



7th
EDITION



THIS WORLD THAT ESCAPES US

HOW TO WIN PEACE
IN THE FACE
OF NEW VIOLENCE?



THE ESSENTIALS

SEPTEMBER 26 & 27, 2024



RÉGION
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Notice to readers

This book is a compilation of the summaries of the discussions of the seventh edition of the 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 discussion.

This world that escapes us: ‘How to win peace in the face of new violence?’

The 7th Normandy World Peace Forum was held this year in a global context marked by unprecedented challenges. This event, which has become an essential meeting place for those involved in international peace and security, brought together experts, political decision-makers, representatives of civil society and committed young people. Together, they addressed crucial issues such as conflict resolution, climate change and human rights. This year the Forum, a unique platform for exchanging innovative ideas and promoting

sustainable solutions for a more peaceful and equitable world, offered conferences, debates, workshops dedicated to young people, activities, screenings and exhibitions.

We hope that this work will make the discussions of this 7th 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 around 3,000 young people, who came to attend the plenaries and debates, including 10 dedicated to the youth, as well as exhibitions and other highlights of this Forum.



It is also more than 130 panelists from 30 countries who took part in the Normandy World Peace Forum, either face-to-face or by video conference.



Finally, the Forum is supported by 26 programming partners, as well as by committed entrepreneurs, who share the Forum's objectives.

Happy reading and see you next year!

The Normandy Region

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

NORMANDY FOR PEACE

at a glance



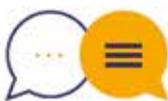
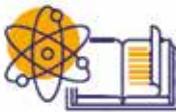
The Normandy for Peace initiative was born of the Region's desire to continue the major work of remembrance carried out since 1945 in Normandy in order to become a test bed for lasting peace.

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 <

 <p>NORMANDY FOR PEACE CAMPUS</p>	 <p>NORMANDY FOR PEACE RESOURCES</p>
 <p>NORMANDY FOR PEACE DIALOGUE</p>	 <p>NORMANDY FOR PEACE CULTURE AND SCIENCES</p>

> TOPICS PROMOTED BY <



THE FORUM



THE EVENTS



THE NETWORK

A look back

The Origin of Normandy 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 prefiguration
23 & 24 March 2017

Launch of the Normandy for Peace call for initiatives

Launch of the Normandy Chair of Excellence for Peace

First publication of the European Parliament's Normandy Index

2nd Normandy World Peace Forum
on 4 June 2019

75th anniversary of the Normandy landings

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

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

6th Normandy World Peace Forum
on 28 and 29 September 2023

Under the theme 'Resistance! Bring peace back to the people', the 6th edition of the Forum brought together 10,039 participants, including 7,440 young people for 3 plenary conferences, 15 debates, 7 youth workshops and 3 screenings for young people.

2nd seminar on Russia followed by a feedback session with the Collège des Bernardins.

In 2023, the Collège des Bernardins continued the work begun in 2022 with a new closed session which was held on Wednesday 27 September. The conclusions were presented the next day during the debate 'Who can resist Vladimir Putin?'

Highlight 'Between war and peace' organised in partnership with the think tank The Strategic Foresight Group.

In the presence of two Nobel Peace Prize winners, the existential risks facing humanity and the possible solutions to build lasting peace were discussed. This sequence was highlighted by the release of the book 'A World Without War - The History, Politics and Resolution of Conflict' by Sundeep Waslekar, founder of The Strategic Foresight Group.

2017

2018

2019

2020

2021

2022

2023

2024

Launch of the Freedom Prize

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

Development of year-round events

Launch of the Parliamentarians for Peace initiative

3rd Normandy World Peace Forum
on 1 & 2 October 2020

Normandy P4

Seminar on Russia with the Collège des Bernardins.

5th Normandy World Peace Forum
on 23 & 24 September 2022

7th Normandy World Peace Forum

on 26 and 27 September 2024

With the theme 'This world that escapes us - How to win peace in the face of new violence?' attracted nearly 11,000 participants, including 3,000 secondary school students.

This 7th Forum was marked by the continuation of the work of the Bernardins, from the Collège de Bernardins, on the question of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict with a closed-door seminar, a major event devoted to defenders of freedom and the launch of the Normandy for Peace international action plan for a just and lasting world peace.

The presentations of more than 130 speakers from around the world, with 31 countries represented, enriched the discussions on new forms of violence and ways to promote peace and freedom in the world.

Among them were: Chirinne Ardakani, lawyer of Narges Mohammadi, Nobel Peace Prize 2023, Olivier Vandecasteele, a Belgian humanitarian and former hostage in Iran, who shared his experience and perspectives on current humanitarian challenges and Ndume Olatushani, a former death row inmate in the United States, who also told his story and described his fight for justice after spending twenty years on death row.

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PLENARY CONFERENCES

WELCOME MESSAGE

Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region:

*« A single power can no longer
impose peace in a part
of the world »*

Page 10

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Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region:

"A single power can no longer impose peace in a part of the world"



Ladies and Gentlemen Ministers,
Ladies and Gentlemen Ambassadors,
Ladies and Gentlemen Parliamentarians,
Ladies and Gentlemen Elected Representatives,
Ladies and Gentlemen

thank you for being here. It is a great honour for us to open this forum every year. As my neighbour Nicole Gnesotto said to me two minutes ago, there is no event like it in the world, because it has emotion, it has generosity, it has both experts and the youth of Normandy and elsewhere, from as far afield as Aubervilliers and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. You should know that, for us, it is a great source of pride to know that there are so many of you out there,

with all this enthusiasm and ability to talk about issues that are absolutely key. Thank you a thousand times and thanks, of course, to François-Xavier Priollaud, our vice-president, the mayor of Louviers, without whom none of this would be possible. François-Xavier, you are a wonderful, exceptional man, you are the miracle of the Normandy region! François-Xavier, thank you so much!

My thanks to his partner, Frédérique Bedos, who has filled the role with such talent and who has been with us since the first day' Frédérique, thank you a thousand times. I only see you once a year and every year I say to myself "you make the most beautiful couple in the world."

Thanks to the members of the advisory panel. I really want to thank Nicole Gnesotto and Bertrand Badie for their

insight, their wisdom, their intelligence, their boldness and their ability, every year, in setting up this Normandy for Peace forum, so, thank you both and thank you to the advisory panel, which is supporting us in setting up Normandy for Peace. Thank you, thank you, thank you a thousand times to both of you.

Thank you also, ladies and gentlemen of the Region's officers, to the hundred or so volunteer officers, who ensure that this debate, this forum, can take place under the best possible conditions. I would particularly like to thank the European and international department and Julie Miclot's entire team. Thank you a thousand times, thank you to all your staff. There is one thing that I really like every year, which is when people used to participating in forums of this kind, tell us that it is better organised than at the Quai d'Orsay! Julie, if you should want a new career one day, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is waiting for you!

I would like you to give a big round of applause to the young people from the two high schools who will be serving and who will ensure that the whole day goes smoothly. I would like to thank the high school students from Georges Baptiste in Canteleu and from the Rabelais high school, because they are the ones who will ensure that these two days go without a hitch, so, to these high school students from these two schools, thank you a thousand times. You can applaud them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will have in mind, as you do, I imagine, the ceremonies of the 80th anniversary and its veterans who, until they take their last breath, will remain the definitive links to the memory of that 6th of June. This day, forever the longest, this day on which, I hope, we will ensure, generation after generation, night will never fall, no darkness will ever encroach to make us forget the bravery of the Allied soldiers

who fell in Normandy and in Europe. May no shadow cast on the obscurity of history the combined effort of our democracies to achieve this immense logistical and military feat that was the Landing.

I remind you of the words of General de Gaulle: Let us pay tribute to the United Nations, who have mingled their blood with our blood, their pain with our pain, their hope with our hope, and who today triumph with us. That's what he said in 1945. For seven years now, the Normandy World Peace Forum has been striving to serve this objective of peace and freedom. A goal that is indeed very difficult to achieve and which seems to be moving further away every day, from Gaza to Kharkiv, from Yemen to Burma, from the Bekaa plain to Mali.

The peace systems that we have been experimenting with since 1945, today seem quite powerless

Hervé Morin

Ultimately, we see on our screens these human tragedies, these faces of frightened children, these shrouds covered in blood, these parents crying for their children, these columns of refugees fleeing their cities, these mass graves filled with bodies mutilated by bullets, bombs and sometimes machetes.

The theme of the 2024 event is this world that is slipping away from us. Yes, this world seems to be slipping away. It is slipping away from us and we no longer know how to go about preserving peace in the face of this madness that

now reigns and seems to be taking over mankind. We look at the peace systems that we have been experimenting with since 1945, which today seem quite powerless. Our international institutions, whose weakness echoes an organisation and governance that are now obsolete. It is also very clear today that a single power, however imperial, can no longer impose peace in a part of the world. Neither the United States can do so, nor the fragile trio of China-Russia-Iran, where you can clearly see that these three are not simply fighting against the United States; in truth this is a fight of totalitarian countries against democracy and freedom.

We need people who control and decide alongside their leaders

Hervé Morin

And, as Condoleezza Rice recently wrote: the future will be shaped by the alliance of democratic and liberal states or it will be dictated by revisionist powers, nostalgic for an era of territorial conquests and totalitarian practices. There are no other options, she said.

A balance of power therefore seems, for many specialists, just as futile in a world in perpetual motion. A world where revolutionary new technologies, such as artificial intelligence are revolutionising our economy as well as our security and defence issues, and I am pleased that this year, half a day is being dedicated to discussing this subject. Also a world where violence and wars are so multifaceted that they can take totally unimaginable and incredible turns. I was

talking to former generals to prepare this speech yesterday, and they told me that the attack with the pagers by the Israeli army, and then with the walkie-talkies, was totally unimaginable, and that no one would have thought that it would be “so successful”. If we can talk about success in warfare, this means that these methods are totally new in modern conflicts.

As an operable peace system, there remains the one we have known since 1945, peace by contract, that is to say peace by the multitude of conventions, treaties, political and economic contracts, as we know it in Europe, with the Member States of the European Union. But to achieve this, and I say this in particular to young people, we need parliamentary democracies and we need people who, in the end, control and decide alongside their leaders. This is also what a major figure at the IFRI said a few years ago when I was at Sciences Po, which makes me feel younger, for whom this system of positive interactions could work, but only if two conditions are met. The first is that democracy resists populism and the rise of nationalism, this horned beast nationalism, as Nietzsche wrote. And the second is that the nationality of the rulers must prevail over the most devastating of passions, a decline of populism and the primacy of reason; the fight for peace is far from won. Between the first editions of this forum and today, war has resurfaced there where it was not thought possible, that is to say in Eastern Europe, it regularly threatens the Levant, after peaks of horror were reached between Hamas and Israel. The barbaric violence of one has unleashed the military might of the other, sowing hatred and a desire for revenge that will last decades, which clearly shows that, in the end, this movement is endless, and the words “reconciliation”, “forgiveness” and “fraternity” cannot be found. All these words have now unfortunately been forgotten in an ever more compli-



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cated Middle East. This world is slipping away from us, but it is not a question of us building peace. Like Sisyphus, we must tirelessly remain, against all odds, the artisans of peace. I say to young people: protest, make yourselves heard, make proposals, anything but resignation and silence, anything but indifference. It is not other people's business, it is not only the business of diplomats, it is not only the business of the military, it is not only the business of political leaders. No, this matter is ours, it is yours, as conscious, educated, historicised peoples. Here are a few words from Elie Wiesel to remind you that this is our history: I swore never to remain silent when human beings endure suffering and humiliation. Wherever it is, we must always take a stance. Neutrality helps the oppressor, silence encourages the persecutor, never the persecuted. Yes, we must continue to engage. Here is a place of commitment to world peace and security.

So, we note, ladies and gentlemen, that this classic traditional war pitting together two countries (possibly armed) and great powers has not become just a theory. What we must never forget in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is that one of the two powers is a nuclear power, not just with strategic and tactical weapons, but also with battlefield nuclear weapons. And so, this creates crisis conditions to which we must be extremely attentive and, therefore, we need to be firm but also responsible when we raise this issue. It is therefore necessary, ladies and gentlemen, that on this Ukrainian issue, we Europeans do not forget what our responsibility must be. Our responsibility is not to send soldiers to the battlefields of Ukraine. Our responsibility, first of all, is to honour the requests of Mr Volodymyr Zelensky, namely, weapons and ammunition, not any commitment of ground troops. And so, when the President of the Republic raised these issues, he irritated many people, but, at least, what



he said forced each and every one of us to wake from our blithe slumber and examine our consciences: could we send our soldiers to die for Ukraine? Could we die for Vilnius, Warsaw, Helsinki, like thousands of soldiers died on the beaches of Normandy in 1944? International relations, ladies and gentlemen, are not foreign to the citizens of a democracy. Behind these questions lies the one about what our countries' commitment actually is. Being a peacemaker in Russia means first and foremost building a European proposal and solution.

This is what I would like to end with. The issue of sanctions was raised, in the belief that sanctions would even-

tually bring Russia to its senses: falling imports, the ruble collapsing, inflation, recession. In reality, the Russians have found a way to sell their gas and oil to other countries and keep their economic and social model intact. At the same time, we are facing a war of attrition where arms deliveries and sanctions will eventually, we hope, bring Vladimir Putin to his senses and to the negotiating table, under conditions acceptable to the Ukrainians. The outcome of the US elections will be an extremely important element in all of this. We all remember Donald Trump announcing that he would have resolved this matter in 48 hours. But we Europeans are faced with responsibilities that we find so difficult to assume. I remember, when I was

Minister of Defence in 2008, at the time of the French presidency of the European Union, all the proposals we made to build European defence solutions. I was faced with stonewalling by countries which considered that, in the end, the answer was always the same: aligning with the Atlantic alliance and with a solution that lay first and foremost with the Americans. With Ukraine, we can tell ourselves that we have taken a step forward because we gave a common, supportive and united response, which is extremely rare on defence and security issues; it is probably the first time that us Europeans all adopted the same position. But if we look at things properly, is there really a common vision of security and defence issues in Europe today? “No.”

The United States is gradually moving away from Europe and is looking more and more towards Asia

Hervé Morin

Are we close to building a model for our strategic autonomy, that is to say seeing, deciding on, building a political, diplomatic and possibly military solution? “No.” Are we able to do without American or Atlantic Alliance resources? “No.” In reality, we have not moved forward an inch in twenty years on these issues. We can’t have made that much progress if we still do not have a general staff, any planning or conducting of operations, if we must automatically

refer ourselves to the Atlantic Alliance whenever we want to make a proposal concerning security or military operations. Looking at things in detail, we are still not capable of building something of a foundation in terms of defence or military equipment that would allow us to gradually move towards strategic autonomy, proof of this being that, if we were to do the maths today, I think, Nicole and Bertrand, we have more F35 planes flying in European skies than we have planes from the European arsenal, whether they be Dassault or Airbus. In summary, today we have legal texts, we have solutions, we have battle groups, we have common military bodies and units, for example, with the Germans, but there is no real desire to build a solution that is a European one, through a Europeanisation of the Atlantic Alliance, which the Americans are nevertheless inviting us to do and which we should accede to. To know, to decide, to act, to build strategic autonomy, this should be the aim of Europeans in a world where we can clearly see that the United States is gradually moving away from Europe and is looking more and more towards Asia. So, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, in this difficult and dark period, I would like to tell you that our message of hope for the future must be to say first and foremost to all those who doubt it: there is no peace and there is no security without human rights and without democracy; it may probably be the most imperfect one there is, but without democracy, without freedom of peoples, you will never have peace and security. This is the lesson we must keep in mind every day, even when we doubt it, even when we go out to vote, we must keep in mind that democracy is the key to peace and security. Thank you and have a good forum!



UNDERSTANDING THE VIOLENCE OF THE WORLD'S SHIFT

Conference n°1 / Thursday 26 September / 10 a.m. – 12 p.m. / Plenary Room



Bertrand Badie, Éric Danon, Hervé Moritz, Adekeye Adebajo, Joseph Maïla, Frédérique Bedos, François-Xavier Priollaud

A war in Ukraine that is not abating, a Middle East in flames, the Sahel ablaze, the United States and China replaying historical ideological conflicts, artificial intelligence that fascinates as much as it frightens and populism on the rise all over the world... The programme for the 2024 edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum is – again – sadly full. Bertrand Badie, co-director of the Forum's scientific council, addresses the crowd in the plenary hall during the first conference.

Today's world is a world on the move, one that understands times of peace and war differently than in the past, when 'war served the State, and the State served war', he explained in his opening remarks. Except that time is over: 'Something very important has happened, namely the social appropriation

The real story began with the wars of decolonisation

Bertrand Badie

of international relations', with the consequences, on the one hand, of new 'opportunities', but, above all, of the emergence of diverse new forms of violence for which no State was prepared. 'The real story began with the wars of decolonisation and the emergence of players who are not state actors by definition. And when you are not a state actor, you can no longer differentiate between civilian and military.' Some call it resistance, others call it terrorism, but one

thing is certain: a violence that no longer obeys the laws of war or international law is emerging.

The diplomacy of indifference

Bertrand Badie argues that globalisation brought eight billion individuals, all acting autonomously, into the world arena. 'Now, every individual is equipped with a globalised imagination.' There are organised criminals who make pacts with political players and rebels, private militias that elude the armies. This social violence is linked to unchecked urbanisation, which creates inequalities and encourages delinquency, as in the case of the Kulunas gang in Kinshasa (Congo). These are ecological predations and systemic violence. These are the new faces of violence listed by Bernard Badie, who concluded his demonstration by castigating 'the diplomacy of



Bertrand Badie

MODERATION

François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region

Frédérique Bedos, Producer, Director, Founder of the educational NGO, The Imagine Project

SPEAKERS

Bertrand Badie, University Professor Emeritus at Sciences Po Paris

Valerie Masson-Delmotte, Research Director at CEA, former co-president of the IPCC

Jean-Marie Théodat, Lecturer, Panthéon-Sorbonne University

Agnes Callamard, Secretary General of Amnesty International

Thomas Melonio, Chief Economist and Executive Director for Innovation, Strategy and Research at AFD

Eric Danon, Former French Ambassador to Israel

Hervé Moritz, President of the European Movement France

Adekeye Adebajo, Professor, University of Pretoria.

Joseph Maïla, Professor of geopolitics and international mediation at ESSEC Business School.

indifference'. 'Do you know what a powerless State does? It gets away with it by showing its indifference. And this is the new face of diplomacy.'

Valérie Masson-Delmotte could only agree with Bernard Badie regarding ecological predation. As the co-chair of a working group of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), she has worked for many years to warn of the dangers of climate change, one of the collateral effects of which is the exacerbation of armed, social and societal conflicts. 'Climate action is also a matter of justice,' she said. 'Delaying decisive action on climate means forcing younger people to act more intensely,



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Disinformation and the rise of populism fuel climate inaction

Valérie Masson-Delmotte

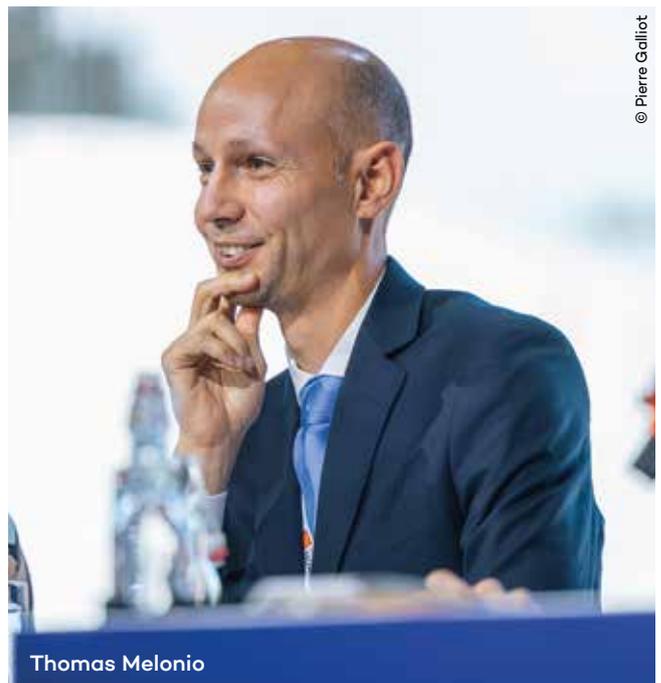
sometimes more brutally,' seeing this as an upheaval in the relationship that each individual has with the world. 'You were talking about globalisation. The way our actions affect the global climate, and the global climate affects living conditions in every region, is truly an existential illustration of this.'

Palliative care ineffective against climate

One of the dangers highlighted by Valérie Masson-Delmotte is that of climate manipulation, which she compared to 'palliative care' because it does not act on the causes and prefers to mask the symptoms of the disorder. 'Disinformation and the rise of populism fuel climate inaction and are vectors of con-

flict,' she added. The same goes for the seizure of agricultural land to store carbon or the production of biomass for energy, a source of displacement and conflict in other regions of the world. In France, the delay in developing environmental strategies 'is a real challenge for democratic deliberation on the basis of these scientific facts', she believes.

At the French Development Agency (AFD), where Thomas Melonio is the chief economist, the €125 million Minka Fund has been set up to support projects that help prevent the risk of crises and violent conflicts. In practical terms, the agency operates in areas of acute conflict, such as the Middle East, the Sahel or the Central African Republic, between farmers and livestock breeders, or on issues of access to water. Donations therefore make it possible to create infrastructures, which provide equitable access to all and, ultimately, avoid a conflagration on the ground. However, the AFD, a public state agency, is also forced to align itself with French diplomacy, and when the situation demands it, as occurred recently in the Sahel in



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Thomas Melonio



the context of high tension with Mali, it has no other choice but to withdraw. 'In some cases, we can maintain activities that support the private sector and civil society.'

This instability in the world, which makes any external state intervention very delicate, is accompanied by a convergence of violence, as noted by Agnès Callamard, Secretary General of Amnesty International. According to her, it is the consequence of a diplomatic double standard: 'The interests that predominate are geostrategic, economic and national security interests. As a result, even when our friends commit the most heinous crimes, we continue to support them.' This is a reality that has been noted for a long time, but which, as violence escalates, goes beyond the rules of international law, which are no longer adapted to our times. 'We see it with Russia in Ukraine, which justified its aggression, as did Israel. This is a discourse that we find almost everywhere, including when the United States gives its support to Israel at the Security Council.'

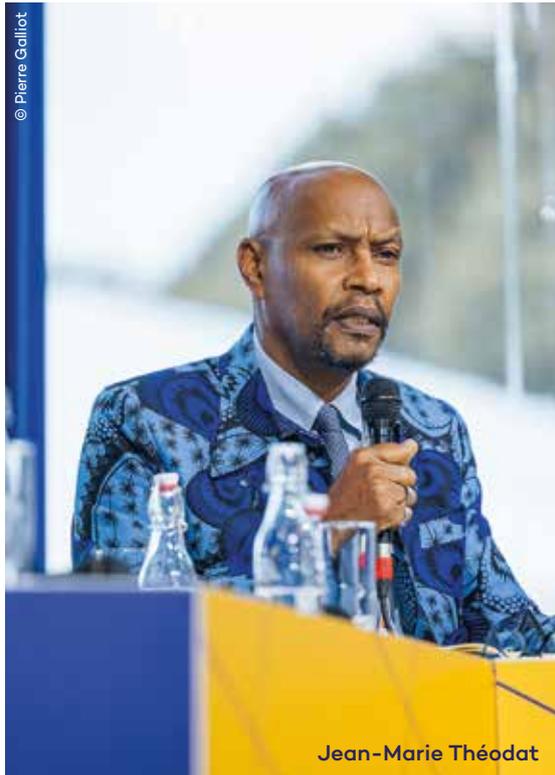
Hamas is destroyed militarily, it loses probably 80%

Éric Danon

These acts of violence, they lament, are also accompanied by racism, expressed in the value given to the life of a Palestinian child, which is different from that of an Israeli child.

Indifference or helplessness?

If there is one place in the world where all this violence converges, it is in Haiti. Jean-Marie Théodat, professor at the



Jean-Marie Théodat

A resistance fighter is a terrorist who has won

Éric Danon

Sorbonne and the University of Haiti, defended this idea. 'I come in time to tell you that everything that has been said here, I could put it in a Haitian context, and it fits perfectly.' The country is a victim of an environmental disaster, with 3% of forest on its entire territory, compared to 90% at the time of Christopher Columbus' arrival in 1492. It is a victim of systemic violence affecting human dignity; indifference of the world towards the fate of Haitians, to quote Bertrand Badie on the diplomacy of indifference, is the reality for this island of 27,750 km², a similar size to Normandy but 4 times more populated with 12 million inhabitants.

Indifference that would stem from impotence in the face of new violence? This was in any case the theme of the second round table debate of the conference, which opened with the words of Éric Danon, who estimated that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was far from over:

' Hamas is destroyed militarily, it loses probably 80% of its capacity. It has lost the military war, or will lose it, but it has totally won the media war.' The diplomat took the opportunity to revisit the notion of resistance and terrorism, an assessment which, according to him, depends solely on History. 'A resistance fighter is a terrorist who has won. And a terrorist is a resistance fighter who has failed.' Joseph Maïla, a lecturer at the École Supérieure des Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC), spoke of the Middle East as 'a tomb of international law' where 'a kind of imaginary hatred has accumulated over time', and where we must not ignore the responsibility of the players in the conflict and the two divergent dynamics between Israel and Palestine.



Éric Danon



Adekeye Adebajo

All foreign military bases in Africa must be dismantled

Adekeye Adebajo

Basically, and this is the crux of the problem: how can we reconcile two different perceptions of history?



Watch the full debate on YouTube

That said, , it is racism and the profits that the West and capitalism have made from it 'for 400 years', as the academic and former director of the Cape Town Conflict Revolution Centre, Adekeye Adebajo, pointed out. In his view,

France's disrepute in the Sahel zone can be attributed to its historical support for autocrats and dictators in Africa, as a means of consolidating its colonial domination. 'I think all foreign military bases in Africa must be dismantled so that Africa can find peace,' he said, recalling that '40% of UN peacekeepers are African.'

Europeans waiting

However, Hervé Moritz, President of the European Movement in France, added a note of caution about Europe's 'cultivated' powerlessness to act, despite the fact that all opinion polls show that Europeans expect the European Union to address the new violence linked to the return of war to its gates, as well as climate change and social inequalities.

To conclude, Bernard Badie said that while yesterday's wars were made of rivalry and power, those of today are fuelled by domination and the revolt that results from it. The result is a feeling of humiliation which leads, inexorably, to rage.

PROTECTING THE DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM

Conference n°2 / 10:00 a.m. - 03:30 p.m. / Plenary Room



Édouard Perrin, Olivier Vandecasteele, Chirinne Ardakani, Berta Zúñiga Cáceres, Ndume Olatushani, Frédérique Bedos, François-Xavier Priollaud

These are women and men with extraordinary destinies who have all decided not to bow down despite threats, kidnappings, prison and assassinations. Their moving testimonies demonstrate that great ideals deserve to be fought for with force to prevent the world from descending into chaos, 'where the law of the strongest would be imposed on all, because those who are in charge have neither pity nor scruples', began Frédérique Bedos before the prestigious guests joined the stage. Among them was the

Belgian Olivier Vandecasteele, who paid a high price for his role as a humanitarian worker.

After field work in Mali, Afghanistan and Niger with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) including Médecins du Monde, he was arrested on 24th February 2022 in Tehran, Iran, and imprisoned as a state hostage for 15 long months, isolated from everything and without

MODERATION

François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region

Frédérique Bedos, Producer, Director, Founder of the educational NGO, The Imagine Project

SPEAKERS

Olivier Vandecasteele, Humanitarian Belgian and ex-hostage in Ira

Édouard Perrin, Investigative journalist

Berta Zúñiga Cáceres, Activist and daughter of Berta Cáceres, murdered in March 2016

Chirinne Ardakani, Lawyer of Iranian activist Narges Mohammadi

Ndume Olatushani, Activist, Former American death row inmate, who spent 20 years on death row before his release in 2012



Olivier Vandecasteele

Place the question of people and life at the very centre of everything

Olivier Vandecasteele

any reference points. His sentence of 40 years in prison and 74 lashes following a grotesque trial was finally overturned thanks to negotiations between the Belgian and Iranian governments. It's an ordeal that will mark him forever, a person who, since childhood, felt the need to fight against all forms of injustice. 'In Belgium, we have several linguistic communities that sometimes have difficulty getting along, and my parents chose to put me in boarding school in the opposing linguistic community. From my first years at school, I was confronted with the question of difference, also with the

fact that, when you were in the minority, you had to take the step of approaching people who were different, of building bridges. And I think that was one of the key elements of my commitment,' he explained. Olivier Vandecasteele also spoke of the essence of this commitment, which is to 'place the question of people and life at the very centre of everything'.

But what remains of this ideal when it's crushed by torturous and dispassionate government forces, and when you're a victim of 'white torture', according to the Iranian activist Narges Mohammadi's term relating to the methods used in her country's prisons? The answer is simple: hope and mutual aid. 'After being a humanitarian worker who wanted to provide help and assistance, I myself was in need of help and assistance and, so, I needed others. There was a real and beautiful movement within NGOs who took a stance, including Amnesty International and the United Nations, who denounced this arbitrary arrest. I knew



Édouard Perrin

© Julien Helle



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If you want to silence one journalist, 100 others will take over

Édouard Perrin

very little about it because I had no access to outside information, but it was dizzying to discover all this on my return.'

Her story is far from unusual. The figures for humanitarian workers on the ground are overwhelming. Every year, 400 of them are killed, injured or kidnapped. It's an increasing trend: in 2023, 595 people were victims of attacks and violence, including 280 killed, 224 injured and 91 kidnapped, 'the highest figure ever recorded' according to François-Xavier Priollaud. To stem this scourge, Olivier

Vandecasteele created the NGO, Protect Humanitarians, to also highlight the violence suffered by local humanitarian workers, Malians and Afghans, who in reality represent 95% of the victims. 'Currently, for example, there are more than twenty aid workers detained in Yemen, amidst a relatively deafening silence. We're setting up legal and mental health expertise to disseminate a collective response, so



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Berta Zúñiga Cáceres

that each NGO no longer has to resolve its own issues in isolation.'

This threat coincides with the growing needs of the most deprived populations. In 2024, there will be nearly 300 million people worldwide waiting for emergency humanitarian aid. And to highlight this cruel reality, who else but journalists in the field? Among them is Edouard Perrin, known in particular for his work on the show, *Cash Investigation*, broadcast on France 2, who became involved after the 2015 attacks against *Charlie Hebdo*, via the association *Forbidden Stories*. The idea is simple: a secure platform that protects key information about threatened journalists, so that their investigations can continue to be carried out in the event that they are imprisoned, threatened or assassinated. The first project, championed by *Forbidden Stories*, is that of Maltese journalist, Daphne Caruana Galizia who, in 2017, investigated corruption cases involving large international companies and her country's Prime Minister, Joseph Muscat.

In October 2017, the journalist was assassinated by a car bomb. Immediately, *Forbidden Stories* took up her work and continued the investigation. 'This is what we call the Streisand effect,' explained Edouard Perrin. 'Trying to hide a story raises its profile tenfold. If you want to silence one journalist, 100 others will take over.' To achieve this, the association set up the *Safebox Network* 7 years ago, a secure digital safe where journalists can store sensitive documents to share with a community of 150 journalists, adding a sheet of precise instructions in case anything were to happen to them. This is demon-



Watch
the full
debate on
YouTube



We've witnessed a little progress in Honduras, even though impunity still exists.

Berta Zúñiga Cáceres

strated by the documentary, 'Pegasus, a spy in your pocket', broadcast on Arte and produced by *Forbidden Stories*. This was in the running for an Emmy Award at the very time that the Normandy Peace Forum was taking place, and deals with widespread illegal surveillance via Israeli spyware targeting journalists, lawyers, human rights defenders and heads of state.

Human rights defenders are being threatened and murdered, as are environmental activists. Berta Cáceres is one of them. Born in Honduras, she

dedicated her life to environmental activism in her country and to defending the rights of Indigenous people. Her last fight, opposing the construction of a dam on the Gualcarque River, cost her her life in 2016, a year after she received the Goldman Environmental Prize. Her daughter, Berta Zúñiga, has since taken up the torch. Invited onto the stage of the plenary hall, she paid a glowing tribute to the work of her mother, as well as that of her grandmother, all three of whom are from the Lenca people, whose territories are threatened by companies that have been trying to obtain river concessions to build dams since the coup d'état in Honduras in 2009. In six years, 109 Hondurans have been killed for their stance against these hydroelectric dams. But Berta Zúñiga remains



Chirinne Ardakani

Iranian theocracy commits the most serious crimes against humans, in the name of God

Chirinne Ardakani

hopeful: 'We've witnessed a little progress in Honduras, even though impunity still exists. We've managed to get eight men convicted in the first instance for their crimes', she explained, even though the Court has not yet handed down their sentences and, in the long term, they could remain free.

Chirinne Ardakani knows this two-speed justice system, which is deficient in certain states, well. Chirinne Ardakani, lawyer for Iranian activist Narges Mo-

hammad, imprisoned for creating the Women, Life, Freedom movement, and recipient of the 2023 Nobel Peace Prize, while still in her cell, made the trip on her client's behalf. 'It's always difficult for a lawyer to have to speak on behalf of their client who can't be with us because she's being held captive while innocent, in the jails of the Islamic Republic. A thought came to me around this table: Imagine a political system that brings all the evils together around this table. This system is the one that Narges Mohammadi is fighting against, it's the Iranian theocracy, a system that commits the most serious crimes against humans, in the name of God,' she declared. Evoking her beginnings in activism in high school, her passion for mountaineering, which she was forbidden to practice in mixed groups, through to her engagement against patriarchal and religious laws, the death penalty... for 26 years, Narges Mohammadi's journey has been an alternation between freedom and detention in Iranian jails, as she recounts in her



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Ndume Olatushani

book, *White Torture* (Albin Michel), published in March 2024. ‘She has 12 years left to serve. This court has convicted her of a number of charges: collusion against the State, propaganda against the Islamic Republic, dissemination of false information’, explained the lawyer, pointing out that her fate is far from

Art saved my life literally and figuratively

Ndume Olatushani

unique. ‘She shares the women’s section of Evin prison, one of the most highly secure in the country, a political prison. And alongside her, you have censored intellectuals who have written feminist pamphlets, you have environmental activists who have mobilised against dam projects, in particular, you have a certain number of trade unionists who have also fought alongside the workers, since

there is no freedom of trade union association in Iran either.’

While 112 countries have abolished the death penalty to date, according to Amnesty International, 16 countries handed down sentences in 2023 according to the latest report. And among the countries that still practice it, the United States executed 19 people in 2024. Ndume Olatushani, who concluded this round table debate, spent 28 years in North American prisons, including 20 years on death row, in a cell where he couldn’t even stretch out his arms... Tried in the 50 percent African-American city of Memphis, Tennessee, by an all-white jury, Olatushani was offered an Alford plea, a means of waiving his formal acquittal in exchange for his freedom. ‘Art saved my life literally and figuratively. It was through art that I managed to escape,’ he said. Ndume Olatushani, now free, actively campaigns for the abolition of the death penalty in his country, and carries a message of hope and peace for those who, in one way or another, champion freedom. A freedom which, in light of the testimonies of this round table debate, is still beyond price.

REGAINING CONTROL OF THE WORLD

Conference n°3 / Friday 27 September / 10 a.m. – 12 p.m. / Plenary Room



Nicole Gnesotto, Guy Sorman, Donia Kaouach, Thierry De Monbrial, Jean-Luc Stalon, Frédérique Bedos, François-Xavier Priollaud

Temperatures in Sweden jumping 50 degrees in less than 24 hours, the war in Ukraine is dragging on, the Middle East is raging, the 1% of the world's population is grabbing two-thirds of the wealth produced in 2023... and with that, a feeling that things are going to get worse and worse, that global conflicts are only escalating and that climate change is unstoppable. Despite everything, Nicole Gnesotto is not the fatalistic type. 'This is also why we wanted this second ple-

nary session of the Forum to be more action-oriented, more proactive, to try to regain some control over our future,' she stated in her preamble to a first round table debate on the question of sharing.

This concern, which is very much focused on the West, may not be shared by all of humanity. For emerging countries, globalisation would even be a boon. 'The United Nations estimates that in

MODERATION

François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region

Frédérique Bedos, Producer, Director, Founder of the educational NGO, The Imagine Project

SPEAKERS

Nicole Gnesotto, Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute

Thierry de Montbrial, President of the French Institute of

International Relations

Donia Kaouach, Executive Director of Leaders for Peace

Guy Sorman, President of La Maison Française at New York University

Jean-Luc Stalon, Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the Central African Republic

Sundeep Waslekar, Chairman of the Strategic Foresight Group

Mevlüt Cavusoglu, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Türkiye, Head of the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation to NATO

Azza Karam, President of Lead Integrity, former Secretary General of Religions for Peace

Asle Toje, Vice-Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee

Suzuka Nakamura, Founder of Know Nukes Tokyo

Xavier Du Crest, President of Handicap International

We tend to be too obsessed with our Western vision of the world

Nicole Gnesotto

the first 20 years of globalisation, 800 million people were lifted out of poverty,' noted Nicole Gnesotto, adding that 'we tend to be too obsessed with our Western vision of the world, forgetting that we're shrinking more and more, we're not even 10% of the world population and we continue to rule the world despite everything.' Rather than the end of the world, Nicole Gnesotto preferred to speak of 'the end of a world, a great transition that could last twenty years and where an entire system, born after the Second World War is fracturing, little by little. A system based so far on the liberal market economy, political democracy, and the strategic superiority of the United States.

As a result, protectionism is making a comeback, particularly in the United States, which raises the question: 'Is it us first, or all together?' On this point, Nicole Gnesotto pointed out that Europe seems to be hesitating between working to restore its power or favouring an adaptation strategy. This is in line with the remarks made by President Emmanuel Macron during the last United Nations General Assembly, calling for the construction of a new international order, less 'incomplete and unjust', and for imaginative thinking about the peace of tomorrow. On this point, Thierry de Montbrial, President of the French Institute of International Relations, referred to the Congress of Vienna in 1815

where the notion of collective security emerged, recalling that the reason the Cold War never degenerated was thanks to arms control, a 'very innovative' negotiation system that has now been destroyed. So, what are the prospects for ending the Russian-Ukrainian conflict? 'In a negotiation, you have to understand what the fundamental interests of the others are. That's the question,' he said, noting the complexity of the events and the sharing of responsibilities according to the principles of Kissinger's thinking.

Guy Sorman, writer and president of Maison Française at New York University, was struck by the 'ignorance of the other' that reigns in today's world. Because, deep down, do we really know what the Russians or the Chinese want? 'I believe that many conflicts arise from misunderstandings and are fuelled by the reign of emotion and ignorance, he said, highlighting this contemporary paradox of a lack of information, when it has never been easier to get information. Hence, there is a real urgent need to educate ourselves about peace. In fact, this is what Donia Kaouach, co-founder with Jean-Pierre Raffarin of the non-governmental organisation (NGO)



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Jean-Luc Stalon

Leaders for Peace, is striving for. Its aim is to spread a culture of peace, particularly in emerging countries, through a travelling school. But the task is impossible without the presence of a normative and institutional framework. She explained: 'The decision to go to war is first and foremost a political decision, so it also depends on the intelligence of the decision-makers, which sometimes has to be created where it does not exist, particularly in post-colonial countries where there have been dictatorships.'

But this development aid, which comes mainly from the West, is declining. This observation, made by Jean-Luc Stalon, resident representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the Central African Republic, should push Africa to create its own fiscal space to generate its own resources and finance its development. 'You should know that today, in Africa, taxation in relation to GDP is around 15% on average. In advanced countries, we are at 45–50%. So there is still room.' In his book, *Elite Growth*, Jean-Luc Stalon also looked at inequalities, in an attempt not to describe them as is often done, but to understand their mechanisms. 'So I put in place the concept of elite growth which should not be understood as the growth of the elites, but rather how the elites capture the dividends of economic growth.' 'Defending the idea that to measure this elitist growth, we needed

to go further than basing it solely on the human development index, Jean-Luc Stalon devised the elitist growth index by including the 'ecosystem of governance', as well as the issue of the environment.

In Africa, taxation in relation to GDP is around 15% on average. In advanced countries, we are at 45–50%

Jean-Luc Stalon

Finding ways to improve the living conditions of the most deprived is also Handicap International's credo. This association, created in 1982, helps disabled people all over the world. Xavier du Crest, its president, spoke as a preamble to a second round table debate on the challenges that need to be addressed to avoid chaos. And there are numerous challenges. Starting with field action, one of the founding pillars of the association. On this point, Xavier du Crest was uncompromising: 'If you knew the number of conferences and symposia I have participated in with extraordinary concepts and the commitment of each person. And then what? These men, women and children that I saw in Ethiopia, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali, even in Colombia, Venezuela, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, what are we doing for them? We must act.' And nothing more concrete than doing it right now, by asking the 2,000 participants in the room to sign via their smartphones by typing #ceasefirenow in their search bar in order to support the call for a ceasefire in the occupied Palestinian territories and in Israel.

If action is necessary, so is looking the world in the face. Asle Toje, a foreign pol-

icy scholar and Vice-Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, believes this is the key to recognising and becoming aware of the challenges facing humanity: 'We must work for disarmament, for understanding between peoples and fraternity, and we must continue to meet in peace congresses as we do here.' But the question of rationality in the face of world realities also arises in the field of religion, where the message of peace, although universal, turns into fundamentalism.

Azza Karam, secretary of Religions for Peace, pointed out that 84% of the world's population adheres to a religion, while institutional leaders are attached to an idea of secularism that may have become archaic today. 'Secularism, which ignores religion by saying that it is of no interest, is seriously problematic,' she believes. This is all the more true given that, dogma aside, 60% of basic healthcare throughout the world is provided by religious institutions. But Azza Karam was also clear about the geopolitical divergences which push certain religious people to refuse to unite for the good of humanity. 'The Covid-19 pandemic has been a perfect illustration of the failure of religious partnerships across the world. I discovered to my disappointment that religious NGOs were just as territorial as secular NGOs doing humanitarian work.'

However, these questions of diplomacy must go beyond religious and cultural issues if we want to avoid chaos. Former Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Cavu-

soglu worked to reach an agreement in July 2022 between Russia and Ukraine on Ukrainian grain exports from the Black Sea. And while an agreement had been reached, on a crucial issue, it unfortunately ended in failure, following Russia's decision to



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leave the negotiating table after numerous negotiations that included the United Nations (UN). However, failure should not be a renunciation. In Japan, activism against the use of atomic bombs is losing ground, as it is not being championed by the younger generations who did not experience the destruction of Nagasaki in 1945 by the United States.

At just 24 years old, Suzuka Nakamura, an activist for the abolition of nuclear weapons, remains hopeful. By creating her own organisation, Know Nukes Tokyo, she managed to mobilise her troops to contribute to the signing of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in 2017, which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2017. This was a true example of pugnacity for the youngest present in the room. 'Even if you feel that you don't have enough knowledge or experience to work on the issue of peace, I would still like to encourage you, because there is still so much to do for peace,' she said.

To conclude, Sundeep Waslekar returned to the five priorities of the Normandy for Peace Framework. The first is a timed process to end nuclear weapons. The second is the signing of a global convention to prevent the misuse of artificial intelligence. The third priority is an international agreement to reduce military spending. Then the fourth point revolves around the creation of a 'robust mechanism for conflict resolution and prevention at the United Nations, to create collective security for all nations, not just a handful of nations.' And finally, a global social contract based on the model of the French social contract of 1762, drawn up by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Once these five points had been proposed, François-Xavier Priollaud invited the participants to stand up to sign this action plan via a QR code, which he hopes will be 'the start of a process'.

"NORMANDY FOR PEACE" FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A JUST AND LASTING WORLD PEACE

Inspired by the Normandy Manifesto for World Peace issued by Nobel Peace Prize laureates and social thinkers and launched in Caen, Normandy, on June 4, 2019;

Convinced of the urgency of a collective awakening, on a global scale, to the existential threats weighing on all of humanity;

Recalling the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1722 of December 20, 1961, calling for general and complete disarmament, including the dismantling of states' military infrastructures, based on a joint declaration by the governments of the USSR and the United States;

Considering the necessity to propose a credible collective security agenda as soon as possible;

Faithful to the legacy of Aristide Briand, French statesman, Nobel Peace Prize laureate, whose ashes rest in Normandy for eternity, and who, alongside U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, initiated an international pact renouncing war;

Driven by the unwavering will to build a just and lasting world peace;

We call on the peoples of the world and their leaders to commit, as we do, to act in favor of a just and lasting world peace within the framework of an international action plan, «Normandy for Peace,» based on the following five priorities:

1 A time-bound action plan for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, commencing with no first-use and agreements initiated by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and endorsed by all nuclear powers, on nuclear risk reduction measures

2 The adoption of an international convention prohibiting the use of artificial intelligence systems and any other emerging technologies with regards to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

3 The conclusion of an international agreement, including by major military powers, on the progressive reduction of military spending and its reallocation to fund public policies addressing the common challenges facing human civilization.

4 A robust mechanism to enhance the capacity of the United Nations to resolve and prevent conflicts where the provisions of Chapter VI of the UN Charter prove ineffective, to enhance the collective security of all nations.

5 The development of a global social contract to provide civilizational response to civilizational crises based on respect for human rights and international law.



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CAN SPORT PROMOTE PEACE?

Thursday 26 September, 04:30 p.m. - 06:00 p.m., Plenary room



Lilium Thuram, Sophie Lorant, Pascal Boniface, Samuel Ducroquet and Bernard Amsalem

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The Paris 2024 Olympic Games have proven it: when it serves sport, patriotism is a peaceful celebration. Nations parading together, flags flying next to each other and athletes congratulating one another on their efforts. This reality of sport as a vector for peace has been officially recognised in the United Nations development programme as an 'important partner' since 2015. More

MODERATION

Pascal Boniface, Director of IRIS

SPEAKERS

Sophie Lorant, Director of International Relations for the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organising Committee

Bernard Amsalem, Former president of the French Athletics Federation, administrator of the French National Olympic and Sports Committee

Samuel Ducroquet, Ambassador for Sport to the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs

Lilium Thuram, President of the Foundation for Education against Racism and for Equality, former international footballer

recently, on 22nd September, 'sport and culture were officially declared as contributing partners to sustainable development,' added Sophie Lorant, Director of International Relations for the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organising Committee, speaking on the stage of the plenary room. In the Olympic movement, sport is said to contribute to 11 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Of these objectives, the 11th is of particular importance, as it states that sport contributes to the development of fairer, more peaceful and more open societies. Just like the slogan of Paris 2024, and for which the ceremony already set the tone: openness to diversity outside the stadiums, including in the organisation of the Games, in the Village where all the delegations coexisted despite the conflicts raging in the world. 'Nations and athletes who hate each other because they have inherited a history, share the same meal at lunch time as the others, and the same environment' Sophie Lorant added. How-



Lilian Thuram, Sophie Lorant, Pascal Boniface

ever, should we mix sport and politics? Bernard Amsalem, former President of the French Athletics Federation, had no doubts in this regard: 'Sport is politics in the strategic and societal sense of the term.' Hence the need, he believes, for more ambitious sports policies that reach out not only to the top level, but also to the amateur level, where education is key. 'In our country, we don't do enough sport. Half an hour isn't enough,' he added, citing a World Health Organisation (WHO) recommendation of a minimum of one hour per day.

Samuel Ducroquet, ambassador for sport at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was less idealistic, believing that the primary interest in organising such an event is its international impact. 'But it's not about shining just to impress, but rather about conveying values that are important to France,' namely: preserving the environment, solidarity, inclusion. In this respect, the in-depth work doesn't stop with the event itself, but continues well afterwards at diplomatic level, so that sport is seen 'as a tool for cooperation and rapprochement', he added.

Who better than the former French international Lilian Thuram, world champion in 1998 with France, to bear witness to the emotions that sport arouses and the spirit of communion that it generates? Wouldn't shared emotions be the first step towards living together? 'All

the work I try to do is tell top athletes not to be afraid to speak up. Because an athlete who speaks out can educate a considerable number of young people to change their imagination, move towards more respect and go beyond religious origins.' Bernard Amsalem shared these comments, recalling that in certain competitions, North Koreans jumped into the arms of South Koreans. What might seem like a fun detail can have real implications for how one population perceives another. 'You only see that in sport,' he concluded on this point.

Sport is politics in the strategic and societal sense of the term

Bernard Amsalem

Institutions have only recently begun to take account of the political importance of sport. Pascal Boniface pointed out the slight condescension of the ruling circles towards sport, which has prevailed for a long time, where muscle was systematically opposed to the brain. 'At the beginning of the 80s, Jacques Delors, Minister of Finance, had said that the first newspaper he read in the morning was L'Équipe, and it caused a scandal!' he recalled, amused. Samu-

el Ducroquet acknowledged that within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there was 'a sort of sporting coming-out'. The Ministry, which is entirely focused on the State's external action, has a real added value, he believes, 'which is to bring together powers and dynamic forces' with an unlimited strike force on the international stage.



To win, you need the other. They make you better

Lilian Thuram

Lilian Thuram practised this international openness within the football teams in which he played, in France, Italy and Spain, often sharing the same jersey as foreign players whom he subsequently faced during international competitions. 'When you train with someone of a different nationality, you realise that, indeed, if you had prejudices, they fall away because you end up knowing that person. And above all, what is also very interesting is that, to win, you will understand very quickly that you need that person and that they make you better.' He mentioned an amusing anecdote: after winning the 1998 World Cup in France, Lilian Thuram and his teammates lost in the final against Italy in 2006. In the locker room, he met Fabio Cannavaro, his club teammate at Parma, who said to him: 'You won it in 1998, you can be happy for me, am I your boyfriend or not?' 'It changed everything,' said Thuram. 'If we talk about peace, it is because we must see each other as brothers and sisters.'



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the full
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Samuel Ducroquet then evoked a painful memory of the Paris 2024 Olympic Games, the assassination of Ugandan long-distance runner Rebecca Cheptegei by her partner in Kenya, one month after the end of the events. This tragedy was widely publicised by the sporting community and raised awareness of the work being done by anti-domestic violence associations, such as Tirop's Angels.

This commitment of athletes to just causes is Lilian Thuram's whole fight. When he was still a player, few of them dared to speak out. The Federations did not encourage them to do so, for reasons of image and sponsorship. But things are changing: 'There are many more athletes speaking out today and that's very good. I think that the Federations must educate athletes to do this and at a very young age, because historically, athletes have been forbidden from speaking out by being told that sport and politics do not mix. But sport is political. Obviously, there will be people who will try to delegitimise your words. Maybe there are sponsors who won't want to work with you because you take sides. History has shown that when athletes, both men and women, speak out, the world becomes a fairer place. Speak up because society needs to change. We must make it better,' he concluded in front of an audience of secondary school students, reminding them of their duty as citizens.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN TURMOIL

Thursday 26 september, 4:30 p.m.- 6 p.m., Or room



Frédéric Charillon, Fatiha Dazi-Héni and Joseph Maïla

The 2023 Normandy for Peace event was held, as it is every year, at the end of September. At the time, many commentators noted that this region of the world had not known such calm for thirty years, thinking that the Abraham Ac-

cords (two peace treaties between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, signed in September 2020) would continue for a long time to come. It was just days before the Hamas terrorist attack on Israel on 7th October 2023, the start of an unprecedented escalation of conflict that left tens of thousands of dead, mostly civilians.

MODERATION

Frédéric Charillon, University professor and co-director of the Geopolitics Defence and Leadership programme at Essec Business School

SPEAKERS

Éric Danon, Diplomat and former French Ambassador to Israel

Fatiha Dazi-Héni, Researcher specialising in the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, IRSEM - Sciences Po Lille

Marie Durrieu, PhD student associated with the Strategic Research Institute of the École Militaire, lecturer in international relations at Sciences Po Paris

Joseph Maïla, Professor of geopolitics and international mediation, ESSEC Business School

A year later, it is a time of uncertainty, as Frédéric Charillon recalls, when one question is on everyone's lips: is the Middle East on the brink of a general war? 'No,' Eric Danon answered frankly. It extends to Lebanon, eastern Syria and continues to Gaza, yes, but it doesn't go up to Iran and beyond Egypt, no.' For this diplomat, former French ambassador to Israel, the reason is simple: all the players in the region, Iran, as well as Hezbollah, Israel and the Arab countries of the Mediterranean, have an interest in there being no conflagration. But a refusal of a generalised war doesn't mean that they want to ensure that the conflict ceases; quite the contrary. The political leaders of these countries would even rather be



in favour of it continuing quietly. Firstly, because the Palestinian cause is essential to their domestic policy, if they are to avoid having their authority challenged by their own people. 'Hassan II said that the Palestinian cause was the aphrodisiac of the Arab nations,' noted Éric Danon. For, apart from their authorities, the rejection of Israel would appear to be the only reason why the countries of the Arab League are in agreement. 'It is

Lebanon has lost all sovereignty over Hezbollah

Joseph Maïla

terrible and cynical, because it prolongs the war indefinitely.' Maintaining a state of permanent conflict, even quietly, is also a way of preventing Israel from becoming a superpower, overwhelmed by the detestable image that the country sends to the world and especially to investors. In peacetime, Israel would have an economic advantage, which the Arab countries don't accept.

And on the Arabian Peninsula, the situation is even more complex, with diplomatic powerhouses such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar seeking to establish itself as a driving force in the negotiations. 'The Abraham Accords, signed on 15th and 20th September 2020, have largely shown that the Palestinian question had been abandoned because these agreements do not deal with a future Palestinian state,' explained Fatiha Dazi-Héni, Doctor of Political Science at the IEP in Paris. Saudi Arabia, engaged in trilateral negotiations with the United States and Israel, wants to hold out the prospect of normalisation with the latter. Regarding this point, its crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, is said to be in disagreement with his people, who are very supportive of the Palestinian cause. Moreover, it is in this country that the two holy places of Islam are located (Mecca and Medina). Even if he wants to make his country a high-tech power, he can't do everything he wants,' added Fatiha Dazi-Héni. Last August, in front of American congressmen, the prince even confided: 'I risk my life by having a normal relationship with Israel.'

An Arabian Peninsula where a fragile balance persists between the authorities' desire for normalisation with Israel and a pro-Palestinian population kept in silence; but on the Lebanese side, the rise of Hezbollah, a Shiite paramilitary group, could change everything. This is in any case the opinion of Joseph Maïla, professor of geopolitics at ESSEC Business School, who is more pessimistic on the issue. 'Lebanon has lost all sovereignty over Hezbollah, to the point that it is almost the state in which Lebanon finds itself,' he explained. «Control is total: airports, ports, drug trafficking, and an army of 20,000 to 40,000 men, trained in Syria, who could set the region ablaze and trigger unpredictable reactions if one of their missiles reached an Israeli nerve centre.. However, Israel struck hard recently, blowing up 5,000

These young Palestinians need to be given a glimmer of hope to stop this downward spiral

Marie Durrieu

paggers in the hands of Hezbollah operatives, decimating sixteen of their most important military personnel in a matter of seconds.

For Joseph Maïla, the West Bank might be where the future of a Palestinian state is being played out, a territory that Marie Durrieu knows well. She is a teacher at Sciences Po Paris, and her last trip to the field was in September 2023, a few days before the 7th October attack, perpetrated by Hamas, and when she had already felt the effects of latent violence and a situation that had deteriorated since her last observations. The lack of political hope for Palestinians living in the West Bank, corruption and the disappearance of negotiations with an ultra-Orthodox and nationalist Israeli government gave rise among these populations to 'the idea that there was nothing left to lose,' she said. All everyone was talking about was ending the Israeli occupation and resisting by all means, seven days before the attack. These young Palestinians in the West Bank need to be given a glimmer of hope to stop this downward spiral.' On the Israeli side, Marie Durrieu noted, based on her personal experience in the field, an invisibility of the Palestinian problem in favour of the Iranian threat and relations with the Gulf countries. 'I think it's the result of a strategy put in place by the Netanyahu government,' she explained, later detailing how the conflict is being played out square metre by square metre, with



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the proliferation of Israeli settlements like those in Hebron, in the West Bank. Another striking observation: the extent of the separation barrier, which was initially supposed to follow the Green Line drawn by the United Nations (UN), was finally built further east over more than 700 kilometres instead of the planned 315 kilometres. 'The essence of the conflict is territorial,' she concluded. A very small territory where everything is intertwined and demonstrates that they are destined to live together, as the religious or administrative separations are artificial. The city of Jerusalem, where one passes from one street to another, from Muslim holy places to Jewish holy places, is a perfect example of this. Once at



peace, they will not be able to go their separate ways but will learn to live together.

While the Palestinian situation was thought to be moving away from international political agendas before the attack of 7th October 2023, it has finally exploded. And even if countries surrounding Israel do not want a conflagration, history has often shown that it can happen against everyone's will. 'The Middle East will never be calm until the Palestinian question is resolved,' concluded Eric Danon. For peace to be possible, we still need leaders capable of creating the conditions for it. Not everyone can be De Gaulle and Eisenhower.

WHAT WORLD AFTER THE US ELECTIONS?

Thursday 26 september, 4:30 p.m.- 6 p.m., Nacre room



Gilles Paris, Xavier Chemisseur, Isabelle Lebon and Martin Quencez

In 2024, no less than a quarter of humanity would go to the polls, enough to shake up the world order, for better or for worse. At the forefront was the American election on 5th November to elect the person who would sit in the White House for four years, and also to elect the members of the House of Representatives, which was to be entirely renewed, a third of the Senate and a certain number of governors. These are decisive elections, which will define the political line of the world's leading power on major conflicts such as the war in Ukraine or Gaza, or on issues with repercussions across the entire globe, such as digital technology and trade.

The Normandy Index, which measures the level of threat to peace, security and democracy in the world, ranks the United States 5.52 among the countries most at risk of conflict. 'A fairly high figure' as Gilles Paris pointed out. There are two explanations for this: first, the involvement of the United States in many regions of the world, the deep division in the country between the Republican camp led by a comeback, Donald Trump and the Democratic camp behind last-minute candidate, Kama-

la Harris. Faced with this level of threat, was the latter following in the footsteps of her predecessor, Joe Biden, or was she breaking away? 'Embracing continuity,' replies Xavier Chemisseur, editor-in-chief of France 24, even while he noted that 'the idea of the two-state solution in Israel can be considered a real change, because until now American diplomacy refused to mention it. According to him, Kamala Harris was now expressing ideas that were shared by the Democratic camp but which were not put in the spotlight until now.'

Martin Quencez, director of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, agreed. However, the status quo policy of the United States, led by Joe Biden, has its limits. According to him, it will now be necessary to shake things up further. 'The Democrats have no vision for a victory in Ukraine or for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,' he explained, while the Republican camp, on the issue of trade with China, is more assertive: 'We see a Republican position that says «we are in competition with China, we are going to win», and the Democrats say «we are going to manage it». To defeat or to contain would

thus be, according to him, the two major thrusts that pit Democrats and Republicans against each other. But beyond the announcements, how does Donald Trump want to weaken Chinese exports, knowing that the United States has a deficit of 400 billion dollars with China? 'It's colos-

If France imposed customs duties on a foreign product, it would not change world market prices

Isabelle Lebon

sal', added Isabelle Lebon, academic and economist. 'He wants to impose massive tariffs, including on his allies.' According to her, Donald Trump could, for example, decide to tax products imported from allied countries at a rate of 10% of their value, compared to 60% for products from China, hoping to thus subdue it economically. 'For him, if it's profitable to have a more conflictual situation with this country, he will have it.'

Isabelle Lebon also believes that the United States is the only country, along with China, that can afford to impose customs duties everywhere, paid by American con-



Isabelle Lebon

MODERATION

Gilles Paris, Journalist at Le Monde, writer

SPEAKERS

Xavier Chemisseur, Editor-in-Chief, France 24

Isabelle Lebon, Professor of Economic Sciences at the University of Caen

Martin Quencez, Managing Director Geopolitical Risks and Strategy, German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)

sumers. Elsewhere, 'it can't work. If France imposed customs duties on a foreign product, it would not change world market prices. It takes a country the size of the United States for this to create price distortion. As for China, which will have massive stocks to sell off, it will be forced to turn to other markets, including Europe, which will also end up protecting itself against the influx of surplus goods. And then we will be forced to call into question thirty years of rules of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).'

Regarding these geopolitical issues with China, Europe was already in disagreement with Joe Biden who, moreover, 'sent Europeans signals that they wanted to hear, particularly on the security provided by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), to the point of putting them to sleep and annoying them.' But Europe is far from rejoicing at the possible election of Trump, who, on this point, did not hesitate to call into question the existence of NATO during his first term, with the collateral effect of resurrecting the idea of a European defence.

Xavier Chemisseur explained that there is an 'invisible strategy of arms sales by the Americans, who sell tanks and weapons to European countries when the latter send theirs to Ukraine. Diplomats, particularly in France, viewed this with a very negative eye as a competitor to a European army and armament.' The only government very favourable to Donald Trump in Europe would be that of Viktor Orbán in Hungary, who is very aligned with Trump. Would Europe be prepared to react firmly to this,

United States could force players to act according to global interests against their will.

Martin Quincez

as it did by voting overwhelmingly for the arming of Ukraine despite the opposition of Viktor Orbán? 'There is hope that Donald Trump's fear will unite Europe, but he will tend to prefer unilateral «deals» with each country individually rather than with Europe. Divide and conquer. He gets a lot more like that. It will be very difficult for us to reach an agreement among ourselves,' explains Martin Quincez, who imagines a probable scenario where Donald Trump, once in the White House, would make an agreement with Russia and recognise the country's sovereignty over the conquered territories in Ukraine. This is an agreement that would be unacceptable for Ukraine and all Europeans opposed to this annexation. 'If Donald Trump then threatens them that if they don't sign, he won't attend the next NATO summit and makes a statement saying that American soldiers don't have to die to save Sweden or Denmark, Europeans will quickly understand that they will have to choose between the guarantees of American security and the sovereignty of Ukraine.'

Whereas, on the one hand, the Democratic camp has displayed its weaknesses in the status quo regard-



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ing the management of current conflicts, on the other hand, the Republican camp, swamped by the unpredictability of Donald Trump, should act according to the priorities and instinct of its candidate. So what might emerge from all this, if one side wins or the other? For Martin Quincez, disorder always precedes new order. 'There is an era coming to an end, the one in which the United States could force players to act according to global interests against their will.'



This fragile transition period will take many years,' he concluded, and stated that it would be to the detriment of Europeans. Two possible options: the first, that of a new axis opposing the United States and China, with allies gravitating in each camp. Or else, no power hub will emerge, 'with many countries playing their parts and having become powerful, like India, Brazil or Indonesia, and being able to act as they wish.' Finally, what if these new state powers were the big winners of this transition?

WHAT COURSE FOR EUROPE'S SECURITY?

Thursday 26 september, 4:30 p.m.- 6 p.m., Azur room



Katrin Aus Dem Siepen, Bruno Tertrais, Nicole Gnesotto and Sylvie Matelly

The idea of a European defence is not new. It dates to the aftermath of the Second World War and has never been absent from the debates, although no agreement has been reached. Russia's invasion of Ukraine on 24th February 2022, changed the situation. Since then, one question has been on everyone's lips: can we really, when it is more necessary than ever, build a European defence?

In this respect, the announcement of the new European Commission in mid-September with, for the first time, a Commissioner for Defence and Space, the

MODERATION

Sylvie Matelly, CEO of Institut Jacques Delors

SPEAKERS

Katrin Aus Dem Siepen, Director of the Political Service of the German Embassy in France

Nicole Gnesotto, Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute

Bruno Tertrais, Deputy director of the Foundation for Strategic Research, Senior Fellow at the Montaigne Institute

NATO has proven to be the only institution capable of defending Europe

Bruno Tertrais

Lithuanian Andrius Kubilius, is unprecedented, and is proof that there is a real desire to advance this idea. As Bruno Tertrais, Deputy Director of the Foundation for Strategic Research, pointed out, until now, the defence of Europe has always been the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), even if the Lisbon Treaty gives it the possibility of defending itself, while collective security is the domain of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). But what lessons should we learn from Europe's reaction after two and a half years of conflict in Ukraine? 'First of all, NATO has proven to be the only institution capable of defending Europe today, and I mean today,' he explained. 'Then, we must welcome



Russia has undermined and violated disarmament treaties

Bruno Tertrais

the very rapid reaction of the European Union (EU) after 24th February 2022, to sanctions and the capacity to help Ukraine.' The increase in defence budgets, which varies greatly from country to country, can be explained, according to him, by the very different feelings of shock from this invasion, depending on whether people are Polish, Estonian or French.. 'Geography and History matter.' Because, should France prepare for a high-intensity war, when the question of stocks, munitions and missiles has become an issue again? 'I don't think so,' he continued, while welcoming the end of naivety regarding Putin's intentions. He also praised Europe's ability to find

'alternative ways to prevent a single country, Hungary, from blocking aid to Ukraine.'

But did this war lead to real progress in European defence? Nicole Gnesotto, Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute answered in the affirmative. 'Ten years ago, when I worked at the EU on security issues, it was an exclusively French subject; the others were against it, except Germany, which was rather ambivalent. Today, there is a relatively serious consensus among Europeans to build the elements of a common defence.' There are two factors that play a role here: the Russian threat and American uncertainty about the future of NATO. This dual concern has led to increases in defence budgets of up to 100 billion for Germany alone, twice as much as for France. Another development noted is the abandonment of neutrality by countries such as Finland and Sweden, which joined NATO in just a few months after decades of neutrality in foreign policy or even centuries in the case of Sweden.

But is all this sustainable? Nicole Gnesotto noted major difficulties, particularly regarding a link between the strengthening of the European defence industry and the creation of a common defence policy. Does this link really exist? 'Europeans pretend to think so, but I think that is wrong because there is a glass ceiling between a common industrial will and a political desire to die together. It isn't the industrialists who will decide this, but the politicians.' It is true that the current consensus on defence comes from an external threat and not from a deep desire to build and strengthen. For if the two threats mentioned above, namely the conquest of territory by Russia and the disengagement of the United States from NATO, were to disappear, would this consensus continue? 'I don't have the answer,' she continued.

Geography and History matter

Katrin Aus Dem Siepen

Especially since these increases in the defence budget are geared towards national rather than European spending, aren't they? For Bruno Tertrais, there is a French unease about Germany acting in its own interests. He admitted that this is probably just a mental perception. 'It's normal for Germany to defend its national interests, but there's a feeling of increased German nationalism, and I hasten to point out that the French are doing the same,' he qualified. Katrin Aus Dem Siepen, Director of the Political Service of the German Embassy in France, pointed out that Ukraine is closer to the German borders than to those of France, and that 1.2 million Ukrainian refugees have been welcomed in her country, with more than 35 billion spent on humanitarian aid, thus justifying major concern about Vladimir Putin's intentions, "which are not limited to Ukraine," she believes, "since he wants to change the status quo and create a powerful Russia that controls a region under its influence. Russia has undermined and violated disarmament treaties, and implemented a war economy with an extreme concentration of power. For Germany, it's clear that Russia is the greatest threat to Europe.'

Furthermore, it's time to talk about the nationalisation of arms in Germany when the country buys a lot from the



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United States, something which is also criticised by France. On this point, Germany would play the pragmatism card, favouring a mix between European and American weaponry. But there is nothing to say that this will ultimately allow us to imagine a more active Europe within NATO. Bruno Tertrais doesn't believe in the idea of a 'European pillar of NATO'. 'It's a French fad. Stronger European countries and a less powerful United States, yes, but the idea of a real pillar that would act as an autonomous sub-organisation within NATO is incompatible with the way in which this organisation operates.' On the contrary, Nicole Gnesotto found this idea of a "European pillar" attractive, precisely because it isn't clearly defined. 'Nobody knows what this concept means,' she said, amused. I think the only valid formula would be that, in the event of a conflict where the United States wanted to act, then NATO would be called upon. If it's just the Europeans alone, then it would be this pillar that we're talking about, within NATO itself, and without the United States. The problem would then be a situation where these two partners don't share the same analysis of the situation. This is what we need to be focusing on,' she concluded.

One thing is certain: the two historic pillars of European defence, France and Germany, which have carried out all defence projects since the creation of the EU, are currently the most politically weakened. For one, Germany, after the war, had based its identity on pacifism and unhindered trade with Russia and China, which can no longer work today. And on the other hand, France, which had based its leadership on the idea of a political Europe, capable of operating as an equal with the United States, is no longer capable of doing so after its failures in Africa and in Lebanon, and a certain 'versatility in regard to Russia' added Nicole Gnesotto. So who will take over? Poland? As she pointed out, 'Can such a nationalist country build a defence-based Europe?'

LATIN AMERICA: STATES FACED WITH VIOLENCE

Thursday 26 september, 4:30 p.m.- 6 p.m., Auditorium



David Gamboa, Pascal Drouhaud, Elisabeth Beton-Delègue and Mario Otero

A continent of paradox and contrast, Latin America is marked by an extraordinary diversity, with its landmass of 23 million km² and its 33 countries populated by 600 million inhabitants. But the fracture points are numerous and result in extreme violence which continues to undermine its growth.

In the fight against this multifaceted violence (demographic, social, political and economic), all eyes are now on El Salvador, a country devastated by a 12-year civil war between 1980 and 1992, but which, under the leadership of its new president, Nayib Bukele, who was elected in 2019, seems to be shaping up to be a more prosperous future. His vice-president, Félix Ulloa, also boasted, via a video message, of the positive results of his government, making

MODERATION

Pascal Drouhaud, Founding president of the LATFRAN Association

SPEAKERS

Elisabeth Beton-Delègue, Diplomat, former Ambassador of France to the Holy See, Haiti, Mexico and Chile

David Gamboa, Political scientist and political consultant

Mario Otero, Special representative of the vice-President of the Republic of El Salvador

El Salvador currently 'the safest country in Latin America' even though the homicide rate in 2015 was the highest in the world. So, how were these results achieved against the Maras, the local gangs whose members often come from Salvadoran communities in California? Mario Otero, special representative of the Vice President of the Republic of El Salvador, explained: 'Our mandate began on a negative note in 2019, because it was undoubtedly difficult to grasp that a small country like ours had adopted a new policy on insecurity, and that this policy has proved successful'. He recalled that his country lost 30 years of governance after the civil war. 'With Bukele, the post-war period ended, but we had an obstacle in the first two years: a hostile parliament. We ultimately managed to initiate a series of legislative reforms.' According to him, two conditions allowed the construction of a social state: leadership and a convergence of forces to carry out the defined policy. Having solved the problem of insecurity, El Salvador now wants to focus on the economy. The expansion of El Tunco, also known as Surf City, is a prime example of the government's desire to attract new tourists.

Unfortunately, the case of El Salvador is too unique to suggest that there will be any continent-wide improvement in safety, given that it is considered to be the world's most violent continent. Latin America, which has 9% of the world's population, accounts for 37% of all homicides committed worldwide. With the exception of Nicaragua, Cuba and Venezuela, gangs are not the only factors contributing to violence on a continent that has almost entirely embraced democracy. Elisabeth Beton-Delègue, a diplomat and former ambassador to Chile and Mexico, pointed out that the problem is also territorial. Although the population of Latin America is almost equivalent to that of Europe (600 million against 500 million), in terms of surface area, the European Union only has 4.2 million km², whereas Latin America extends over 19.2 million km². This is a colossal difference with the following consequence, according to her: 'Managing this area means dealing with all the problems of territorial control'.

Latin America counts three main coca producers, with a frenzied consumer neighbour, the United States

Élisabeth Beton-Delègue

Paradoxically, Latin America is rarely talked about on an international scale. It is not in the spotlight, neither is it a threat to peace. The region has been denuclearised since the ratification of the Treaty of Tlatelolco in 1967. It is mainly in the news because it is the hub of international drug trafficking. 'It's the curse of Latin America, with its three main coca producers and its frenzied consumer neighbour, the United States', explained Elisabeth Beton-Delègue, quoting the words of the former President of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz: 'Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States'. The considera-



Elisabeth Beton-Delègue

ble increase in drug consumption, with 300 million consumers in 2023, does not help matters. Its ports open to the Pacific and the Atlantic and the extent of its territories, with completely empty and abandoned regions, facilitate this underground economy. However, once-notorious large cartels, led by famous names like Pablo Escobar and El Chapo, have been replaced by small groups, which have expanded their activities to include extortion, arms trafficking, kidnapping and exploitation of immigration routes. 'The drug economy is flourishing in this climate of globalisation, with revenues so large that it enables large-scale corruption', adds Elisabeth Beton-Delègue.

Ecuador has recently experienced this large-scale corruption. Los Lobos, a gang specialising in drug trafficking and assassination, was found guilty of the murder of presidential candidate, Fernando Villavicencio, a figure in the fight against corruption, in August 2023. According to David Gamboa, a researcher at Sciences Po Paris, these paradoxes of a continent without conflicts between states are part of a 'magical realism', according to the formula borrowed from writer, Gabriel Garcia Marquez. 'In Latin America there are criminal groups that have more weight than the State. It is therefore impossible to replicate solutions that work here in Europe.' The same goes for El Salvador, where the



new political solutions put forward by Nayib Bukele would not work in neighbouring countries such as Costa Rica or Nicaragua, the only country in the world without an army since 1948. This violence is a response to other political, economic and social violence. 'The failure of states provokes an escalation of violence. The dramatic situation in Ecuador did not happen overnight. A combination of these factors led to an increase in drug trafficking.'

In Latin America there are criminal groups that have more weight than the State

David Gamboa

But this reality also hides all the positive aspects of this continent and its immense artistic creativity. In this respect, Haiti, nicknamed the 'country of writers', is an exception, as literature and poetry occupy an important place there. Elisabeth Beton-Delègue was the French ambassador there between 2015 and 2018. She is very familiar with this country, which has been repeatedly hit by devastating natural disasters. The 2010 earthquake killed more than 280,000 people. The extraordinary re-

sistance of its population, 'who live in total destitution, totally abandoned by its institutions' impressed her deeply. In 2021, the assassination of its current president, Jovenel Moïse, generated a political crisis which worsened in January 2024 with the end of the mandate of elected officials. As it is unable to hold elections, the country no longer has any elected representatives at national level. This absence is leading to the emergence of gangs. 'This is not a consequence of drug crime', explained Elisabeth Beton-Delègue, 'but of internal decomposition'. In Haiti, as elsewhere in Latin America, the fragility of the institutions in place has not withstood the successive crises. This situation could happen elsewhere or other problems could emerge. 'Since the 1980s, we have seen this migratory flow of Cubans who came to Central America to go up north to the United States. Today, we also see Africans migrating to South America to go north from Nicaragua to Mexico and continue to the United States.' Conversely, in Venezuela, more than 4 million people out of a population of 30 million left the country on foot to go to Colombia, 'crossing the country in the mud with disastrous health consequences', adds Pascal Drouhaud.

In conclusion, the era of head-on opposition between powerful gangs and states, with massive mobilisations of national armies, is well and truly over. Now, there are numerous players and the power over drug trafficking has been fragmented, without a clear leader. This

situation is facilitated by invisible networks. In addition to strengthening their collaborations, Latin American countries will have to find localised and targeted solutions if they want to effectively combat this evil that is eating away at them.



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DOES THE EMERGENCE OF A GLOBAL SOUTH LEAD US TO RETHINK PEACE?

Friday 27 september, 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Or room



Kaush Arha, Evren Balta, Guy Sorman and Adekeye Adebajo

The emergence of a Global South is seen as an academic exercise, in contrast to the old term of the Third World, which formerly designated all poor, developing countries in a rather negative manner. 'When you work with these countries, none of them present themselves as belonging to the Global South, it's totally informal, and used in an academic analysis framework, explained Kaush Arha, Researcher at the Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy. While the concept of the Global South dates back to the 1980s to identify countries with the lowest gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in the southern hemisphere, and those not part of the former Western bloc formed during the Cold War, nor the European Union, it has been widely used

MODERATION

Guy Sorman, President of La Maison Française at New York University

SPEAKERS

Adekeye Adebajo, Professor, University of Pretoria

Kaush Arha, Researcher at the Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy

Evren Balta, Professor of International Relations at Özyeğin and Harvard Universities

It would be good to move away from a vision of the world that is too "Eurocentric"

Evren Balta

since the start of the war in Ukraine in 2022. At that time, the United States and the European Union believed that the countries of the South would support Ukraine with one voice in its fight against the Russian invasion. But the reality was much more nuanced. How can we explain such an error of judgement by Western countries? 'Perhaps the West is not always very good at self-criticism,' said Guy Sorman. 'Perhaps, to understand this better, it would be good to move away from a vision of the world that is too «Eurocentric»,' added Evren Balta, Professor of International Relations at Özyeğin University in Istanbul, Turkey.



Evren Balta

The Global South is not monolithic

Adekeye Adebajo

Cooperation between the United States and Europe, while primarily economic, does not serve the interests of the countries that make up, for example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ‘Cooperation isn’t just economic but also normative. Many countries in the Global South don’t share the same values around democracy and don’t want to align themselves with the two blocs of the United States and Europe,’ she explained.

Divergent interests with the West, as well as a lack of recognition and representativeness of international institu-

tions, would explain what unites these countries ideologically. In other words, these so-called ‘developing’ countries, formerly colonized by Europe, would try to gain more independence, as they had already wanted after the Bandung Conference in 1955, which gave rise to the non-aligned movement, which was in opposition to the major world powers. According to Adekeye Adebajo, Professor at the University of Pretoria, these countries of the Global South have three principles: not signing a military agreement with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), supporting institutions and governments when their rights are violated and fighting for their own regional autonomy without Western intervention. That said, Adekeye Adebajo does not recognise any geographical alliance in the Global South: ‘The Global South is not monolithic; it is more of a political alliance. Some countries in this group aren’t even in the southern hemisphere.’

In this context of world polarisation, how could global peace be possible? Perhaps, as Guy Sorman suggested, we could start by recognising the harmful impact of colonisation, the effects of which are still being felt, in these countries of the Global South. ‘President Macron sent shockwaves through Burkina Faso in 2017, when he said that France’s colonisation of Africa was a crime against humanity. It was an extraordinary statement but not one that was commented on enough,’ he declared with a tone of regret. This slow process has also resulted in a number of French museums returning works of art, particularly to Benin. Belgium, Italy, Germany and Great Britain also contributed to this restitution mission. ‘Germany was also forced to recognise the genocide committed in Namibia between 1904 and 1908,’ added Adekeye Adebajo. ‘This was a rehearsal for the genocide of the Jews. There were concentration camps, massacres and experiments on bodies. Skulls had to be returned because they had been



displayed in German museums.’ But is this enough? Guy Sorman declared his belief that decolonisation never went far enough. A new generation in Africa has risen up against French influence. For example, in Senegal, students now prefer to pursue their higher education in the United States. ‘This lack of love for France’, tempered Adekeye Adebajo, ‘is political and not cultural. Many French people are not even aware of what their elites have done in Africa.’

Political differences, not cultural ones, but perhaps also religious ones. According to Adekeye Adebajo, this is even one of the most important divisions that pits the Global South against the West. He noted that Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State have established themselves in the Sahel and the north of Africa as far as Mozambique. For its part, Turkey, a country with a Muslim tradition, has financed more than 200 schools in Africa in 25 countries. Although these schools do not provide Muslim education they are, in effect,



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Muslim schools. He pointed out that Christianity, which is in clear decline in Europe, is growing in Africa, particularly through Pentecostal churches. ‘But these churches often block actions that target governments. They are very conservative and preach prosperity rather than freedom,’ he said. Should Africa, which still suffers from a dependency born of neocolonialism, therefore separate itself completely from the West? ‘Not at all’, declared Adekeye Adebajo. ‘It is not realistic in our globalised world to detach oneself from the supply chain.’ This is especially the case since Africa’s new trading partner is China, which has built ‘33% of new African infrastructure’, he added. With this new Chinese influence in the Global South, the country could even surpass the economic power of the United States within 20 years.

**1% of the population
controls 40% of the world’s
wealth, this has to stop**

Adekeye Adebajo

However, can we imagine that the Global South could take the world out of its system of domination and lead it towards more universalism? While a complete reversal of the balance of power seems unlikely, Adekeye Adebajo believes that this fight is worth fighting. ‘When we know that 1% of the population controls 40% of the world’s wealth, this has to stop. This is not sustainable if we really want peace.’ The creation of BRICS in 2009, a group consisting of nine high-growth countries, including Brazil, Russia, India and China, and which controls 36% of global GDP, is not going in this direction. ‘I don’t see them as a revisionist power’, he said.

EASTERN EUROPE: HOW TO LIVE ON WAR'S DOORSTEP?

Friday 27 september, 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Plenary Room



Arnoldas Pranckevicius, Mihaela Antoche, Émilie Aubry and Anna Kowalska

If there is one television show that has been striving for 34 years to dissect geopolitical news with ingenuity, it is *Le Dessous des Cartes*. Broadcast on Arte, it is presented every week by Émilie Aubry who, on the stage of the plenary hall, introduced this debate by praising the secondary school students present, who chose the History-Geography, Geopolitics and Political Science (HGGSP) option for their baccalaureate: 'I congratulate you on having this curiosity for the wider world. It also means that, in a way, you are rejecting a retreat to the national level. When you work with geographers, they say that you are never as relevant as when you change scale.'

MODERATION

Émilie Aubry, Editor-in-Chief and presenter of the show *Le Dessous des Cartes* (Arte)

SPEAKERS

Mihaela Antoche, Journalist for Televiziunea Romana

Anna Kowalska, Journalist for Telewizja Polska

Arnoldas Pranckevicius, Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania in France

It is precisely on this principle that an episode of the show entitled 'Europe with a Leaning Towards the East' is being screened. This involves an immersion at one of the border crossings between Poland and Ukraine in November 2023, when a blockade was organised by Polish lorry drivers to prevent their Ukrainian counterparts from entering European Union territory without special permits, as authorised by Brussels. They saw this competition as unfair, demonstrating the difficulty in which Eastern Europe currently finds itself, between the desire to belong to Europe and the historical membership of the former Soviet bloc claimed by the Kremlin.

Anna Kowalska, a journalist for Polish public television, is familiar with this problem. Her country, which lives in fear of the 'Putin project', as Émilie Aubry described it, has long tried to alert the European Union of the Kremlin's intentions. 'We saw heads of state, notably from France, who were trying, probably rightly, to Europeanise Russia, but we didn't think that this was the direction in which we had to go, because we had precisely

this experience of history, she explained. As proof, Poland's military spending, which was estimated at 2.4% of GDP in 2022, is expected to increase to 4.7% in 2025, a record among the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), making it the largest army in Europe. She considers a Russian threat realistic: 'There have definitely been Russian rockets falling in Poland. There have been deaths.' Poland has also welcomed more than a million Ukrainian refugees, with an economic impact that has pushed inflation to almost 20%, due to the increase in the cost of energy.

If the Kremlin wins, what will remain of international law?

Arnoldas Pranckevicius

Faced with these threats, is it still possible to live without the possibility of war, especially in Romania? According to Romanian journalist, Mihaela Antoch, it is a matter of habit, as her country has regularly faced war on its borders in recent history. Romania, the only French-speaking country in Eastern Europe, has also been forced to strengthen its defence capabilities, while affirming its unwavering support for Ukraine. But the economic crisis that is hitting her country, like all European countries, has perhaps fostered a weariness with the situation. 'Just like in France and Poland, we also have this war fatigue. There is only one solution, peace. But how can we get it if there are no negotiations?' she asked.



Émilie Aubry and Anna Kowalska

Arnoldas Pranckevicius, Lithuanian ambassador to France, former diplomatic advisor to German politician and President of the European Parliament from 2012 to 2017, Martin Schulz, is quite pessimistic regarding the issue. According to him, 'Vladimir Putin cannot be trusted', as he is already the cause of many conflicts in Eastern Europe. 'At the beginning of the war, three years ago, many told us: you were right.' Lithuania regularly receives threats from the Kremlin. The most recent, of a nuclear nature, is generating tangible fears, as are the cyber-attacks which are increasing, while the country has welcomed many Russian dissidents including those close to Alexei Navalny. One of the first obvious responses was, again, an increase in the budget allocated to defence, now at 3% of Lithuanian GDP.

He who wants peace prepares for war, as the saying goes. This is somewhat the opinion of Arnoldas Pranckevicius, who is in favour of Western allies authorizing Ukraine to use long-range missiles to strike Russian soil. Is the West too concerned with what is going on in Vladimir Putin's head, rather than helping the



Arnoldas Pranckevicius and Mihaela Antoche

Ukrainians win the war in more concrete ways? 'This decision should have been taken a long time ago,' he believes. Volodymyr Zelensky really needs this to destroy all ammunition stocks in Russia.

All the dictators of this world are watching what is happening because this is really the test. If Ukraine loses, the Western world will lose its place in the world

Arnoldas Pranckevicius

Every day, without this authorisation, we contribute to the possibility of Russia striking Ukraine and all civilian targets. Another way to help Ukrainians maintain their sovereignty would be for them to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), as the three Baltic countries did in 2004 (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia), which greatly aided



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their protection from Russia. On these issues, European leaders are deeply divided. While some would be in favour of sending soldiers to Ukrainian soil, others are more reluctant. Because who can predict what consequences such decisions might have? Not to mention that winter is already hitting, and Ukraine has lost 80% of its energy infrastructure.

Added to this concern is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where the State of Israel has just obtained aid of 8.7 billion dollars to continue its war, relegating the Ukrainian cause to the background. But these conflicts are not to be seen as mutually exclusive. 'Everything is linked,' said Arnoldas Pranckevicius, who recalls Iran's role in helping Russia and Hamas, even though the State of Israel believed itself to be very close to Russia. This should clarify things and make everyone's interests more understandable. The outcome of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict will have enormous consequences for global geopolitics. Because if the Kremlin wins, what will remain of international law, which has been flouted so many times? 'All the dictators of this world are watching what is happening because this is really the test. If Ukraine loses, the Western world will lose its place in the world.'

In the East, despite these threats, people continue to live their lives. Lithuania, Romania and Poland are proving to be resilient and dynamic under all circumstances. The latter, with 38 million inhabitants, has risen to 6th place in the European economy and could, according to Anna Kowalska, become 'richer than the Italians and the British' within 5 years. Romania, which continues to attract many students, also benefits from its strategic position on the Black Sea for trade. Is this quest for progress against all odds not, in fact, the answer to the question 'how can we live in peace on the brink of war?' as a kind of forced march towards building an optimistic future?

ASIA: REGIONAL ALLIANCES CHALLENGED BY INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

Vendredi 27 septembre, 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Nacre room



In the aftermath of the Second World War, in 1947, China drew a nine-dash line on its maps to demarcate a maritime zone of two million square kilometres in the South China Sea, or more than a fifth of China's land territory. It thereby took over a space claimed by all the neighbouring countries: Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and more recently Brunei. In 2016, on a state

visit to the United States, Chinese President, Xi Jinping, made a commitment to Barack Obama to respect freedom of navigation and overflight, and to stop the militarisation of this zone. The same year, the Court of Justice in The Hague, seized by the government of the Philippines, ruled that China's expansion on these islands had no international legal basis.

MODERATION

Philippe Le Corre, Researcher at the China Analysis Centre of the Asia Society Policy Institute and geopolitical advisor to Asia Society France

SPEAKERS

Delia Albert, Ambassador, former Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Philippines

Bates Gill, Research fellow at the National Bureau of Asian Research and former Executive Director of the Asia Society's China Analysis Centre

Eunjung Lim, Professor of the Division of International Studies, Kongju National University

Thailand may even surpass China's GDP per capita in a few years

Delia Albert

Yet today, nothing has changed. Trade conflicts in this popular fishing area have still not ended. 'We do not agree', stated Delia Albert, ambassador and former Foreign Minister of the Philip-



We experienced a terrible civil war that led to an international conflict

Eunjung Lim

pires. We believe that it is a sea that should be open to everyone. This nine-dash line has no reason to exist, and we should be free to move around in it, just like other countries around it, under international law.' By not respecting the decision of the Hague Tribunal, China has exposed itself to major sanctions and strong opposition from the United States, an ally on the subject in the Philippines, a former historic colony, with which a reinforced cooperation agreement on defence, signed during the Cold War, still exists.

Added to this is the rapprochement between China and Russia and North Korea, a country whose leader Kim Jong-Un is fuelling tensions with its southern neighbours by continuing its nuclear development. These sprawling and polarising alliances raise fears of future conflict, even as others, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), founded in 1967 and including the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, seek to maintain peace and economic and cultural understanding in Asia. 'It is a highly progressive region with very strong economic

growth. We may even surpass China's GDP per capita in a few years,' explained Delia Albert. 'I think no other region is as diverse as ASEAN. There are Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, and we have come to know each other.'

This cultural and religious diversity within ASEAN is one thing. However, Eunjung Lim, Professor of the Division of International Studies at Kongju National University in South Korea, was also concerned about the escalation of tensions with her neighbour, North Korea. These two countries, divided after a three-year civil war between 1950 and 1953, have seen it all. 'From being a Japanese colony, we experienced a terrible civil war that led to an international conflict that remains unresolved to this day.' But while South Korea has been moving towards a democratic society since 1987, it is experiencing intense divisions within itself between a conservative camp in power and a progressive camp.

The first shows a very strong desire for opposition towards the northern neighbour. It believes that the two countries are irreconcilable and that no compromise between them is possible. The second considers the population of North Korea as 'brothers



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with whom dialogue must be restored', explains Eunjung Lim. 'This opposition is sometimes violent, with attacks on physical integrity. And the situation is only getting worse with the provocations of North Korea, which continues to wave its nuclear weapons programme to scare the population.' This is all the more necessary since, in order to confront the new alliance between North Korea, Russia and China, South Korea and Japan seem to be moving closer together. Their initiative, however, still raises many questions. The recent election of Shigeru Ishiba as Prime Minister of the Japanese government should be a move in this direction. The latter works in particular for the creation of an Asian version of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). 'Sustainable initiatives have been taken. China has always been our enemy, even though we now have very significant economic relations. We must fight for more dialogue with Beijing, Tokyo and Washington, because the threat from North Korea is extremely serious.'

But does Washington intend to change its policy in Asia? 'There is no indication of this,' said Bates Gill, a researcher at the National Bureau of Asian Research and former Executive Director of the Asia Society's China Analysis Centre. Both camps, Democrats and Republicans, with their respective candidates for the American presidency, Kamala Harris and Donald Trump, have already led the White House. Accordingly, 'We already have an idea of the policy of these two camps and we can assume that it will not change, even if it is more uncertain in regard to Donald Trump. To what extent his side will agree to maintain its security and defence role at international level, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region, no one knows.' One thing is certain: the United States will ask its Asian partners to better ensure their own defence and to be more demanding in their relations with China and North Korea. While these are not formal, Bates Gill argued that new forms of partnerships, bilater-

al and trilateral, are underway alongside AUKUS, a military agreement between Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom whose objective, since its creation in 2021, has been to counter Chinese expansion in the Indo-Pacific. 'U.S. officials like to refer to these trios, interspersed with different partnerships to make them more powerful and effective.' The risk is that if China and North Korea continue to be proactive in the defence field and AUKUS, under the political impetus that could be the election of Donald Trump to the White House, does the same, a military conflict in this region cannot be ruled out.

Cybersecurity and space are critical issues

Eunjung Lim

In fact, Eunjung Lim stated that she is in favour of the integration of her country, South Korea, into AUKUS, in particular, to strengthen cooperation between high-tech countries. 'Cybersecurity and space are critical issues in maintaining our sovereignty against North Korea. Not to mention that China is equipping its army with cutting-edge technology and making increasing use of artificial intelligence.' Another development is concerning for the highest echelons of her country: the decline in the birth rate, which has now reached 0.7 children per woman, one of the lowest in the world, and could have damaging consequences for South Korea's economic growth. The government, which has tried to invest 200 billion euros since 2006, has not managed to curb this trend.

NATO, WITH OR WITHOUT AMERICA?

Friday 27 september, 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Azur room



Isabelle Lasserre, Rym Momtaz and Bruno Tertrais

It is fair to say that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) has experienced conflicting currents for several years. It has been weakened as never before under Donald Trump, largely because of his questioning of the viability of Article 5, which states that an attack on one member will be considered an attack on all. But it has also been strengthened since Russia's invasion of Ukraine. By claiming to want to «kill NATO», Vladimir Putin has resurrected it. He brought about the integration of Finland and Sweden into the organisation, after more than 70 years of a tradition of neutrality. 'NATO, which had been searching for a new mission since the end of the Cold War and was drifting around a little without any idea of how to reform itself, has regained the focus of its efforts to counter the threat from the East', said Isabelle Lasserre.

The question of the historical and institutionalised support of the United States was topical, as the outcome of their presidential election was still uncertain. Who could say what would happen if Donald Trump was re-elected? Rym Momtaz, a former Politico correspondent and researcher at the IISS, be-

NATO has regained the focus of its efforts to counter the threat from the East

Isabelle Lasserre

lieved there are three likely foreign policy issues if the Republican candidate were to be re-elected. First, the traditional current of neoconservatives who were at the helm during the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. 'They believe they must continue to be the major player in NATO.' Then a second camp would opt to prioritise the Chinese threat at the expense of everything else, and withdraw from the European theatre, as well as from the Middle East. Then there is

MODERATION

Isabelle Lasserre, Diplomatic correspondent
Le Figaro

SPEAKERS

Rym Momtaz, Editor in chief of the blog
"Strategic Europe" from Carnegie Europe

Bruno Tertrais, Deputy director of the
Foundation for Strategic Research, Senior
Fellow at the Montaigne Institute

a third camp that feels it is doing too much for Europe and wants to focus on its domestic problems, with a strong bias towards China that has an impact on the US economy. 'They believe more in bilateral partnerships with, for example, Poland and Germany, but no longer with NATO as a whole', added Rym Momtaz. This is where European governments must take over their own security. France has integrated this more than its European partners but does not have the means to act alone.'

Leaving aside Donald Trump's position, is it really possible that the United States will leave NATO? Bruno Tertrais, Deputy Director of the Foundation for Strategic Research, looked back at the fundamentals of the organisation, which historically operates with an American leader and where theoretically all members have the same weight, with decisions being taken by consensus and not

European governments must take over their own security. France has integrated this more than its partners

Rym Momtaz

by majority: 'The United States has a stronger influence there, but it is an informal, unwritten American leadership.' However, NATO could no longer function as it has since its creation in 1949, and a US withdrawal would have to be legally enacted. However, the American President could not make this decision alone. Another scenario put forward by Bruno Tertrais, and one that is more likely, would be not an official withdrawal, but a disengagement of their air and maritime forces to redirect them further east of the Eurasian continent to defend Japan, Korea and Taiwan. 'Until now, this transatlantic alliance was based on a



contract of trust. There are expectations among NATO members that the United States will help them if needed. This notion is central. If ever Donald Trump in January 2025, once re-elected, declares on Twitter that his country will no longer come to the aid of Europe if it is attacked, there will be a real rupture, which will also have effects on Europe's adversaries, including Vladimir Putin, who will take advantage of it.'

Donald Trump could also play a more subtle role by announcing, of course, a withdrawal of the 100,000 American soldiers stationed on European bases, but maintaining nuclear forces. But although the latter 'can withdraw in a few days, withdrawing the military forces would take months', estimated Bruno Tertrais. For Rym Momtaz, there is a consensus on the nuclear umbrella on the side of American diplomacy. 'In Con-



Bruno Tertrais

gress, a law was passed that the elected president could not withdraw from NATO alone, but only with a majority. So, a total withdrawal is very unlikely. On the other hand, he can undermine confidence in the deterrence that NATO represents for European security with a tweet. This weakening of the alliance has already begun.'

There is also a generational shift in the United States. Current President, Joe Biden, is the last to have experienced the Cold War 'in person', which Rym Momtaz believes explains his real commitment to European security. But if his camp's candidate, Kamala Harris, were to win the elections, it would be more likely that she



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would follow the line of Barack Obama, who also asked the European Union to engage more autonomously in its own defence. 'This idea transcends Democratic and Republican divides. There is a widespread feeling among the American people that they see the great European capitals as a social security system that is superior to their own, and that Europe is a vacation spot for the rich, so why should they pay so much for NATO? Of course, this is all false, but it is a perception.'

There is no prosperous America without a prosperous Europe

Bruno Tertrais

Bruno Tertrais questioned this threat of an American withdrawal from NATO, which has been bandied about since 1952. 'Finally, we can also say that if they are still there, it is because they have a real interest in selling more weapons and defence equipment to Europeans. I'm exaggerating a bit, but still', he said ironically. Rym Momtaz was less optimistic. In the Trumpist camp, it is said privately that some of his advisers are prepared to take the risk of seeing major security problems in Europe without intervening. 'It's a discourse that we're really hearing, and that we didn't hear before.' Some of his advisers do not have much sympathy for Donald Trump but would be ready to work with him in a patriotic sentiment, 'to prevent him from doing anything', said Bruno Tertrais, 'because they know that there is no prosperous America without a prosperous Europe.' Trade relations are perhaps more important than defence strategies on the American side. However, these are inseparable.

WORLD TRADE, A VECTOR FOR PEACE TAKEN HOSTAGE BY REGIONAL WARS?

Friday 27 september, 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Auditorium



Philippe Trainar, Tsipora Fried, Isabelle Méjean and Serge Stroobants

As far back as the 18th century, Montesquieu spoke of the links between trade and the likelihood of conflict in his *Théorie du doux commerce*, an idea which argued that trading with other countries would create peaceful interdependencies. Is this theory still relevant today? The facts seem to show the opposite, as indicated by Isabelle Méjean, a member of the Cercle des Économistes, and Professor of the economics department of Sciences Po Paris. 'International trade is reaching unprecedented volumes. In 2022, it represented 60% of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). And at the same time, we're seeing a very high level of geopolitical tensions, both at the gates of Europe and in the Middle East. Relations are also very tense between the United States and China around the Indo-Pacific region.' Tsiporah Fried, Strategy and Innovation Advisor to the French Armed Forces, outlined a pessimistic view regarding the possibility of regaining control of the world. She believes that we have moved 'from a complicated world to a complex world'. It was

International trade is reaching unprecedented volumes

Isabelle Méjean

complicated when it was still possible to analyse causal links; complex when there is an explosion of interdependent variables. 'Nowadays, it's very difficult to know how things will evolve from one day to the next,' she added. The Army General Staff plays a role of strategic anticipation; its mission is to identify risks, threats and how to respond to them. Tsiporah Fried noted a return to the dynamics of the forces of war, stating that the change translates into a possibility of conflict within the European Union itself, since that breaking point on 24th February 2022, the date of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The use of forces, which used to take place in three areas, sea, land and air, now extends to space,

MODERATION

Isabelle Méjean, Member of the Cercle des Économistes, professor of the economics department of Sciences Po Paris

SPEAKERS

Tsiporah Fried, Strategy and Innovation Advisor to the French Armed Forces General Staff

Serge Stroobants, Director for Europe and MENA and Global Director for Security, Defence and Intelligence at the Institute for Economics and Peace

Philippe Trainar, Director of the SCOR Foundation for Science, economist

cyberspace, electromagnetic and informational space, all of which are possible fields for the expression of violence.

All this, coupled with the loss of influence of the West, marks the end of a happy globalisation that brought well-being and growth to developed countries. Covid has highlighted that our economic interdependencies, which until now could promote peace between peoples, were also vulnerabilities in terms of resource supply. Philippe Trainar, director of the SCOR Foundation for Science and economist, recalled what the anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss, said, namely that human society is made up of three exchanges: goods, people and ideas. He also brought up Montesquieu's theory of *doux commerce*: 'Sharing our differences is what will make us richer. But difference implies that we're not equal. These exchanges give rise to domination.' Because although international trade enriches those who practice it, it can also increase inequalities. 'When I go to war, my first need is also to trade. This is illustrated today by Russia, as much as by the recent conflict in Lebanon,' he explained.

Serge Stroobants, Director for Europe and MENA and Global Director for Security, Defence and Intelligence at the

Institute for Economics and Peace, believes that the Kantian approach that peace is necessary to organise economic dependencies between countries is over. 'We now live in an offensive realist world. A Machiavellian set-up prevails over interactions between states. The problem is that we're entering a transition from one world to another with a European Union that is still clinging to the liber-

Those who suffer from war also suffer its economic consequences

Serge Stroobants

al values of international relations. This economic approach, which until now generated peace, is transforming into toxic interdependence.' Serge Stroobants estimates that a country at war would lose between 35 and 40% of its Gross National Product (GNP). The case of Ukraine is particularly alarming since the GNP there is said to have fallen by



Tsipora Fried

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61%. 'Those who suffer from war also suffer its economic consequences.' He also pointed out that today, many conflicts drag on and aren't resolved over time, whereas about half a century ago, 40% were resolved either by a peace agreement or by a victory for one of the two parties. Thus, international relations and trade today generate conflicts that are no longer resolvable and which drag on for a long time. Through his role at the Institute for Economics and Peace, Serge Stroobants gets to meet many members of governments around the world. Most are initially sceptical of his message. 'But when I tell them that a 1% increase in positive peace is equivalent to a 3% gain in GNP, then they start to listen to me. Our approach is to say that we can also invest in the pillars of positive peace to achieve an economic return on investment.'

But Tsiporah Fried believes there is a difference between theory and practice. According to her, current wars are not necessarily rational or linked to economic calculations. On the contrary, the world would have become more danger-



ous from the moment when the Western powers allowed authoritarian leaders to believe that they could go all the way with their ambitions and conquests, citing Russia, China, Turkey and Iran as examples. 'When, in the 2010s, we didn't take Vladimir Putin's speech in Munich in 2007 seriously, when we didn't stick to the red lines that we'd set for ourselves in Syria and Crimea, we left the door open to conflict,' she explained.

We're seeing more and more monopolisation strategies, either by alliance or by takeover

Tsiporah Fried

In addition, the logic of conquest, linked to strategic resources, is on the rebound. Clashes or very strong tensions over grain are to be expected. Tsiporah Fried tempered these fears by recalling that what was announced as the water war at the dawn of the 21st century proved so sensitive that it ultimately resulted in more agreements than wars. Within the Ministry of the Armed Forces, the question of minerals, which are essential for electronic and digital components, is being observed very closely. 'We're seeing more and more monopolisation strategies, either by alliance or by takeover.'

'But we aren't there yet,' reassured Philippe Trainar. Nevertheless, trade, which normally promotes peace, is used to promote war. 'We could find situations similar to those of 1914. 'We're only at the start,' he concluded.



Watch the full debate on YouTube

WHO REALLY MASTERS ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE?

Friday 27 september, 4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m., Plenary Room



Sébastien Imbert, Merav Griguer, François Mattens and Hubert Etienne

When we deal with artificial intelligence, a vast subject, often more questions than answers emerge, as there are multiple psychological, sociological and geopolitical ramifications. But what is AI? 'A set of technologies that allow machines and computer tools to perform tasks that we normally associate with human intelligence, said François Mattens. This is a deliberately broad definition, and from the outset of this debate, the challenge that this technology poses for humanity in the future is set out. Even if, in practice, it's already present in our lives: 'When you watch Netflix and they give you a suggestion about movies, it's never a coincidence. The algorithm assumes you'll like it, based on what you've already watched. Same on Google, Instagram or Spotify.' In a world where we're thinking about replacing judges with AI in the belief that it would be fairer, where banks and insurance companies are already using it to decide whether or not

to grant loans and set rates, the questions of ethics and regulation arise.

But then, faced with such a level of precision in the knowledge of our habits, it is crucial to question the governance of these technologies to which we give our data. Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft, also known as GAFAM? Yes, but not just that: part of the technology that these companies produce eludes them, as it may, in the near fu-

MODERATION

François Mattens, Director of Public Affairs at XXII

SPEAKERS

Hubert Etienne, Chairman and founder of Quintessence AI

Merav Griguer, Lawyer, co-head of data protection and cybersecurity teaching at Paris-Panthéon-Assas University

Sébastien Imbert, Chief Marketing Officer of Septeo

ture, reach the notion of singularity, a hypothesis according to which AI could act autonomously without human intervention and bring about unpredictable changes in society. 'People like Elon Musk or OpenAI are already thinking about it,' added François Mattens. According to Sébastien Imbert, Septeo's Marketing Director, formerly with Microsoft, citing Ray Kurzweil's latest book (*The singularity is nearer*, 2024), we can expect that by 2029, the Turing test, which has until now been the benchmark for assessing the performance of AI, will have been surpassed. 'By then, we'll probably be in contact with AIs that will be at our level because they'll be more capable than us of solving certain problems. They'll adapt to their interlocutors. We're witnessing new models and it's exciting.'

Our memory capacities have been reduced because we rely on the Web

Hubert Étienne

For him, it isn't so much a question of who controls AI, but above all, who controls its computing power. Because the GAFAM also depend on their storage capacities, financed by investment funds and banks, where ethical experts work to provide a responsible and respectable framework for our use of AI. 'So who controls AI? What's needed is for all these players to align their efforts to make good use of it,' concluded Sébastien Imbert. For the time being, there is no indication that the use of generalised AI can be considered a positive development, given the many dangers involved, as demonstrated by Hubert Etienne, an ethicist in artificial intelligence who worked at Meta, who



imagines two possible paths: an AI that has reached technological singularity, is more intelligent than human beings and would either want to exterminate them or love them. 'We can consider that today, we're already a little enslaved by machines. Our memory capacities have been reduced because we rely on the Web,' he believes. How far could this enslavement go? According to OpenAI or Deep Mind, the two most powerful laboratories in this field, the objective, which is almost science fiction, would be to create GenAI, a kind of God who would make all of humanity's strategic decisions: investment, political decisions... and even decide on our love lives. But do we really want it?

From a purely legal perspective, Merav Griguer noted the adoption of the AI Act in 2024 by the European Parliament, which provides for fines of up to 35 million euros and 7% of annual turnover and which raises concerns among the large companies involved. Will this text be enough to instil ethics? 'Personally, it seems impossible to me. We must always try to regulate, but that's wishful thinking', she said. Hubert Etienne was even more clear-cut on the issue. 'There are lots of jobs that I would like to see disappear, linked to bureaucracy, and for us to no longer have to file tax

returns, for everything to be automated. But I'm not saying that we should fire all civil servants', he added, assuming that some jobs could be reoriented towards other tasks with more meaning for the human beings who perform them.

We need to debias people because it's people who communicate their biases

Hubert Étienne

This is also one of the benefits of AI, which could replace humans only in unfulfilling, repetitive and laborious jobs. That's the argument put forward by Sam Altman, CEO of OpenAI. Hubert Etienne cited the example of content moderators, employed for half a dollar an hour in Third World countries to sort through the content published on social networks and delete content containing violence, pornography and hatred, with all the trauma that these jobs entail. 'That's all the hard work of AI,' he lamented. In practice, not all states that are pioneers in AI have the same use for it or the same vision. In the United States, as Sébastien Imbert pointed out, we think of 'maximum innovation for maximum economic profitability with minimum regulation', while in China, AI is used as a tool for 'maximum societal surveillance'. Hence the importance of a regulatory body that achieves consensus. The UN? Merav Griguer and Sébastien Imbert weren't convinced. A new organisation, similar to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), seems more appropriate.



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The fact remains that beyond these artificial intelligences, which we imagine will very soon reach a singularity making them autonomous, we mustn't forget the extent to which they are biased because they are produced by human intelligence and are therefore, by nature, subjective. Hubert Etienne explained about machine learning, a technique used to teach AI from data fed to them, such as images, videos, text: 'If I train my AI to recognise shapes and in my training database I have 70% chairs and 30% tables, it will be better at recognising chairs because it will have seen a lot more of them.'

It depends on the diversity of the elements I have, too; if everything's the same, it'll be a little complicated to detect things that are a little innovative, such as designer chairs, for example. We're in the realm of observational, statistical and algorithmic biases.'

But how can we prevent these biases from also occurring on racial and sexist themes, such as AI classifying people of colour or according to their gender, for immoral and discriminatory purposes? Hubert Etienne concluded: 'We also need to debias people because it's people who communicate their biases.' Proof that AI hasn't quite won the game yet.

QATAR: THE GREAT AMBITIONS OF A SMALL STATE

Friday 27 september, 4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m., Or room



Emmanuel Dupuy, Nidal Shoukeir and Kader Abderrahim

It is a very small state in terms of its surface area (11,500 km²) and its number of inhabitants (2 million), but large in terms of its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of 88,000 dollars, placing it among the 10 richest countries in the world, and large also in terms of its considerable influence on the international scene. But Qatar's success is confusing. First its neighbours, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. With its \$1,000 billion in assets in Qatari banks and its 900 billion m³ of gas, which will ensure its energy security for the next 150 years, Qatar is also a country with a literacy rate of 95%, well above the 68% of the other member countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. As such, many prestigious global universities have established campuses in Doha, the country's capital, including Georgetown, Cornell, King's College London and HEC. Qatar has also made a name for itself through a new form of religious proselytism known as political Islam. Then there

We had the feeling that this little troublemaker had no place in the big league

Kader Abderrahim

is the country's media power, whose Al Jazeera television channel resonates throughout the Arab world, with its 25 million viewers per day, not to mention

MODERATION

Emmanuel Dupuy, President of the Institute for Prospective and Security in Europe

SPEAKERS

Kader Abderrahim, Research Director, Institute for Prospective and Security in Europe and senior Lecturer, Sciences Po

Lama Fakhri, Lecturer and researcher at Saint Joseph University of Beirut

Nidal Shoukeir, Journalist, Governmental strategic consultant



Belin Sports, the broadcasting flagship of sporting events, to which Qatar is also a major financial contributor via the Qatar Foundation.

‘Since their entry onto the international scene, we had the feeling that this little troublemaker had no place in the big leagues,’ explained Kader Abderrahim, Director of Research at the Institute for Prospective and Security in Europe and lecturer at Sciences Po. It must be said that everything happened in a coup d’état on 27th June 1995, during the forced takeover of power by Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani from his father, Emir Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani, who was then visiting Geneva. Since then, Qatar has implemented a diplomatic strategy of unprecedented power which is bearing fruit, and which resulted in the organisation of the 2022 Football World Cup on its territory. At the same time as Qatar implements its diplomacy, this is accompanied by a very new process for a country of the South: strategic autonomy. ‘It is implementing new ideas in a region of the world where until

now people have been content to place themselves under the protective American and British umbrella,’ stated Kader Abderrahim. Qatar envisages a new way of thinking about international relations, as we have seen since the start of the war in Ukraine.’ According to him, Qatar had anticipated what we are experiencing today, namely a loss of influence of France and the West on the international scene, and the emergence of a political Islam in Arab societies. This farsightedness has made this country the mediator in many conflicts, including the war between Israel and Hamas, even while it has sheltered Islamist leaders, going so far as to provide substantial funding to terrorist organisations. ‘When Qatar mediated over the imprisonment of Bulgarian nurses in Libya, it was France that asked the Qataris if they could intervene, and they obtained the release of the nurses. In the French and European minds, this marked the entry of a mediating Qatar onto the international stage.’ These mediations subsequently proliferated, notably in Afghanistan, Libya and Chad. Its project gives it an influence that exceeds its capacities in terms of gas and oil resources. Even in June 2017, when Qatar was ousted from the Gulf Cooperation Council, despite being 95% dependent on its neighbours for food imports, it eventually won re-entry through mediation by Kuwait.

The country hosts the largest US military base abroad in the world, but at the same time, Islamists, Taliban and Hamas

Lama Fakhri

Lama Fakhri, a lecturer and researcher at Saint Joseph University in Beirut, identified three diplomatic strategies used by Qatar since the 1995 coup. First of all, alliances with the great powers, including the United States, bode well for



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Nidal Shoukeir

a country which suffers from structural weaknesses. which pose a risk to its sovereignty. Secondly, hedging, a term borrowed from the lexicon of finance but which, in international relations, refers to maintaining good relations with opposing players in order to minimise risks. 'The country hosts the largest US military base abroad in the world, but at the same time hosts the Islamists, the Taliban and Hamas,' said Lama Fakih. Thirdly, there is the deployment of niche diplomacy, which consists of focusing on well-defined fields of action in order to generate high returns and gain widespread international recognition. 'What

is pushing Qatar to take on this role of mediator is the obsession with building a brand image for itself, by appearing as a peacemaker in order to gain a certain prestige,' she added. Qatar also promotes religious virtues by referring to certain Koranic verses that



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call for peace and reconciliation, and this is also reflected in its Constitution: working for peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Nidal Shoukeir, a journalist and government communications consultant, has spent several years studying Qatar's image and the reasons why the country is so attached to it. 'It goes far beyond a simple communication tool, it is a fundamental element in its DNA. There are two reasons for this, the first being that Qatar is landlocked between two very powerful rivals, Saudi Arabia and Iran, which took a dim view of the 1995 coup, he explained. This need to find allies beyond the Middle East was also increased tenfold after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. This had an impact on the powers that be, which felt threatened.' Its central position on the international stage is no longer in doubt,

Qatar is landlocked between two very powerful rivals, Saudi Arabia and Iran, which took a dim view of the 1995 coup

Nidal Shoukeir

despite the many contradictions that the country is still unable to eradicate at home, fostered by an archaic model of society based on the ideology of origin. This system classifies ethnic groups and families according to 'genealogical qualities' in order to integrate them into the social hierarchy, thus removing any prospect of a social ladder. Despite this, Qatar has demonstrated that even small states can play a role in the world, and has secured a prominent place alongside the world's great powers.

WHAT PATHS IS AFRICA TAKING?

Friday 27 september, 4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m., Nacre room



Niagalé Bagayoko, Abdelhak Bassou, Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie and Yvan Guichaoua

When we look at the Normandy Index, which measures the vulnerability of peace in the world, the results are clear. An analysis of the level of conflict in 135 countries around the world, according to eleven threat levels (including climate change, cybersecurity, the democratic process, terrorism and violent conflicts), tells us that a large number of African countries are among the most hostile countries: Mali, South Sudan, Yemen, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, the Central African Republic, etc.

These countries, in the grip of radical upheavals, coups d'état, health and institutional crises, have recently opted to reject their traditional Western partners in favour of new alliances with Russia and China. But other alliances within the African continent are also being called into question, starting with those between the Maghreb and Sahelian Africa, as explained by Abdelhak Bassou, researcher at the Policy Center for the New South. According to him, on

When a regime is sanctioned, it isn't the president of that regime who suffers, but the population

Abdelhak Bassou

the one hand, the Arab Maghreb Union, an economic and political organisation created in 1989 and consisting of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania, has entered a deep coma, despite the recent appointment of a new secretary general. On the other hand, the G5 Sahel, which includes Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Chad, has been called into question completely since the deterioration of relations between these countries. 'These two entities lulled us into the hope of seeing this strategic geopolitical space of the Sahelian Maghreb being established. But they no longer exist,' said

MODERATION

Niagalé Bagayoko, President of the African Security Sector Network

SPEAKERS

Abdelhak Bassou, Senior fellow at the Policy Center for the New South

Yvan Guichaoua, Independent researcher in conflict analysis, specialist in the Sahel

Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie, Senior research fellow on geopolitics based at the Institut des Mondes Africains (IMAF)

Abdelhak Bassou regretfully. Diplomatic ties between Morocco and Algeria have been completely broken, so neither country sees a future in an alliance between Maghreb countries. So, all eyes are turning elsewhere: Morocco is now more interested in its Atlantic dimension than its Maghreb dimension. 'The King launched the initiative of an Atlantic Africa, a search for cooperation between 23 countries that extends from South Africa to Morocco. Another Moroccan initiative is moving in this direction, with the objective of opening up the Sahel countries. This ambition raises questions about Morocco's motivations for taking an interest in these countries, led by military juntas. Abdelhak Bassou, however, specified that these cooperations envisaged by Morocco are aimed more at the populations than at the regimes in place. 'When a regime is sanctioned, it isn't the president of that regime who suffers, but the population. So the philosophy of Morocco is to adopt these initiatives towards these people regardless of the regime.'

While Algeria is seeking to renew ties with Niger, the Maghreb countries, as a whole, are looking elsewhere. Libya and Tunisia were destabilised by the Arab Spring. Mauritania remains, juggling between Morocco and Algeria, according to a tradition of 'positive neutrality'.

In the Sahel region, the Confederation of Sahel States (CES) was formed, heralding the departure of these countries from the Economic Community of West

African States (ECOWAS). Other West African countries, such as Benin, Guinea and Chad, are also considering joining the CES. Since the coups d'état in the Sahel, ties with France have been severed, and we are witnessing the emergence of a new Russian influence. 'Mali is supported by the Russians and is fighting rebels in the north, who are supported by Algeria. It's becoming very nebulous,' explained Abdelhak Bassou.

On the Horn of Africa side, the situation is very different. The violence is regional, national and international. But how can we assess this violence when genocides in this region have gone relatively unreported in the West? 'Nearly a million people have been killed in two years in northern Ethiopia and Sudan, and we don't talk about it, while Ukraine and Gaza make the headlines,' noted Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie, guest researcher at the Institut des Mondes Africains (IMAF). It shows the power relations in the world, where a few lives



Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie



are more important than millions of others. The biggest humanitarian crises are here, in Africa.' Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie anticipates a future contestation of borders in this region,

The Sudan state had militias, now the militias have the state

Medhane Tadesse Gebresilassie

where nations could probably be built. 'Sudan no longer has a government. The state had militias, now the militias have a state, and it's all happened with the help of the Europeans.' Yvan Guichaoua, an independent researcher in conflict analysis and specialist in the Sahel, talked about democratic fatigue. A decline in democratic aspirations on the African continent has long been noted through opinion polls. But this questioning doesn't explain everything. 'We



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shouldn't talk about democratic decline but about democratic systems that have never reached a satisfactory level of consolidation. The problem isn't democracy, but incomplete democracy, which has also been accepted by Westerners. In the Sahel, soft, undemanding and closed democracies have been established. This is the failure of democracy in name only.'

Moreover, a takeover by the military is not necessarily an automatic consequence of this democratic fatigue. The African continent has shown that it is possible to reform without going through a coup d'état, which is a particular political process, born from a combination of several factors including 'the encoding of social discontent. In the Sahel, discontent with the elites has also been exaggerated from outside, particularly by the Russians,' explained Yvan Guichaoua, who also mentioned Kenya and Nigeria, where the protests were led by young people opposed to tax laws and police violence. For the researcher, one thing is certain: it is not the West which will provide a solution to the crises in the Sahel, the Maghreb and the Horn of Africa. 'This soft and undemanding democracy that we were talking about is the product of the West. They've become inaudible because of their past in the region.' The only options will have to come from civil society.

WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF THE TERRORIST THREAT?

Friday 27 september, 4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m., Azur room



Patrick Zimmermann, Marie-Christine Dupuis-Danon, Didier Le Bret, Christine Dugoin Clément and Alexandre Malafaye

Two planes hit the World Trade Center, a third hit the Pentagon, a fourth missed the White House, 3,000 dead in a few hours... 11 September 2001 marked a turning point in the history of international terrorism, leading to conflict in Afghanistan and American intervention in Iraq. These events favoured the creation of Daesh, in reaction to what Bin Laden had already called 'American imperialism'.

Although it has many faces and motivations (Islamic, anarchist, ethnic, cyberterrorism and bioterrorism), terrorism systematically targets civilians and innocent people. It represents 85% of the victims of conflicts in the world. But, as Alexandre Malafaye, founding president of Synopia, pointed out, depending on which side of history one is on, terrorists can be called resistance fighters. 'Let us not forget that the Nazis, while considered evil today, themselves considered the French Resistance to be terrorists during the war. Words always have meaning.' Patrick Zimmermann, admiral, director of Westwind Strategies and former deputy director of the Military Intelligence Directorate, looked

back at the origins of the word terrorism, derived from terror. It is also the name given to the period of the French Revolution extending from 1793 to 1794 under the influence of Robespierre, from whom Patrick Zimmermann quoted this sentence: 'Virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless,' before

MODERATION

Alexandre Malafaye, Founding President of Synopia

SPEAKERS

Marie-Christine Dupuis-Danon, CEO of the consulting firm C3COM, internationally recognised specialist in financial governance and criminal finance issues

Christine Dugoin Clément, Researcher at the 'Risks' chair of the IAE Paris-Sorbonne and at the Artificial Intelligence Observatory of Paris-Panthéon-Sorbonne

Didier Le Bret, Ambassador, Director of the Diplomatic and Consular Academy of the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs

Patrick Zimmermann, Admiral, Director of Westwind Strategies, former Deputy Director of the Military Intelligence Directorate

adding: 'This quote from Robespierre leads to mixing two contradictory things, virtue and terror, which we find in the history of communism as well as Salafism.'

Some figures to take stock of terrorism in the world. In 2023, it claimed 8,300 victims, an increase of 22% compared to 2022 but a decrease in the number of attacks, which have become more deadly. Thirty countries around the world were subjected to an attack, and 90% of them are countries in crisis, located in conflict zones. In the West, 23 attacks were committed, including seven in the United States, and five by the extreme right. Patrick Zimmermann emphasised this point: 'Terrorism has no ideological boundaries; it is always hatred of the other that prevails.'

Technology isn't bad in itself, it all depends on the use we make of it

Christine Dugoin Clément

A hatred of others that feeds on social networks. Christine Dugoin Clément, researcher at the 'Risks' chair of the IAE Paris-Sorbonne and at the Artificial Intelligence Observatory of Paris-Panthéon-Sorbonne, knows this field well. She tempered the mistrust that one might have towards these social networks. 'Technology isn't bad in itself. Just like a hammer that can be used to hit someone or to build a shelf, it all depends on the use we make of it, deadly or humanitarian.' It is true that the Islamic State has promoted significant radicalisation through digital channels, so we must avoid falling into this



trap and not ignore traditional recruitment channels. However, the strength of social networks lies in their speed of propagation and their ability to disseminate emotional content to generate direct reactions, without reflection. The goal is clear: 'To strengthen itself, to swell its ranks, to weaken its adversaries by fuelling divisive debates.' Christine Dugoin Clément also notes the skill with which these terrorist groups have taken control of these new technologies by drawing inspiration from the codes of traditional media and large tech companies. The arrival of artificial intelligence, whose production costs have considerably decreased, will increase the creation of custom text and counterfeit images in the years to come.

But behind the ideology there is also another financial issue. Marie-Christine Dupuis-Danon, CEO of the consulting firm C3COM, studied the question: what is money used for in a terrorist organisation? 'Money buys two things: power to anchor oneself in a territory, to have an army, to maintain it and to



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buy weapons, and influence to disseminate one's ideology, to recruit and to succeed in planting a seed in the minds of individuals to rally them to one's cause.' Because, in reality, an attack does not cost much. The most expensive one in contemporary history was that of 11th September estimated at \$500,000. A small amount on the scale of international financial flows. By comparison, the Charlie Hebdo attacks cost the Islamic State 25,000 euros, those of 13th November at the Bataclan, around 80,000 euros and the one against the teacher, Samuel Paty... the cost of a kitchen knife.

Hezbollah is very involved in cocaine trafficking with Latin American partners

Marie-Christine Dupuis-Danon

These terrorist groups have three sources of income: investing in legal businesses such as agricultural companies or setting up currency exchange offices. Then comes the illegal drug trade, 'Hezbollah is very involved in cocaine trafficking with Latin American partners', but also in money laundering, human trafficking and trafficking in organs and antiquities. As a last resort, these organisations take over resources available in the controlled territories and also receive donations. 'We know that the Islamic State has a system of compulsory almsgiving, which requires its followers to donate 2.5% of their income to the cause.' When put together, the financial resources obtained are astronomical. On the other hand, what means do we have to fight against these terrorist groups? Didier Le Bret, ambassador, director of the



Diplomatic and Consular Academy of the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs, was national coordinator of intelligence and the fight against terrorism from June 2015 to August 2016. It was a particularly difficult period on French territory. 'We were trying to cope with something that was like a tsunami,' he recalled. If the climate is less tense now, it is also because additional resources have been allocated to anti-terrorism services. In 2024, for example, several attacks were foiled without this being mentioned in the press. To improve their capacity for action, the six French intelligence services, formed around the General Directorate for Internal Security (DGSI) and the General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), have learned to pool their resources. 'Until now, everyone has acted within their own area of expertise. There was a common objective, and the State had to provide more financial, human and even legal resources.' This is one of the key issues in the fight against terrorism, which is not to play with the enemy's weapons so as not to compromise our democratic system. 'When we look for ways to be more efficient, we can quickly infringe on individual freedoms. The fight against terrorism is always a question of balance.'

HOW CAN WE SAVE DEMOCRACY?

Friday 27 september, 04:30 p.m. - 06:00 p.m., Auditorium



Xavier Chemisseur, Laure Mandeville and Raphaël Culliford

In the middle of the 19th century, Alexis de Tocqueville, democratic philosopher, Normand, former French Minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs, made a trip to the United States and published a text, *On Democracy in America*, consisting of two volumes (1835 and 1840). This text created a legacy and led to the construction of a model of liberal democracy. But more than 180 years later, what remains of this model, now losing momentum and threatened by populist ideas? Russia's invasion of Ukraine showed that everything can collapse very quickly. Was it the Western democracies that Vladimir Putin wanted to attack? Ekaterina Kotrikadze, news director and presenter at TV Rain, had no doubt about this. 'We're at a pivotal moment where the West must show strength and prove its efficiency.'

But beyond the example of Russia, this resurgence of populist ideas, these political crises and the multiple interferences have profoundly destabilised the democratic foundations throughout

the world. Laure Mandeville, senior reporter at Le Figaro and co-founder of 'Conversations Tocqueville' described the ultra-problematic conjunction of a West grappling with turmoil within its borders and outside, where 'geopolitical hurricanes are bearing down on it, born of alliances of neo-totalitarian states like China, Russia, Iran and North Korea.' This populist malaise in our societies long predates the election – and re-election – of Donald Trump in the United States. According to Laure Mandeville, it dates to the 1960s. 'Nietzsche said God is dead. And indeed, since the 1960s, the disappearance of religious

MODERATION

Xavier Chemisseur, Editor-in-Chief
FRANCE 24

SPEAKERS

Raphaël Culliford, General Delegate
of the Parlons Démocratie Association

Laure Mandeville, Senior Reporter
at Le Figaro and Co-Founder of
'Conversations Tocqueville'

Ekaterina Kotrikadze, News Director
and Presenter at TV Rain

transcendence as the basis of balance in Western societies, shaped by Greco-Roman antiquity and the Age of Enlightenment, has considerably disoriented them.'

The basis of democracy is the art of conversation between opposing views

Laure Mandeville

Then, the election of Donald Trump has effectively marked a turning point. Many observers, obsessed by his extravagant personality, have forgotten the wave of rebellious and radicalised supporters he brought with him. The culmination was the invasion of Capital on 6th January 2021, to protest his defeat in the elections against Joe Biden. 'When Joe Biden arrived, he wanted to calm this fire. But Trumpism isn't the only destabilising political element, there are also others on the left side of the political spectrum that are worsening the fracture in this society. There are now two camps that no longer speak to each other, whereas the basis of democracy is the art of conversation between opposing views,' explained Laure Mandeville.

Vladimir Putin is relishing the situation, and even added another layer in September 2024, announcing his support for the candidacy of Democrat, Kamala Harris, confusing the issue and making these elections even more difficult to predict. 'When you see how Russian propaganda is spread outside the country, you see that it is not as effective as it seems, in any case, less effective than inside the country,' ex-

plained Ekaterina Kotrikadze. The audience figures for her TV Rain medium are a source of hope for her, with 65% of them generated in Russia, at a time when the Kremlin is trying to isolate the population from political debates and current affairs, by placing itself above the fray and adopting a paradoxically reassuring posture. Even though the Kremlin's propaganda isn't effective on the outside, it does instil a sense of fear, particularly when it wields the nuclear threat. 'And no one knows how far he's willing to go. This must be taken very seriously.'

Laure Mandeville shares this concern but is more moderate about the strength of Vladimir Putin's power, which is much weaker than the West thinks. Beyond the forces present, what weapons does the West have to fight and preserve this liberal democracy, the foundation of its identity? Raphaël Culliford, general delegate of the association, Parlons Démocratie, had no pretensions about saving democracy, but he address the moral problem posed by democracy and interference in it. According to him, democracy is a simple idea that can be weakened in several ways. First, when a non-democratic country manages to achieve prosperity, it can cause people to question the effectiveness of democracy. Secondly, one of the fundamental criteria of a functioning democracy is public and compulsory education. 'It is clear that these promises are flawed. If we want to resist interference from disinformation or identity division, knowledge allows us to do so. But how? In France, we have men and women whose job it is to bring democracy to life: judges, parliamentarians, etc.' For example, his association, Parlons Démocratie, organised a meeting in a district of Saint Denis (93) with the public prosecutor François Molins. 'The first question he was asked was: «Is justice racist?» It was that direct. When we confront things so brutally, we create an encounter. In France we have

people who are ready for that. 'This is how democracy lives,' he explained.

Because if there is one feeling that gnaws at this democracy, it's that of inequality. So, shouldn't we tackle the economy, society in depth, before thinking about democracy? Laure Mandeville recalled Alexis de Toqueville's concerns about the creation, by the democratic system, of a class, an elite, which would

***What autocracy means,
I know. I lost my rights,
my home, my job and
I had to flee my country***

Ekaterina Kotrikadze

gradually, even subconsciously, dispossess the people of power by distancing them from it. 'Democracies need to reform,' continued Ekaterina Kotrikadze. 'Autocracies are a bit like those bad boys in high school that girls fall for because they're more attractive, while the good students, like democracies, seem boring. I believe that democracy must become more attractive. Because for those who don't know what autocracy means, I know. I lost my rights, my home, my job and I had to flee my country,' she concluded, adding that one of the solutions to promote democracy would be, according to



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her, to work with young people on these subjects via Instagram or Tik Tok.

Participatory democracy could perhaps be a solution to limit this feeling of helplessness and distrust among the population when it comes to elections. 'But democracy is a value that we strive to achieve but never fully achieve,' noted Raphaël Culliford. 'Pierre Ronsavallon, the sociologist, speaks of two legitimacies: that of the electoral mandate and the sociological mandate, which states, «aren't we better placed to represent butchers when we are butchers?»' But are these two legitimacies compatible? 'If we want to address these problems, we have to question this democratic machine and its workings, and how it could better align itself with the general interest.'



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IDENTIFYING AND COMBATTING DISINFORMATION

Thursday 26 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12 p.m., Or room



Anna Beitane, Cécile Dolbeau-Bandin, Virginie Bagneux, Stefano Braghiroli and Maili Vilson

For some decades, we have been impacted daily by digital technologies, social networks and more recently, artificial intelligence. While these new tools have considerably changed our lives and improved our means of communicating, they are also the source of fake news, false information that pollutes the public space. For example, Anna Beitane, head of e-learning and continuing education projects at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies at the University of Tartu, pointed out a webpage cloned from that of the Belgian newspaper, *Le Soir*, with the headline 'Macron, Saudi Arabia's preferred candidate for the presidential election' in 2017. The site, which, aesthetically, has all the hallmarks of a credible site, was shared on social networks by Marion Maréchal Lepen, a politician who at the time was a member of the Rassemblement National.

This fake news 'impacts the way we interact between human beings,' explained Cécile Dolbeau-Bandin, Lecturer-researcher at the IUT Grand Ouest Normandie and researcher at CERREV (Risks & Vulnerabilities Research Centre) at the University of Caen. We are victims of infobesity, an information overload that makes it difficult to sort through it all.' Dolbeau-Bandin distinguished between two types of fake news, namely misinformation or false information without

MODERATION

Anna Beitane, Project Manager for e-learning and continuing education at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu

SPEAKERS

Virginie Bagneux, Lecturer-researcher in Social Psychology at the University of Caen in social psychology at the University of Caen-Normandie

Stefano Braghiroli, Professor of European Studies at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu

Cécile Dolbeau-Bandin, Lecturer-researcher at IUT Grand Ouest Normandie and researcher at CERREV (Risks & Vulnerabilities Research Centre) at the University of Caen

Maili Vilson, Deputy Director for Academic Affairs at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu

the intention of causing harm, and disinformation, or misleading or truncated information with the aim of manipulating others. 'The main goal is to divide democratic societies during high-stakes moments like the war in Ukraine or the election of Donald Trump in the United States.' Added to this is the development of artificial intelligence in recent years, which has increased tenfold the realism with which certain images can deceive us, particularly deepfakes, the faked videos and photos that circulate on social networks. The photo of Pope Francis in a white rapper-style parka, which went viral in early 2023, is the perfect exam-



Anna Beitane

Testimony is not proof. It's not necessarily wrong, but to be on the safe side, it's not enough

Virginie Bagneux

ple. 'Although they can sometimes make people laugh, we mustn't overlook the democratic issue that arises from them. This requires training, very early, to develop critical thinking, and to know what a source and verified information are.'

Virginia Bagneux, Lecturer-researcher in Social Psychology at the University of Caen-Normandy, discussed zetetics as a tool for distinguishing true information from false information. This approach was defined in the 1980s by Henri Broch, who championed it in his book, *The Art of Doubt*. 'The goal of critical thinking, as he sees it, is to determine whether I can

trust a piece of information or not, bearing in mind that there is room for doubt in between.' Two sceptical tools were then presented: one was a likelihood slider for specific information, which went from 'absolutely probable' to 'not at all probable'. It is up



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to the 'informed' to adjust this slider after reflection and research. 'There is this sentence from Carl Sagan, an American scientist, which is very interesting: "Extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence".' The other tool presented was a level of evidence scale, which classifies by degree of certainty whether information can be considered reliable or not. 'Testimony is not proof. It's not necessarily wrong, but to be on the safe side, it's not enough', she explained.

Stefano Braghiroli, Professor of European studies at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies at the University of Tartu, pointed out that, far from being a new phenomenon, disinformation is as old as our civilisations. He cited the example of an Egyptian hieroglyph that recounts the warlike exploits of the pharaoh, Ramses, 3,000 years ago, the battle of Qadesh. 'We know he narrowly escaped death. But when he returned home, he had this magnificent engraving made which gives a completely different version of the story.' The minimum goal of disinformation is to create doubt, so that the public is no longer able to distinguish truth from falsehood. Its danger lies in the fact that it can circulate freely in a democratic environment. Maili Vilson, Deputy Director for Academic Affairs at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies at the University of Tartu, noted that foreign minorities are even more vulnerable. Language barriers, distrust of mainstream media, community-centered social networks, lack of fact-checking initiatives, lack of awareness of the country's media... All this causes political marginalisation.

A recent photo of singer Taylor Swift holding an ice cream and smiling next to a starving African child illustrates this problem well. This montage, despite its poor quality of execution, aims to increase the distrust of these populations towards society. 'We can clearly see what information this is trying to convey,' concluded Maili Vilson.

WHAT ROLE CAN EUROPEAN UNION VALUES PLAY IN PEACEBUILDING?

Thursday 26 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12 p.m., Nacre room



Mikayil Tokdemir, Mélanie Lepoutier, Éric Pestel, Céleste Rouyer and Bénédicte Feuger

© Julien Hejle

In an increasingly divided world, with conflicts occurring on several regional fronts, there is a clear need to reaffirm the values of the European Union as a bulwark guaranteeing the peace of its Member States. But what are these values? In the room, some notions dear to the participants emerged: respect, sharing, listening, freedom, charity, mutual aid, excellence, success and solidarity. ‘Values in which we can fully

MODERATION

Mikayil Tokdemir, Director of the Maison de l’Europe de l’Eure

SPEAKERS

Éric Pestel, European issues analyst, Europe Direct team expert, administrator of the Jean Monnet Association and President of the European Cultural Hub

Céleste Rouyer, Europe Mission Manager at Info Jeunes Normandie

Mélanie Lepoutier, President of the French delegation to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Departmental Councilor of Calvados

Bénédicte Feuger, Head of the EUROPE DIRECT Normandie Vire Center (CREAN)

identify with the action of the European Union’ said Bénédicte Feuger, head of the EUROPE DIRECT Normandie Vire Centre (CREAN).

But two values were not mentioned: democracy and the rule of law. ‘They are fundamental, because the European Union, which is uncompromising on these issues, is based on treaties which must be respected by the Member States. In the event of a dispute, the Court of Justice of the European Union can rule,’ she added. But other values are just as crucial, noted Céleste Rouyer, Europe project manager at Info Jeunes Normandie. These include ‘freedom of expression or the principles of equality and dignity. The European Union strives to respect these principles on the basis of fundamental rights.’ Mikayil Tokdemir, Director of the Maison de l’Europe de l’Eure, mentioned an additional value dear to the European Union: Human Rights.

But all these European values are not always visible to the public, who may feel that their voice is drowned out by the mass. However, noted Eric Pestel, analyst of European issues, expert team Europe Direct, administrator of the Jean Monnet Association and President of the European Cultural Hub, democracy and the rule of law are really the fundamental points of the creation of the European idea, born after the Second World War. Jean Monnet, a French politician and considered one of the fathers of Europe, said that 'for there to be no more war, we must ensure countries cooperate with each other', in the



Éric Pestel, Céleste Rouyer and Bénédicte Feuger

For a common general interest, common positions are needed

Éric Pestel

interest of equality between all countries. This is why the voice of the Member States, of Malta or Luxembourg, for example, is worth as much as Germany and France. 'This is what is very important to understand', added Éric Pestel 'because in this notion of democracy, there is also the notion of compromise. Sometimes we have the impression that because France's ideas are not 100% adopted, we are being wronged. But France expresses itself and participates both in Parliament and in the European Council or the Council of Ministers, and when everyone is not in total agreement, we must move forward. For a common general interest, common positions are needed.'



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In addition, in 1993 the European Union defined the Copenhagen crite-

ria, i.e. the set of essential conditions for its integration as a member country. Recently, Ukraine was accepted as a candidate, and must therefore commit to reforming its legal, judicial and other systems, if necessary, to meet these rule of law criteria. Otherwise, sanctions may be taken. The EU Court of Justice has already intervened to stop laws in Poland that did not respect this rule of law. 'These values are the cement of the house in which we live together, Europe. We must embody them and carry them,' said Mélanie Lepoutier, president of the French delegation to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities and departmental councillor of Calvados.

Eric Pestel talked about this unique experience in the world of the Conference for the Future of Europe, which was held from 2021 to 2022, and where European citizens were called to meet via a digital platform to issue legislative proposals to be included in the European Commission's programme. 'No fewer than 700,000 people took part. Nowhere else in the world has there been a consultation like this. It is also one of the European Union's strengths that it is able to call on participatory democracy to define a set of values shared by the different peoples of Europe.'

DAD'S LULLABY

Thursday 26 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m., Auditorium

DIRECTED BY **LESIA DIAK**

Serhiv, a Ukrainian father of three, spent several years on the front line against the Russians during the Donbas war. In 2017, he returned home, not knowing that he would have to take up arms again five years later against the same enemy. In the meantime, Serhiv is trying to reintegrate, to resume his daily life, and not without difficulty. This is what director, Lesia Diak, chose to show in this poignant documentary. She too knows the suffering of war. Her ex-partner was fighting on the same Donbas front.

Their story ended on his return, due to misunderstandings. To try to understand what goes on in the mind of a veteran, Lesia Diak followed Serhiv for three years, fil-

ming the contours of his bruised face in his apartment in Kyiv. When his fourth child, a daughter, arrives, he leaves home. The ravages of post-traumatic stress disorder isolate him. Filming ended abruptly in 2019 during the pandemic, and Serhiv was sent back to the front line in 2022.



Nadiia Zinchuk, Lesia Diak and Serge Gordey

THE ILLUSION OF ABUNDANCE

Friday 27 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m., Auditorium

DIRECTED BY **ERIKA GONZÁLEZ RAMÍREZ AND MATTHIEU LIETAERT**

It is a region of the world that arouses many fantasies, made up of vast expanses, green forests and breathtaking wildlife. But it is also a threatened environment, impacted by the presence of man, who has coveted gold, coffee, oil and sugar cane so much. Erika González Ramírez, a specialist in relations between the European Union and Latin America, and co-director of the documentary, went there to investigate and portray these women who are resisting, like Maxima Acuna, a peasant woman fighting against the Yanacocha gold mining company in Peru. There is also Berta Cáceres, assassinated in Honduras for campaigning against mining and dam projects that threatened Indigenous com-

munities. In Brazil, Erika González meets Carolina de Moura Campos, who is also fighting against mining, an activity which has caused the death of around 300 people and polluted nature. The courage and self-sacrifice of these activists certainly warranted a documentary devoted to them.



Matthieu Lietaert and Erika González Ramírez

UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD WITH PASCAL BONIFACE AND MR GEOPOLITIX

Thursday 26 september, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m., Or room



Gildas Leprince and Pascal Boniface

© Pierre Galliot

Pascal Boniface, Director of the Institute of International and Strategic Relations (IRIS) became interested in geopolitics somewhat by chance. This was not his first vocation, as he had first studied law before turning to political science. 'Today, I am known for my teaching skills. When I write books, I try to alternate between pure pedagogy with atlases, without intellectual pretension but aiming just to explain the world, and essays in which I can take a position. It's very important to distinguish between the two,' he began as a preamble to this debate, where the students were immediately invited to question the two speakers on how they could decipher the world while retaining their free will.

This new generation has embraced social networks, which have become their first source for information via TikTok, Instagram and Youtube. But are these new tools subject to the same rules as the traditional press, television and radio? 'Yes,' explained Pascal Boniface.

SPEAKERS

Pascal Boniface, Director of IRIS

Gildas Leprince, Youtuber, aka Mister Geopolitix

'We have complete freedom of expression and opinion, except when it involves racist remarks, insults or defamation, which don't constitute an opinion, but a punishable offence.' Gildas Leprince, a YouTuber better known as Mister Geopolitix, admits to having already made mistakes in his popular geopolitical videos. 'But it doesn't matter, we can make a mistake and rectify the situation by adding a comment to explain it. It is also up to you to accept that there may be errors and to learn to inform yourself well by finding more sources.' But as opinion channels keep looping and multiplying, is it still possible to be totally neutral on subjects as divisive as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? For the Youtuber, who is used to going into the field all over the world to collect testimonies and pro-



duce reports, 'neutrality does not exist. What matters is the search for impartiality.' Pascal Boniface added: 'We all have experiences that prevent us from being truly neutral. On the other hand, impartiality is important, and integrity above all. There are activists who ignore the arguments of others. Journalists are required to abide by the Munich Code of Ethics, signed in 1971, which states that it is forbidden to state something if they have proof that it is false. It's a question of ethics.' Returning to the place that social networks have taken in the dissemination of information, Pascal Boniface stated that he does not contrast them with the mainstream media, with massive disinformation on the one hand, and information that is surely true and sourced on the other. 'There is as much falsehood as truth in both. Everyone is a receiver and a transmitter of information.'

But then, how do you know if a source is real, or not? Gildas Leprince believes that citing just one source is not enough. It's always necessary to cross-check several, whereas a single point of view can be biased, oriented, partisan or fallacious. The danger of social networks lies in the fact that they lock us in a bubble, a 'confirmation bias' as Pascal Boniface explained,



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whose algorithms lead us towards content we agree with. 'You always have to try to think against yourself,' he added. In this respect, news channels also suffer from the same biases. An example was cited: at Sciences Po Paris, just before the 2016 American elections, a poll was carried out and the students voted overwhelmingly in favour of Hillary Clinton. 'Yet it was Trump who was elected. They didn't understand because, listening to the experts on the television channels who were predicting a victory for Hillary Clinton, they thought that the voters would go in that direction. Trying to understand others doesn't necessarily mean agreeing with them, but it means being intellectually mobile.'

Everyone is a receiver and a transmitter of information

Pascal Boniface

Gildas Leprince noted, however, that for some time now, he has seen the emergence of opinion biases with a partisan point of view on social networks, which he believes is more present than a few years ago. 'I'm trying to do more journalistic work, because my goal is not to convince but to give a better understanding of the world.' But this multiplication of information channels and relays on social networks also has its good side. Pascal Boniface remembers a time when, in France, there was only one television channel, ORTF, controlled by the State. 'Today, you will find a Western discourse on opinion channels that is pretty much the same everywhere, but you always have the possibility of going to see what is said on very high-quality, alternative media like Arrêt sur Images, Blast or Le Media, and it's often very funny,' he concluded.

RECONCILE AND COMMEMORATE: YOUTH FACING THE DUTY OF MEMORY

Thursday 26 september, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m., Azur room



Salomé Hénon-Cohin, Théo Burgevin, Léandra Vièl, Hervé Moritz and Nathanaël Tinard

Hervé Moritz, President of the European Movement France, prefaced his remarks with two anecdotes that have fuelled his European commitment. Firstly, the particular history of his native region, Alsace, which does not always resonate with the national narrative that emerged after the Second World War. Then, the proximity to the German border, located two kilometres from his home, which gave him the desire to follow the Erasmus course during his studies a little further east of the country. 'I realised that we didn't share the same memory. In Leipzig, for many people, Europe didn't begin until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989,' he explained. This difference in memory leads us to question European construction. But with 2024 marking the 80th anniversary of the Normandy landings, are young people taking a keen interest in this shared memory, in which personal histories collide at cross-purposes?

Nathanaël Tinard, a student lawyer, is a winner of the National Resistance and Deportation Competition. 'Before this competition, my only connection with Germany was a traumatic one,' he admitted. His great-grandfather was sent

to a Stalag, a prison camp in Germany. According to him, when the Franco-German relationship is mentioned in the media, it is mainly for economic issues, such as the sale of F35 military aircraft. Subjects that he considers 'remote'. 'The best way to take an interest in this link is perhaps to learn German, but also to twin. Because going to someone else's house helps us understand that they're not so different.' The way in which we carry out this duty of remembrance could be corrected to encourage young people to take part.

ANIMATION

Théo Burgevin, Executive Director for Franco-German Affairs at DenkFabrik

Léandra Vièl, President of DenkFabrik

INTERVENANTS

Salomé Hénon-Cohin, Journalist for French-speaking and German media

Hervé Moritz, President of the European Movement France

Nathanaël Tinard, Winner of the Concours national de la résistance et de la déportation, student lawyer



Going to someone else's house helps us understand that they're not so different

Nathanaël Tinard

Salomé Hénon-Cohin, a journalist for German and French-speaking media, said that it was a German teacher who first gave her a taste for this country, as well as the variety of Franco-German study programmes. If this duty of remembrance serves to help us 'understand our ancestors, it's also useful to find answers for ourselves,' she declared. In this respect, the interdependent relationship between France and Germany, which arose after the Second World War, is a unique case. Arte, the only binational media in the world, in which editorial conferences are held in both languages, is the perfect example. These links, born of a strong political will, also enable us to take an interest in the collective memory of our neighbours, whose stories are inevitably different from our own. The journalist, who knows the country well, notes the desire

for total objectivity on the German side regarding Nazism. 'There is a form of responsibility among them, which is felt in their daily lives. For example, German television spent a monumental amount of money covering the commemorations of the 80th anniversary of the D-Day landings. It's also a way for Germany to gain access to a common European memory.'

Do these ties that unite these two countries today make it possible to avoid resentment? Hervé Moritz distinguished between the story of History, the fruit of academic work and the duty of remembrance, which is more sentimental and specific to each individual. And this also involves teaching. Nathanaël Tinard looked at an extract from a French school textbook from a third-year class, dating from 1922. Germany is spoken of in eloquent terms. He quoted from it: 'Intoxicated by its military and economic successes, Germany had, more than any other people, an imperialist and belligerent mentality, this German mentality made of greed, pride and an immense appetite for domination.' How can we avoid repeating history when school education is rooted in resentment? 'That's why wars have been repeated, this idea of the hereditary enemy,' he explained. The Franco-German relationship of today has managed to overcome this. Hervé Moritz also cited the example of how Spain and other neighbouring countries study Napoleonic conquests: 'They see Napoleon as a bloodthirsty dictator and a despot. We must accept this critical view when it concerns us.

This allows us to question our own memory,' he concluded. The duty of remembrance is above all the study of different points of view on a common history. Understanding History means valuing the memory of others as much as our own.



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the full
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THE FIGHT AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE FACE OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF RIGHTS: A GLOBAL CHALLENGE

Thursday 26 september, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m., Nacre room



Juliette Joyeux, Angela Pinna, Taha Hannachi and Fiona Schnell

When we address the issue of climate change, the first thoughts that arise are regarding the inequality that it creates. Because there is an undeniable reality: 'Not all people are affected in the same way,' said Fiona Schnell, executive director of the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Citizen already mentions these issues, stipulating that every human being has a right to life and to a minimum subsistence, rights which are inevitably violated in the event of floods, drought or storms. These climatic changes also have consequences on insecurity and the rise of conflicts in the world. 'We must keep this in mind to think more globally about the management of the climate crisis, which is accompanied by a search for peace and its maintenance.' Hence, these inequalities, fostered by global warming, must be approached

MODERATION

Juliette Joyeux, International Projects Manager

SPEAKERS

Lolita Couchene, Intern at the United Nations Environment Programme in New York and campaigner for World's Youth for Climate Justice

Taha Hannachi, Researcher in social psychology

Fiona Schnell, Director of the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

Angela Pinna, Coordinator of the project EcoAlity in Italy - OXFAM

from the perspective of the interdependence of rights; one right is always linked to another. 'We can't think about freedom of expression if we don't also think about the right to privacy.'

In mainland France, these inequalities are mainly economic. Drought, for example, impacts water reserves and thus businesses in agriculture or industry. Floods will also affect infrastructure. As Fiona Schnell explained, the consequences of climate change don't have the same impact on populations in northern countries as on those in more fragile southern countries. 'If a flood occurs tomorrow, we're in a country in which we're lucky to have insurance that reimburses the cost of cleaning renovations, while public services offer rehousing and emergency shelters. I'm very down to earth but it's a reality.'

If we expect a long-term result, it doesn't work on the human brain

Taha Hannachi

Based on these observations, Taha Hannachi, a researcher in social psychology, prefers to talk about anthropogenic climate change, i.e. climate change caused by human actions. 'If we look at it from this angle, we can say that by being the problem, we can also be the solution.' A phenomenon linked to the climate cause particularly interests him in his research: eco-anxiety. It's a phenomenon of varying degrees, causing psychological and sometimes physical distress resulting from apprehension about the scale of the environmental crisis.' At



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the highest levels, this eco-anxiety can lead to paralysis, apathy or deep despair. But eco-anxiety can also be a driver for environmental action. 'We can worry, but we can also act,' he reassures. What can foster eco-anxiety is the feeling of personal inefficacy. But feeling that we have the means to act allows us to reduce this eco-anxiety and create a positive feedback loop.

Are human beings capable of acting and providing solutions?

For Fiona Schnell, action comes through consensus, commitment, collaboration and discussion. Taha Hannachi took the example of Gafam (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft) who use neuroscience to perpetuate a habit among users: the instant reward system inherent in all human beings that provokes compulsive clicks and infinite scrolling on social networks. 'But with the creation of a virtuous habit, we can reverse that. There are a few ingredients. Already there's a motivation to change, a spark, a trigger, cognitive dissonance and hence a new reward system. As with schoolwork, you need to divide up the tasks to come up with a reward system and create a positive feedback loop. Our emotional system works like this. If we expect a long-term result, it doesn't work on the human brain.'

SOCIETIES FACING NEW FORMS OF VIOLENCE

Thursday 26 september, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m., Auditorium



Bertrand Badie, Tanguy Gaudeul and Grégory Rayko

© Faïssal Zaoui

Tanguy Gaudeul is the founding president of La Boîte à Bac, a company that creates innovative educational content for high school students. He came to present a five-episode web series in partnership with the Normandy For Peace Forum. It explores the new forms of violence that our societies are experiencing, whether they are identity-based, environmental, technological or health-related. Violence, yes, but he prefers to temper the extent of it. 'There are fewer casualties in armed conflicts today than there were 20 or 30 years ago. However, this violence is ongoing.' He also explained the difficulty of finding images to illustrate recent conflicts, such as those in Ethiopia's Tigray region, a civil war that began in November 2020 and pits the Ethiopian federal government against the Tigray People's Liberation Front.

More than an increase in violence, what has changed is our exposure to this violence, which is more visible than before thanks to social networks. 'Our world is changing profoundly, we have almost abolished space and time,' explained Bertrand Badie, professor emeritus at Sciences Po Paris, who remembers a time when violence was invisible, which could give the impression that there was less of it. 'We tend to identify with

MODERATION

Grégory Rayko, Head of the international column of The Conversation France

SPEAKERS

Bertrand Badie, University Professor Emeritus at Sciences Po Paris

Tanguy Gaudeul, Founding President of La Boîte à Bac

what we see, and when we talk about 42,000 dead in Gaza, including 15,000 children, we cannot be insensitive, despite the fact that the Israeli government prevents journalists from going to the field so that these deaths remain anonymous.' Because while, as Grégory Rayko, head of the International section at The Conversation France, points out, the way in which we perceive violence depends very much on the virtual sphere in which we live – in other words, our social bubble – we must not go overboard. 'There is still an objectification of information,' stated Bertrand Badie. 'It's increasingly difficult today to hide the violence. During the colonial era, France and other countries had no qualms about hiding what was going on. There were atrocities that were only discovered much later thanks to historians. This invisible violence has become very rare.'

One of the contemporary paradoxes is this capacity for destruction which has never been so great. This is the gamble of the atomic weapon, which becomes a deterrent when tensions escalate. 'Since 1949, the day the USSR obtained the atomic weapon after four years of US monopoly, no one has used this weapon for 75 years.' Tanguy Gaudeul noted the development of new technologies by rich countries, which, in turn, makes high-tech violence more accessible. 'Drones are the perfect example. Although they're very sophisticated in the US military, they're now produced at very reasonable prices by other countries such as Iran and are used by non-state actors.' This is also a contemporary paradox: economic powers spend lavishly to equip themselves with new technologies against their enemies, who end up appropriating these new tools and turning them against them.

Our world is changing profoundly, we have almost abolished space and time

Bertrand Badie

Online, there's no lack of violence. We feel it on social networks, which encourage a polarisation of debates in order to generate traffic. Some countries, such as Russia, have understood this well and exploited it through the use of troll farms, where staff are paid to spread pro-Russian propaganda and false information in order to destabilise Western democracies. Fighting this violence is not impossible, and legal tools exist. But political courage is still needed



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to use them. 'It's very difficult to hold Facebook or Twitter responsible, even though we could do so,' noted Tanguy Gaudeul.

When it comes to climate change, which is also a vector of inequalities and violence, China seems, against all expectations, to be becoming aware of the issues. In this regard, Bertrand Badie quoted Jacques Chirac, the former President of the French Republic who appeared in the web series where he delivered this now iconic phrase: 'Our house is burning and we are looking the other way,' he said, adding that if anyone had looked the other way, 'it was him, throughout his presidency,' he said ironically. Bertrand Badie remembers the pollution clouds from these first trips to China. He has seen a change in the discourse over the past few years. But the words need to be followed by actions. And that's where the problem lies: 'In China, as elsewhere, when you ask people to pay for an immediate benefit, everyone understands this very well. But if we ask people to pay now for a result in 60 years, as is the case with the environmental cause, people are less inclined to agree. The ambiguity of politics is that it plays this rhetorical card to exonerate itself.' Furthermore, the professor highlighted Western hypocrisy, which consists of pointing the finger at China for the pollution generated by its industry, while it produces goods 'that we don't produce because of our standards, but that we consume anyway.'

These paradoxes, misinterpretations and hypocrisies foster conflicts in the world and the violence that results from them. But looking for a cause for a conflict to stem this new violence may be a mistake, concluded Bertrand Badie. 'Causes don't exist, in physics yes, but in social science, the word cause means nothing. It's the human brain that interprets, reformulates and decides whether or not to take data into account.'

ACKNOWLEDGING ONE'S RESPONSIBILITIES TO BUILD PEACE

Friday 27 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m., Or room



Richard Werly, Wadiaa Khoury, Assaad Chaftari and Peter Shambrook

Few veterans of a civil war are so open about their mistakes and about the fact that their judgements of the other, the foreigner, were based on prejudice. Assaad Chaftari is one of them. 'I have blood on my hands,' he said, standing at the front of the room. 'You don't see it, but I see it.' He wasn't even 20 years old when civil war broke out in his country, Lebanon. Around him, in the Christian community, the 'other', the enemy, was the Muslim. 'I was never told about their qualities, only their faults. I only heard one thing: Muslims were bad and evil.' So the young Assaad committed himself to his country, a Christian Lebanon, and became responsible for intelligence for the Lebanese Christian militia of the Lebanese forces during the civil war, which resulted in between 150,000 and 250,000 victims from 1975 to 1990. 'I was carrying out a task that I considered

sacred. I believed I was the last protector of Christianity in the East.'

While he stopped himself from directly killing civilians, he made important decisions, even if it meant ordering the deaths of opposing fighters. But at the end of the war, when a peace agreement was rejected by some of the Christians, Assaad was driven out of his community and forced to live in a Muslim zone. 'I thought I wouldn't survive it,' he recalled. However, he had decisive encounters within the Initiatives and Change movement, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) whose objective is to unite and train all those who wish to work to promote peace. His life then took an unexpected turn. Ten years after the end of the war, he published a letter of apology for his actions during the war in a national newspaper. 'In the mirror I saw a monster. It's hard to wake up. That's where I met 'the other' and understood that he was like me.'

Do these deeply rooted prejudices still exist among populations? Assaad Chaftari believes that, contrary to what one might believe, the means of communication facilitated by the Internet have not brought people together as much, as everyone sits in an information bubble, which only confirms their beliefs. Wadiaa Khoury, founder of the Lebanese NGO Teachers

MODERATION

Richard Werly, Journalist and correspondent for France and Europe for the daily newspaper, Blick

SPEAKERS

Assaad Chaftari, Co-founder of Fighters for Peace in Lebanon

Wadiaa Khoury, Founder of the Lebanese NGO Teachers as Agents of Social Change

Peter Shambrook, Historian, Middle East specialist, consultant to the Balfour Project

as Agents of Social Change, was just a child when Assaad Chaftari was a soldier, engulfed in a haze of bombing raids and shunted from shelter to shelter. 'But who was right? And where does this conflict come from?' she asks herself today. A visit by Pope John Paul II, requesting a consultation with the Lebanese people in Beirut in May 1997, completely changed her view of events. 'He made us understand that Lebanon wasn't a country like the others but a country with a message, of conviviality. 'It was a shock,' she recalled. It was the beginning of a long internal struggle.

I was carrying out a task that I considered sacred. I believed I was the last protector of Christianity in the East

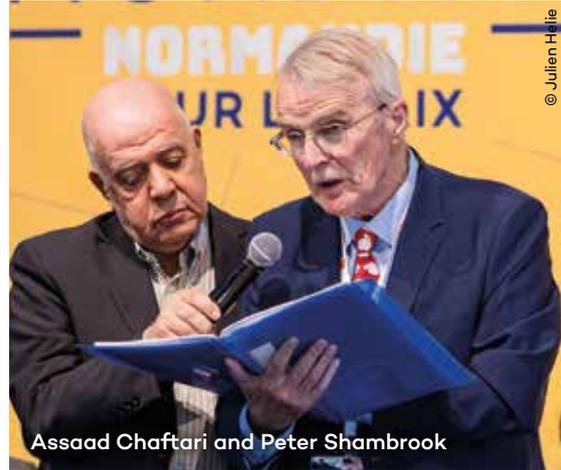
Assaad Chaftari

How can we work together with a community that has long been considered our enemy, the Muslims, and whose religious foundations are so prejudiced against our own religion? 'I was locking myself into this reasoning, but I had to open up.' A meeting with a Shiite Imam changed everything. The Imam explained to her that when he spends more than two weeks in his village, he begins to develop fear-based scenarios, telling himself that the Christians and the Sunnis want to eradicate his community. 'I told him, «Me too». We realised that we had to intermingle to shut down these judgements, because we're a wounded people.'

By experiencing what the other feels, then we can also better understand their fears and suffering.



Watch the full debate on YouTube



Assaad Chaftari and Peter Shambrook

With Initiative and Change, Wadiaa Khoury, who was then only 20 years old, joined a leadership programme and spent a year in India and East Asia in the aftermath of the attacks of 11th September 2001. 'These tragic attacks changed the way Westerners looked at Arab peoples, and I was the victim of confusion because I was taken for a Muslim. I was treated as a terrorist, even though I am a Christian. 'I experienced what the Muslims of Lebanon were going through,' she says.

This process of recognising everyone's responsibilities cannot be done without the work of historians, such as Peter Shambrook, a Middle East specialist and consultant to the Balfour Project. In his latest book, *Politics of Deceit* (2023), this British-born historian investigated the origins of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and exposed Britain's responsibility in Palestine. For seven years, he dissected everything, to arrive at two conclusions. 'The war for control of Palestine began in our Foreign Office during World War I. The British government promised this region, which was under its protectorate, to the Arabs in 1915.

But two years later it promised it to the Jews too. The same land was promised to two peoples. No British government has ever acknowledged this; in fact, they have proclaimed the opposite. 'My book suggests that it is time for us as a nation to acknowledge our past mistakes,' he concluded.

GENOCIDE: A MOCK TRIAL IN THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

Friday 27 september, 10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m., Nacre room



Maxime Sauvé, Jean Michel Guieu, Fiona Schnell, Florence Hartmann, and Asmaa Atif

When we think of genocide, the first images that come to mind are those of terror. Although history has recorded them for centuries, the term only appeared legally at the end of the Second World War. But do we really know the meaning given to it by the International Criminal Court, the only jurisdiction ca-

pable of pronouncing the resulting sentences, according to the Rome Statute which came into force in 2002?

To understand how it works, the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace organised a mock trial where the public, made up of students and high school students, played the role of jury members until they gave a final verdict. The context was as follows: during a conflict between the Ordo Republic and the Nyaya Republic, General Draganov was accused of having organised the systemic extermination of an ethnic minority, the Korvans, resulting in more than 150,000 civilian victims. The script examined international criminal justice and the recollection of mass crimes, drawing on articles from the relevant international convention. A chief judge, President of the International Criminal Court (ICC), was the guarantor of the impartiality of the trial. He was accompanied by prosecutors and the defence

MODERATION

International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

SPEAKERS

Asmaa Atif, Educational Mission Officer, Freedom Prize

Florence Hartmann, Journalist and essayist

Maxime Sauvé, Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

Fiona Schnell, General Director of the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace

Jean-Michel Guieu, Lecturer in contemporary history of international relations at the University of Paris-Panthéon-Sorbonne

lawyer of General Viktor Draganov, former military leader of the Nyara Republic. On the opposite side, Dr Amira Kael, a survivor, acted as a direct witness.

He could have tried to consider another solution other than the response; the defence was not at all proportional

A jury in the room

In front of the court, General Draganov stood up to plead not guilty. 'The Korvans supported armed rebels. My actions were legitimate and necessary to protect our nation. There was never any intention of extermination,' he said in his defence. But Dr Amira Kael had another version of events. She described, with a slight tremor in her voice, how the soldiers of his army entered the villages to round up the men, women and children, in order to murder them. 'They were not fighters, just civilians. They had no connection with the rebel groups, they were defenceless, unarmed, it was a massacre.'

At this point, a question is asked: can the intention to kill civilians be considered genocide? The answer is no. In fact,

the intention must be part of a much broader desire to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. General Draganov explained the circumstances of his attacks: 'The Korvans harboured rebels, every operation was designed to neutralise

their threats, but we never deliberately targeted civilians, ever.' Yet, there is evidence that the soldiers had lists of Korvan civilians to eliminate. But for the General, these lists only served to identify hidden rebels. 'There were mistakes, it's unfortunate, but these civilian losses were never our objective.'

The journalist and essayist, Florence Hartmann, who was playing the role of the Prosecutor, intervened: 'According to Article 3 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, you are accused of having organised a systematic campaign of assassination, targeting civilian populations. What is your response to this?' 'These accusations are false,' replied General Draganov, 'I never gave the order for extermination; my goal was to protect the Republic of Nyara.'

After a trial held in three acts, the verdict of the jury was final: General Draganov was found guilty of the crime of genocide, as defined by Article 6 of the Rome Statute, by 83% of the votes. In the room, one of the jurors justified his choice: 'In Act 2, when General Draganov spoke, he described the rebels attacking military forces, saying that these people represented a threat. We might wonder about the notion of a threat, given that some of these people were children, who were killed in the attack. Even the notion of self-defence is not admissible, because we can clearly see that he could have tried to consider another solution other than the response; the defence was not at all proportional.'

In conclusion, Fiona Schnell, Executive Director of the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, praised the quality of the interpretation and the listening of the jurors, who focused on the details of each word to reach their verdict. 'Thank you for your very pertinent analysis,' she concluded.



Watch the full debate on YouTube

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!

Exhibitors

Committed to Peace

Within the Committed to Peace space, the numerous visitors, including a large number of secondary school students, interacted with different associations and NGOs who act for peace and human rights, and fight to defend vulnerable populations around the world. ACTED, the French Red Cross of Normandy, Amnesty International, Plan International, Ensemble contre la Peine de mort and Initiatives et Changement presented their activities and demonstrated their commitment to Peace.



© Julien Heile



© Julien Heile

The web-series of la Boîte à Bac

In a five-episode web series on the theme of 'Societies facing new forms of violence', Boîte à Bac offered an exploration of the different types of violence that the world faces. These five episodes addressed the themes of environmental violence, gender violence and identity violence, with a case study of Haiti which is at the intersection of all these forms of violence.



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4 exhibitions

were offered in the Village



'Tapachula, city of transit'

by photographer Mahé Elipe

in partnership with the Les Femmes S'exposent festival

Tapachula, a city in Chiapas, (Mexico's poorest state) on the border with Guatemala, has become an obligatory stop for the thousands of migrants coming up from South and Central America in the hope of reaching the United States. Due to the restrictive policies of the US government, which have turned the Mexican region into a huge buffer zone, migrants must apply for refugee status or a humanitarian visa to continue their journey without being arrested by the military. The number of asylum applications received by Mexican migration authorities is soaring. The city of 300,000 inhabitants has almost turned into a giant, open-air shelter. This series introduces us to this crossroads of the global migration crisis, nicknamed "the little Babylon of Chiapas".

'I remember, emotion in seven letters'

Letters taken from the book, D-Day Lyrics, by Jean-Pierre Guéno, summer 1944.

'Through the reading of seven letters by young Normandy secondary school students, this immersive experience lets you listen to the accounts of civilians and soldiers in the summer of 1944.'

'These conflicts that persist'

in partnership with the Prix Bayeux Calvados - Normandy War Correspondents Prize.

This exhibition highlights the work of war reporters who have won awards in recent years in relation to the Bayeux Prize. Twelve photos from the epicentres of twelve conflict zones around the world, which have been dominating the international news for decades.

'D-Day: the emotion of the last great tribute'

in partnership with Paris Match

With 20 prints, Paris Match looks back at the commemorations of the 80th anniversary, which were held in Normandy last June.

A final great tribute to these heroes who came to liberate Normandy, France and Europe 80 years ago.



© Julien Helie

Bookshop and signings

Organised by «Au brouillon de culture» (the Culture Notebook) a pop-up bookshop offered works by several authors, along with novels, including comic books. The signing sessions, which were organised with several speakers in attendance, were followed by a number of debates and talks which were a huge success. Participants were able to chat with personalities such as Valérie Masson-Delmotte, Emilie Aubry, Lilian Thuram and Pascal Boniface and get their autographs.



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Émilie Aubry



© Pierre Galliot

Studio Agora

Through a rich programme dedicated to youth and the general public, Studio Agora, in partnership with the editorial staff of the SIPA Ouest-France group, provided the opportunity for extending discussions with Forum speakers. These discussions, focused on current international events, provided an opportunity to examine major issues such as media education, the geopolitical and social consequences of global warming, and the relationship between artificial intelligence and the media. The audience was also treated to a number of powerful testimonies, including that of Ndume Olatushani, who recounted the twenty years he spent on death row in the USA, and the way in which he now advocates the abolition of the death penalty and raises awareness of this cause among young people by giving talks in schools and universities with the organisation, Ensemble Contre la Peine de Mort (Together Against the Death Penalty).



© Faissal Zaoui

Ndume Olatushani



© Pierre Galliot

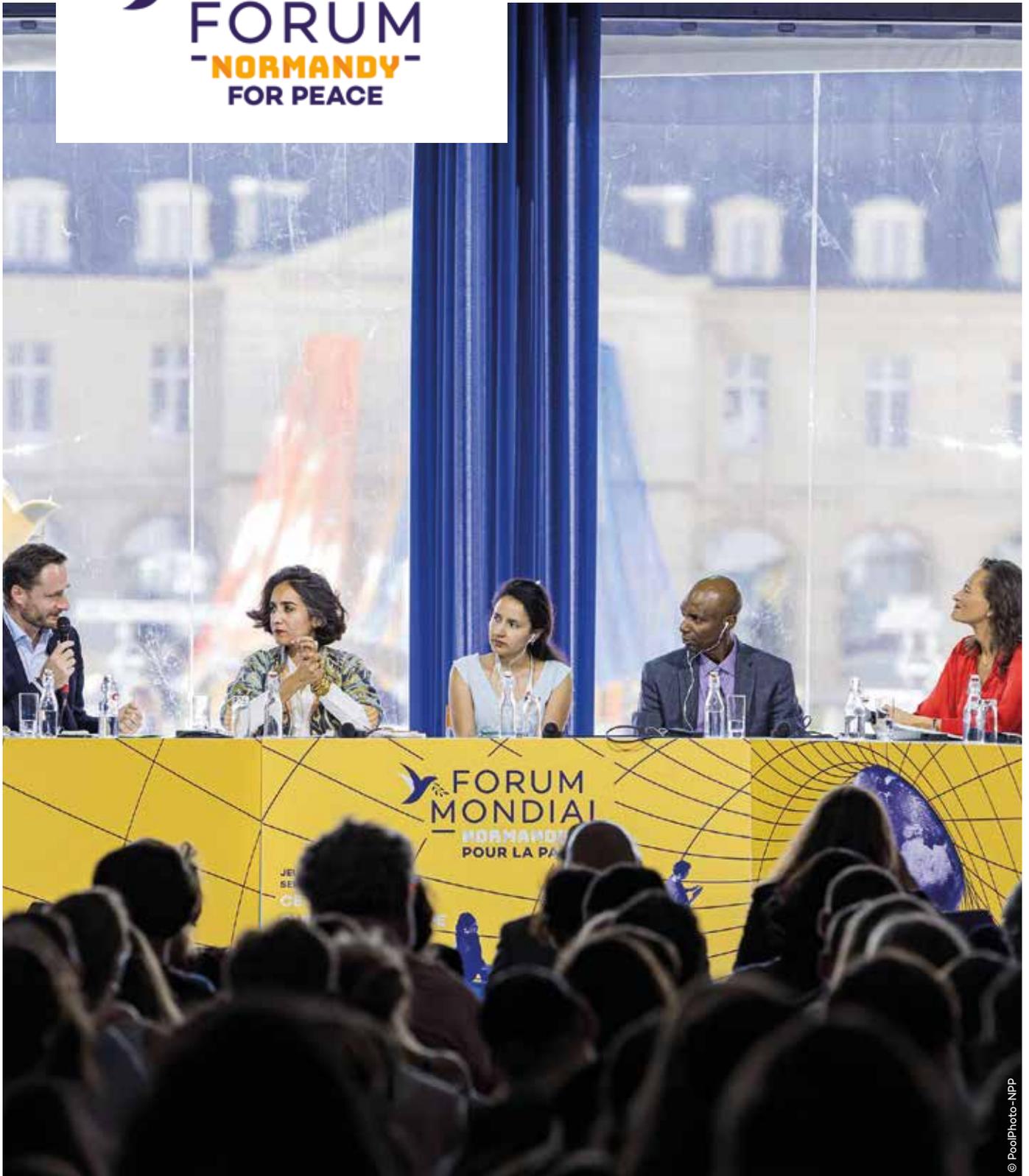
Acknowledgements

This seventh forum, organised yet again in the context of a complex international environment, was another great success, thanks to all those who worked so hard 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**, present at the Abbaye aux Dames in large numbers or who followed the Forum remotely
- ▶ **The speakers and partners** of the Normandy for Peace network, who offered many avenues for action and reflection to reconcile peoples with peace
- ▶ **The patrons, sponsors and media partners**, who support and help to raise the profile of this regional initiative
- ▶ **The services of the State and the City of Caen**, which made it possible to hold this event
- ▶ **The elected representatives of the Normandy Region and the teams mobilised every year around the Forum:** staff from the regional authority, service providers and volunteers, all of whom fully contributed 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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RÉGION
NORMANDIE

The Normandy Region invites you
in 2026 for its next edition!
