament for its continued support.**

Hervé Morin

President of the Normandy Region,
former Minister of Defence



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