

4th
EDITION



THE ESSENTIALS

30 SEPT & 1ST OCT 2021



WORLD PEACE
AND GLOBAL
SECURITY:

HOW TO GOVERN PEACE?





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A note to readers

This document is a compilation of summaries of the speeches given at the fourth edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum. The remarks made during this event do not represent the Normandy Region and do not reflect its position in any way. The summaries are not scientific articles. They include different points of view and key information from each event.

“World peace and global security: how to govern peace?”.

This subject, which is at the heart of current events, was the focus of the discussions at the Normandy World Peace Forum on 30 September and 1 October 2021 at Abbaye-aux-Dames in Caen, with a particular emphasis on the situation in Afghanistan. Once again, the fourth edition of this annual event encouraged reflection and discussions; attended by the public, it focused on the future and provided geopolitical experts and representatives of governments, the academic world and civil society with an opportunity to speak.

For the second year running, the Forum was held during a global pandemic and many people could not attend in person. We hope that this document will make this edition’s discussions accessible to all.

Summaries of the conferences, the debates, the interviews and the key events at the Forum have been compiled to help you to feel as if you attended this event, organised by the Normandy Region.

The 2021 Normandy World Peace Forum in a few figures:



Around 7000 visitors and audience members, including 4,000 young people, who enjoyed conferences and debates (6 of which were exclusively for young people), exhibitions, workshops and the other key events of this edition



130 panellists from 29 countries who attended in person or via video and 60 partners who contributed to debates, were present in the Village for Peace or supported the Forum as entrepreneurs, sharing a single objective: raising awareness of how to prevent conflict and build peace



4,250 views of the videos broadcast live on the Normandy for Peace and Normandy Region Facebook pages

We hope you enjoy reading this document and look forward to seeing you next year!

The Normandy Region

Watch the recordings of the Forum’s sessions and find out the latest news from Normandy for Peace throughout the year on normandyforpeace.com

NORMANDY FOR PEACE

at a glance



The Normandy for Peace initiative is the result of the Region's desire to continue the work which began in 1945 to promote remembrance in Normandy and to become a laboratory for lasting peace.

During the World Forum and throughout the year, initiatives, certified projects and events promote the values of peace and freedom which are so important to Normandy.

A SERIES OF INITIATIVES THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

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

> 4 MAJOR THEMES <



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
CAMPUS



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
RESOURCES



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
DIALOGUE



NORMANDY FOR PEACE
CULTURE AND SCIENCES

> TOPICS PROMOTED BY <



THE FORUM



THE EVENTS



THE NETWORK

A look back

at the development of this fast-growing initiative

During the Forum or throughout the year, the initiatives, projects or various events highlight the values of peace and freedom which are precious to Normandy.

Normandy for Peace days

On 23 & 24 March 2017

present the Normandy for Peace initiative for the first time and host several debates on "A world without peace?"

Launch of the Normandy for Peace call for initiatives

The Normandy Region supports projects which are local or related to Normandy and promote the universal values of peace and freedom. Supported initiatives and projects receive the Normandy for Peace label.

Launch of the Normandy for Peace Chair

In partnership with the French National Centre for Scientific Research and the University of Caen Normandy, the Normandy for Peace Chair focuses on subjects of key importance to contemporary issues: peace, the environment and the rights of future generations.

First publication of the European Parliament's Normandy Index

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

2nd edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, 4 and 5 June 2019

3 Plenary conferences and 30 debates were attended by 6,000 visitors, including 2,500 young people, on the theme of "The peacemakers"

75th anniversary of the D-Day Landings

The Normandy Region extended the scope of the projects supported with a call for applications for remembrance and historical projects related to the Second World War.

End of the European programme Walk The Global Walk, launch of the regional initiative EcHo

This educational programme enables a thousand secondary school pupils from Normandy to show their commitment to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals throughout the school year.

4th edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, 30 September and 1 October 2021

On the theme of "World peace and global security: how to govern peace?" the 4th edition of the Forum on 30 September and 1 October brought together almost 7,000 participants, including 4,000 young people, for 22 debates, 2 conferences and a cultural evening event.

2017

Launch of the Freedom Prize

In partnership with academic authorities and the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, young people aged 15 to 25 from all over the world can choose an exemplary public figure or an organisation, committed to the fight for freedom. The winners of this Prize to date: Greta Thunberg, Loujain al-Hathloul and Sonita Alizadeh.

2018

1st Normandy World Peace Forum, 7 and 8 June 2018

Four major conferences and more than twenty debates were held over two days as part of the first edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, focused on the theme of "Globalising peace: new wars, new peace".

2019

Development of year-round events

Thanks to a growing network of partners, debates, conferences, screenings and other events which focus on peace are organised throughout the year in Normandy and abroad.

2020

Launch of the Parliamentarians for Peace initiative

Since 2020, parliamentarians from five continents have worked to promote initiatives on the Forum's themes. New members join every year, bringing the number of parliamentarians to 40 this year.

2021

3rd edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, 1 and 2 October 2020

Despite the global pandemic, the Forum was able to welcome 6,000 participants, including 3,400 young people, who attended 15 debates and 3 Plenary conferences on the theme: "Preventing war: responding to new threats".

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 **FORUM
MONDIAL**
— **NORMANDIE** —
POUR LA PAIX

30 SEPT & 1^{er} OCT 2023
Caen - Normandie



THE PLENARY CONFERENCES

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2. HOW CAN PEACE BE RESTORED?

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WHY DOES PEACE ELUDE US?

Conference 1 | Thursday 30 September 2021 | 9.30am – 12.30pm | Salle plénière



Almost 1,000 people – including a large number of young people – attended the inaugural conference of the 4th edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum. An overview of a morning of personal accounts, analysis and comments, with three round tables focusing on: *peace is in danger, the resistance of the Old World and a new governance for peace*. Despite the scale of the challenge and whatever their concerns, the debate’s speakers sought to reflect on why peace eludes us.

This first conference featured two highlights: the reading of the Normandy for Peace Manifesto and a message from António Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations. In addition, a few extracts were shown of a heartfelt appeal by Mia Amor Mottley, Prime Minister of Barbados, who expressed her outrage at the indifference and unwillingness to tackle the world’s real problems during a speech at the UN in September 2021. These words were echoed by the introductory remarks of Bertrand Badie, an expert in international relations and a university professor, who explained that *it is time to talk differently about peace*.

“Previously, war was a common feature of international life. Indeed, we have been able to define war and not peace. But the world we live in today is no longer one of opposing blocs and opposing armies, but one of social suffering. If we want to fight for peace, we must consider this wide-spread scourge.”

Bertrand Badie



Bertrand Badie

Bertrand Badie also explained the functional nature of previous wars which, by creating an enemy, gave everyone a purpose. *“Today, wars are no longer won and, when they are, it is the weakest who win. Today, power is being defeated everywhere: in the wars of decolonisation, in Ho Chi Minh City, in Kabul, in Baghdad, in Yemen, in Somalia, in the Sahel. Yet what threatens us is not so much the powerful neighbour as food insecurity, with 10 million deaths per year, or environmental insecurity, with 8 million deaths per year, according to the WHO.”* The speaker argued that security is no longer national, as in Thomas Hobbes’ time, but global. It cannot be divided, attributed or allocated. Yet our leaders cling to yesterday’s strategies, continuing to ignore the fact that, at the very centre of today’s challenges and dangers, suffering societies have supplanted strategic states. Not only does this explain the human dramas we are experiencing, it also explains the new forms of conflict we are witnessing. The afflictions of military intervention, power politics and an obsession with maintaining rank are anachronistic for Bertrand

INTRODUCTION:

- **Bertrand Badie**, Emeritus Professor at Sciences Po

VIDEO INTRODUCTION:

- **António Guterres**, Secretary-General of the United Nations

MODERATION AND ANIMATION:

- **G rard Leclerc**, Journalist, We Demand
- **Fr d rique Bedos**, President and founder of the NGO Projet Imagine
- **Fran ois-Xavier Priollaud**, Vice President at the Normandy Region

SPEAKERS:

- **Tedros Adhano Ghebreyesus**, Director-General of the World Health Organisation (via video)
- **Anilore Banon**, Sculptor specialized in monumental works
- **Sylvie Bermann**, President of the boards of directors of the Institution of Higher National Defense Studies
- **Sylvie Brunel**, Professor at the Sorbonne University
- **Charles Burke**, President and CEO of the Chicago’s War Memorial (via video)
- **Pedro Concei o**, Director of the UNDP at the Human Development Report Office (via video)
- **Jean-Louis Gergorin**, former Head of the Analysis and Forecasting Centre of the Quai d’Orsay
- **Pascal Lamy**, President of the Paris Forum on Peace
- **Jean-Daniel L vy**, Managing Director, Harris Interactive France
- **Jean-Herv  Lorenzi**, Founder of the Circle of Economists
- **Kishore Mahbubani**, Researcher at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (via video)
- **Firmin Edouard Matoko**, Assistant Director-General for Priority Africa and External Relations of UNESCO

Badie, who argued that we live in a non-hierarchical world in which peace can only be built on equality. He suggested that countries should embrace human security, an idea from the 1994 United Nations Development Report, arguing that it must be protected and should be a guiding light. *“I call this the social approach to war: fighting a war by focusing on the social*

A MANIFESTO for future generations

The fourth edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum was solemnly opened by the reading of the 2021 Normandy for Peace Manifesto. To showcase young people's involvement, the President of the Normandy Region, Hervé Morin, was keen to focus on future generations, represented by Adèle, who was involved in the Freedom Prize, and Léo, who worked on the EcHo programme as part of his civic service at the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace.

“Are we going to put an end to the human race or will humanity give up on war? In the midst of the Cold War, the 1955 Russell-Einstein manifesto asked an existential question; its urgency resonates even more powerfully today. Nuclear weapons are thousands of times more deadly than they used to be, more than 2,500 warheads are on immediate alert, deadly pathogens potentially threaten human life. As major powers prepare to deploy killer robots, we stand on the edge of the abyss. Morally, the possibility of machines determining our destinies is appalling, global military spending has doubled since the end of the Cold War and the increase is set to continue with programmes to modernise existing weapons and develop new systems of destruction and extermination. In view of

the climate crisis and growing inequality, the risk of a war, whether by accident, because of an incident or by design, remains entirely possible.” Thus began the 2021 Normandy for Peace Manifesto; nevertheless, it listed some progress, such as the international treaty to ban and then eliminate nuclear weapons, although this is still pending unanimous approval. However, this does not negate the risk of human extinction caused by various different factors, including abandoning existing treaties, insufficient efforts to combat global warming and glaring socio-economic inequalities. Yet the human spirit is resilient, bouncing back from every crisis to create a better world.

“Normandy for Peace therefore calls on all the planet's inhabitants to remember that we have more in common than that which divides us. Making war an unlikely prospect, establishing lasting peace, rehabilitating ethical values and putting our common humanity to work are all objectives which call for a new global contract based on a new approach to international security.”

We believe that gradually phasing out weapons of mass destruction will not threaten security and, indeed, will do the contrary. Based on the fundamental values of tolerance, trust and co-operation, we are calling for an inclusive, universal, collective and regulated security system, a global budget for sustainable development and a commitment to human dignity and human rights for all. This is a call to embody the Ubuntu concept which means 'my humanity is inextricably linked to yours'. Establishing peace only after a long and devastating war. The Treaties of Westphalia, the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, the League of Nations and the United Nations were all formed when humanity bore the shame of millions of deaths before their time. The next World War will not provide an opportunity to negotiate a new peace agreement because there will be no more negotiators, no more people. Let us work to develop lasting peace. If we do not do this, we will be sleepwalking towards a collective suicide.

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Adèle and Léo

Show your support for peace!

On 4 June 2019, the 2019 Normandy World Peace Forum launched a public call for awareness of the need for lasting peace. *"Normandy for Peace calls on all the planet's inhabitants to remember that we have more in common than that which divides us. Making war an unlikely prospect, establishing lasting peace, rehabilitating ethical values and putting our common humanity to work are all objectives which call for a new global contract based on a new approach to international security."* Written and



presented to the Forum by the Nobel Prize winners Mohamed El Baradei, Leymah Gbowee, Denis Mukwege, Jody Williams and public figures from civil society who are committed to peace, including the philosopher Anthony Grayling and Sundeep Waslekar, president of the Strategic Foresight Group (SFG), this Manifesto is available for everyone to sign. To do so, simply scan this QR code and follow the instructions. Thank you for your commitment!

Peace at risk

aspects of the ills which cause human insecurity.”

Led by the political journalist Gérard Leclerc, the first round table of the morning focused on the dangers facing peace, opening with a speech by the Director-General of the WHO, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. He discussed the idea that peace is not possible in view of dangers to human health, emphasising that Covid-19 has caused more than 4.7 million deaths worldwide. *“70% of the health situations to which the WHO responds are in areas which are vulnerable to disasters and catastrophes. Health can be a bridge for peace. That is why we work in many*

“Across the world, the WHO works to support countries to create more resilient health systems which are based on a primary health system with universal coverage. The pandemic has highlighted the need for international co-operation and strong multilateralism.”

Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus



Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus

countries to build trust and equity by engaging communities.”

Pedro Conceição, Director of the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), advocated the idea of a positive and inclusive peace to avoid conflict, a concept which he discussed live from New York. *“My first thought is that we need to broaden the scope of threats to peace. Climate change now features on this list. The interaction between climate change and peace is quite complex because it combines meteorological phenomena and social and cultural processes, exacerbating inequalities and tensions. In the Sahel, for example, flooding and droughts further reduce people’s livelihoods and exacerbate the violence of conflicts. Anthropisation, or the transformation of a natural environment solely through human action on the environment, is leading to unprecedented risks. For the first time in the history of the human race, threats to our existence and our survival as a species are more a result of our own choices than the vagaries of the planet.”* His second point focused on the opportunities to create and strengthen peace, something which requires an integrated approach to prevent and resolve conflicts.

“The idea of positive peace cannot simply be described as a society without violence; instead, it must be combined with attitudes and structures which encourage us to develop truly sustainable societies.”

Pedro Conceição



Bertrand Badie, Gérard Leclerc,
Pascal Lamy and Firmin Edouard
Matoko

A major obstacle: inequalities

Pascal Lamy, former Director of the WTO and President of the Paris Forum on Peace, developed his views on the current state of the world as a victim of a global pandemic. *“I am an optimist by nature, like many young people I see in this room, but I believe that we must be realistic about our present. What did the Prime Minister of Barbados say? That the main threat to peace is vaccine apartheid and the divide between the countries which are 70% vaccinated and those which are less than 7% vaccinated. Vaccines are produced, stored and used by the North while the South waits.”* Although he acknowledged that the European Union had, as usual, done a little more than others and a little earlier, he did not emphasise the intolerable nature of this situation from a moral view, preferring to focus on its economic aspect. *“The financial resources mobilised to avoid an economic slow-down during the Covid-19 pandemic vary from 1 to 200 between North and South.”*

“It is likely that next year, for the first time in fifty years, the growth of rich countries will be stronger than the growth of poor countries.”

Pascal Lamy

The former Director of the WTO therefore warned of international co-operation being undermined by this lack of solidarity. Because when African countries are asked to make an effort to combat climate change and its effects in the future, they have the right to retort that we have failed to show solidarity when it comes to a current issue, calling for *“vaccines for the entire planet”*.

Working on awareness

Firmin Edouard Matoko, Assistant Director-General of the Africa Department of UNESCO, focused on a major scourge: the persistence of inequality around the world.

“Today, our world is home to 900 million illiterate people, including many young people, girls and women. Millions of children suffer from malnutrition, not to mention the migrants we see here too in France. These facts contribute directly to the absence of peace. Where must we look to find solutions?”

Firmin Edouard Matoko

In his view, the answer is the UNESCO charter which begins with a famous phrase which he would like young people to appropriate: *“since wars begin in the minds of men and women, it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace must be constructed.”* How? By working with young people. He cited many salutory



examples led by UNESCO: rebuilding the spirit of dialogue and interculturality, which has always existed in this region, in Mosul; major projects to reconcile Latin America’s different cultures; dealing with inter-ethnic and gender conflicts in Africa. Although he said that we must look at peace in terms of our past and our present, he argued that we should focus primarily on those who will build peace tomorrow: us men, women and young people.

The resistance of the old world

Sylvie Bermann, French ambassador and President of the Board of Directors of the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale, refocused the debate during the second round table on geopolitical and economic issues. To begin with, she was asked to discuss the resistance of the “Old World”. *“I always wonder about the meaning of this expression. When I was at secondary school, I was told that it was behind us and that the world was going to change.”* She explained that although there have been changes, we must be realistic about the changes which are still to come. Having worked in Moscow during

the Cold War, she discussed globalisation and the search for growth, causing tensions between the USA and China. *“We are currently witnessing a different and multidimensional Cold War. Although it involves trade, it also involves diplomacy, technology, ideology.”* Continuing on this subject, Sylvie Bermann explained that *“China is not as isolated as we think, particularly since its powerful rapprochement with Russia.”* Having left her role to retire, she took advantage of the freedom of speech she now enjoys, saying that the UN Security Council *“doesn’t work anymore”*, before explaining why she thinks

that. *“First of all, it is out of the question for the United States to talk about the Middle East because of its systematic support for Israel. The same can be said for China and Russia with regard to Syria and Libya. The UN’s executive body no longer reflects the reality of today’s world because its composition was decided in 1945.”* The former diplomat explained that there is a desire for change within the international organisation. But there are plenty of obstacles. For example, the two places for African countries have not been filled because of a lack of agreement about appointing these nations.

“National egoism has not disappeared and will not disappear. This is a major obstacle to meeting the global challenges we face.”

Sylvie Bermann



Sylvie Bermann

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Opinion polls which raise questions

Jean-Daniel Levy, Managing Director of Harris Interactive France, shed light on the concerns of the French about peace and war. *“The possible risk of war is not a major fear among French people today,”* he began.



Jean-Daniel Levy (intervention vidéo)

He also noted that there are very few surveys or polls of French people’s views on peace, national stability and military interventions. Defence is often one of the first sectors to be affected by decisions to reduce public spending. The reasons behind people’s votes in the last European elections were not related to peace either and when they were, this was mainly seen among people aged 65 and over and people who had personal experience of a conflict situation. However, Jean-Daniel Levy pointed out that the word “war” has taken on new dimensions due to recent events. The French President’s use of the expression *“we are at war”* to describe the fight against Covid-19 in March 2020 made its mark: it was thought that using such a term proved that the situation was extremely serious and that there was a battle to be waged, including the mobilisation of the military. Although the situation was on a smaller scale, the French army’s letter which was leaked by the press in May 2021, mentioning a risk of civil war, caused the public to wonder

about such a possibility. Finally, the war against Islamism is an absolutely central issue for the French because it is likely to affect the equilibrium of the country and the Western world. This fight is therefore supported, even if this means reducing individual freedoms. However, in contrast to earlier decades, conflicts in parts of the world no longer galvanise public opinion with peace marches as they did in the past, although there is still compassion for the victims. The various external operations of the French forces are little known but generally appreciated, because of a certain universalism, but also because of

a belief that by acting in this way, we are protecting ourselves from a conflict on our own soil. Lastly, he admitted to being surprised by the French reaction to the Arab Spring. *“In a country which is known for human rights and which is so proud of its democracy that it wants to export its system beyond its own borders, we observed that our compatriots were not as enthusiastic as the media. Why? Because they said that they feared a form of destabilisation following the fall of dictatorships and major migration, particularly among people who wanted to undermine the equilibrium of our nation.”*

A new governance of peace

The third and final round table of this first conference at the Normandy World Peace Forum explored a virtual world with which many people are unfamiliar but which has effects which are unfortunately all too real. Jean-Louis Gergorin, former head of the Centre for Analysis and Prevention of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is a specialist in digital defence issues. During the conference, he was called upon to explain the new scope of crime and war in cyber space.

“We are in a world where digital warfare is raging with ransomware, cyber espionage and logic bombs.”

Jean-Louis Gergorin

“There are two main forms of digital attack. The first involves hacking for predatory purposes, ranging from credit card fraud to ransomware attacks. This



Jean-Louis Gergorin

involves blocking a system or threatening to release hacked data for a ransom. The second focuses on cyber espionage, the fastest and most massive form of espionage in human history, to find out secret information and for the purpose of sabotage. The Americans opened Pandora’s box by using this process with the attack on an Iranian enrichment plant in 2010.” Another digital attack technique

has since emerged: logic bombs. Hostile powers place “dormant software bombs” in civilian technical infrastructure which are apparently impossible to remove and which can be activated to cause a large-scale black out, for example. *“The USA has established a kind of balance of terror with its two great adversaries, Russia and China, with each one having planted logic bombs in the other’s infrastructure. Other countries, which are not involved in this precarious balance of power, are vulnerable,”* Jean-Louis Gergorin warned. He also discussed digital influence warfare which results in the dissemination of false information while genuine information is suppressed. He cited an operation by the KGB to discredit America by making people believe that Covid-19 originated in an American laboratory and that the Pfizer vaccine is means of global surveillance. He also cited a publicly available enquiry by the British House of Commons’ Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee. It showed that digital manipulation affected the outcome of the Brexit referendum. To tackle this new type of conflict, Jean-Louis Gergorin welcomed an initiative by Emmanuel Macron who launched a call for peace, trust and security in the Internet and

cyber space on the 100th anniversary of the Armistice. The manifesto was signed by a very large number of public and private organisations, with the exception of states including the United States, India, Russia, China, Turkey and others. He also acknowledged that relations between states on this subject are not improving, although a major event took place on 21 June 2021 during the summit between Vladimir Putin and Joe Biden. *“More than half of the summit was devoted to cyber espionage with the aim of reaching an agreement recognised by both parties. In practice, two ransomware attacks were neutralised immediately afterwards but a cyber gang continued to be active after the Ukrainian President’s visit to Washington.”* For the former head of the Centre of Analysis and Prevention of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the solution may lie in the transformation of the UN Security Council: establishing specific sessions and a permanent group to deal with cyber conflicts, especially among the most active members, which are the Council’s five permanent members. Indeed, he argued that there is a way to stabilise these digital issues at international level.

Global economic governance undermined

“Are we capable of rebuilding a global economic governance?”: this was the question asked by Jean-Hervé Lorenzi, founder of the Cercle des Economistes, as he began his speech. In his view, the American sub-prime crisis in 2008 was simultaneously the pinnacle of global economic governance and the cause of its demise. He explained that the decision to implement co-ordinated budgetary policies has helped to ensure an economic recovery but it has led to mistrust with regard to its capitalist nature. In response to Bertrand Badie’s questions, Hervé Lorenzi was keen to make the following point.



Jean-Hervé Lorenzi

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“The fact that there is no economic governance does not mean that globalisation is coming to an end, quite the contrary. Global market growth has picked up, as has direct business investment.”

Jean-Hervé Lorenzi

He added: *“And although there was a spike in protectionist acts under Trump, this is now reducing. The global economy is therefore in full swing. However, I repeat that global governance is not working; this will be a major problem in the next international financial crisis.”*

After criticising the prohibitive interest rates which African countries are charged, despite the fact that they are key to the global economy’s long-term development, Jean-Hervé Lorenzi described the Dakar consensus¹ as a glimmer of hope. Similarly, while the economist argued that the G7 in its current form *“serves no purpose”* (sic), he was positive about the G20, as long as it invites countries with a major role to come to the table.

At lunch time, Sylvie Brunel, professor at the Sorbonne, addressed an age-old subject and something which Bertrand Badie claimed *“kills people and stokes conflict”*: food security. She explained to the audience members under the age of 50 that in the 1970s, there were hopes of inventing a daily pill which would satisfy our need for food. In 2021, food insecurity kills 10 million people every day. In France, the pandemic has pushed 1 million more people into poverty, in addition to the existing 9 million people who cannot eat three proper meals a day. The Nobel Peace Prize in 2020 was given to the World Food Programme, the world’s largest food relief organisation. Over 100 million more people have joined the 850 million people who are already suffering from hunger. The FAO has reported that food prices have risen

by more than 40% in one year, something which has not happened since 2011. The speaker’s hard-hitting condemnation shook the audience and she reminded those present that hunger caused riots in more than 35 countries in 2008. *“The future looks worrying,”* Sylvie Brunel continued, explaining that Europe’s Green Deal involves models which may produce 15% less food in a world in which needs are increasing, particularly because of growing demographic pressures and the needs of the middle classes, amounting to some 160 million additional people. Social peace therefore depends on the price of food and this has a direct impact on us. *“France is lucky enough to be part of the very select club of the world’s top ten food exporters. It cannot and must not delegate its food sovereignty and security. This concept is important because today, our fellow citizens have forgotten what it feels like to fear a lack of food. Our agriculture must remain competitive through a wide variety of models which must not be pitted against each other, particularly by systematically attacking high-performance agriculture.”*

Food for thought

Sylvie Brunel confirmed that we are facing the return of food being used as a weapon and argued that the issue of the



¹ At the conference on “Debt and Sustainable Development” in Dakar on 2 December 2019, 6 African heads of state argued for the need to go into debt to develop, but called for new rules: this has been called the Dakar consensus.

global governance of food security is more important than ever. *“The major powers know that food is strategic; China, for example, depends on imported food.”* She explained that Africa has considerable food storage but its mega cities continue to import food because they do not rely on their own farmers. This is also the case in France, as stated in the Gillé report which was presented to the French Senate in July 2021: French cities are just 2% self-sufficient in terms of food.

“We must not fool ourselves. We do not just produce food for wealthy people. The price of food is an essential condition for social peace on a global scale. Yes, we need vaccines, but we also need bread, milk, potatoes and maize, which may be unpopular but is still the world’s most important cereal.”

Sylvie Brunel

Sylvie Brunel argued that the third agricultural revolution will involve producing food while creating value for farmers to ensure that food is both profitable for the farmer and affordable for the consumer. To do so, the geographer argued that *“we need a lot of interventionism because we cannot leave the agricultural world to ensure the free choices of the market when we want to limit the damage to ecosystems, manage water resources and respond to climate issues. Anticipating future crises involves implementing systems to ensure that regions can cope with these hazards and strengthening food security at local level by giving farmers who are faced with multidimensional challenges (climate, soil, water management) the means to respond. We must not reduce agricultural activity in France in the way we have reduced our industrial activity.”*



Sylvie Brunel

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Discussing the overriding theme of the morning, Bertrand Badie concluded the conference by reminding the audience of *“the diversity of interventions and the multiplicity of stakeholders”* which work towards a cause on which we can all agree, even if there may be differences of opinion on the best way to achieve it. He stated that the word *“conflict”* should not be confused with *“confrontation”*, particularly when it comes to words and ideas. This is the only form of *“dispute”* which the Normandy World Peace Forum accepts, provided that it is *“intellectual”*.

A new franco-american chapter of “the brave” sculpture

Anilore Banon created a set of 3 monumental sculptures entitled “The Brave Ones”, which were installed on the sand of Omaha Beach in St-Laurent-sur-Mer for the commemorative ceremonies of 6 June 2004. The title of the piece was inspired by D-Day, the courage of the men who came from America and the fraternity between nations. Invited to the Normandy World Peace Forum, the artist said that she had always dreamed that there would be “a counterpart of this sculpture on the other side of the Atlantic.” This dream has come true thanks to Charles Burke, President and Director of the War Memorial in Detroit, who explained his reasons for creating an identical sculpture to the one on Normandy’s beaches in America. “I saw

this statue for the first time with my family, five years ago. In my view, it brilliantly symbolises hope and resilience. I want to build a bridge between our two nations and our two regions. For me, it is a powerful message for future generations and a way to learn about our shared history.” The War Memorial wants to go further. It wants to create a “Festival of the Brave Ones” in partnership with the Normandy World Peace Forum and Anilore Banon to present cultural and artistic work.

“Normandy for Peace pays tribute to commitment and warns against indifference. We each have our part to play and we want this project to communicate emotions, admiration and a peaceful message by means of art. International relations cannot be limited to a handful of specialists. In Caen, with your multidisciplinary approach, you are ahead of international organisations. I think that you are going in this direction and I want to join you.”

Charles Burke



News of Vitae

The Vitae project, which Anilore Banon came up with, aims to send a sculpture to the moon, featuring a million handprints. During every edition of the Forum, Normandy for Peace reports on the progress of the symbolic project, which is due to reach a

new milestone in 2021. A rocket will deliver the first Astrobotic rover to the moon. This device will contain the history of Vitae, engraved on a piece of parchment and placed in a case: this will be the beginning of the project’s lunar phase.



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HOW CAN PEACE BE RESTORED?

Conference 2 | Friday 1 October 2021 | 9.30am – 12.30pm | Salle plénière



François-Xavier Priollaud, Chékéba Hachemi, Bertrand Badie and Frédérique Bedos

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The 2nd conference of the Normandy World Peace Forum was held in front of an audience which was as large as ever. It opened with a focus on Afghanistan, which had been in the international news in recent weeks and which was the subject of long discussions. The conference continued with questions about the United Nations Security Council and multilateralism, with testimonies from figures from civil society. Here are the main points made during the conference, which involved in-depth discussions and moments of real emotion.

The 4th edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum had always planned to address the situation in Afghanistan, a country which has been in the grip of war for two decades. The Taliban takeover of Kabul on 15 August 2021, twenty years

after they were ousted from power, made this issue even more relevant. Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region and former French Minister of Defence, chose to devote most of his opening message to it.

INTRODUCTION:

- **Hervé Morin**, President of the Normandy Region

MODERATION:

- **Frédérique Bedos**, President and founder of the NGO Projet Imagine
- **Denis Cheissoux**, Presenter and journalist, France Inter
- **François-Xavier Priollaud**, Vice President at the Normandy Region

SPEAKERS:

- **Gérard Araud**, former French Ambassador, columnist for Le Point and France Inter
- **Bertrand Badie**, Emeritus Professor at Sciences Po
- **Valérie Baran**, Tangram Director
- **Rósa Björk Brynjólfssdóttir**, Icelandic Deputy, Parliamentarian for Peace

- **Constance Courtalon**, Senior Consultant at Oliver Wyman
- **Nicolas de Rivière**, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations (via video)
- **Thomas Friang**, Founder and Managing Director of the Open Diplomacy Institute
- **Nicole Gnesotto**, Vice-President of the Institut Jacques Delors, professor at CNAM, holder of the European chair
- **Chékéba Hachemi**, President and founder of Afghanistan Libre
- **Asad Kosha**, Chief Editor of Kabul Now
- **Fabienne Lassalle**, Deputy Director General of the sea rescue NGO SOS MEDITERRANEE France
- **David Malone**, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, Rector of the United Nations University (via video)
- **David Martinon**, French Ambassador in Afghanistan
- **Catherine Morin-Dessailly**, President of the French Senate's Culture, Education and Communication Committee
- **Cacique Ninawa**, chief of the Huni Kui people
- **Antonio de Aguiar Patriota**, Brazilian Ambassador to Egypt, former Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations, Chairman of the Peacebuilding Commission (via video)
- **Mario Pezzini**, Former Director of the OECD Development Centre
- **Manish Tewari**, Member of parliament Lok Sabha (India), Parliamentarian pour la Peace
- **Sundeep Waslekar**, President, Strategic Foresight Group

Autopsy of the failure in Afghanistan

Given the importance of this issue, the President of the Normandy Region decided not to make a formal speech, choosing instead to speak freely about a situation which he analysed by sharing his experience as the former French Minister of Defence. Providing an autopsy of the failure in Afghanistan, he called for a new model to achieve peace. You will find a summary of his speech here.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am pleased to be with you again this year for this incredible Forum, this extraordinary adventure which we embarked upon with François-Xavier Priollaud. On behalf of everyone here, I would like to thank him from the bottom of my heart for his involvement. I spoke with ambassadors yesterday and they confirmed that our Normandy World Peace Forum is becoming a nationally and internationally renowned event. This type of event is usually attended by a formal audience, often men in suits, and is limited to formulaic speeches. I am therefore thrilled, beyond the University Chair which we created and the European Parliament's commitment to exploring questions of security and peace, to see the extensive and active participation of young people from Normandy. Peace, security and freedom require education, culture and learning. So our greatest reward is to see so many secondary school and university



students. Thank you so much. I would also like to thank Frédérique Bedos, who has been involved in this event for more than four years, and I would like to thank our two friends, Nicole Gnesotto and Bertrand Badie, whose intelligence lights up our debates. Opening this 2nd conference on Afghanistan is complicated. "A speech was prepared for me, but I decided that I wanted to address this issue spontaneously and humbly by drawing on my personal experience as French Minister of Defence. For three and a half years, I travelled regularly to Afghanistan to visit the French troops there and to try to understand the situation. I am going to explain what I experienced." Although I am probably going against popular opinion, I see the departure of the American troops as the epilogue to a predictable failure. Why was it pre-determined?

The Americans had announced their departure on several occasions, marking the final act of failure of the international community's twenty-year involvement. How did we end up here?

“We arrived in Afghanistan after an absolutely abominable attack which provoked America’s reaction, although we had no authorisation from the Afghan authorities and no UN resolution to do so. Our aims were to fight al-Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden and to restore or establish the rule of law.”

We must acknowledge that the first years saw great successes, including the election of a President by universal suffrage, a parliament with more female politicians than France’s parliament, education for children, including girls, and the re-opening of cultural venues, such as the iconic cinema of Kabul. The military intervention supported the establishment of the rule of law which was sought by the international community and the Afghans. From 2005-2006 onwards, we saw a gradual stalemate which led to several

developments. The Atlantic Alliance and NATO took control of the military operation through the ISAF intervention force and, moreover, through increasingly significant military involvement, with some 100,000 soldiers on the ground. I still remember seeing hundreds of American helicopters at the Kandahar base, which reminded me strangely of the Vietnam War and the film *Apocalypse Now*.

“As the military involvement expanded, the rule of law diminished and local insurgency gained momentum. A key observation came to the fore, shared by Barack Obama and based on a theory by Galula¹. This states that a military operation which is established and lasts in the long term will eventually lead to a rejection.”

As an opposition force, our presence gradually caused neutral bystanders to join our adversaries. French army officers put it another way, explaining that every time a member of the Taliban was killed,

¹ David Galula was a French officer and military thinker (1919-1967) and a counter-insurgency theorist



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“We wanted to build a democracy as if this could be done in a few years, when it took centuries for ours to be built. (...) How could we think that Afghanistan, a country of feudalism, ethnicities, minorities and provinces, which has hardly ever known democracy or been a republic and which had been under Soviet control, could instantly embrace a Western model of democracy?”

twenty more were created because their entire family wanted to avenge the death of one of their own. This counter-insurgency explains why the military operation became entrenched and increasingly violent. But when a military operation stalls, there is increasingly little respect for the ethics of war. That was the situation from 2010 to 2012.

So many challenging questions

Why were we never able to create an Afghan army and police force, despite huge efforts to train individuals? What was the purpose of the hundreds of billion dollars and euros used for increasingly controversial military operations which led to civilians paying with their lives? Why did we agree to support clearly corrupt regimes? Yes, we rebuilt villages. Aid was used to build schools, dig wells and support agriculture. We also sought to change our approach, focusing more on development and less on war, but without success. Why? The first reason, I believe, is our “ethnocentric” models.

The second reason is the effect of Afghanistan’s neighbours, namely Pakistan, Iran and, most importantly of all, China. Inevitably, it is complicated to achieve peace and stability in the country in these conditions. I want to dwell for a few seconds on the third reason, which is the belief that lethal and military power makes it possible to develop stable and secure models. For thirty years, we have intervened in different countries with a single model, using armed force to create a peaceful and secure state, and each time we have failed. We failed in Iraq, we failed in Afghanistan and I can already tell you that we will fail in Mali.

Many people went on television to condemn the scandal of America’s departure from Afghanistan. Yet there were very few people who condemned the absence of European involvement over the years in this region of the world. France left Afghanistan in 2013. It is incredible that we are unable to teach the Americans anything, eight years later. And what about Europe’s role? All the Presidents, Prime Ministers and ministers of the French Republic have tried to build a European defence model

and a European security and defence policy which is capable of conveying our messages and our values through a truly unique model, without ever having given themselves the means to do so. The question, which has been reflected in the spat between France and Australia over submarines, is this: will we ever really take our destiny into our own hands? Forgive me for this comparison, but I compare the situation to a jilted lover whose feelings remain unchanged and who constantly believes that one day, his or her partner will be back. We have not yet managed to understand this fundamental fact: the United States no longer considers the Atlantic to be at the heart of its foreign policy and defence policy; instead, it focuses all its attention on the Indo-Pacific area. We have to face the facts. Instead of being submissive and behaving like vassals, we should accept that we will only ensure our security and our defence and we will only be able to uphold our values if we finally agree to share the key elements of what a European foreign policy and security policy represent. One day, will Europe refuse to be minnows in

terms of their foreign and defence policy and accept the idea of building a model which the whole world needs? I will finish with this observation:

“The situation in Afghanistan poses a terrible challenge to our idea of human rights. We will have to develop a new model for security and stability in which there will be much more of a focus on development, dialogue and sharing than on tanks, guns and military aircraft.”

Thank you for your attention,

Hervé Morin,
President of the Normandy Region



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The situation in Afghanistan

David Martinon, French ambassador to Afghanistan, followed suit, speaking about world history and the history of the Normandy for Peace initiative.

“I listened to the opening message by Hervé Morin, the Normandy Region’s President, and his assessment has proved to be right,” the ambassador explained. He explained that when he arrived in Kabul in the autumn of 2018, President Trump had already given instructions to start discussions to prepare for an American withdrawal.

believed that the most likely scenario was a Taliban victory after the Americans left. Preparations were made at that time to plan for the departure of French nationals and their Afghan colleagues in the event of such a situation. Departures therefore began in June 2021. He also discussed the sense of denial among Afghans and a part of the international community, which believed that the United States would remain in the country, comforted by the election of Joe Biden in November 2020, despite the fact that he had expressed his opinion on the subject several times. The American withdrawal, initially planned for May 2021, finally took place in September. *“I had announced a period of 45 days between the departure of the last GI and the fall of the Afghan republic. That is exactly what happened.”*



“It was not the first time that the Americans had tried to withdraw from Afghanistan: President Obama had also attempted it. But he had made a major tactical mistake in giving a date. The notion of time in this country is nothing like ours, as illustrated by the old Afghan saying: ‘you have watches, we have time.’” After carefully analysing the Doha Agreement ¹, David Martinon informed the French authorities in spring 2020 of the possible scenarios in the event of an American withdrawal. He

“As soon as the Americans withdrew their aircraft, their intelligence and the deterrent represented by the American forces, nobody could stay, including the German, British and Italian forces still on the ground.”

David Martinon

The French ambassador to Afghanistan then detailed the reasons for which the local government clearly could not hold on to power. *“We thought that they would be able to resist for 12 months before we had to reduce our estimated time frame, given that Afghanistan ticked all the boxes for an inevitable and inexorable insurgent victory. All but one. I disagree when it is*

¹ Peace agreement signed between the United States and the Taliban on 29 February 2020 in Qatar, creating an opportunity for peace negotiations in Afghanistan between the Taliban and the Kabul government

said that the Taliban are popular. I think that their “electoral base”, if they ever want free elections, is only 12% to 16%.”

Regrets with serious consequences

Was the terrible failure in Afghanistan inevitable? *“The problem was impossible to resolve because it required an Afghan army which was capable of fighting the insurgency and consolidating the rule of law. Yet the mere presence of a foreign force caused the secretion of antibodies in the country’s society,”* David Martinon explained. This time-line of a predicted defeat marked the end of remarkable progress which the diplomat said had been made, including the role given to women, the education of young girls, the most dynamic and free press in the whole of Central Asia and the emergence of a civil society. The French representative argued that the country’s inability to create a sustainable economy was a factor which accelerated Afghanistan’s fall. He described the current situation as being bleak.

“Yesterday, I heard an appalling speech by a Taliban leader who established the conditions under which women can go out in public in Kabul: no more coloured clothes, they must not smell pleasant and they must not wear shoes which make noise as they walk because this is considered to be a signal to young men.”

David Martinon

As for the return of the international community to Afghanistan, it is conditional on respect for human rights, particularly women’s rights, and the free movement of Afghans. *“Personally, I would add a more inclusive government than the current interim one. It is clear that the lion’s share has been given to those who have always been closest to Pakistan, the Haqqani network, as opposed to the Kandaharis who provided the manpower for the insurgency.”*

In the name of Afghanistan’s women

Chékéba Hachemi, the first Afghan woman to serve as a diplomat in the interim Afghan government in 2001, is the founder of *Afghanistan Libre*. She worked with Commander Massoud to



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Chékéba Hachemi



promote education for girls and women in Afghanistan. The speech by this diplomat, activist and writer was invaluable. In view of recent events just before the Normandy World Peace Forum, it was particularly significant.

“Although I hear your indignation about the situation in our country, I reject the idea of impotence. Here, you see only the tip of the iceberg. When women are demonstrating in the streets, as they did only 48 hours ago and which led to the photographer who filmed them being murdered, we cannot do nothing.”

Chékéba Hachemi

Commander Massoud’s spokeswoman warned that this conflict goes far beyond his country and its people. *“On 15 August, the Taliban freed thousands of jihadist prisoners from twenty different countries,*

including terrorists.” She made reference to the Bataclan trial to emphasise that her country could become a support base for the Islamic State. *“As Commander Massoud said on 5 April 2011: if you do not come to help the Afghan people tomorrow, what is happening today in my country will happen tomorrow in your cities. This was a few months before 11 September 2001. Twenty years later, I am surprised to be repeating the same thing.”* Today, there is a major difference: the country’s new socio-economic situation. *“Girls who had access to education and who had never known the Taliban provided a glimmer of hope. They will be the first to resist, particularly since 70% of Afghan society is made up of women who have a salary and bring in income. If they are unable to leave their homes, how will the families who depend on them survive?”* Chékéba Hachemi urgently called for international aid to support a population *“which is dying”*. But she was uncompromising when talking about international organisations which have *“provided huge help for the most fundamentalist of Afghan leaders”* and *“very little for Massoud, a moderate”*. Her words were even harsher when she condemned the West’s *“abandonment”* of a country where, in her view, global geopolitics have long been at stake. Her last diatribe left the audience stunned,

like a boxer on the ropes. *“I am here to be a killjoy and to talk about the fate of a population which has been educated and trained. I think of the 300 girls who were coding on Skype in the Panjshir Valley when I left. What will become of them?”* Refusing to give in to fatalism, she wanted to end on a hopeful note, arguing that *“Afghans fear neither hunger nor death”, and urging this part of the planet not to abandon the country.* *Let us return to interventionism, let us stop closing our eyes and ears and let us try to go all the way with European values, democracy, the right to healthcare and education.”*

“The most appalling image when the Americans left was not the image of mothers throwing their babies over the fence onto the tarmac at the airport. When the last soldier slowly climbed on board the aeroplane and closed the door, it was as if 38 million people were being ignored.”

Chékéba Hachemi

The Norman initiative for Afghan culture

Catherine Morin-Desailly, President of the French Senate’s Culture, Education and Communication Committee, presented the initiative which made it possible to welcome some twenty Afghan artists on French soil, following the Taliban’s takeover. These outspoken female artists, whose lives were potentially under threat and who were in grave danger, were welcomed to cultural centres and institutions in Caen, Cherbourg, Rouen, Vire and more. *“Thanks to the artistic and cultural community around the world, we can uphold everyone’s rights to create, work and make a living*

from culture” This sentiment was shared by Valérie Baran, Director of Le Tangram, who explained that all the cultural stakeholders involved in this initiative were encouraged to take part because of the humanitarian emergency affecting artists: they are now being denied the right to express themselves in Afghanistan. The Taliban have searched people’s homes, leading artists to destroy their work to avoid the consequences of a totalitarian regime. *“We were keen to take part in an initiative like this.”*



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Asad Kosha is the editor-in-chief of Kabul Now, the English edition of the online newspaper Daily Etilaat-e-Roz. He has worked for several national and international NGOs. A journalist and a researcher, he has covered local conflicts in Afghanistan and has studied relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Captured by the Taliban, he managed to escape and now lives in Normandy. During his speech, he spoke of his hope in the Afghan resistance against the oppressors, a struggle in which he is now involved from outside the borders of his country.

For a return to peace

After an intense and fascinating session on Afghanistan, the Normandy World Peace Forum continued with a speech by Nicole Gnesotto, professor, European Union Chair of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM) and Vice-President of the Institut Jacques Delors. Her introduction focused on three subjects: “Should the Security Council be abolished?”, “How to reinvent multilateralism?” and “Peace is everyone’s responsibility”.

“War has always existed, peace is a human invention.” By quoting Pierre Hassner, Nicole Gnesotto introduced the idea that a return to peace requires human effort and a lot of patience. She detailed four successive models of peace which have been witnessed throughout history: the imperial model or the law of the strongest, from Rome to Stalin. The balance-of-power model from the 19th century, or the law of the powerful against the powerless, the technological model with the invention of nuclear weapons and, lastly, the model of peace by all parties, represented by the UN.

Although humanity has been imaginative in trying to build peace, it has encountered some successes and many failures. The current situation requires the creation of a new model to ensure a return to peace for the entire international community. This raises the issue of the scope and the limits of peace. The speaker gave three different definitions of peace which co-exist in our world. *“There is peace as international stability, peace as recognition of human suffering, or what in the 1990s was called human security, namely the security of people as well as states, and lastly peace with the planet, which means protecting the global environment so that human beings can continue to live in it.”*



Nicole Gnesotto

“When peace is discussed, ecologists think of the planet, NGOs think of human society and diplomats think of geopolitics. Everyone does their job but there is a lack of symbiosis which could be a modern definition of peace.”

Nicole Gnesotto

To conclude, Nicole Gnesotto asked the audience to consider a wonderfully powerful and accurate quote by Blaise Pascal: *“Justice and power must be brought together so that what is just may be powerful and whatever is powerful may be just.”*

Should the UN Security Council be abolished?

G rard Arnaud, former diplomat, columnist for *Le Point* and commentator for *France Inter*, began to answer this difficult question by recalling the origin of the veto of its permanent members. *“The League of Nations became meaningless with the departure of the major powers because they were in the minority. The UN Security Council did not want to make the same mistake when it was created and decided to give five of its permanent members a right to veto, based on a belief that some countries are more equal than others.”* Although he was mindful of criticisms of the organisation, he defended it.

“The UN deals with conflicts in which no-one is interested, apart from their victims, the hundreds of thousands of people who have died or become refugees: the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, the Central African Republic, Haiti... For this reason alone, the Security Council is very useful.”

G rard Arnaud

When asked about this institution’s capacity for reform, David Malone, Under-Secretary General of the UN, replied that the United Nations would no longer exist if this were a possibility. *“It is not the*



composition of the Security Council which worries me, but the growing difficulty of countries like France, Germany, Great Britain and my country, Canada, to actually rely on this organisation.” Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, Permanent Representative of Brazil to the UN and President of the Peace-building Commission, defended the legitimacy of the Security Council. *“If it no longer existed, we would run the risk of creating international irresponsibility, with very serious consequences and the possible advent of the law of the jungle and ensuing chaos.”* However, he said that he supports the idea of reform to make the



Security Council more representative and democratic, arguing that countries must be more accountable and responsible. Indeed, he argued that Brazil should join the *“inner circle”* of the UN’s permanent members, something which France supports, saying that *“the countries which are the most powerful and which have the most weapons should not be the only ones to be included; other countries which have an understanding of the world and prefer diplomatic action to military action should also be welcomed.”* Sundeep Waslekar, President of the Strategic Foresight Group, the Indian think tank responsible for the Manifesto for Peace and a long-term partner of the Forum, reminded the audience that the veto is the result of an order from Stalin in 1945. He said that he was therefore amazed that *“the champions of democracy who have failed everywhere, in Suez, Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, continue to impose a vision which dates back to the Stalinist era on the Security Council.”* But the man who made the UN aware of the urgent need to address the issue of water at an international level preferred to focus on its work on the ground, mentioning UN peacekeepers. *“They may be criticised for not doing everything they should, but they bring stability and save thousands of lives.”* However, he argued that a humanitarian parliament should be created; it could replace an organisation which is *“united”* in name only and would be able to respond more broadly to the issues affecting the very existence of humanity.

How to reinvent multilateralism?

Nicolas de Rivière, French ambassador to the UN, spoke about multilateralism, the second subject of the day, with a video address. *“Covid-19 and the upheavals it has caused have shown that the multilateral system needs to be improved for better prevention and cure. I will go further: rather than focusing on the future, the real question is how to reinvent everyday*



multilateralism today.” He went on to praise this unique approach to diplomacy and international action, although he acknowledged that co-operation between countries can never be taken for granted.

Mario Pezzini, former Director of the OECD’s Development Centre, expanded on the idea that the geographic world order and its players as defined in 1945 have been turned upside down.

“A structure was built, focusing on a series of countries which continue to be crucial but which are no longer the only ones. Why are China, India, Brazil, Argentina and so many others not sat around the discussion table?”

Mario Pezzini

With regard to development, he pointed out that countries which have moved beyond issues of security and extreme



Constance Courtalon, Nicole Gnesotto, Denis Cheissous, cacique Ninawa and Fabienne Lassalle

poverty are facing new challenges in the form of social crises, as in Chile, which was once considered an exemplary country in Latin America, and Tunisia, which witnessed a social explosion after the Arab Spring. This requires a new approach to development which recognises that poverty is not necessarily concentrated in the least developed countries. With a touch of nostalgia, he recounted the beginning of the OECD, when officials would take the time to assess the situation with stakeholders. However, he lamented the fact that *“today, there is no longer a table where all stakeholders, both donors and beneficiaries of development programmes, can come together to learn about public policy and the public good.”*

Denis Cheissoux, the host of the round table, addressed the role of civil society in multilateralism by asking Constance Courtalon, 26 years old, to recount her experience as head of the French delegation to Y20. This initiative brings together Generation Y representatives from G20 countries and makes it possible to discuss subjects which are important to them. *“In 2020, we focused primarily on the climate emergency, the fight against discrimination and, in particular, the educational divide which has been created by the global pandemic,”* she explained. She

welcomed the fact that a consensus was reached on sensitive issues such as the environment, with very marked differences between countries. *“Although some people may just see it as statement for the world’s press, it was very well received by heads of state and conveyed the idea that young people are the future.”*



Constance Courtalon

Peace is everyone's responsibility

Since states and public authorities no longer have a monopoly on international relations, to what extent is peace everyone's responsibility? For this third and final subject, the audience listened to Chief Ninawa's heart-felt appeal about the Amazon. This area has shrunk by 10,000 km² every year since President Bolsonaro was elected to power. The speech by the representative of the Huni Kuí people was chilling.

“The situation in Brazil is worse than we have ever seen it. We are witnessing co-ordinated attacks in the Amazon by the Brazilian parliament which votes for laws which harm our people and benefit the capital. Our leaders, who oppose these plans, are assassinated. We receive personal threats. The risk of a genocide is real. This does not just affect our people, it affects all of humanity. This is a Third World War against Mother Nature.”

Cacique Ninawa

Speaking in a wise, measured tone, Chief Ninawa, a healer and an activist for the rights of indigenous peoples, went on to provide vitriolic criticism of international organisations. *“Today, we see people who have the will and the power to change this situation. But the concern is that major events are often a bargaining chip between*



governments and multinationals. Economic interest always takes precedence over the natural world. On behalf of my people, I want to tell you today that we have the weighty responsibility of building a better world for future generations. But we can wait no longer. We must act, we must react. We cannot destroy the Amazon. Humans will die!”

The men, women and children behind the word “migrant”

Fabienne Lassalle is the Deputy Executive Director of SOS Méditerranée France, a European organisation for maritime rescue which was founded by citizens. At the end of the conference, she addressed the plight of migrants who want to flee Africa. She explained that the organisation was founded in 2015 because of state failures, after Italy’s decision to end its Mare Nostrum operation which had helped to save 150,000 “migrants” from drowning.

“In response to various states’ refusal to assume their responsibilities, European citizens took action to charter a ship to travel between Libya and Italy, the world’s deadliest migratory route. The organisation has saved 34,203 lives and much more besides.”

Fabienne Lassalle



© Eric Biernacki - Normandy Region

The Deputy Executive Director of SOS Méditerranée also explained the organisation’s role in sharing information, raising awareness and changing our view of migrants. *“Our volunteers go to schools, festivals and conferences to explain that these people fleeing are survivors: men, women and children just like us. We rely heavily on their accounts to help others to understand their journey, which we feel is a good way to promote peace.”* Yes, peace is everyone’s responsibility!



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“Restoring trust in adults”

Teaching since 2001, Lucien Grillet is a professor of History and Geography in the high school Léopold Sédar Senghor in Evreux. Each year, he attends the Normandy World Peace Forum with his students. A good opportunity to discuss his interest in the event and its impact on high school students, from tenth grade to senior year.

You came to every edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum. Why do you use this event as an educational support ?

This event is a favourable ground to implement numerous practical initiatives¹. During the first year of the Forum, we wanted to attend it but also participate. Students from our school traduced the biography of an English veteran². The book was presented in the pop-up bookstore of the Forum and the students really appreciated being both spectator and actors. For example, this year, some interviewed speakers in order to write articles. Other took notes for oral presentations in english of the event...

Lots of conferences and debates dealt with geopolitical issues, quite complex for young people. However, the high school students seems interested. How do you explain that?

At first, we try to well prepare the venue to the Forum according to the programme. On site, the speakers of the conferences and debates, who are aware of the young audience, also try to develop more their ideas. In addition to the experts, testimonies display the various subjects and get the young people attention with their convictions and their emotions. Also, I use the time we spend in the bus to talk with the high school students and bring more keys to understanding. Their cursor is

¹ Read it on the website <https://lgrillet.wixsite.com/histoire-memoires/accueil>

² Albert Figg, « Les hauts et les bas d'un artilleur. L'histoire de ma vie ». Rob Stolk ed. 2017. <https://www.robstolkconcepts.nl/boeken-1/les-hauts-et-les-bas-d-un-artilleur>



not easy to find. This year, I took note that the conferences were too intensive for students that arrived in tenth grade, even if they were fascinated by the decorum of the event. On the contrary, the debate on Yemen was appreciated by our students, who were disappointed to leave before the end for logistics reasons. In any case, the experience is very positive for them.

What did you learn from your students' attendance of the event?

The issues raised – always interesting – permit to raise awareness of the world's state and to discuss civic themes. It echos a programme launched in 2014 in our school around the « History and Memory of the World War II ». I also feel that the Forum restore the trust they have in adults. This enthusiasm is essential because there is no educational project without the active participations of the students. Now, we have to be humble. We open doors but the most challenging is preventing them to close again.

GOOD TO KNOW

Two parameters are crucial for the attendance of the high school Léopold Sédar Senghor in Evreux to the event: the free transportation, with the Region bearing the costs, and mobilizing the teachers. In total, this high school monitored 8 school outings to the Normandy World Peace Forum, supervised by 15 teachers.



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PUTTING PEACE TO THE TEST

CONTINUITY AND DISRUPT OF THE GEOPOLITICAL BALANCES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Auditorium



Marc Semo, Xavier Chemisseur and Bertrand Badie

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FROM THE LEADERS' HANDS TO THE PEOPLE'S ONES

As a follow-up to the conference entitled *“Why does peace elude us?”*, this debate involved the screening of four-minute films, excerpts from a web series produced by the INA for the Normandy World Peace Forum. Each episode recounts an example of international diplomacy, symbolised by historic handshakes which the speakers analysed and discussed. Mickaël Gamrasni, historian and director of these short documentary films, explained his objective. *“My aim was to highlight these key moments in our collective history, these high-level meetings which were expected to produce peace.”* Marc Semo, deputy editor-in-chief of the debate/ideas pages of *Le Monde*, was asked to define the concept of peace, a rather stylistic exercise. *“Peace is like a suspended dream,”* he answered, quoting a phrase uttered by Kofi Annan, the late Secretary-General of the United Nations and winner of the

Nobel Peace Prize, a few days after the 11 September attacks which marked the end of the irenic illusions about the post-Cold War era. *“It is fragile, constantly under threat and as difficult to build as it is to protect. It is not just limited to images from major international conferences and handshakes because treaties are the conclusion to conflicts which confirm the reality on the ground and the balance of power.”* He mentioned 115 linear kilometres of peace treaties signed or kept by France in its archives at the Quai d’Orsay in Paris. He also referred to Raymond Aron, who defined three types of peace: that of *“the balance between powers which are of equal strength”*, *“the peace of hegemony when one of them becomes dominant”* and lastly *“the peace of empire when the most powerful manages to subdue all the others”*. After recalling some historical facts, he pointed out that there is more

MODERATOR:

Xavier Chemisseur, editor-in-chief,
France 24

SPEAKERS:

Bertrand Badie, Emeritus Professor at Sciences Po, author of several books including “Les puissances mondialisées repensées” (Rethinking Global Powers), “La sécurité internationale” (International Security) and “Quand le sud réinvente le monde” (When The South Reinvents The World). He is also the historical and scientific advisor of the series entitled “Putting peace to the test”.

Mickaël Gamrasni, documentary maker focusing on 20th century history, Harkis, the Algerian war and post-war history, historian, secondary school history teacher who produced the series “Putting peace to the test”. He produced Apocalypse, the highly acclaimed documentary series on France Télévision, including Apocalypse Hitler, Apocalypse Stalin, Apocalypse Verdun, which were critically acclaimed when released.

Marc Semo, journalist and diplomatic correspondent for Le Monde, history graduate, former reporter in the Balkans and Iraq. He is now deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper’s debates/ideas pages.

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INA

literature on war than on peace. This is because the concept of peace is recent and increasingly difficult to define, due to the emergence of new types of conflicts and the questioning of the international status quo, in addition to the challenges of climate change and global pandemics. Bertrand Badie described the difficulty of portraying peace because *“there are many pitfalls”*. In his view, this is proven by the countless images of peace agreements which *“are not successfully implemented in the majority of cases”*. He went on to explain *“that peace only exists if society embraces it collectively, while the rulers of this world have always considered war and peace as their own personal possessions”*. He also observed that chancellery and presidential decisions have lost their influence and that peace is now perceived to have a significant social and behavioural dimension.



“We are learning that the real peacemaker is a local person who works to ensure his or her individual and collective survival, rather than the politician who works to win an election.”

Bertrand Badie

The drivers of peace

After the screening of the first episode of his web series on the Potsdam conference in the summer of 1945, Mickaël Gamrasni discussed the political gesture of the handshake between Churchill, Truman and Stalin. Although a source of real hope, *“the image was ultimately more powerful than the reality it was supposed to convey”* in his view. *“This moment was to symbolise a new world based on reconciliation, even though the Cold War broke out a few years later.”* Bertrand Badie explained that this war was not as cold as it is thought to have been, with 36 million dead, almost three times as many as in the First World War. Moreover, he pointed out that the end of the Cold War was not decided by governments; instead, it was pressure from the American public which brought

it to an end, as with the Vietnam War. The Emeritus Professor was critical of large international demonstrations, explaining that he believes that peace is the result of societies which have learned to live together, rather than of political decisions, recalling the micro-sociology of peace which involves individuals from different countries meeting, joining forces or creating homes together. A second video focusing on the meeting between Jimmy Carter and Deng Xiaoping was shown, providing an opportunity to discuss trade wars. Marc Semo described these images as showing a *“strategic masterpiece of geopolitics”*. He argued that America’s recognition of China was spearheaded by Richard Nixon in 1972, and that it took 14 visits to China by US officials before Deng Xiaoping, who was then the Chinese regime’s number two, came to Washington. *“The real purpose of this meeting was not peace, but rather an alliance against the Soviet Union,”* he explained, noting that China attacked Vietnam to the approving silence of the Americans after the meeting, a decision which marked the beginning of the incredible growth of the Chinese economy.

“This shows how peace and a symbolic gesture can, in reality, hide much more offensive intentions.”

Marc Semo

Bertrand Badie reflected on this handshake by explaining that this film could also have shown the handshake between Kissinger and Zhou Enlai, a name which should be remembered because he was a great Prime Minister of China who probably exercised more influence on contemporary China than Mao Zedong. He analysed the American strategy of creating the conditions to transform the Chinese economy, resulting in a rational

and useful partner for the United States. By creating the basics of globalisation, the United States thought that it could tame China, but the opposite has happened. America’s gamble has been an utter failure and has led Joe Biden, after Donald Trump, to embark upon a new and completely anachronistic Cold War with China. Xavier Chemisseur, editor-in-chief at France 24, compared Mickaël Gamrasni’s videos to a rapid overview of the 20th century. He encouraged the audience to watch another film on the meeting of Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, during which the two blocs, both in the midst of the nuclear arms race, agreed to reduce their nuclear arsenal. Bertrand Badie described this period, which was marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the disintegration of the USRR, as *“the end of a bipolar world which collapsed from underneath because the people no longer wanted it”*. The conflicts and wars of this era, from the Iranian revolution to the Lebanese civil war and the second Congo war, prove that peace totally and permanently eludes world leaders. The last video shown during the debate focused on the historic handshake in Oslo between Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat, which was to pave the way for peace and the creation of a Palestinian state. This happened in 1993. 28 years later, this conflict continues to generate headlines: proof of the hollowness of the handshakes which supposedly advent peace.

JOE BIDEN AND THE NEW CHALLENGES FOR THE UNITED STATES

CONTINUITY AND DISRUPT OF THE GEOPOLITICAL BALANCES

Friday 1 October 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Or



Sylvie Kauffmann, Benjamin Haddad, Nicole Gnesotto and Jean-Marie Guéhenno

The two sides of Uncle Sam

Sylvie Kauffmann, journalist for Le Monde and moderator of this debate, used a climate metaphor to open. She said that *“the United States are currently in the eye of the storm, after Hurricane Trump and hopes of a calming of the storm with the*

MODERATOR:

Sylvie Kauffmann, journalist, Le Monde

SPEAKERS:

Nicole Gnesotto, professor at CNAM, holder of the European Chair, Vice-President of the Institut Jacques Delors

Jean-Marie Guéhenno, professor at the University of Columbia, author, former Under-Secretary-General of the UN

Benjamin Haddad, European director of the Atlantic Council

Suzanne Maloney, Vice-President of the Brookings Institution (via video)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

LE MONDE

election of Joe Biden.” Suzanne Maloney, Vice-President of the Brookings Institution, stressed that the new administration is establishing new priorities in relation to those of its predecessors. Issues related to the pandemic, the climate crisis and relations with China have taken precedence over Iran, which galvanised previous Secretaries of State. However, the majority of her introductory speech was devoted to this issue, arguing that Washington will face new tensions with this country in the near future. Although she criticised a multilateralism with the country *“which has not worked”* for the last 40 years, Suzanne Maloney continues to believe that the solution will be diplomatic because nobody, including the Chinese, wants Iran to have nuclear weapons.

Benjamin Haddad, European director of the Atlantic Council, focused on America’s domestic policy. He noted that the



transition with the Trump administration was complicated and that the Republican Party continues to be haunted by the former President. Meanwhile, Joe Biden must deal with a Democratic Party which is riven by generational and ideological divisions. He described the new inhabitant of the White House as *“a moderate and liberal internationalist; this must be reconciled with a progressive wing which is embodied by particularly popular and visible public figures.”* For the political analyst, Joe Biden has understood that he needs to convince the white working class electorate, hence the massive investment in infrastructure and economic revival. Investing in research and innovation is also a way for America to maintain its status as a major power to rival China, its great rival.

Understanding American foreign policy

Nicole Gnesotto, professor at CNAM, holder of the European Chair and Vice-President of the Institut Jacques Delors, noted that China has been a priority for America since 2012-2013 and that this trend has been reinforced at every election since then, at the expense of Europe. She was particularly critical of the new American President’s approach in this regard.

“Joe Biden was seen as an old man who is full of good intentions, but his America is just like Trump’s. America continues to be obsessed by China, it decided on its unilateral withdrawal from Afghanistan without consulting its allies and pressurised Australia to break its submarine contract with France.”

Nicole Gnesotto

She argued that Europeans are right to be worried about counter-productive decisions. These decisions are likely to be divisive: some countries will nevertheless choose rapprochement with the United States and others will argue for greater European autonomy. *“I am convinced that Europe must aim to achieve greater strategic independence but I think it is more likely that the choice, as usual, will be to take cover with America.”* Jean-Marie Guéhenno, professor at the University of Columbia, said that he sees America’s attitude as a symptom of the crisis which faces our democracies. He described the United States as a hyperpower with feet of clay, weakened from within, in search of an identity. *“The major risk of countries in crisis is to think that the answer lies in nationalism.”* In Benjamin Haddad’s view, America’s foreign policy is dictated by the President and Joe Biden is personally responsible for all foreign policy decisions. The speaker tried to combat a common misconception about America’s decline.

In his view, Uncle Sam's country is perfectly trustworthy but *"we do not want to listen to it"*. He also argued that it was up to the European Union to take charge and show the Americans that it is a power in its own right, replacing the military balance of power with that of law and economics.

"We are talking about a country which is younger than Europe and China, whose demographic dynamism is linked to immigration, an integral part of the country. America continues to innovate and shows rather exceptional capabilities for economic recovery."

Benjamin Haddad



However, the European Director of the Atlantic Council warned that if Europe experiences new crises within its borders, as with the Balkans and its neighbours, *"we will have to deal with them on our own"*.

Dangerous distortions

Nicole Gnesotto did not let the matter drop: Joe Biden has been double dealing and has, in a way, fooled the European Union. *"The new President has continued to say that 'America is back'. During his first six months in office, he secured*

NATO's consensus on China and the G20's consensus on more social capitalism, taking the initiative to ensure a 15% tax on the profits of large multinationals. The whole of the West has rallied behind America. But since this summer, he has been doing exactly the opposite of what he asked for and has destroyed what he just achieved, as if someone else had taken over in Washington." Jean-Marie Guéhenno identified a disconnect between US political institutions which no longer work and a country which remains extraordinarily dynamic in economic terms. He argued that Europe has lost the digital war because all the major data companies are American. This first revolution has generated countless profits which are being reinvested in the next global challenge, artificial intelligence. This issue should be a priority for Europe, because the creative economy is now key in geopolitics.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **\$21.433** trillion. The USA's GDP in 2019, compared to \$14.343 trillion for China, according to World Bank data, reinforcing its status as the world's leading power.
- ▶ **2nd** • The EU-27 is the world's second largest economy. It represents 17.9% of world GDP, behind the United States (17.9%) but ahead of China (17.4%) and Japan (6%).
- ▶ **\$1.9** trillion. Joe Biden's original stimulus package of \$3.5 trillion over 10 years has been scaled back, but remains historic. It will be spent on education, health and the fight against global warming. According to the OECD, the plan should boost global economic growth by 1%.

HOW TO BUILD PEACE WITH RUSSIA?

CONTINUITY AND DISRUPT OF THE GEOPOLITICAL BALANCES

Friday 1 October 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Azur



Pierre Vimont, Antoine Arjakovsky, Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin and Anastasia Kirilenko

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Differences of opinion on how to proceed

“Are our relations with Russia peaceful?” When questioned by Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin, a journalist at Ouest-France and the moderator of this debate, Pierre Vimont, French ambassador, was sceptical. *“That is the objective of the dialogue launched by the President of the Republic, but it takes two to make peace. This is not currently the case,”* he explained, pointing out that the concepts of *“peace”* and *“democracy”* are fundamentally different in Paris and Moscow. The former French ambassador to the United States and the European Union cited the Russian military intervention in Ukraine, which France

deemed illegal; Russia replied that France had done the same thing in Kosovo and Libya. He argued that diplomatic action has become weaker in recent years; this is a worrying state of affairs because discussions are replaced all too quickly with sanctions, when history shows that agreements can be reached after tough negotiations, such as the Helsinki agreements in 1975, following the USSR’s invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968¹.

Antoine Arjakovsky, director of Research at the Collège des Bernardins, is a Russian specialist. He had strong words for Putin’s domestic policy, which he described as *“kleptocratic² and dishonest, leading to a hybrid war”*: the last parliamentary elections were a sham, while opposition figure Alexei Navalny remains imprisoned after condemning the corruption of high-ranking Russian officials. He also criticised the fact that the justice system and the press take orders from the government.

MODERATOR:

Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin, journalist, Ouest-France

SPEAKERS:

Antoine Arjakovsky, director of research at the Collège des Bernardins

Anastasia Kirilenko, journalist and film maker

Pierre Vimont, senior fellow at Carnegie Europe, French ambassador

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

COLLÈGE DES BERNARDINS

¹ Former name of Russia at the time; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics invaded communist Czechoslovakia as it embarked upon reformist policies

² power based on corruption

He stressed that international relations can only be built on a language of truth, which means that Russia's language towards the West must be considered. Lastly, he criticised France for not knowing how to differentiate between the Russian people and the regime of its autocratic President. *"We are a nation state which identifies citizenship as having a political and national dimension, but we must learn other peoples' history and the history of the construction of a state by a nation."*

Between corruption and misinformation

Anastasia Kirilenko, a journalist and film maker, recounted proven cheating in the September 2021 parliamentary elections, which were won once again by Vladimir Putin's party. She listed the murders of opponents, including Boris Nemtsov, killed in front of the Kremlin, and the attempted assassination of Alexei Navalny, poisoned with chemical weapons. She also discussed attacks on the freedom of the press in Russia, ranked 150th out of 180, putting it at the same level as African dictatorships. She also cited cases of arms and drug trafficking involving the Russian secret services, along with the creation of conflicts by sending mercenaries to the Central African Republic and Mali. In her view, *"Russia is a giant with feet of clay"* which distorts reality with misinformation campaigns. She lamented the lack of discernment of some French journalists, who have shown little solidarity with their Russian colleagues.

Antoine Arjakovsky expanded on the reasons behind *"the truth, justice and reconciliation commission"* between Russia and Ukraine which he created with the support of the EU and civil society representatives, including intellectuals, journalists and NGOs. Several hundred experts have highlighted *"the real reasons for war between Russia and Ukraine"*, starting with a fundamental divergence about the two nations' past.

This difference in narration underlines the issue of *"truth"* when attempting to reconcile memories. On this subject, Pierre Vimont reiterated the difficulty of being objective when one believes to know the truth when the other party genuinely believes the opposite.

"When you are a diplomat, you realise that there is a huge gap between two truths and that the question is how to bridge this gap."

Pierre Vimont

He admitted concerns about the distant relationship between Russian civil society and Europe; this leads to reduced interaction between students, researchers, politicians, etc. Although he agreed with the idea of relying on this civil society to maintain a link with Russia, he warned of the risks of this strategy, particularly because Moscow is gradually undermining this type of relationship, accusing embassies of interference and meddling in Russian political life.

For Anastasia Kirilenko, part of Russia's civil society dreams of exile, frustrated by propaganda which goes so far as to deny the country's own history. *"Born in Siberia and despite an excellent secondary education, I have never studied the mass deportations to camps in my home region."* She noted that for the vast majority of the population, most of whom are quite poor, information comes from state television, which presents the West as the cause of all the country's ills. In her view, *"the Soviet Union collapsed because its society was built on lies; the only solution for Russia is to move forward to focus on the truth, even if it is difficult."*

Should we talk to Putin?

Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin addressed the issue of Russian gas, which France imports and on which it is, to some extent, dependent. Pierre Vimont explained that *“it is the nature of foreign policy to strike a balance between principles and economic or political interests.”* More broadly, he asked whether we should wait for Putin to leave, risking the arrival of an identical or even worse successor, or whether we should engage with Russia so that a constructive diplomatic relationship can be developed. Antoine Arjakovsky argued that there was no point in discussing unrealistic intellectuals on the one hand and pragmatic diplomats on the other.

“European journalists and parliamentarians are beginning to see how the approach taken by our traditional diplomacy is going to the wall while Russia is counter-attacking as we see in Mali, France, England and the United States. When you talk tough, you have to follow though, something the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not done.”

Antoine Arjakovsky

Not only did the director of research at the Collège des Bernardins demand that sanctions be maintained, he argued that they should be increased. He also advocated innovative solutions, citing the Tokyo Olympics where Russia, having been convicted of doping, was not represented as a nation but by the athletes of its International Olympic Committee.

Pierre Vimont totally refuted the idea that he argued that there were intellectuals on

one side and diplomats on the other. *“I am the greatest critic of my own house, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because I believe that we fell asleep on the job and that we need to change many things.”* A dividing line emerged in this debate as to the best course of action, with each speaker arguing for something different. Pierre Vimont emphasised that reaching out to civil society to help it runs the risk of putting it at risk. Anastasia Kirilenko did not dispute this, saying *“that we need to have a frank dialogue with the Russians and alert them to the dangers which threaten them, because they are not really aware of them.”* In the long term, in view of Vladimir Putin’s age and his obsessive refusal to adopt renewable energies, she argued that there are two options when it comes to establishing relations in the future with a country which currently raises plenty of questions.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **2036.** The year in which Vladimir Putin could legally remain in power in Russia. The leader had the Russian constitution amended; it previously limited the number of successive terms of office to two. His reign has been almost uninterrupted since 2000. In 2008, after his first two terms of office, he had his right-hand man, Dmitri Medvedev, elected to circumvent the constitutional ban and thus maintain his hegemony.
- ▶ **20%.** The percentage of Russian gas imported into France; Norway is France’s main supplier, with 36%. However, Russia is the largest exporter of gas to Europe.
- ▶ **62%.** The percentage of Russians whose income is only enough to pay for “food and clothing”, according to the Russian state statistics agency Rosstat. The country officially had a poverty rate of 13.1% at the beginning of 2021, a figure which has been rising steadily since 2012.

RECONCILIATION, JUSTICE, REMEMBRANCE: WHAT POST-WAR ERA DO WE WANT?

LEVERS TO GOVERN PEACE

Friday 1 October 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Nacre



Ed Vulliamy, Rémy Ourdan and Thierry Cruvellier

Managing shockwaves

Led by Rémy Ourdan, journalist and war correspondent for Le Monde, this debate focused on the various aspects of the post-war era. Ed Vulliamy, journalist and writer, explained that unlike a football match, a war does not end with the final whistle. He argued that the victims need to take ownership of the horrors they have suffered; in his view, this unfortunately was not the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ireland “*where the atrocities committed by the British Empire are not known because no-one has reported on them.*” In his view, peace is complicated and difficult and its best advocates are Gandhi and Martin Luther King. To emphasise his

point, he discussed the peace process which is currently being negotiated in Colombia. It seeks to provide a way out of the decades-long drug war in Latin America, which has left 300,000 people dead and 80,000 missing in Mexico since 2006. The speaker explained that this scourge has killed between 200,000 and 400,000 people in Colombia. He noted that the armed conflict takes place openly in countries where “*daily life continues, as if this were normal.*” After reminding the audience that “*white powder is a red line between Colombia and Mexico*”, he discussed the political situation in Colombia which has managed to disarm FARC¹ but has failed to stop the production of drugs. The policies to substitute coca growing and implement land reforms, which were introduced by President Juan Manuel Santos, the 2016 Nobel Peace Prize winner, came to an end in 2020 when he lost the presidential

MODERATOR:

Rémy Ourdan, journalist and war correspondent, Le Monde

SPEAKERS:

Thierry Cruvellier, editor-in-chief, Justice Info
Ed Vulliamy, journalist and writer

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

FONDATION WARM

¹ Founded in 1964, the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (or FARC in Spanish) signed a peace agreement in 2016 to put an end to their guerilla warfare.

election. Ed Vulliamy said that the return of the old regime will lead to even more killings in the coming years because the peace process is failing. This investigative journalist denounced white collar crime which is rampant in South America. He proved that the Wachovia Bank laundered more than 300 billion dollars for the cartel run by Chapo Guzman, the most powerful drug trafficker in the world, but it managed to negotiate a fine; this resulted in the story being kept quiet. He also recounted the murky role of HSBC, Britain's leading bank, which was accused of laundering drug cartel money by the US Senate in 2012 and was singled out again in recent years for similar offences².

“The post-war era can sometimes cause as much damage and be as cruel as the war itself.”

Ed Vulliamy

What method should be used?

Thierry Cruvellier, editor-in-chief of Justice Info, seized on the example of Colombia to discuss *“transitional justice”* or measures which are implemented to move on from war.

In his view, *“justice, remembrance, reconciliation and reparation”* are processes which must be adapted to the changing political and social circumstances of the country concerned. Discussing methods used to manage the post-war era, he mentioned international criminal justice and large-scale trials. He argued that this has led to *“real disillusionment because this model only deals with a tiny proportion of cases.”* He rejected the idea that the judicial process to judge a conflict must be selective and

² Featured in “HSBC: the Gangsters of Finance” by Jérôme Fritel and Marc Roche, who also produced the famous documentary “Goldman Sachs: the bank that runs the world”.



limited in scope. He cited Rwanda as an example: it opted for a large-scale judicial process by creating 11,000 people's courts in the country's communities in which more than one million people were tried in the space of 10 years. *“This process can be criticised but it remains a totally unique experience in terms of post-war justice.”* He also discussed *“truth commissions”*, a non-judicial process which was extraordinarily popular in Latin American in the 1980s and which has expanded to Asia, Africa, Europe and the Arab Muslim world. As popular as it is, the limitations of this process became clear in Bosnia: it did not meet expectations in that part of the world, not least because it was impossible to utter the word *“reconciliation”* in Bosnia, despite its central role. He emphasised that in deciding to make any peace agreement conditional on the rejection of amnesty clauses for crimes against humanity or genocide, the UN has been excluded from many peace talks over the past twenty years. It has lost its influence because of an *“ideological and inflexible position which usually prevents an agreement from being reached.”* In Thierry Cruvellier's view, *“amnesty is a taboo subject, despite the fact that it has always existed in negotiated peace agreements.”* He argued that the problem stems from the fact that *“amnesty”* is often confused with

“impunity”, explaining that compromise is possible, such as “conditional amnesties” for example. He concluded by discussing “remembrance and commemorations” which are often beyond the reach of the state, unlike “reparations”. He mentioned a meaningful artistic initiative in Sarajevo. Illustrations of shrapnel are painted in the streets of Sarajevo and make it immediately clear that people were killed there by these weapons, without any need for further explanation.

“It is difficult to apply a standard model to manage the post-war era because every situation is different with varied and high expectations which may be contradictory and even irreconcilable.”

Thierry Cruvellier

To conclude, Rémy Ourdan reminded the audience that in May 1993, no-one believed in UN Resolution 827 regarding “justice after war”. Blood continued to flow for two and a half years. From war criminals to journalists to the general population, the initiative seemed futile, even to the diplomats and peacekeepers



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Thierry Cruvellier

who were responsible for implementing it. Yet even if the Dayton Agreement “is one of the worst peace agreements in history”, according to the debate’s moderator, it made it possible to “stop the carnage and recognise the existence of international justice” which has since become widespread. He explained that he returned to Bosnia last year to mark 25 year since the end of the war. Although “justice has worked in part, there is no question of reconciliation at all.” He even found “that the discourse in the country was worse than at the beginning or the end of the war.” Despite the existence of the International Criminal Tribunal and its relative success, a sense of impunity has led to denial and then to division and rifts, which may lead to further conflict. After an earthquake, there is always a risk of aftershocks.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **8%.** Latin America represents just 8% of the world’s population but it is considered to be one of the most violent regions in the world, primarily because of drug trafficking.
- ▶ **100,000.** The most deadly conflict in Europe since the Second World War, the war in Bosnia killed 100,000 people and displaced more than two million people.
- ▶ **1995.** The year when Dayton Agreement was signed, ending the inter-ethnic fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Signed in Paris, the agreement is named after a military base in the United States where most of the negotiations were held.

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: THE FOUNDATION OF LASTING PEACE

LEVERS TO GOVERN PEACE

Friday 1 October 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle plénière



Emilie Gaillard, Xavier Chemisseur, Ali Ouattara and Thierry Cruvellier

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A sword on one side, a blindfold on the other

This debate focused on international justice for war crimes. Richard Dicker, director of Human Rights Watch's international justice programme, discussed the origins of this new aspect of global law, which aims to ensure that large-scale abuses committed around the world do not go unpunished. He explained that in the early 1990s, the UN Security Council established two ad hoc tribunals to focus on crimes in the former Yugoslavia

and Rwanda. For the first time since the Nuremberg trials, international tribunals administered justice for genocide. In a markedly different way, a few years later, negotiations began, involving 140 states and lasting almost 7 years, to create the international treaty which founded the International Criminal Court: the Rome Statute, adopted in July 1998 at the Rome conference. It entered into force on 1 July 2002 after ratification by 60 states: the International Criminal Court was officially established. It encourages states to unite around strong values. Christian Wenaweser, Ambassador of Liechtenstein to the United States, said that he believes it is important to link this debate to the Second World War. The Nuremberg trials were thus the starting point for international criminal justice, symbolising the successful interaction between justice and peace. These trials enabled Germany to turn the page and encouraged Europe to come together. After a few details about existing jurisdictions, he explained that the International Criminal Court (ICC) is the only international jurisdiction which can judge the most serious crimes:

MODERATOR:

Xavier Chemisseur, Editor-in-Chief,
France 24

SPEAKERS:

Richard Dicker, Director of Human Rights
Watch's International Justice programme

Emilie Gaillard, Senior Lecturer in private
law, General Coordinator of the Normandy
Chair for Peace

Ali Ouattara, Coordinator of Ivorian
Coalition for ICC

Christian Wenaweser, Permanent
Representative of Liechtenstein to the
United Nations (via video)

Thierry Cruvellier, Senior Reporter

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and, in certain circumstances, crimes of aggression. Ali Ouattara, co-ordinator of the Francophone African coalitions for the ICC, remarked that the ICC is unlike the Nuremberg trials and the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal¹ because it is not organised “*by the victors to judge the vanquished*” and it is not limited in terms of time or space. The voluntary participation of its member states necessitates their acceptance of the court’s jurisdiction. “*Can international justice be a foundation for long-lasting piece?*” the speaker asked, weighing up the different points of view on the subject. He said that he shares the opinion of the NGOs which argue that a lasting peace requires justice; this makes it possible to right the wrongs which have been suffered by victims and sends a strong signal to the perpetrators of serious crimes. Ali Ouattara summarised the situation with a powerful quote: “*impunity today is tomorrow’s crime.*”

The limits of the International Criminal Court

Senior reporter Thierry Cruvellier has covered wars in Sierra Leone, Africa and the Balkans. A specialist in international justice issues, he confirmed that international justice procedures are lengthy and complex and that current models have not been very effective to date. He expressed his view that international criminal justice is in crisis, often disconnected from and out of touch with society. While he explained that he understands the ICC’s purpose, he argued that it lacks inventiveness in providing post-war justice. National initiatives, which are much more flexible, are taking precedence, even in regard to contemporary mass violence. He stressed the importance of meaningful trials.

¹The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, established in 1946 to try Japanese war criminals of the Second World War

“Even if a trial for crimes against humanity or war crimes has no real importance for the society concerned, we can still question its relevance or at least acknowledge its purely symbolic value.”

Thierry Cruvellier

Christian Wenaweser confirmed that international justice is not the only form of justice which can ensure lasting peace. He recalled the Russian and Chinese vetoes during a meeting of the UN Security Council which prevented the ICC from addressing the crimes in Syria. Nevertheless, a new mechanism has been established to collect evidence and prepare a case for criminal prosecution, because it is felt that truth and reconciliation are crucial if a society is to rebuild itself after an extremely traumatic and collective experience. Ali Ouattara explained that he views the Security Council as being a strength and a weakness for the ICC: it can ask the prosecutor to open an investigation when a conflict leads to war crimes, but it can also block proceedings for political reasons. He advocated for an international justice which would involve a key role for national justice, mentioning the need to establish an efficient investigation strategy. Richard Dicker agreed with this view, insisting that there would need to be a synergy between the two institutions. He cited Guinea as a counterexample: the national authorities there are not willing to assume their responsibilities.

The rights of future generations

Emilie Gaillard, a lawyer and general co-ordinator of the Normandy Chair for Peace, advocated for the rights of future generations through the protection

of the environment, bioethics and the protection of the integrity of the human species. She stressed that she wants this right to supplement existing rights. Different types of work are carried out by the Normandy Chair for Peace. *“If we protect the rights of future generations, we must also recognise that we have fundamental duties towards them,”* she explained, citing marches for the climate as clear proof of young people’s demands for such recognition.

“Given that we must recognise past crimes against humanity, it is reasonable to ask whether crimes are being committed against future generations.”

Emilie Gaillard

She also referred to the I am Climate Justice movement which is led by Antonio Oposa, who instigated the first lawsuit on behalf of future generations and currently holds the Normandy Chair for Peace. Made up of volunteers, students, activists, artists and leading lawyers from around the world, it uses the power of the law to push governments for change. *“The idea is to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice through a resolution which will be adopted by the UN General Assembly for an advisory opinion. The State of Vanuatu will take the lead on this issue and we will work with the Normandy Chair for Peace to further develop the approach,”* Emilie Gaillard continued. She emphasised increasing awareness and a real need to act, given the increasing demand for climate justice which we are now seeing, something in which young people play a major role. She concluded by explaining that other action is also being taken, such as Pauline Higgins’s work to have the crime of ecocide recognised as a criminal act. The example of a small military tribunal in eastern Congo was given. Far from The Hague and media hype,

this tribunal sentenced a former soldier turned militiaman to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity, war crimes and environmental crimes. Richard Dicker stated his support for the creation of a legal definition of this criminal act which involves deliberately destroying an entire ecosystem. He pointed out that jurisprudence is evolving, thereby paving the way for international recognition of such offences. This lively debate was punctuated by numerous questions which made it possible to specify the limits of the ICC, with Thierry Cruvellier and Ali Ouattara saying that it raises too much hope, given that its resources continue to be insufficient. To conclude, he explained that *“justice does not stop wars”* even if it contributes to peace.

CONTEXT

▶ **24** of the most senior figures of the Third Reich, accused of conspiracy, crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity, were tried by the Allied powers at the Nuremberg trials, held from 20 November 1945 until 1 October 1946. These trials symbolise the first step towards the implementation of an international criminal court.

▶ **13** war or conflict zones around the world have been investigated by the International Criminal Court (ICC) to date: Congo, Sudan, Central African Republic (on two separate occasions), Kenya, Libya, Ivory Coast, Mali, Georgia, Burundi, Bangladesh/Myanmar, Afghanistan. 7 preliminary reviews are underway: Colombia, Guinea, Palestine, Philippines, Venezuela (twice) and Bolivia. 8 others have been closed or closed without action.

▶ **3** major crises have rocked the ICC’s recent history: the successive announcements of states’ withdrawal from its system, the accusations of rape and corruption against its former prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo and its refusal in 2019 to authorise an investigation into crimes under international law committed in Afghanistan.

WHAT ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE FOR PEACE?

LEVERS TO GOVERN PEACE

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Auditorium



Denis Redonnet, Benjamin Coriat (via video), Mary-Françoise Renard, Fernando Iglesias and Valérie Gauthier

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From credit to debit

Valérie Gauthier began by discussing the theory that globalisation has forged ties of global co-operation and, in doing so, fostered peace and stability. The France 24 journalist quoted the American geopolitical expert Edward Luttwak, who spoke of a new

world order in which economic weapons would replace military weapons as states' main instrument of power. *“Military threats and alliances have lost importance with the pacification of international trade, since economic priorities are no longer concealed and take precedence.”* Marie-Françoise Renard responded that the question of peace is, above all, political and geopolitical. She acknowledged that economic governance plays an undeniable role in peace, but said that this role is shared with many other institutions and stakeholders. The professor and writer pointed out that most institutions' current economic governance is the result of the Bretton Woods agreement¹, just after the Second World War. She explained that this model worked quite well for a number of years during the Cold War and during the undisputed hegemony of the United States, before it was called into question in 1971 by President Nixon. However, it is now obsolete because international economic institutions have lost their legitimacy.

MODERATOR:

Valérie Gauthier, journalist and TV presenter, France 24

SPEAKERS:

Benjamin Coriat, member of The Appalled Economists (via video conference) and author of “Le bien commun, le climat et le marché” (Common Goods, the Climate and the Market) and “La pandémie, l’anthropocène et le bien commun” (The Pandemic, the Anthropocene and Common Goods) (via video)

Fernando Iglesias, member of the Argentinian parliament and Parliamentarian for Peace

Denis Redonnet, deputy director-general for Trade, European Commission

Mary-Françoise Renard, professor at Clermont-Auvergne University, specialist in the Chinese economy, author of the book “La Chine dans l’économie mondiale” (China in the Global Economy)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

LE CERCLE DES ÉCONOMISTES

¹ Economic agreements signed in this town in New Hampshire, USA, in July 1944, which mapped out the international financial system of the post-war period.

“For global economic governance to be legitimate, a prerequisite for peace, two elements are necessary. The first is to avoid reproducing the North-South divide, according to which development aid rules are defined only by the rich countries, something which is no longer acceptable or sustainable. The second is a general belief that it works in the general interest and for the common good.”

Mary-Françoise Renard

Societal development and societal survival due to global warming are both pressing issues. The World Bank has announced the advent of large-scale migration from 2030, with the possibility of 200 million climate exiles by 2050. Mary-Françoise Renard mentioned a *“risk of fragmentation”* and called for a paradigm shift to rethink the organisation of the economic system on a global scale, considering carbon emissions and the depreciation of natural capital, for example, and helping to build indicators which reflect a different rationale.

Sharp criticism

Denis Redonnet outlined the architecture of global economic governance, which he stated as having three fundamental principles: that of *“trade and investment”*, that of *“monetary and financial flows”* and the more complex and multifaceted principles of *“regulations and standards”* which allows for regulatory convergence and co-operation. He argued

that the World Trade Organisation has long suffered from institutional immobility and a lack of political will on the part of its members to produce new multilateral trade rules in response to new economic realities, such as the emergence of electronic commerce. He also criticised a total lack of discipline with regard to economic distortions observed in some countries, particularly China, with massive sectoral subsidy schemes. The economic expert even suggested that there has been a backward step with an erosion of the primacy of international economic law in international economic relations, reinforced (among other things) by Sino-American tensions which weaken the international trade system. Listening to him, the audience was left with the impression that when it comes to international trade, it’s now the law of the jungle.



Benjamin Coriat is a member of The Appalled Economists. As the name indicates, he provided sharp criticism. He began by condemning the *“obsolete and inefficient”* nature of international economic governance, citing the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO); it was founded in 1947 to fight world hunger, yet 1 billion people are undernourished or malnourished. He also spoke of *“the outdated, inappropriate and very fragile nature of international institutions”*, although he acknowledged the positive role of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in the past which encouraged thawing trade between countries. However, today he sees the WTO as having a counter-productive role because it has been *“a kind of reward which has been systematically given to the lowest environmental and social bidder”*, and has therefore favoured countries

which ignore environmental and social matters. Lastly, he emphasised that poverty and inequality have been joined by the issues of climate change and the pandemic, which Benjamin Coriat sees as twin crises. *“The pandemic is linked to mass deforestation, biodiversity destruction and the climate crisis. We need all these other institutions to manage these new challenges.”*

“After the era of the declaration of human rights, I think we have entered the era of the declaration of protection and access to global common goods.”

Benjamin Coriat

At the crossroads of history

Fernando Adolfo Iglesias said that he believes that we are now at a crossroads in world economic history, firstly because of a change in scale. Once national in scope, today culture, the economy and politics are international. The very nature of industrialisation has changed from the exploitation of human labour in a mechanical and repetitive way to the creation of value through collective intelligence and culture. These dramatic developments mean that global processes are superseding regional matters. However, although our economy and technology are now managed at an international level, political decisions are still national, which explains the imbalance. This imbalance has led some to call for an end to the euro, more protectionism and a return to the past, something which he criticised. In his view, *“we must continue to globalise the economy and technology and globalise politics, institutions and human rights, without ignoring national or local adversities.”* The co-chair of the Institute for Global Policy explained that true global

governance is needed to be able to deal with major crises. In his view, this involves democratising and federalising at a regional level, rather than just the European Union, because a single dictatorship is sufficient to undermine any idea of integration. He also questioned whether it is possible to have a democratic Europe if the rest of the world is not democratic. He demonstrated the interpenetration of geopolitical phenomena, taking Europe as an example and explaining that it has to manage major crises which did not originate on European soil, including the migration crisis, the American subprime financial crisis and Covid-19. Denis Redonnet explained that he believes that elements of the existing system which have proved their worth should be stabilised, while elements which are currently weakened should be strengthened before the launch of an overall reform, to which he is not opposed. In his view, the main risk would be moving from *“international economic relations based on law to a system based, in reality, on the balance of power.”* Benjamin Coriat went further, stating that existing institutions obviously cannot be written off, whatever their shortcomings. He also said that the credibility of commitments is absolutely fundamental for the future of peace with a stable economic system, citing COP 21 as a counterexample: promises were made to provide southern countries with a *“green fund”* of 100 billion euros, but this sum has not been paid out. In addition, he mentioned the plan to create a carbon tax at Europe’s borders, while *“rights to pollute”* are still being freely distributed to European companies. In conclusion, Marie-Françoise Renard spoke of her regret that Europe remains unconvinced of the political role it can play when it comes to dealing with global giants. She argued that international institutions will only work if member countries demonstrate real political will. Otherwise, the same causes will produce the same effects.

COMBATING HUNGER, WORKING FOR PEACE

LEVERS TO GOVERN PEACE

Friday 1 October 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle Or



Céline Jurgensen (via video), Thomas Delage, Sébastien Abis and Claire Guyon

A critical emergency

Statistics about world hunger are a reminder of the gravity of this issue. Thomas Delage, journalist and moderator of this debate, said that 690 million people are undernourished around the world, equivalent to 8.9% of the population. The outlook is alarming, with the United

Nations predicting that an additional 150 million people will be affected by food shortages by 2030. While this situation existed before Covid-19, the pandemic has created further instability. Céline Jurgensen, Permanent Representative of France to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, confirmed that global food insecurity has become more acute since 2014, mentioning a risk “of a hunger pandemic”. The increase in conflicts, the effects of climate change and economic crises are the cause. In her view, coronavirus, which has accelerated this worrying trend, highlights “the flaws and shortcomings of our multilateral system and our agricultural and food organisations, which are at the heart of the issues discussed during the summit on food systems which the UN Secretary-General organised on 23 and 24 September 2021.” She reminded the audience that the United Nations World Food Programme received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2020

MODERATOR:

Thomas Delage, editor-in-chief and co-ordinator of major features at *Diplomatie Magazine*

SPEAKERS:

Claire Guyon, project executive at AFDI Normandie

Sébastien Abis, associate research fellow at IRIS and director of Club Demeter

Céline Jurgensen, ambassador, Permanent Representative of France to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (via video)

Eric Pichon, policy analyst at the European Parliamentary Research Service (via video)

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DIPLMATIE MAGAZINE

for “its efforts to combat hunger, for its contribution to improving the conditions for peace in conflict-affected areas and for playing a leading role in efforts to prevent the use of hunger as a weapon of war in conflicts.” As she explained, the challenge lies in “finding economic, social and environmental solutions to ensure sustainable production to feed a population which is constantly growing and estimated to reach 10 billion in 2050.” Claire Guyon, who works for the charitable association Agriculteur Français et Développement International, pointed out that the majority of those affected by hunger around the world are farmers. She explained this paradox by highlighting a lack of recognition for agricultural activity, which is not considered to be a profession in its own right in many countries. She also discussed a lack of training, technical means and access to information, not to mention the issue of access to land, which is often problematic, particularly in the event of conflicts between livestock keepers and farmers. The latter blame the former for the transhumance of livestock and the roaming of animals which destroy crops, creating conflicts about land use.

Food insecurity

Sébastien Abis, Associate Research Fellow at IRIS and Director of Club Demeter, lists the causes of food insecurity, including conflicts within a country, geographical factors, a lack of resources, logistical difficulties and issues in accessing the international market. “Essential, universal and timeless, food can be used for military purposes and to control regions or populations, hence the concept of food being a weapon.” But the speaker argued that food is first and foremost a source of peace. As such, although he acknowledged that agriculture plays a role in greenhouse gas emissions, he argued that farmers are the first victims of global warming. He went on to praise their absolutely vital role.

“Today, the major challenge facing farmers is to feed the world while repairing the world around them. Working for peace and the planet, they must meet both geopolitical and climatic challenges.”

Sébastien Abis

Céline Jurgensen argued that the challenges of world food are such that the response can only be international, explaining the operational nature of the United Nations World Food Programme. She expressed the importance of schooling for children around the world: the school day includes a lunchtime meal, which is the only meal of the day for many children. She pointed out that “food served at school contributes directly to children’s health and education and funds local agriculture which supplies schools.” It also contributes to gender equality: boys and girls are treated in the same way in the canteen. Eric Pichon, political analyst at the European Parliamentary Research Service, described the European Union as being an important player in the fight against world hunger because of its ability to mobilise funds. €140 million was announced for food security research, while direct EU food aid amounts to €500 million. European’s strategic position at the crossroads of global economic, climate and governance issues is another asset, in the speaker’s view, because food is affected by these factors. In addition, he argued that there is a consensus at a European level to take action to ensure that everyone can access adequate and healthy food. In practice, the EU contributes to the fight against hunger by directly providing food aid. It then works to ensure that crises do

not recur, hence the need for development aid and, in some cases, military aid. Although Eric Pichon encouraged co-operation between different countries, he explained that each member state can decide on its own policy for food security. He went on to discuss the crucial role of small-scale farmers who are essential links in the food chain. He also raised the issue of reforming the Common Agricultural Policy which clearly states that aid for farmers should not have a distorting effect on the markets. Third-country products cannot compete with European products. "EU institutions have a role to play because they are capable of finding international agreements."

A major geopolitical issue

Why are agriculture and food at the heart of geopolitical issues? Sébastien Abis reminded the audience that peace in Europe is based on agriculture and food security. He praised the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which is often criticised, because "it is a citizen-oriented food policy which has benefited half a billion consumers and which has ensured that Europe is not currently experiencing food inflation, unlike the rest of the world, due to an admirable organisation of the markets." He also highlighted states' hyper-intensification around agriculture and food, mentioning that Russia's economic rearmament and return to the international scene have focused primarily on this sector. He also cited China, which is buying land and investing in ports and industries around the world to ensure its food security. He discussed South Africa, Ethiopia, Morocco and Kenya which see agriculture as a driver of development, national security and international influence with new environmentally friendly practices, innovation and female entrepreneurship. Referring to people who doubt that agriculture is vital for our future, he encouraged them to look at what large

American and Chinese digital companies are doing: investing massively in agricultural and food innovation. He also mentioned an asset management fund of more than \$20 trillion which currently devotes 0.5% of its investments to the agriculture and food sector, a sum far greater than the budgets of FAO, IFAD and WFP combined. "Today, everyone is concerned about food because it ensures our everyday survival and the future of our planet."

CONTEXT

- ▶ **811** million. The number of people who suffer from chronic hunger, according to the latest report on global hunger by the FAO in 2020. If we add malnutrition in all its forms, more than 2 billion men, women and children are affected worldwide.
- ▶ **11**. Number of malnutrition victims who die every minute around the world.
- ▶ **70%**. Percentage of respondents in 12 states in India who say they eat less because of a lack of financial resources, caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The closure of schools deprived Indian children of their main meal of the day.

FROM REPORTING TO LITERATURE

LEVERS TO GOVERN PEACE

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle Or



Florence Aubenas, Grégoire Leménager and Jean Hatzfeld

Recounting war to find peace

Grégoire Leménager, deputy editor-in-chief of L'OBS, opened the debate by asking the two speakers to explain how they came to be war reporters. Florence Aubenas, senior reporter for Le Monde and writer, recounted her experience of working at Libération when the editors were looking for a journalist to cover the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. *"I was sitting at my desk when they asked who wanted to go to Rwanda the next day on a military plane. A hand went up. It was mine,"* she explained, specifying that she prefers the term *"peace correspondent"* to *"war reporter"*. Jean Hatzfeld was a sports journalist when the opportunity arose to change his area of focus. He visited

the Middle East, Israel and Palestine in the late 1970s and also covered the rise of the Polish trade union movement Solidarnosc, led by Lech Walesa in the 1980s. He admitted that he found that he was in his element in this chaotic universe. *"I realised that war reporting would fascinate me because there are so many stories to tell in these extreme and intense environments."*

The daily life of a war reporter

Jean Hatzfeld also spoke of another way of travelling, as he did in Lebanon, the Congo and Bosnia. *"You could move freely from one camp to another across battle lines, provided that you did so at your own risk, which meant accepting the idea of being shot at."* He appreciated this total freedom, quite unlike the wars in which journalists are behind the army and have just one point of view. The journalist also had the rare opportunity to report on the conflict of Bosnia-Herzegovina from beginning to end, from 1991 to 1995.

MODERATOR:

Grégoire Leménager, deputy editor-in-chief of L'OBS

SPEAKERS:

Florence Aubenas, writer, journalist at Le Monde

Jean Hatzfeld, writer

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

L'OBS

“It had a profound effect on me, I had many nightmares and lost many friends because of it.” Both journalists agreed that the war reporting of the past is quite unlike today’s reporting. Beyond the technological means which accelerate the spread of information such as mobile phones and social media, Florence Aubenas noted that journalists now have a different status.

“Before, being a journalist was like having a protective shield. You wore a “press” armband and had a visor and signs with the word “press” on your vehicle. Today, the press is a target.”

Florence Aubenas

Florence Aubenas recounted her own personal experience of this. She was abducted in Baghdad in 2005 for five months, joining a litany of war reporters who suffered the same fate. She also recounted the events in Syria which she covered; echoing the Arab Spring, these events initially suggested a happy ending for the country which had been persecuted by Bashar al-Assad. *“I went back a few months later and the long-awaited victory had become a seemingly endless war. I was meant to go back some time later. I had given Didier François 1, who replaced me, the contact details of people who had helped me the first time. They were the ones who abducted him when he got there.”* The journalist noted a sharp increase in the number of geographical areas where it is now impossible to move freely, something which changes our perception of the world. Jean Hatzfeld emphasised that the press is a weapon used by military

¹ abducted in Syria in June 2013 by ISIS jihadists, along with the photographer Edouard Elias, he was held for almost ten months

staff to manipulate public opinion; the public reaction to journalists is therefore based on whether the country they come from is considered to be an ally or an enemy. Florence Aubenas, who has spent years reporting from the perspective of ordinary citizens, highlighted the gulf between these two types of journalism. *“Newspapers are designed to report major events: a war, an earthquake, a plane crash. Conversely, we are not necessarily suited to talking about the small things in life which are the most important: insecure employment, life in a nursing home, the daily life of Charolais cattle breeders. As journalists, we trample all over these subjects.”* She admitted that the most important preparatory work she did was not for a war report, but rather working undercover as a cleaning lady for a long and in-depth feature.

Working on writing

Grégoire Leménager asked the speakers about their relationship to writing, given that both are journalists and authors. Jean Hatzfeld answered that fiction allows him to continue his reporting with different staging. His books on Rwanda are mainly based on personal accounts. They require preparatory work to identify the right questions, a sensitive and subtle approach to establish a sense of trust during the interviews and a great deal of work to choose the right material and make the words resonate during the writing process. He rejected the idea that writing is linked to gender. He argued that Florence Aubenas’ reports are eminently literary, despite the fact that they cannot be described in any way as fiction. He insisted that all reporting includes an element of subjectivity. Florence Aubenas was very supportive of this, explaining that you only have to read ten different articles about the same event to realise that none will be told in the same way. She also expressed the sincere difficulty of *“reporting”* on a situation which everyone interprets in their own way. In addition, she talked about the impact of

articles on individuals who do not choose to be featured. *“It is true that journalists appropriate a story in their own way and, without necessarily wanting to twist things, recount stories with which their protagonists do not identify.”* She stressed the importance of the words used, which can be hurtful. She once used the word *“shabby”* to describe a hotel where one of the protagonists of her article was staying, something which delighted the hotel’s owner. *“Today, I would write ‘a one-star hotel’”*. However, the journalist made a clear distinction between reporting, which is based on reality with facts, figures and testimonies, and fiction, which requires a sense of imagination. Jean Hatzfeld also encouraged the questioning of misconceptions. His experience in conflict zones has taught him to consider *“the silence of the survivors”*.

“You have to know how to listen to the silence of genocide survivors and understand why they are silent, because there can be many reasons: they do not want to talk any more, they do not remember, they are afraid of not being believed, they hate you or they are simply ashamed.”

Jean Hatzfeld

To conclude, Florence Aubenais discussed the evolution of journalism and the suspicions surrounding the profession. She said that she would never have believed that colleagues working in television news would end up needing bodyguards at demonstrations in the Place de la République in Paris, as if it were



a war zone. She now strives to transcribe the words of the people she quotes in her investigations as closely as she can, something which requires time and mutual trust. If her subjects are unfamiliar with the world of communications, she then has them proofread their words before publication. This is an unusual approach among renowned journalists and it reflects well on her.

CONTEXT

▶ **32%**. The percentage of journalists killed in conflict zones in 2021, compared to 58% in 2016. Today, 7 out of 10 journalists are killed in so-called “peaceful” countries such as Mexico, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Honduras.

▶ **27**. The number of editions of the Bayeux-Calvados-Normandy Award for war correspondents which, since 1994, has paid tribute to journalists who work in dangerous conditions.

▶ **34,182**. The number of journalists who hold a press card in France has fallen by 10% over the last ten years. A new development is being witnessed: significant numbers of journalists who are choosing to leave the profession.

AFGHANISTAN: IS PEACE IMPOSSIBLE?

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Friday 1 October 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.30pm | Salle plénière



Françoise Hostalier, Chékéba Hachemi, Ali Maisam Nazary, Fawzia Koofi, Liseron Boudoul, Emmanuel Dupuy, Cyril Payen (via video) and Michael Barry (via video)

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The story of a collapse

Françoise Hostalier and Emmanuel Dupuy introduced this debate on Afghanistan by recalling the tragic fall of Kabul to the Taliban a few weeks earlier, on 15 August 2021. Journalists who were present at the time of the American withdrawal were soon given the floor. Cyril Payen covered the events on the ground for France 24. *“We arrived in the Afghan capital a few days after its fall, in what remained of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. There were still thousands of Americans and NATO forces controlling the military airport, trying to stem the exodus. We decided to leave the airport, the last remaining Western stronghold, and cross the Taliban security cordon without really knowing what we were getting into.”*

“There was a clear desire on the part of the Taliban to show themselves in a new light, with a new image. I remember their surprise at the success of their offensive, during which they did not fire a shot. But what was most striking was the astonishment of the people of Kabul as they watched the Taliban take control of the country again, twenty years after the first time.”

Cyril Payen

MODERATORS:

Françoise Hostalier, President of the Club France Afghanistan

Emmanuel Dupuy, President of the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe

SPEAKERS:

Michael Barry, Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University (via video)

Liseron Boudoul, Senior Reporter, TF1

Chékéba Hachemi, Founder and President of Afghanistan Libre

Fawzia Koofi, Former MP, Former Member of the Negotiation team with the Taliban, and president of Movement for change Political party

Ali Maisam Nazary, Head of Foreign Relations for the National Resistance Front of Afghanistan, Spokesperson for Ahmad Massoud

Cyril Payen, Senior reporter, France 24 (via video)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INSTITUT PROSPECTIVE ET SÉCURITÉ EN EUROPE

CLUB FRANCE-AFGHANISTAN

The journalist stayed in Kabul after the Americans' departure on 31 August. *"On the one hand, we saw the Taliban parading around and gloating about having defeated the world's largest army after years of being underground. On the other hand, we saw Afghans who understood that those who were eligible to leave the country, having worked with foreign organisations, would be left behind and abandoned."* Liseron Boudoul, a senior reporter for TF1, testified to the palpable fear which swept across the entire capital, exacerbated by a feeling that the city's attackers were improvising and did not really know how to run the city. She also recounted surreal scenes of bewildered fighters seeing shopping centres and theme parks for the first time. Although she was initially able to work, the journalist was not fooled. *"As the plans for the Americans' departure advanced, it became clearer that Islamic law was being established. In the end, you had to hide to be able to interview a woman wearing the traditional Afghan blue burka."* Chékéba Hachemi, whose speech during the Plenary session was

greeted with a standing ovation, rejected any idea that those who now control her country have changed.

"The Taliban in 2021 is the same as the Taliban in 2001. Bans on education, women in the workplace and women's dress echo what happened in 1996 after the Soviet invasion."

Chékéba Hachemi

Speaking on behalf of her nation, she criticised Europe and the USA for abandoning Afghanistan without an exit strategy. *"We were led to believe that peace negotiations were held for two years, although there were no Afghans; we were told that the government which was in power at the time would create an inclusive government."* Chékéba Hachemi argued, however, that the world has changed and that social media makes it possible to follow and support the courageous Afghan women who are demonstrating in the streets and who are prepared to risk death rather than live under this regime.

**Ahmad Massoud,
the exception which
proves the rule**

Ali Maisam Nazary, spokesman for the National Resistance Front led by Ahmad Massoud, son of Commander Massoud, confirmed that the situation has deteriorated significantly in Afghanistan since the American departure. *"All but one of the opposition political leaders have left the country: Ahmad Massoud. He had anticipated the events of 15 August 2021 and had made this known to Emmanuel Macron a few months earlier. He told the French President that the Western world should not abandon Afghanistan because the terrorist threat would increase and*

the country's institutions and armed forces would crumble. Unfortunately, that is exactly what happened."

“On 15 August, when the government collapsed, Ahmad Massoud refused to allow a French-chartered plane to pick him up. He decided to resist this tyranny and chose not to abandon his people.”

Ali Maisam Nazary

Ahmad Massoud fled to the Panjshir Valley. Due to a lack of support and resources, his Resistance Front is experiencing difficulties, making a conventional war against the Taliban impossible. Ali Maisam Nazary, his spokesperson, rejects the term “civil war”, used by the media. *“This is not an internal war between southern and northern forces but rather a global fight against terrorism.”* Just like Chékéba Hachemi, he warned that the conflict would spread to Europe and America. *“The Taliban and their allies, including Pakistan, are against the values we hold dear. If they win, other democratic forces in the region, in North Africa and the Middle East, will become discouraged and give up the fight. The situation in the Sahel is linked to Afghanistan. Political forces in Western Europe and North America must remain committed. We are not asking them for ground forces but for assistance to survive, to participate in the security of the free world and to protect its democratic ideal all over the world.”*

The Taliban's double dealing

Fawzia Koofi, an Afghan member of parliament from 2005 to 2019, took part in the Doha negotiations for a year. Having been criticised for this, she shared her feelings about the members of the Taliban



she met there. *“I belong to a generation which has experienced war and I thought that peace should be sought, even if it meant talking to the Taliban. I told them that Afghanistan had changed and that women were a part of society which they could not bypass. At the time, they listened to and accepted this message.”* However, she condemned the deceptive agreement they signed. Although, in 2019, the Taliban accepted the idea that young girls should go to school and that women should be able to hold positions of responsibility, including at the highest level of government, their attitude changed radically after the signing of agreements which were badly managed. *“Only members of the Taliban were present, which emboldened them. The announcement of the American withdrawal a few months later reinforced their military strategy at the expense of a peaceful solution.”* Appalled, Fawzia Koofi saw years of effort come to nothing because of the mistakes of the international community. Her conclusion was very emotional. *“Yes, our government was corrupt and seized power, but there were other international factors which led us to this current situation which has forced us to start all over again.”*

Democracy is non-negotiable

Michael Barry, an American geopolitical expert, explained that human rights are non-negotiable and should not be the subject of compromise in any way. *“Education and freedom are inalienable rights. This must be repeated because we are now dealing with a regime which has proclaimed itself an emirate, or an*

absolute monarchy. If the rights of Afghan women are denied, human rights are violated.” After a fascinating overview of the situation in Afghanistan from a geopolitical perspective, the Middle East expert spoke about China’s role in Afghanistan, describing himself as being “*shocked by the inability of its President to read a map*” before moving on to the issue of the country’s future food security. “*Since the beginning of the 20th century, totalitarian powers have played both sides by establishing their authority with massacres, terror and fear, stifling all pockets of resistance, where possible, only to turn to democratic powers and say: will you be cruel enough to let our people starve to death? But if you want to distribute food, and I am thinking of the Russian people in the 1920s and the Afghan people today, you have to do so via the Taliban regime which is funded by China and Pakistan. It is a terrible dilemma.*”

What future for Afghanistan?

A final round of discussions focused on Afghanistan’s future. Liseron Boudoul did not sense a willingness among the Afghan people to resist the regime; instead, she sensed their common desire to leave the country, whatever the cost. Chékéba Hachemi mentioned the day-to-day terror caused by executions and deprivation. She urged the public to help her country, predicting an imminent crisis caused by food insecurity. Fawzia Koofi said that she believes that the resistance will continue to expand and that it can weaken the Taliban



Chékéba Hachemi

because they do not know how to manage a country in which women are on the front line. This optimism was not shared by Cyril Payen who explained that the very word is clichéd when it comes to the current situation in Afghanistan. He emphasised the extent to which the Afghans have been abandoned, as China, Pakistan and Qatar have supported the Taliban. Ali Maisam Nazary argued that although hunger is not new to his country, the country remains resilient because of its focus on justice and freedom. He compared the situation in Afghanistan to the situation in France during the German occupation. He swore that the movement of which he is the spokesperson will go on fighting until the end. Michael Barry concluded by explaining that patience and tenacity will be required to save Afghanistan from its captors, while encouraging people not to give up because “*if we abandon Afghanistan, we abandon who we are*”.

CONTEXT

▶ **1922**, the year in which France became the first European country to recognise Afghanistan, described by one speaker as the “tomb of all empires”, a region which had been the subject of three unsuccessful wars by Britain in the late 19th century. In 1996, Russia also failed spectacularly after deploying 600,000 troops and losing 26,000 soldiers.

▶ **20**. 20 years ago, the Taliban were driven from power in Afghanistan. These 20 years enabled the Afghan people to rebuild the foundations of peace and freedom. This period also saw the presence of foreign forces on Afghan soil; their withdrawal signalled the Taliban’s return to power on 15 August 2021.

▶ **\$1.5** trillion: this is the amount of money spent by America on the war in Afghanistan, according to the New York Times on 9 December 2019.

TURKEY: A SHOW OF REGIONAL POWER

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Or



Ahmet Insel, Grégory Rayko and Ariane Bonzon

The southern country with the closest ties to the north?

Standing at the crossroads of the Middle East, Europe and the Caucasus, Turkey is seeking to expand its influence and impose itself as a regional power in a region which is already dominated by power struggles. Turkey is home to 4 million Syrian refugees. The country has also taken on an active role in Libya since the fall of Gaddafi in 2011. With a long border in the eastern Mediterranean, Turkey has had disputes with Greece and France over gas. The Ankara regime has also been very supportive of Azerbaijan

in its conflict with Armenia for Nagorno-Karabakh. Ahmet Insel, an economist and political scientist, said that Turkish power is limited to the Middle East and Black Sea: the area around Turkey, the Caucasus and the Balkans. He analysed the foreign policy of Tayyip Erdogan's government, focusing on three recurring issues. The first is the Kurdish question, which dates back to the creation of the Republic of Turkey. The second is the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus since 1974. The third is the tension with Greece over shared waters in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

MODERATOR:

Grégory Rayko, head of international news, The Conversation France

SPEAKERS:

Ariane Bonzon, journalist and essayist

Ahmet Insel, economist and political scientist

Bahadır Kaleagasi, President of the Bosphorus Institute (via video)

Sergey Lagodinsky, European member of parliament

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ETUDES ANATOLIENNES

“As a member of NATO, the Council of Europe, the OECD and a candidate country of the European Union, Turkey likes to think of itself as the southern country with the closest ties to the North.”

Ahmet Insel

He emphasised the proactive nature of Turkish diplomacy with a statistic. Turkey has the 5th highest number of diplomatic representatives in the world, after the United States, China, France and Russia. Turkish power is also evident in Africa, where it has more than tripled its diplomatic staff in 15 years. With regard to military matters, Erdogan's country occupies part of Syria and has military bases in Libya, Somalia and Qatar. It has over 60,000 troops outside the country, including over 30,000 in Northern Cyprus. Ahmet Insel explained that *"the Ankara regime developed an aggressive policy in Syria, initially to overthrow Bashar al-Assad. But today, it is targeting the Kurds for fear of seeing an autonomous Kurdish region emerge in Syria, as it has in Iraq."* The speaker explained that this frenetic foreign policy activity, which is considered rather anti-Western, is supported by the majority of opposition parties, unlike Erdogan's domestic policy.

The omnipresence of Erdogan

Ariane Bonzon argued that the presence of a large audience at this debate confirmed widespread interest in Turkey today. The journalist said that she believes that the country's foreign policy is the work of just one man, Tayyip Erdogan, who holds the positions of President of the Republic, Head of the Armed Forces, Head of Foreign Policy, Party Leader and supposed Prime Minister. She pointed out that this dominance of a single figure is beginning to crumble slightly, according to the country's latest polls, but that the political context remains favourable. His "neo-Ottomanist" message of increasing Turkey's influence in areas formerly under the rule of the Ottoman Empire still seems to be well received by an increasingly patriotic population. *"The only issue is Syria and Iraq. The public believes that the Kurds, who are supported by the West while*

they wage war against the Turkish state, represent a potential danger to them," Ariane Bonzon explained. In fact, the United States are Turkey's main enemy, ahead of Israel, Armenia and Greece. The Turkish people are changing, however, with opinion polls showing that they are becoming less keen to send their army to foreign countries. Instead, they want the country to play a mediating role in places where it can make a difference, such as in Afghanistan.

Calling for a rapprochement between Turkey and the European Union

Bahadır Kaleağası, economist and President of the Bosphorus Institute, who is pro-European and a federalist, focused on how Turkey can better integrate into Europe. He stressed the idea of *"economic integration"*, rather than *"political membership of the EU"*, which is another debate. He said that he favours a process which offers a three-way win for Europe, Turkey and its close neighbours. He noted that the more successful Turkey's integration into Europe has been in the past, the more attractive the country has become economically, as for countries in Eurasia, Africa and the Americas. To conclude the discussion on Turkey's foreign policy, he argued that it will be more limited in the future for two reasons. Firstly, the presidential elections in 2023 will encourage the government to focus less on foreign policy issues. Secondly, the country is living through an economic crisis with an inflation rate of over 20%, which has led to a significant drop in the value of the Turkish lira, and endemic youth unemployment. In his view, the health, financial, digital and ecological challenges are the same for every country. Consequently, there should be better European and global integration, taking into account the strengths

and weaknesses of globalisation. The speaker also described this integration as a driver of peace. He recalled that Turkey, when it was committed to the European process, was 100% supportive of peace and reunification in Cyprus and that Turkish Cypriots were largely pro-European. He described the EU's cold attitude towards Turkey as being anachronistic, given that it has revived its economic relations with Japan, Vietnam, South America and Africa over the past decade.

“The time has come to re-engage with Turkey, probably with a requirement for democracy. Every time that the European Union begins this process with deadlines, this benefits European citizens. If policies of inaction or stalling are adopted, problems will continue.”

Bahadır Kaleağası

Sergey Lagodinsky is a member of the European Parliament and is President of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee. He discussed the temporal difficulties of the EU's assessment of Turkey, between what it has been, what it is and what it should be. He mentioned some parliamentarians' desire to vote to suspend the ongoing integration process with Turkey. He said that he deplores this option because it would mark the end of the process and would no longer allow Europe to make its criticisms, desires and ideas heard. He pointed out that unlike Russia, this country has a diverse civil society which has the right to be heard and to *“have its say”*. Although he described Turkey's foreign policy as

“active and sometimes aggressive”, he said that it also *“reflects our lack of political activity in many areas, both at a European and an American level.”* He called for concerted efforts to integrate Turkey into the Western family, a goal which he said was shared by Joe Biden. Sooner or later, solutions must be found to ensure Turkey's adoption of the European Green Pact ¹, to see the country make democratic progress with an end to the oppression of the pro-Kurdish HDP party, for example, and to embark upon negotiations about the Customs Union. *“There is work to do, but we must make progress for the sake of Turkish society,”* the MEP concluded.

¹ Initiatives launched by the European Commission to drive Europe to climate neutrality in 2050.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **10,000.** This is the estimated number of HDP supporters in prison in Turkey. This pro-Kurd, progressive and green party, the 2nd largest opposition to President Erdogan, has been banned by the country's authorities for “complicity in terrorism”.
- ▶ **€17.7 billion.** The amount of EU aid given to Turkey since 1996, including €6 billion in aid for refugees in Turkey, following an agreement with the European Union.
- ▶ **36%.** This is the percentage of the area of Northern Cyprus which has been held by Turkey since its invasion in 1974 and which is still under Turkish control. Although the country is not recognised by the UN and the Council of Europe as Turkish territory, the northern part of the Republic of Cyprus is occupied by 30,000 Turkish soldiers.

LIBYA: A FAINT HOPE FOR STABILITY?

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Nacre



Kader Abderrahim, Liseron Boudoul and Emmanuel Dupuy

The Libyan people aspire to peace

Emmanuel Dupuy, President of the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe, introduced the debate with a detailed overview of the situation in Libya, something which requires analysis of both sides of the Mediterranean. He argued that since the British-American intervention in NATO's name in 2011, Libya and the entire surrounding area of North Africa and the Sahel have been destabilised. This region is a microcosm of the key issues at stake around the Mediterranean Sea, with

MODERATOR:

Emmanuel Dupuy, President of the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe

SPEAKERS:

Liseron Boudoul, senior reporter for TF1

Oussama Assed, director of the Libya Centre for Strategic and Future Studies

Kader Abderrahim, research director of the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe

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INSTITUT PROSPECTIVE ET SÉCURITÉ EN EUROPE

Turkey taking on a particularly important role which is changing the nature of the conflict. He recalled the events of the Arab Spring, the protests of the Libyan people, the bloody repression by Colonel Gaddafi and his execution in October 2011. 10 years after the end of the dictatorship, he spoke of a country which has not followed the example of its neighbour Tunisia, where democracy has slowly become established. He also argued that the country is the scene of a power play by European countries which have long failed to unite to deal with the Libyan issue.

“We can legitimately say that the situation in Libya is the result of the European Union’s inaction or inability to adopt a consistent and structured position.”

Emmanuel Dupuy

However, he noted that there have recently been changes, thanks to German, Italian and French diplomatic initiatives and the organisation of elections in December 2021, something which raises hopes of the beginning of a return to peace and stability. The moderator then listed several questions which were central to the debate: How can we effectively fight against armed terrorist groups which take advantage of the absence of an organised state? How can we develop a co-ordinated and humane policy in response to the migrant crisis? How can Libya get out of the mess it is in and rebuild the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity?

Hopes and doubts about the upcoming elections

Oussama Otman Assed, director of the Libya Research Centre for Strategic and Future Studies, discussed the current situation. He emphasised the Libyan people's expectations about the elections, in which Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar is running. This leader of a militia of 25,000 men considers his armed forces to represent the Libyan national army. In 2019, he unsuccessfully tried to seize power, which led to calls for calm from the international community, fearing the outbreak of a civil war. In the absence of elections, the military could try to seize power again by force. Senior reporter Liseron Boudoul has visited Libya many times. She said that the local people "are not interested in war" and have lived through the worst: "the revolution, corrupt politicians (to varying degrees), the militia which took power and the arrival of ISIS." The TF1 journalist discussed the Islamic State's year-long occupation of Sirte, followed by an internationally-backed local insurgency to oust the terrorist organisation "which had almost turned this city into its capital, just like Raqqa in Syria." She also recounted the war which was started by the self-proclaimed Field Marshal Haftar, leaving many dead



and causing long-term insecurity. "The Libyans cannot take any more and just want peace." Although the country does not have a constant supply of electricity and living conditions are difficult, she emphasised a slight improvement in Libyans' lives and stressed their desire to return to a normal way of life. Liseron Boudoul was less enthusiastic about the upcoming elections. The citizens she interviewed were doubtful about the significance of these elections, did not really know for whom they should vote and wondered whether the result could trigger other crises. She argued that the Libyan people's expectations should be properly addressed. "The international community should listen to local people, not just international organisations."

A critical voice

Kader A. Abderrahim, director of research at the Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe and lecturer at Sciences Po, discussed the situation in Libya by providing a geopolitical analysis of this area, having first given a few details about its geography. He then addressed the fall of Gaddafi. "However unsavoury he was, this man had the merit of making it possible to discuss, negotiate and trade with Libya." This situation lasted 42 years and France benefited significantly from it, according to the academic. He explained that the end of the dictatorship in Libya had the perverse effect of ensuring that

the man's enormous military arsenal was spread across the Sahel. A situation "for which we are now paying a heavy price, as seen with the attack in Bamako, Mali's capital, by terrorist groups." As the speaker explained, the war in Libya has caused instability, initially in Mali and now in the Sahel, both in terms of politics and criminal activity. Kader A. Abderrahim was critical of the media hype surrounding "an Arab Spring which had nothing springlike about it, save for the name used by journalists, and which, it soon became clear, was much more of an Arab Autumn or Winter than an Arab Spring" and mentioned the pragmatism of international relations, quoting General De Gaulle who said that "states have no friends, only interests". In his view, it is impossible to understand the Libyan situation from a Western viewpoint and with Western values.

"Libya is not a state as we understand it. It is a people without a nation made up of an aggregate of tribes - I counted 147 - within a country which is complex in terms of its anthropology and which has a population which still functions on a tribal basis and does not have a collective conscience."

Kader A. Abderrahim

However, he pointed out that some Libyans are questioning this. This is particularly true of young people, who are constantly connected to the rest of the world via the Internet and social media. Authoritarian ways of thinking are no

longer accepted in many countries. "We can see that people no longer accept this, which explains why there are more and more protests and, sometimes, uprisings."



CONTEXT

- ▶ **39%**. This is the percentage of Africa's oil reserves in Libya, estimated at 48 billion barrels. This black gold attracts plenty of international attention.
- ▶ **40,000**. The estimated number of foreign fighters in Libya, consisting of Russian mercenaries, Sudanese, Yemeni, Turkmen, Syrian and Chadian rebels; their presence makes it particularly difficult to ensure the country's stability.
- ▶ **1,759,540 km²**. The total area of Libya, the 4th biggest country in Africa, spanning 1,300 km from north to south and 1,400 km from east to west, with 6 neighbouring countries: Egypt, Sudan, Chad, Niger, Algeria and Tunisia.

IRAN: AT A CROSSROADS

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle Nacre



Dina Esfandiary and Saeed Khatibzadeh

The nuclear issue in the background

“Why is Iran so scary?” Dina Esfandiary, senior advisor on the Middle East and North Africa at the International Crisis Group, immediately caught the audience’s attention by opening the debate with this question. Salman Shaikh, founder and CEO of The Shaikh Group, began by reminding the audience that Iran is not just a country but *“a culture, a people, a heritage and a history, despite the fact that there is an emerging gulf between Tehran and some of its closest neighbours.”* In the speaker’s view, the 1979 revolution and the meddling

of the major powers, particularly the United States, was the starting point for a feeling of insecurity which led to the breaking of diplomatic ties with the United States in 1979 and, more recently, with Saudi Arabia in 2016. He then addressed the issue of Iran’s nuclear capabilities, mentioning the negotiations with UN Security Council member states and Germany, the signing of the Vienna Agreement ¹ and, lastly, the unilateral withdrawal of the United States. However, there are reasons to be hopeful. Iran has taken part in regional discussions with Iraq and Saudi Arabia at the Baghdad Summit and is resuming discussions with the United Nations. Although Salman Shaikh said that he does not necessarily believe that this will lead to a better agreement than the previous one, he described the process as *“an opportunity to create the circumstances to better address Iran’s bilateral issues*

MODERATOR:

Dina Esfandiary, senior advisor, Middle East and North Africa, International Crisis Group

SPEAKERS:

Gérard Araud, former French ambassador, columnist for Le Point and France Inter

Saeed Khatibzadeh, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, President of the Centre for Public Diplomacy

Salman Shaikh, founder and CEO of The Shaikh Group

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

¹ Agreement signed in 2005 by Iran, the United States, China, Russia, France and the European Union with the aim of controlling the Iranian nuclear programme and ensuring the gradual lifting of economic sanctions which were imposed on the country.

with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, which could also have an impact on vulnerable countries in the Middle East, such as Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Yemen.” In his view, dialogue is vital because the socio-economic situation in Arab countries is concerning with two-thirds of the population living below the poverty line, youth unemployment of 30% and a lack of water which causes cruel suffering in 17 countries.

“I think that there is still a long way to go before reaching a new agreement on Iran’s nuclear capabilities, but it is in the interest of all parties to focus on it; this is what the United Nations, the United States and Arab countries all want.”

Salman Shaikh

A dialogue of the deaf

G rard Araud, columnist for the magazine *Le Point* and commentator on France Inter, looked back on his career as a diplomat, during which he had to deal with the Iranian nuclear issue. *“I negotiated all the United Nation’s resolutions on sanctions against Iran. In 2002, we discovered a major and covert Iranian nuclear programme, despite the government’s claims that it was a civilian programme. It would have been catastrophic to ignore this because Iran’s neighbours would have wanted to take similar action, something which would have meant the end of the system of nuclear non-proliferation. Moreover, given that Israel would never have accepted this situation, it would have led almost certainly to an Israeli military operation, with all the risks of such an operation.”* After 13 years of negotiations, during which several



resolutions on sanctions were passed by the Security Council, an agreement with Iran was reached in 2015 in Vienna. However, Donald Trump terminated this agreement after his election in 2018. *“The United States denounced the agreement and imposed unprecedented sanctions on Iran, causing it to lose several percentage points of growth,”* the former diplomat explained, before recounting Emmanuel Macron’s considerable efforts to try, in vain, to convince the new American President to reverse this decision. He said that he was pessimistic about the chances of a new agreement, despite Joe Biden’s willingness, primarily because the United States cannot guarantee that the next President will not decide to change the rules of the game once more. *“In addition, there is no country which is more unpopular in the United States than Iran, a country which, in the public’s opinion, is the devil incarnate,”* he pointed out. He also observed that the new Iranian President, Ebrahim Raisi, is viewed negatively because he embodies the radicalisation of the regime, which has physically eliminated a number of opponents. Despite all this, G rard Araud argued that a new agreement must be reached at all costs, because a compromise is always better than war.

Saeed Khatibzadeh, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, President of the Centre for Public Diplomacy, shared Tehran’s view.

“The current situation in Iran is the result of America’s unilateral decision to violate the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, despite the fact that an agreement had been patiently and painstakingly negotiated and despite proof that Iran was abiding by it.”

Saeed Khatibzadeh

Placing the blame with the Americans, he also blamed the Europeans for approving the sanctions. He confirmed that Biden’s administration would like to return to the agreement, but without removing all sanctions, something which he said was key. Dina Esfandiary described the Iranian approach as “*schizophrenic*” and questioned whether Iran genuinely wants to come back to the table to negotiate. In response, the Iranian spokesman noted that Iran is not a nuclear state, unlike Israel, and said that the United States cannot be trusted. He argued that Europe, which put an end to all trade relations with Iran because of the Americans, has lost out. Despite this, he announced the continuation of hitherto fruitless discussions between Iran, the United States and Europe, in what looks from the outside to be a dialogue of the deaf. He explained that the sanctions which have been imposed on Iran for decades have not put an end to the Iranian nuclear programme. “*When the sanctions began, Iran had just a hundred centrifuges with a very primitive programme and very little enriched uranium. In 2012, before the negotiations resumed in 2013, Iran had 20,000 cutting-edge centrifuges and in-depth knowledge of how to enrich uranium.*” When asked about Iran’s relations with its neighbours, the spokesman announced

discussions with several countries in the Persian Gulf, including Iraq as a priority, as well as Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. He spoke of mutual respect with Kuwait but, in contrast, stated that there are no diplomatic relations with Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. He acknowledged discussions on several occasions with this country, particularly about Yemen. He also mentioned relations with Central Asia, the Southern Caucasus, Armenia, Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan. “*When you are in Tehran and you are surrounded by 15 very dynamic countries which are your neighbours, there is much more to our foreign policy than our nuclear programme. We have excellent relationships with other countries, beyond this issue.*” To conclude, he explained that Iran is in favour of a regional agreement to establish security in the region and that Tehran is open to all initiatives, emphasising its participation in all meetings which focus on this.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **60%.** This is the rate of uranium enrichment announced by Tehran in 2021 and confirmed by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This is the principal breach of the international commitments made under the Vienna Agreement. This information was intended to encourage the United States to return to negotiations, which have since resumed. It is thought that a rate of uranium enrichment of 90% is required for an atomic bomb.
- ▶ **\$100 billion.** This is Iran’s estimated loss of oil revenues caused by the American embargo from April 2018 to 2021, according to the Iranian Oil Minister.
- ▶ **39%.** This is the estimated rate of inflation in Iran in 2021 according to the IMF, after a rate of 34.6% in 2019 and 36.5% in 2020. The reduced value of Iran’s currency is the result of economic sanctions by the USA and the European Union.

YEMEN: WHO WANTS PEACE?

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 2.30pm - 4.00pm | Salle Azur



Valérie Gauthier, Khadija Al-Salami, Gilles Gauthier and Fatima Dazi-Héni

The worst humanitarian crisis in the world

Long gone are the days when the land of the legendary Queen of Sheba was known as Happy Arabia. Yemen is in the grip of a devastating seven-year civil war which has killed more than 250,000 people, displaced 5 million people and left millions more on the brink of starvation. The situation is so extreme that the UN has declared it the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. The country's geostrategically important position – between the Middle

East and the Horn of Africa – attracts interventions by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Iran, all major rivals engaged in a conflict by proxy in the region. The many truces and peace agreements signed by the warring parties have never delivered on their promises. Valérie Gauthier, journalist for France 24, asked David Gressly, United Nations Resident Coordinator for Yemen, to provide an overview of the situation.

MODERATOR:

Valérie Gauthier, journalist and TV presenter, France 24

SPEAKERS:

Khadija Al-Salami, documentary maker, Yemeni writer, President of the NGO "My Future Yemen" which promotes children's education

Fatiha Dazi-Héni, researcher specialising in the Arabian Peninsula, IRSEM, Sciences Po Lille

Gilles Gauthier, former diplomat and former French ambassador to Yemen, advisor to the President of the Arab World Institute

David Gressly, United Nations Resident Coordinator for Yemen (via video)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INSTITUT DU MONDE ARABE

"I have seen schools devastated and rendered inaccessible by mines, crumbling factories and destroyed water systems, mothers crying for their children because of a lack of hospitals and healthcare, confirming that the situation in Yemen is probably one of the most catastrophic in the world."

David Gressly

In his view, it is vital to continue and intensify efforts to provide humanitarian assistance. In the last few months, aid has helped to avoid famine but there are still insufficient resources to fund the supply of water, education, the building of houses and medical support. *“We must also revive the local economy which has been hampered by the conflict, in a country in which civil servants have not been paid for a long time. Long-term political situations must be found to get Yemen out of this mess.”* Documentary maker Khadija Al-Salami expressed her despair, given that the people revolted during the Arab Spring to demand more freedom and to denounce widespread corruption before the situation degenerated in 2014. *“And yet I believed that this internal political conflict was going to be resolved in 2015 when strikes were launched by other countries, causing incomprehension among Yemenis.”* She



explained that women and children have been the real victims of this war *“which was carefully hidden for the first two years of its existence.”* Gilles Gauthier, advisor to the President of the Arab World Institute, described himself as being *“disturbed and appalled”*. After recalling Yemen’s

prestigious past, he analysed the conflict, pointing out that the north of the country, where three-quarters of the 30 million Yemenis live, is controlled by the Houthis. In the south of the country, formerly a British colony, he explained that there are many combatants fighting each other: small groups in the pay of other countries, Al-Qaeda militia, the Al-Hirak movement which is fighting for the independence of South Yemen, etc. In addition, there are daily bombings by Saudi Arabia and military intervention on the ground by the United Arab Emirates.

A new Vietnam

Valérie Gauthier described Yemen as Saudi Arabia’s Vietnam. As a researcher specialising in the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, Fatiha Dazi-Héni argued that the intractable situation in Yemen can also be seen as *“Saudi Arabia’s Afghanistan”* because the Saudis are facing local fighters who know every inch of their country’s mountains, just like the Americans did when they fought the Taliban. *“Saudi Arabia’s interventionism has its roots in the region’s history,”* she explained, mentioning the three provinces which the Saudi powers conquered in Yemen following the Treaty of Taif in 1934. In her view, this renewed conflict is the result *“of political interests in territorial and tribal domination.”* She also stressed the impact of the death of Saudi Arabia’s King in 2015. He was replaced by his brother who appointed his son as the country’s Minister of Defence, despite the fact that he had no experience in politics or military matters. He entered the conflict despite the reluctance of those around him, thinking that the war would soon be won. 6 years later, the situation is at a standstill. For this academic, who works for the French Institute for Strategic Research at the École Militaire and at Sciences Po Lille, *“hope now lies with the Biden administration, which has pounded its fist on the table and called on Saudi Arabia to stop its strikes. A plan for peace was presented in April 2021.”*



Gilles Gauthier and Fatiha Dazi-Héni

“Saudi Arabia has understood that it has lost this war, which is also unpopular with the Saudis. Faced with the rising cost of living, the country’s population do not understand the point of this conflict.”

Fatiha Dazi-Héni

The speakers also exposed the “*insidious*” strategy of the United Arab Emirates which is double dealing. The country has announced its military withdrawal from Yemen, but it is developing military bases nearby and signing military co-operation agreements with Israel, which pays particular attention to the geopolitics of the Arabian Peninsula. The debate’s speakers also mentioned Iran: although not as openly involved as Saudi Arabia, it provides political and physical support for the Houthi rebels who are now considered to be the most powerful force in Yemen.

How can the stalemate be broken?

Fatiha Dazi-Héni linked the American withdrawal from Afghanistan to Yemen, saying that the departure of the United States “*forces the regional parties to talk to each other to find a solution in Yemen.*” Valériane Gauthier revealed that some experts have reported secret meetings

being held between Saudi Arabia and Iran in Baghdad. Gilles Gauthier argued that it is important to mention countries outside the region which supply arms to the various warring factions, explicitly citing France, the United States and Great Britain. Khadija Al-Salami said that the priority must be to stop providing the warring parties with weapons and financial resources. Discussing this intractable conflict, she even mentioned Britain’s influence in seeking access to the Arab Sea to avoid the Strait of Hormuz. In the face of so much conjecture, one thing is certain: the suffering continues. “*The worst crime committed in Yemen at the moment is the blockade which imprisons the population which no longer has access to food or medicine and lives in a constant state of insecurity,*” she argued, while Gilles Gauthier said that he was convinced that if the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France were to engage in a process of internal discussions by mobilising significant funds for the reconstruction of the country, peace would be possible. Fatiha Dazi-Héni was doubtful about this and pointed out that Yemen is not a priority on the international agenda. Meanwhile, the war continues.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **30.** The minimum number of states, organisations, militias and movements involved in this conflict, whether directly or indirectly, as warring parties or supporters, makes it uniquely complex to analyse this civil war.
- ▶ **7 million.** The number of Yemenis who were on the brink of starvation in 2018, according to the UN, amounting to nearly a quarter of the population.
- ▶ **20.** The number of development years lost in Yemen, according to the UN in 2021; as a result, the country could become a “non-viable state”.

LEBANON: WHAT FUTURE FOR A COUNTRY IN RUINS?

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Friday 1 October 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle Azur



Anne-Bénédicte Hoffner, Farouk Atig and Salim Daccache

The land of the cedars in the eye of the storm

On 4 August 2020, the double explosion in the Port of Beirut killed 214 people and injured 6,500 others. The disaster revealed a Lebanese state on its knees and there were growing calls for an end to corruption and an overhaul of the system and the political class. Anne-Bénédicte Hoffner, deputy managing editor of the daily newspaper La Croix, began by looking at the everyday consequences of this crisis

MODERATOR:

Anne-Bénédicte Hoffner, deputy managing editor at La Croix

SPEAKERS:

Farouk Atig, senior reporter, specialist in jihadist networks

Salim Daccache, rector of Saint Joseph University in Beirut

Antoine Fleyfel, director of the Institut Chrétien d'Orient (via video)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-JOSEPH DE BEYROUTH

for the people of Lebanon: shortages of basic goods, difficulties in accessing electricity and petrol, the Lebanese currency's devaluation of 85% against the dollar and more. The moderator of this debate asked the question on everyone's lips: how did we get up here? Salim Daccache, rector of Saint Joseph University in Beirut, explained that Lebanon is the victim of a political and economic crisis, the origins of which date back a decade. He explained that at that time, families were already asking for financial support to send their children to school. In his view, this collapse is the result of the clientelism of his country's politicians who have divided Lebanon into small pieces. *"It is a plague which is linked to what is called political denominationalism: all politicians present themselves as the spokesperson of their religious community."* He then recounted the incredible difficulties he faces to keep

his university running. Despite the fact that two-thirds of the country's students have left the country (mainly for France), the decision was taken to open the university, welcoming 7,000 students instead of 3,000 as before. *"People are fleeing the country because, in addition to the economic, political and social problems, there is a moral and psychological crisis which the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated. At our university alone, we have had to triple the number of psychologists who work with our students, our teaching staff and our administrative staff."* Salim Daccache emphasised the symbolism of the opening of his private university at a time when every part of the country is collapsing, one after another. The Lebanese University, a public institution, has remained closed, leaving 60,000 to 70,000 students with nothing.

The predominance of the denominational link

Antoine Fleyfel, director of the Institut Chrétiens d'Orient and member of a Christian diaspora which is well integrated in several countries, was asked to discuss this denominational relationship which determines the lives of the Lebanese people. He analysed the impact of the current crisis in a country in which *"community is radical."* He explained that power in Lebanon is divided equally between Christians and Muslims, even if internal, regional and international factors



sometimes contribute to an imbalance which, at the moment, is to the detriment of Christians. However, the essence of this country lies in its denominational system in which different communities share a unique experience of freedom and equality, driven by a desire to live together. *"Lebanon has been portrayed as a hub of friendly co-existence. Although this is a very noble idea, it has begun to jar."* The academic argued that although the denominational link is a religious, cultural, historical and anthropological reality, the country of Lebanon has failed in practice and he listed the causes of the country's collapse. He initially spoke of *"corruption which is no longer a catchphrase but an endemic mantra."* In addition to *"the clientelism"* which he discussed, he also mentioned *"the tribal mentality which can be seen in the breakdown of the national bond. In Lebanon, a sense of belonging to the country depends on feudal relations, on political leaders whom we consider to be the embodiment of good and on religions which speak out on our behalf and impose their views on us."* However, there are several denominational groups in Lebanon which are responsible for local political realities which prevent the development of a state of law, justice and citizenship. He concluded by mentioning factors which are beyond Lebanon's control; due to its geographical location, it has always been a buffer state between great empires in the past and the major

powers which rule the world today. How can the stalemate be broken? Antoine Fleyfel listed the possible options. He rejected the status quo which has drained Lebanon of its vitality and encouraged reflection to find a solution which would allow the Christian community to continue to play a role within the country. A key proposal for this would be *“federalism of a secular and cultural nature to help Christians to flourish in a civilizational framework which responds to their most fundamental collective aspirations.”* Salim Daccache stressed that the war in Lebanon from 1975 to 1991 was disastrous for public spaces; they were reduced to their simplest expression, although they had been plentiful at cultural, geographical and economic levels, where everyone had their place, whether religious or not.



The impact of Lebanon’s neighbours

Farouk Atig, a senior reporter specialising in jihadist networks, argued that Lebanon’s neighbours are both the problem and the solution. He said that he understood the frustration of the Christian community but questioned whether federalism is the only option. The country remains predominantly Muslim and there are significant ideological

differences within this community. He explained that Hezbollah continues to grow stronger every year because of the Syrian crisis and a political and religious revival caused by the state’s shortcomings. Nevertheless, he argued that Lebanon has a lot to be proud of: despite the passing of time and successive crises, the country has remained steadfast and has played a role in this complex area of the world. He emphasised that Lebanon has welcomed 2 million Syrian refugees, most of whom are Sunni Muslims, something which makes a real difference in a country of 7 million inhabitants: an illustration of the resilience of this country which is experiencing a *“collapse”* but which *“continues to fight for democracy, civic duty and respect for differences,”* Salim Daccache concluded.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **74%.** The poverty rate of the Lebanese population in 2021, according to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA). The World Bank reports that the country is going through its worst economic crisis since 1850.
- ▶ **13 months.** Time during which Lebanon remained without a government after the resignation of Prime Minister Hassan Diab following the explosion in the port of Beirut. Formed in September 2021, the new government is led by 65-year-old Sunni billionaire Najib Mikati, who now leads the government for the third time. An “emergency and technocratic” solution which does not reflect the desire of the Lebanese public to reform the political class.
- ▶ **18.** The number of religious communities in Lebanon in a country which, according to the figures provided during the debate, is 55% Muslim and 45% Christian. These estimates are difficult to verify because there has not been a census of the country since 1932.

SAHEL: TOWARDS LOCAL GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY?

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Thursday 30 September 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Salle Azur



Assoumane Abdourhamane, Bakary Sambe, Niagalé Bagayoko, Mahamoudou Savadogo and Julien Serre

A feeling of impotence

The years pass and yet certain situations remain the same, unfortunately. The Sahel was the subject of a debate last year on regional initiatives for peace and security, during which the speakers spoke of a dramatic human and political situation. The situation this year is not much better. Niagalé Bagayoko, President of the African Security Sector Network and moderator of the debate, noted that since the beginning of the

MODERATOR:

Niagalé Bagayoko, President of the African Security Sector Network

SPEAKERS:

Bakary Sambe, director of the Timbuktu Institute-African Centre for Peace Studies

Mahamoudou Savadogo, CEO of Granada Consulting, security consultant and researcher

Assoumane Abdourhamane, representative of Niger's High Authority for the Consolidation of Peace

Julien Serre, deputy director of the Peace, Stability and Security department of Expertise France

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

AFRICAN SECURITY SECTOR NETWORK

Sahel crisis, there have been various international initiatives, including the G5 Sahel. In her view, this new international organisation is struggling to deliver, not least because it has been hampered politically by various coups in the region. Bakary Sambe, Director of the Timbuktu Institute-African Centre for Peace Studies, was frank in describing the local security governance in place as a failure. *"For decades, we have always believed that peace, stability and security require a military approach. Yet this has never really solved a conflict. I am not denying the importance of the military in managing security crises but I believe that we have overestimated its role. I believe much more in educating children about peace to empower citizens."*

He cited the fight against terrorism in the Sahel as an example: this involves many forces, while the deep-rooted causes of terrorism in the Sahel are not questioned. Bakary Sambe explained that Islamic organisations have replaced states in many African countries. They have forged close links with the local population,

digging wells and building schools. These social ties explain why using force to remove them does not work. *“The fight against terrorism involves eliminating targets, but they simply regenerate. However, the structural causes which lead to this radicalisation need to be addressed through massive investments to capitalise on health and education, in addition to the pandemic.”*

“A Kalashnikov has never killed an ideology.”

Bakary Sambe

The speaker explained that there is a difference in the perception of the situation in the Sahel between international bodies and local stakeholders. This gulf is the cause of the failures there. *“There are almost twenty different strategies for the region’s inhabitants, all developed outside the Sahel. Today, other initiatives are being proposed and this must be welcomed.”* He said it was important to *“have the humility to listen in the field because it is time to count on citizens, rather than on states.”*

For an endogenous resilience

Assoumane Abdourhamane represented Niger’s High Authority for the Consolidation of Peace (HACP). He presented this institution which makes dialogue with communities the cornerstone of its strategy to prevent conflicts in the country. He recounted the HACP’s work on the ground, including creating boreholes, organising vaccination campaigns and setting up a cereal bank, which is having positive results. *“It is difficult to find a young Nigerien in terrorist groups. I am not saying that there are none, but when children are old enough to join the army, we provide them with other opportunities,”* he explained. In his view, the HACP has contributed significantly



to Niger’s stability, the only stable country in the Sahel, showing that there are alternative approaches which are often overlooked. Nevertheless, *“the situation in Niger is getting worse”*, as Niagalé Bagayoko pointed out; Mahamoudou Savadogo, CEO of Granada Consulting agreed. This security consultant and researcher observed that armed terrorist groups are gaining ground, which has led him to believe that a military response is sometimes necessary but never sufficient. He explained the concept of *“endogenous resilience”*, which involves working with local communities to find the most relevant solutions to the problems which are encountered there, rather than experimenting with strategies imposed by the international community. He mentioned the late President Thomas Sankara, who was an advocate of this method, provided that the right moment is chosen to do it; otherwise it can backfire. *“Unfortunately, this is where we are in the Sahel,”* sighed Mahamoudou Savadogo. He argued that African states lack the military power to ensure the security of their people, which has led to the creation of self-defence groups. He mentioned several of these groups in Burkina Faso, with each group having its own particular focus. One ensures the security of livestock keepers during the transhumance, another fights terrorists and another tackles crime in areas which are not controlled by the state, to such an extent that most Burkinese people prefer to turn to these groups rather than to the official security

forces in the event of problems. He recounted the dire situation in Burkina Faso where there are almost 1.5 million displaced people, more than 80% of whom are women and children, and 10 to 20 terrorist incidents every week.

A difficult situation for development projects

Julien Serre is the deputy director of the Peace, Stability and Security department of Expertise France. This international agency with specialist technical expertise develops and implements projects to strengthen public policies in the long term in developing and emerging countries. It is primarily funded by the EU, the World Bank, Nordic donors and France. Although its investments have benefited the joint force of the G5 Sahel in terms of equipment and training, he acknowledged that local projects have not yet produced the expected results, arguing that more time is needed to assess their impact. He lamented this short-term pressure which is not really compatible with a collaborative approach which requires a more long-term focus and the local population's involvement. *"Too many projects are built from the top down,"* he admitted. He also emphasised the ongoing violence and insecurity affecting the local population, staff and humanitarian workers, marked by an increase in kidnappings in the region. This instability inevitably slows down ongoing operations. Expertise France, working with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the European



Niagalé Bagayoko and Mahamoudou Savadogo

Commission, is nevertheless seeking to build partnerships locally, alongside the Coalition for the Sahel and the Alliance for the Sahel. This approach is not easy, as Niagalé Bagayoko emphasised as she concluded the debate.

"In the Sahel, the complexity of the terrain is compounded by the complexity of decision-making processes and procedures. We must also remember that the institutional system of which these partnerships are a part is a real challenge and hinders development projects."

Niagalé Bagayoko

CONTEXT

- ▶ **2003.** The war in the Sahel has lasted 18 years. It began when Algerian Islamic rebels, who were involved in the civil war in Algeria at the time, decided to settle in the desert. The conflict has continued to grow since then as radical Islamism has spread to all countries in the region.
- ▶ **5.** Five countries joined forces in 2014 to create an anti-terrorist military force known as the G5 Sahel: Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad.
- ▶ **13,000.** Number of civilians killed since 2012 in the Sahel-Saharan region¹, in addition to 3,000 Malian soldiers, 146 United Nations peacekeepers and 52 French soldiers. In addition, there are one million displaced people and 4 to 5 million people who are food insecure.

¹ Cited during the Normandy World Peace Forum debate on the Sahel in 2020

10 YEARS OF THE ARAB SPRING: LESSONS LEARNED AND THE WAY FORWARD FOR A POPULAR MOVEMENT

FROM MEDITERRANEAN REGION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST: GRASPING TODAY'S CRISES
Friday 1 October 2021 | 5pm - 6.30pm | Auditorium



Ghazi Gherairi, Hala Kodmani, Jean-Pierre Filiu and Ziad Abdel Samad (via video)

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A lengthy process

“The outcome is very disappointing.” Hala Kodmani, senior reporter for Libération and moderator of the debate, began with an observation about the Arab Spring which is shared by many people. Ziad Abdel Samad, executive director of the Arab NGO Network for Development, acknowledged that its objectives were not achieved but said that he was optimistic. He pointed out that for the first time in

this region, the revolt was not the result of an armed coup d'état: instead, it was led by *“people who refused the dictatorship of fear and demanded freedom, dignity and social justice.”* He lamented the fact that the Arab Spring led to the hasty organisation of elections which, in the end, were not the best way to move towards democracy because the various political groups were not ready. He also emphasised the efforts of regional stakeholders, fearing democratic change, to stop this process, mainly because of their concerns about economic destabilisation. However, he argued that the process will continue because *“the people cannot continue to be oppressed and to live without dignity and without their political, economic and social human rights.”* Jean-Pierre Filiu, professor in Middle Eastern history at Sciences Po Paris, criticised the term *“Arab Spring”* which, even though it was intended

MODERATOR:

Hala Kodmani, senior reporter, Libération

SPEAKERS:

Ziad Abdel Samad, executive director of the Arab NGO Network for Development (via video)

Jean-Pierre Filiu, professor at Sciences Po Paris

Ghazi Gherairi, Tunisian ambassador to UNESCO

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

to be positive, gives the impression of a seasonal movement. He said that he prefers to talk about a *“democratic uprising or revolutionary wave”* because he sees it as being *“a long-term structural crisis.”* He recounted major insurrections in Arab countries since 1922, from the military coups which began in Syria in 1949 and ended in Libya with Gaddafi in 1969 to new waves of protests in Sudan, Algeria and Iraq. In 2011, he saw the people of Syria and Libya protest with old national flags from before their countries’ dictatorships, which they used as symbols of independence. He also criticised the region’s opposition which has *“done everything it can to prevent new institutions from being established”*, explaining that *“dictators sold the world the idea that they should remain in power because they were the only ones able to prevent chaos.”* He noted that the immediate response to the Sudanese people’s uprising in 2019 was a counter-revolution, before Covid-19 definitively stifled the desire for change, something which suited various countries in the region.

Tunisia: where it all began...

Ghazi Gherairi, Tunisian ambassador to UNESCO and the International Francophone Organisation, discussed the way in which the reality of the facts have been distorted in the press, in light of



Ghazi Gherairi



Ziad Abdel Samad (intervention vidéo)

a legitimate desire to see change. *“Local media and television enabled citizens in different Arab countries to see what happened in Tunisia from 2010 and that encouraged them to take similar action. Indeed, they used the same slogans.”* This standardised approach could not succeed, in the speaker’s view, *“because the sociological realities and the regimes of these countries were fundamentally different.”* In his view, it was *“the expectation which was wrong in the sense that it was too high, not the phenomena themselves.”*

The ambassador rejected the term *“the Tunisian model”*, arguing that every country is unique: Tunisia, for example, was the first Arab country to have a charter of rights in 1857 and a proper constitution in 1861. *“It is logical in these conditions that we were the first to have workers’ unions, political parties, a human rights league and a female head of government.”* In response to Hala Kodmani, who pointed out that Tunisia *“is still not a democracy”*, Ghazi Gherairi retorted that he continues to believe that Tunisia is still engaged in this revolutionary breakaway movement. Ziad Abdel Samad agreed that situations differ from country to country, citing the armies of Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan and Syria as examples, given that they chose different approaches during the Arab Spring.

“Democracy is not something that can be decreed. It requires a period of institutional and mental adjustment for people to become familiar with this approach, unless one believes that democracy is simply the act of voting. As we have seen, that is not enough.”

Ghazi Gherairi

The stakeholders contributing to the status quo

In response to a question on *“the Gulf states’ determination to fight against any liberalisation in Arab countries,”* Jean-Pierre Filiu alluded to the self-explanatory title of his book, *Généraux, gangsters et djihadistes (Generals, Gangsters and Jihadists)*. He argued that a handful of leaders who hold power in the Gulf have no interest in seeing democracy gain ground. He added Iran to this list, explaining that it takes a dim view of any challenge to its theocracy, as does Saudi Arabia. But in his view, the real problem lies in the attitude of Western democracies which have not properly considered the events of the Arab Spring and which have focused too much on the issues of refugees and terrorism. He also criticised President Obama for refusing to punish the Syrian regime for the use of chemical weapons in 2013. In the historian’s view, a fundamental part of our destiny as Europeans is at stake in Arab countries and we should support their efforts to achieve their democratic ideal. Ghazi Gherairi shared this opinion and insisted that there must be *“a real understanding of the situation before rushing in.”* He argued that the solution lies in *“international support because a certain level of welfare must be guaranteed if a*

democracy is to be established in the long term.” Ziad Abdel Samad closed the debate by arguing that we can be optimistic provided that certain parameters are taken into consideration, starting with the country’s socio-economic status; however, the establishment of solid governance must also be of concern, because political instability is a source of social injustice. Last but not least, he said that the children of the Arab Spring aspire to change and are very determined to secure a state of law, respect, civic duties and democracy. There is still hope.

CONTEXT

- ▶ **1848.** The name given to the popular uprisings in Arab countries refers to the “People’s Spring”, the revolutionary movement in Europe of 1848. This term was used in 1968 to describe the protests in Czechoslovakia against communist rule, known as the Prague Spring.
- ▶ **2010.** Although the movement gained momentum in January 2011 in Egypt, Libya and Syria, the Arab Spring is considered to have started on 17 December 2010 in Tunisia, leading to the resignation of President Ben Ali. Other countries in the Maghreb then took up the slogan of “Get out!”.
- ▶ **2019.** Two years ago, there were uprisings in 3 countries to denounce the political system in place and demand new governance, echoing the original Arab Spring. The 3 countries were Algeria, Sudan and Lebanon.



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YOUTH

I INVOLVING TOMMOROW'S ACTORS

FREEDOM PRIZE 2021

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DEVELOPMENT GOALS**

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FREEDOM PRIZE

2021

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 2.30pm – 4.30pm | Salle plénière

On behalf of children

Created by the Normandy Region with many partners¹, the Freedom Prize is an annual prize for a person who fights for human dignity and peace. Awarded after a selection process which involved nearly 6,000 young people from 87 countries, the 3rd edition of the Freedom Prize was given to Sonita Alizada, a 23-year-old rapper from Afghanistan who campaigns against forced child marriage.

Currently living in the United States as a refugee, where she is studying human rights law, Sonita Aliza was almost forced to marry as a child, with her parents' consent, on two separate occasions in Afghanistan, the first of which was at the age of 9. An NGO helped her to access education; she discovered rap music and saw it as a way to condemn this tragedy which affects millions of children around the world. Her first single, *"Brides for Sale"*, garnered worldwide attention. Via video, she shared a very moving message with the audience of the Normandy World Peace Forum, discussing her personal experience, her decision to use rap as a means of expression and



Sonita Alizada

the extraordinary work of all the people around the world who fight for peace. After recalling the role of the UN and the progress made worldwide in the fight against poverty, she spoke of the fate of Afghan women since the return of the Taliban. She gave them a message of hope, encouraging them to never give up on their dreams, despite oppression. *"I grew up under the Taliban and I lost my childhood like all the young people of my generation. But I had a different outlook on life. That gave me the motivation to continue to believe in change. Today, I admire the Afghan women who protest in the street and resist with incredibly bravery."* Sonita Alizada's generosity is reflected in her attitude to her parents: she explained that she does not feel any resentment towards them and, instead, feels quite the opposite. She explained that she loves her parents and that forced child marriage in Afghanistan is the result of old-fashioned cultures which must be eradicated. That is why she encouraged everyone to support education around the world to promote a peaceful revolution. As the winner of the Freedom Prize 2021, she paid tribute to all the men and women who defend children's rights.

¹ The International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, Normandy's academic authorities, Canopé and Ouest France

IMAGINE PEACE!

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 10.30am – 12pm | Salle plénière

Young people from Normandy build the foundations of peace

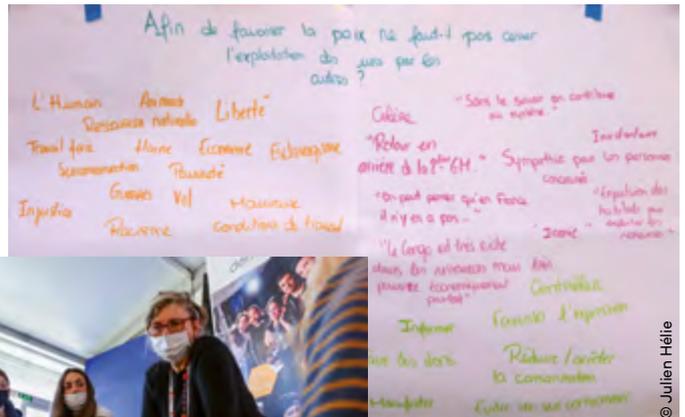
Long left to the experts, peace-building is now more accessible to citizens, charitable associations and young people. The NGO *Projet Imagine*, the charitable association *Demain Nos Enfants* and *Les Francas de Normandie* encouraged young people at the Forum to think about ways to resolve conflicts and foster peace. Workshops were organised to encourage active

participation in the issues of governance: debates about ideas, artistic creations, etc.

The broad nature of this debate for young people encouraged participants to express themselves honestly and freely on subjects related to peace. And since this event was all about giving young people a voice, we shall let their work speak for itself!



The interactive activities helped all the participants to understand the different issues surrounding peace-building.



Brainstorming sessions and debates provided ideas about building lasting peace.



*“Let us condemn the hypocrisy of money which makes you all powerful;
Let us condemn injustice, domination, exploitation;
Let us condemn the false conflicts between religions:
Instead, let us imagine comprehension, courage, freedom.
We want reconciliation and explanations,
To learn to manage our emotions to dispel unhappiness.
No more sulking
And we will all make peace.”*

Several groups wrote spoken word poetry and poems about their views on peace and contemporary conflicts.

In partnership with:
Le Projet Imagine,
Demain Nos Enfants

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION UNDER PRESSURE: PEACE AT RISK?

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 10.30am – 12pm | Salle Or



Antoine Bernard, Jean-Claude Samouillier, Olivier Gasselien and Nadia Khiari

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Freedom of expression refuses to be silenced¹

Olivier Gasselien, deputy editor-in-chief of Mon Quotidien and L'Actu, began by discussing the first anniversary of the murder of the teacher Samuel Paty, who was killed for sharing cartoons by Charlie Hebdo in his class. He recalled that the satirical newspaper had previously been the subject of a fatal attack on 13 November 2015. Jean-Claude Samouillier, Vice President of Amnesty International France, made the link with peace by referring to the creation of the

UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In front of an audience of young people, he emphasised the inalienable and indivisible nature of human rights which are underpinned by freedom of expression.

MODERATOR:

Olivier Gasselien, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Mon Quotidien et L'Actu

SPEAKERS:

Nadia Khiari, Cartoonist, President of the panel of judges of the 2021 Freedom Prize

Jean-Claude Samouillier, Vice-President of Amnesty International France

Antoine Bernard, Director, Advocacy and Strategic Litigation, Reporters Without Borders



Jean-Claude Samouillier

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Antoine Bernard, Director of Advocacy and Strategic Litigation for Reporters Without Borders, compared freedom of expression to the oxygen we breathe. He explained that authorities exert pressure by directly attacking journalists. He mentioned a

¹ Title paying tribute to the headline used by the newspaper Libération after the attacks in 2015: "Charlie Hebdo refuses to be silenced".

“The most important and yet the most fragile right is that of freedom of expression. When a dictatorship takes power, it works to restrict or eradicate this freedom, the first victims being journalists, cartoonists and defenders of human rights who end up in prison because of their dissenting voices. It is not enough to have rights, you have to assert them. This is our work today and this will be your work tomorrow.”

Jean-Claude Samouillier

colleague of his, a journalist for Reporters Without Borders, who has worked in Turkey for 20 years and who is being prosecuted for terrorism and faces 15 years in prison. *“This show trial has lasted for five years. A judge has already acquitted him, finding the claim to be unreasonable because he was only doing his job. But Erdogan’s government has appealed.”* Antoine Bernard then provided an overview of press freedom around the world; France, although ranked just 34th, far behind the Scandinavian countries, is still considered to be a *“model pupil”*. *“However, the situation is difficult, worrying or very worrying in nearly two thirds of the world.”* He mentioned Belarus, which has imprisoned 30 journalists and arbitrarily ruled on the legal liquidation of the country’s association of journalists which has 1,800 members.

The story of a cat...

Nadia Khiari, art teacher, painter and designer, is the author of Willis from Tunis, an acerbic cat. Nadia Khiari was a particularly humorous speaker. *“When I am asked to talk about freedom of expression, I answer that I am more of a specialist in censorship!”* she



explained wryly, before talking more seriously about her personal experiences. *“I was born in Tunisia and I had to wait until the age of 36 to be able to express myself freely. Ben Ali remained in power for 23 years, shamelessly looting the country and forbidding any form of criticism or questioning of his policies.”* Once this young woman had finished her studies at secondary school, she came to France to study at university and discovered what was missing in her native country: a free press, satirical TV shows, unfettered access to the Internet, books on political activism, etc. She appreciated the wry humour of press cartoonists and dreamed of becoming one herself. The fall of Ben Ali brought with it a new sense of freedom, unlike anything she had ever experienced in Tunisia. *“Overnight, we had freedom of expression. It was fantastic. I was like a baby who has just been born and who lets out its first cry. I created a profile on Facebook and I used a drawing of my cat called Willis as an avatar to share my experiences of the situation and to amuse my friends and family. Within a week, I had thousands of followers.”* When the Islamist party came to power in Tunisia, a new and much more moral form of censorship was implemented, with a different ideology which the artist condemned. *“Once we had a real taste of freedom, it was all we could think about. We are still fighting today for freedom. I continue to draw and criticise ministers, politicians and different political parties. We shall see how long that lasts.”*

A journey to the edge of hell: from Uighurs to Afghans

Jean-Claude Samouillier discussed the plight of Uighurs, a Muslim minority in a region in north-eastern China. Like the Kazakhs, Tajiks and Uzbeks, this community is persecuted by the Chinese government, which wants a homogeneous, monocultural, communist and secular society. Anyone who has a beard which is a little too long or a Qur'an at home or who is in contact with Uighurs who have emigrated to Europe or the United States risks being locked up in correctional camps which are said to house 1 million people. This figure is difficult to verify but speaks to the wide-spread nature of the repression. The speaker also condemned the unremitting indoctrination within these ghettos and the old-fashioned torture to which dissenters are subjected. These abuses are underpinned by elaborate mass surveillance in China which uses facial recognition to automatically identify and arrest Uighurs.

“By persecuting the Uighurs in this way, China is committing a terrible crime against humanity with total impunity. It seeks to eradicate a culture by preventing its people from thinking for themselves, while simultaneously endeavouring to suppress information in its own country and abroad, including in France.”

Jean-Claude Samouillier

Antoine Bernard referred to the freedom of the press in Afghanistan which has been lost with the return of the Taliban. He stated that there were 20,000 journalists in the country, of whom almost 10% were women, a very large number in a largely patriarchal country.

The first steps taken by the new regime led Reporters Without Borders to believe that the Taliban is laying the legal foundations for possible persecution in a very anxiety-inducing climate. *“Afghan journalists have removed all traces of their messages for fear of repression.”* When asked to give her opinion on the limits of freedom of expression, Nadia Khiari recalled the rules of the journalistic profession, which France enshrined in law with the 1881 Press Act. *“More than just taboo, these are behaviours which I cannot imagine engaging in: defaming someone, manipulating information, inciting hatred or creating homophobic, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, racist or sexist drawings. Then there is the question of respect and knowing where to draw the line. For me, it is vital to make readers smile or laugh when they look at my drawings. If I can make them think, so much the better.”*

Other reasons for concern

Lastly, the speakers discussed abuses of freedom of expression, focusing on social media, among other subjects. An American study has shown that misinformation and advertising spread six times more quickly than reliable information. The Amnesty International representative added that the right to demonstrate is a corollary to freedom of expression and is something which has been undermined in recent years in France. He discussed police violence during demonstrations by the Gilets Jaunes and the climate marches, mentioning the use of defensive bullet launchers (40 mm) and sting-ball grenades. He explained that he was also concerned by the capitalistic structure of the media in France, which is characterised by a very high concentration of media ownership in the hands of a few owners, because it raises the question of the independence of the journalists employed by these media groups. However, these criticisms were put into context, with one speaker reminding the audience that France enjoys freedom of expression. Normandy for Peace is proof of that!

HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Thursday 30 September 2021 | 10.30am – 12pm | Salle Nacre



Jean-Yves Camus, Sophie Elizeon, Lauriane Clément, Jacques Fredj and Camille Maindon

The duty of remembrance

The title of this youth debate sounds like something from a chapter in a school or university textbook. This is good news, because the majority of the audience is made up of young people who are interested in finding out more about discrimination. Jean-Yves Camus, Senior Fellow at the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs, introduced the debate by explaining that we must understand the issues which produced the tragic mistakes of the past to prevent their recurrence. To do this, it is essential to reconstruct the processes which led to the events,

particularly by gathering the testimonies of the people involved, before they pass away. He argued that racist, anti-Semitic and anti-LGBT acts have an underlying cause which needs to be explored because such acts “*do not happen by accident.*” He noted that successive French governmental plans to combat anti-Semitism, for example, which have been a constant focus over the last 20 years, have not succeeded in significantly reducing this phenomenon, which is deeply rooted in society, and he argued that public action alone cannot put an end to it. He also lamented the fact that every time a racist or anti-Semitic act is mentioned on television, the perpetrator’s actions are not put into perspective in relation to his or her environment, family history or reaction to a particular comment or speech. Sophie Elizeon, the inter-ministerial delegate to combat racism, anti-Semitism and anti-LGBTQI+ hatred, said that the next French national plan to combat racism and anti-Semitism for 2021-2025 is being written and that the first part of the plan is dedicated to education and training, which are essential to combat the scourges of racism and anti-Semitism.

MODERATOR:

Lauriane Clément, head of news, Phosphore

SPEAKERS:

Jean-Yves Camus, senior fellow at the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs

Sophie Elizeon, inter-ministerial delegate to combat racism, anti-Semitism and anti-LGBTQI+ hatred

Jacques Fredj, director of the Holocaust Memorial

Camille Maindon, remembrance ambassador and student at Sciences Po

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

MÉMORIAL DE LA SHOAH

“History is like the dust which you try to sweep under the rug. Over time, it builds up and you end up tripping over it.”

Sophie Elizeon

This metaphor resonated with the young people in the room, who immediately understood the need to take a bold look at the darker aspects of history, not to feel *“guilty for the heinous crimes of previous generations, but to build a fairer and more fraternal society.”* The inter-ministerial delegate recounted the trial of the authors of abusive tweets which were directed at a participant in the Miss France 2021 contest, who had publicly mentioned her Franco-Israeli origins. The defendants explained that their messages of hate were directed at the Israeli government. Sophie Elizeon explained that she believes that this kind of conflation can lead to genocide. Anyone who knows the history of the Holocaust knows that, beforehand, there were insults, public invectives and boycotts which were encouraged and which led to the horror. *“Although history does not necessarily allow us to learn lessons from it, it sheds light on the future which we want to build together,”* she continued. Jacques Fredj, the director of the Holocaust Memorial, agreed with what the other speakers said and commented on the purpose of history. He reflected on the birth of Europe *“which was built on the ashes of extermination and concentration camps.”*

It is vital to understand the ideologies which led to these infamies and this is the reason behind the work of the Memorial, which he manages and which focuses, in addition to the Holocaust, on the genocide of the Herero and Namas¹, the Armenians and the Tutsis in Rwanda. The aim is to compare history in order to understand their similarities and their differences.

“Racism and anti-Semitism do not necessarily lead to genocide. But a genocide always begins with racism or anti-Semitism.”

Jacques Fredj

In search of the past

The Director of the Holocaust Memorial noted that discrimination always starts with words, sometimes in jest, before a focus on exclusion. *“Genocide is no more and no less than the consequences of racism and anti-Semitism taken to the extreme.”* He also explained that conspiracy theories have existed for centuries and that it is vital to understand how they are spread to be able to combat them more effectively. *“Although history does not enable us to vaccinate ourselves against racism, anti-Semitism and other evils which have always existed, it does enable us to make a connection between the past and the present and to prepare the future.”* Remembrance ambassador Camille Maindon described her experience as a secondary school student, following the second round of the presidential elections between Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen. *“Some of the subjects which were addressed during this campaign led to references to statements made previously by Jean-Marie Le Pen. My parents’ explanations helped me to understand the extent to which the words he used were insidious and rooted*



Jacques Fredj and Camille Maindon

¹ Perpetrated in German South West Africa from 1904 and considered to be the first genocide of the 20th century



in an ideology.” She explained that she then had the opportunity to take part in the ambassadors programme with the Memorial, describing it as *“a good way to participate in a civic project focused on tolerance, working with young people to make sure that such barbaric violence does not happen again”* and emphasising that it is up to young people to build the future. How can we document the past if these eyewitnesses are no longer with us, as with the Holocaust? Jean-Yves Camus began by explaining that historians’ work on the current body of documentation is not yet complete. Their work also relies on the written accounts of victims and perpetrators who were not able to testify during their lifetimes. Jacques Fredj pointed out that it was not until July 1995 that France officially recognised its responsibility for the persecution of French Jews and opened its archives to researchers. He welcomed the fact that France is one of the few countries in the world in which it is compulsory to learn about the Holocaust. Although he emphasised *“the historical facts”*, he also pointed out that eyewitnesses offer something irreplaceable which we must try to capture; Camille Maindon agreed with this. *“When a concentration camp survivor tells you that she was your age and a secondary school student when she was deported, you really understand her story.”*

The legal fight against racism and anti-Semitism

Sophie Elizeon reminded the audience that the legal system punishes racist, anti-Semitic and misogynistic words and acts when reports are properly documented and

substantiated, something which does not always happen. The French governmental plan to combat racism and anti-Semitism includes the training of police officers and raising awareness among magistrates to reduce this problem. Lastly, she announced a worrying figure, since received reports represent just 14% of the racism and anti-Semitism in France. She encouraged the audience to report any incidents, particularly to make the public authorities aware of the extent of the situation. Jean-Yves Camus expressed his concern about the electoral cycle ahead of the 2022 presidential elections in France. *“The issues of immigration, security and integration deserve discretion. They are in no way a free pass to act out and negatively impact relations between the constituent parts of the national community.”* Jacques Fredj argued that, with the exception of a minority of political activists, racism and anti-Semitism are mostly based on prejudices and stereotypes which are blindly repeated from generation to generation because of ignorance. The Memorial also organises citizenship courses for people who have used racist or anti-Semitic insults; by completing this course, these people can avoid having a criminal record. Camille Maindon argued that racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic attitudes are the result of the fear of the unknown and that if we try to understand others, we can deconstruct these stereotypes. At the end of the debate, the speakers addressed the young people in the audience directly to help them to understand the subject. They encouraged them to be inspired by *“the righteous”*² to try to change what can be changed, to participate in the democratic process, to exercise their civic duty, to research ideas themselves to form their own opinions and to listen to the accounts of their grandparents or great-grandparents, ensuring that their experiences are passed down to new generations for as long as possible. This is what is known as the duty of remembrance.

² Title given to non-Jews who risked their lives to save at least one Jewish person during the Second World War

ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY: AN IMPERATIVE FOR WORLD PEACE?

Friday 1 October 2021 | 10.30am – 12pm | Salle Or



Richard Sédillot, Antoinette Chahine, Nicolas Perron, Moahamed Mkhāitir and Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin

Campaigning for abolition!

Nicolas Perron, director of programmes at Ensemble Contre la Peine de Mort (Together Against The Death Penalty or ECPM in French), explained that this debate marks the 40th anniversary of the abolition of the death penalty in France. Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin began her speech with a tribute to the young Afghan photographer, Morteza Sahmadi, who had just been sentenced to death by the Taliban for covering a demonstration against

MODERATOR:

Nicolas Perron, director of programmes, Ensemble Contre la Peine de Mort (Together Against The Death Penalty)

SPEAKERS:

Antoinette Chahine, Lebanese activist against the death penalty, sentenced to death

Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin, journalist, Ouest-France

Moahamed Mkhāitir, human rights activist, sentenced to death in Mauritania

Richard Sédillot, barrister at the Rouen bar who has defended several death row inmates around the world

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

ENSEMBLE CONTRE LA PEINE DE MORT

the regime. The journalist also mentioned the 2,000 people awaiting execution on “*death row*”. She sought to explain the origins of the fight against capital punishment which began in 1791 during the French revolution. She quoted Lamartine who said that “*it is not death which we must learn to fear, it is life which we must learn to respect*” and Victor Hugo who said “*blood has to be washed by tears, not by blood*”. Addressing the young audience, she explained the events which led to the abolition of the death penalty in 1981 in France amid a complicated political backdrop, with three executions in the previous years for abominable crimes and the majority of the population who were in favour of the death penalty. After explaining the eminent role played by Robert Badinter in this decision, she paid tribute to the newspaper Ouest France which showed its support for abolition in 1963, going against the tide of public opinion and the press at the time. Her father, François Régis Hutin, who was a journalist, was one of those who led this fight, something which led to threats

and intimidation. She read an excerpt from one of his articles which criticised “*the barbaric resurgence of the instinct for revenge*”. She then went on to list a series of arguments which show the unfairness of such a punishment, from proven miscarriages of justice to the randomness of the decision from one jury to another. Jeanne-Emmanuelle Hutin also questioned the idea that such a punishment serves as some kind of example, pointing out that no punishment will bring victims back to life. “*Ultimately, the death penalty presents us with a choice as a society,*” she said, explaining that there is “*a desire for revenge*” on the one hand and “*the dignity of human life, forgiveness and redemption*” on the other.

Abolition and democracy

The lawyer Richard Sédillot addressed the subject by showing the clear link between democracy and abolition. He questioned whether there is still a genuine democracy which practises the death penalty. He cited the United States, India and Japan as examples, pointing out the paradox of the latter having “*an incredibly sophisticated culture*” while still resorting to barbaric punishment.

“I remember talking to a former Japanese death row inmate who was released long after his conviction because he was found to be innocent. He explained to us that on death row, he was unable to meet with his family or his lawyer, and that all inmates were entirely unaware of the date of their execution. You can imagine the psychological suffering this caused.”

Richard Sédillot



He observed that the American people are embarrassed to see themselves on the list of countries which still practise capital punishment, alongside the world’s dictatorships. Nevertheless, while the shortcomings of the American justice system have been proven time and again, people across the Atlantic continue to believe in the merits of the death penalty. He also mentioned the Muslim world. While a dozen or so Muslim-majority countries have abolished the death penalty, the obstacles elsewhere are often “*irrational and incomprehensible*”. The lawyer explained that this problem stems from the seemingly infinite possible interpretations of the Qur’an. One of his Mauritanian friends with impressive religious knowledge explained to him that Islam’s sacred text imposes so many criteria for sentencing someone to death that it is impossible in practice. According to his interpretation, this sentence was reserved for gratuitous crimes committed by sane individuals who had been perfectly happy all their lives and had never experienced financial problems. In other words, no-one in the criminal world! Yet the lawyer has appeared before judges who had a completely different interpretation. He called on leading intellectuals in the Muslim world to work to change mentalities so that the issue of the death penalty can be addressed from a legal perspective, rather than a religious one. Richard Sédillot also recounted his work as a lawyer for three French death row inmates around the world: Serge Atlaoui in Indonesia and two alleged jihadists who are

currently detained in Iraq and sentenced to death there. Each time, he emphasised serious failures of justice as we know it in France.

Two powerful testimonies

Mohamed Mkhaitir offered striking testimony about current practices around the world. The young man studied in Mauritania, where he was born. After graduating with a Master's degree in economics, he worked as an accountant while writing articles on freedom of expression and social injustice. In 2013, he was imprisoned for blasphemy and apostasy which means abandoning one's own religion. He spent his first year in prison without visitation rights and in a 2m² cell without a shower. After his trial and appeal, he was sentenced to death. He owes his life to French involvement in his case, all thanks to the support of ECPM. Married before he was imprisoned under Islamic Sharia law, he was forced to divorce by the religious community in Mauritania. His wife was remarried to another Muslim with whom she had a child. Mohamed Mkhaitir spent a total of 6 years in prison and was allowed outside once a year to see the sun and to walk. In the end, it took a total of four trials and an exfiltration (to prevent a lynching) to ensure his escape. After teaching himself French in prison, using books sent to him by relatives, he now lives in France where he is trying to rebuild his life. Antoinette Chahine is originally from Lebanon. She too was released after being sentenced to death. Her ordeal began on 21 March 1994, Mother's Day in Lebanon, because her brother Jean was a member of the Lebanese Forces, a persecuted Christian political party at the time. He left Lebanon, like many other people, at the beginning of the 1990s. Imprisoned, released and then imprisoned again, the young woman recounted the psychological and physical abuse she suffered at the hands of the police. *"The policemen held me by the hair and threw me against the wall, as if they were playing with a ball. I will spare you the details of when they poured boiling water on me and had to*

call the Red Cross. Hospitalised twice because of my injuries, the greatest torture was my constant thirst." After refusing to sign a document stating that she was an accomplice to murder, she was transferred to the women's prison in Beirut, accused of the murder of a priest. Detained in appalling conditions, her health problems led to medical staff operating on without anaesthesia. She explained how she felt on the day of her trial. *"It was 6 January 1997. I was calm because I was convinced that I would be found innocent, I was confident that I would go back to my family. When the verdict was announced, I screamed and I fainted. I was sentenced to death."* A victim of post-traumatic paralysis, the young woman was unable to speak and walk for several weeks. Amnesty International and other organisations condemned the injustice of which she was a victim, creating a groundswell of support for her. This media pressure and the work of her lawyer probably played a role in the granting of a new trial in 1999 which finally saw Antoinette Chahine's release. *"I was given scholarships to study in France and was awarded the medal of the National Order of Merit after obtaining French nationality. I was lucky enough to have a family, friends and the support of ECPM. I got married, I have two children and I know, deep down, that I will never stop fighting."*

"The only thing I want people to remember about my testimony is that capital punishment and torture must be abolished around the world. I am also counting on you to speak out against injustice all over the world, to say no to the death penalty and to say yes to life."

Antoinette Chahine

HOW DOES THE EUROPEAN UNION CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE GOVERNANCE?

Friday 1 October 2021 | 10.30am – 12pm | Salle Azur



Members of the Collectif Normands et Européens, gathered around Philippe Perchoc and Serge Stroobants

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The virtues of europe

Fostered by the Normandy Region, charitable associations in Normandy which focus on Europe have decided to create the Norman and European Collective¹. As the co-organiser of this debate, the collective sent several of its members who spoke about the role of the European Union (EU) in the governance of peace, mentioning that the European institution received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. The organisers had the good idea of using a smartphone

application to interact with the audience, which was mainly made up of young people, by asking them some questions. The survey of 82 participants yielded some interesting results. 96% of the panel said that “*we are not living in a peaceful world*” and 57% said that “*the European Union is a guarantor of world peace*”. Serge Stroobants, Europe and Middle East and North Africa director at the Institute for Economics and Peace, presented his institute. It measures and quantifies peace and provides expertise to political, economic and social stakeholders and the worlds of education and research. He explained that his institute focuses primarily on “*negative peace*”: peace which is the absence of violence. It produces an overall peace index which features 23 different indicators. This index can also be used to analyse “*positive peace*”: the attitudes, institutions and processes which contribute to the maintenance and development of peace. He recommended this second approach because it creates a virtuous circle which has positive knock-on effects on all indicators.

MODÉRATEURS :

Members of the Collectif Normands et Européens

SPEAKERS:

Philippe Perchoc, Thematic Counsellor of the Director General of the European Parliament’s Research Service

Serge Stroobants, Director Europe and MENA Region, Institute for Economics and Peace

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

COLLECTIF NORMANDS ET EUROPÉENS

¹ Made up of three Europe Direct Normandy centres (CRIJ, CREAN, Maison de l’Europe 27), the European Movements of Lower Normandy, Calvados and Seine-Maritime and the Maison de l’Europe 76

“Social and economic indicators and indicators about governance and even environmental resilience within a society improve when the level of peace improves.”

Serge Stroobants

Threats to peace

Philippe Perchoc is a thematic advisor of the director general of the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS). Having explained his job as a “researcher” for MEPs, he pointed out that the two World Wars of the 20th century both began in Europe. This region has been the world’s epicentre of peace for the last 76 years, a period of peace which the continent had never previously experienced in its history. In the view of the institution which he represented, peace is not merely “a state of calm”, but a project which aims to improve collective well-being both within and outside its borders. Seizing on the words used by young people in the room to describe the threats to peace, Philippe Perchoc said that the difficulty lies in reaching a consensus on a common vision expressed through an overall strategy. He explained that he sees the Normandy Index as a tool for assessment which provides a detailed analysis of developments in each country, taking significant trends into account, rather than merely the usual rankings and figures. In addition to countries in crisis which need to be supported, he stressed the importance of focusing on fragile nations where the risk of a collapse could spread to its neighbours. This means developing policies for a whole region, rather than a single state. In terms of methodology, he recommended asking whether a particular threat is a “cause” or a “consequence”, focusing particularly on the fertile ground in which conflicts thrive. In sub-Saharan Africa, he explained that 99% of extreme violence or terrorism is directly

² See page 111



or indirectly linked to a lack of access to resources. The speaker recommended that the indicators be properly analysed. For example, while Nigeria’s overall terrorism index is currently declining, terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and the Islamic State are making inroads in Western African provinces. Analysis shows that a military intervention will have little impact once the security forces withdraw if the underlying issues which led to the violence are not resolved.

European values

Philippe Perchoc emphasised the fundamental rights of Europeans, which differ from the rest of the world in some respects. He cited the death penalty as an example: it has disappeared in all European countries, while it is still practised in China and the United States. He argued that European lobbying has persuaded other countries to abolish this punishment. He also underlined the EU’s crucial contribution in terms of humanitarian aid, as the world’s largest contributor. He said that Europe has enabled people to come together, as seen with the fall of the Berlin Wall, and highlighted the continent’s leadership in the production and export of vaccines against Covid-19. Continuing on the same theme, Serge Stroobants highlighted Europe’s socio-economic vocation which, although not perfect, encourages a stable, inclusive and egalitarian economic environment, the

development of human capital, high levels of governance, reduced corruption and a commitment to the equitable distribution of resources.

“This European strategy is known as soft power. We prefer to send humanitarians to vulnerable areas of the world rather than military personnel, except when absolutely necessary.”

Philippe Perchoc

He supported his argument with data showing that it is possible to express discontent in Europe without resorting to violence. *“We have seen a 250% rise in social unrest over the last decade across Europe, yet we have the lowest rate of violence in the world for this type of event. In sub-Saharan Africa, the same kind of unrest has increased by 600 to 800%. 60 to 70% of these events lead to acts of violence.”* Analysing the questions from the young people in the room, Serge Stroobants pointed out that they all focused on issues *“of power”*. He argued that Europe is the last bastion to defend *“international liberalism”*, which puts people at the heart of the system. Elsewhere, the focus today is on *“offensive realism”*, where the state takes precedence over the individual.



Climate security and cyber crime

The climate and its consequences on peace were of particular interest to the young audience. Serge Stroobants lamented the fact that climate aid of €34 billion per year is given to countries which still have a high level of resilience at the expense of others in a worse position. He also expressed concern that in the two most populous countries in the world, China and India, the population is much less environmentally aware than elsewhere, because of their governments' failure to raise awareness. He mentioned the release of the second EU Ecological Threat Report which addresses the issues of natural disasters, access to water and food and demographic development. After outlining the current state of the world's migratory phenomena, something which already affects 30 countries in three regions around the world, he provided some sobering figures, including the estimated number of climate refugees in 2050, with numbers ranging from 25 to 100 million people. Lastly, he emphasised the link between conflict and global warming, explaining that 8 out of 10 countries in which UN peacekeepers are currently operating will experience major climatic events in the next decade, which will have even more serious consequences for the populations in these countries. The audience was fascinated by the subject of cybercrime, particularly when Philippe Perchoc revealed the astronomical increase in computer attacks around the world: 30,000% in the past year! With Covid-19 and subsequent lockdowns having stymied conventional crime, cybercrime has exploded; it can have exceptionally severe consequences when hackers attack public institutions such as hospitals and even governments. He also mentioned misinformation campaigns and new forms of paedo-crime, all of which Europe must tackle head-on.

IS THE UN STILL EFFICIENT IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS?

Friday 1 October 2021 | 9.30am-12pm | Salle Nacre



From theory to practice

The Charter of the United Nations entrusts the Security Council with responsibility for maintaining peace and international security. Yet as the number of conflicts grow, destabilising peace in the process, the UN's effectiveness is called into question. What would you do if you were

faced with such a situation? This was the subject of this educational debate for school students on the theme of the United Nations and its capacity or otherwise to resolve conflicts. With its original and interactive format, this key event for young people at the Normandy World Peace

THE UN IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS

The expert view

Bertrand Badie, emeritus Professor at Sciences Po, explains that the UN was at first a place for cooperation between states in order to solve their disputes. *“What is interesting and often forgotten is that from this starting point, numerous specialized institutions were created in the Organization. It was then focused on the major common questions for*

humankind. However, the UN don't know how to handle those new matters because the Security Council only deal with power relations. But the climate, sanitary and food issues – if they can be linked to the power relations – do not result form it. This is the whole relevance of the Normandy for Peace Forum: to raise awareness to this new peace culture.”



Forum encouraged participants to take on the role of members of the UN Security Council as they tried to manage a crisis during a simmering conflict. Organised by Canopé, this workshop gave students an opportunity to take part in a role-playing game, helping them to understand the purpose of the international organisation and to get a feel for the complexity of the

diplomatic and geopolitical world. They were also able to question the way in which the institution operates, focusing on controversial issues, including the right to intervene and the concept of alliances, and to assess the impact of their decisions. This role-playing workshop made it possible to put theory into practice!

WHAT DID YOUNG PEOPLE LEARN FROM THIS DEBATE WORKSHOP?

In partnership with:
Canopé

When asked this question, the young people who took part in this interactive workshop responded as follows:

“The United Nations works to support lasting peace.”

“Even if some countries have the right to veto, it is important that the UN continues its mission to manage conflicts wherever it can.”

“It has already resolved many conflicts, particularly by sending peacekeepers who work to support peace.”

“There is a problem with the way it works because the countries which have the right to veto participate and the countries which do not have this right participate much less or not at all.”

“If the Security Council is reformed properly, it can really play a major role. But if it remains as it is, I do not think that its work will have a major impact.”

NORMANDY YOUTH COMMITTED TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Friday 1 October 2021 | 2.15pm – 3.30pm | Salle Nacre



EcHo: a very positive future!

More than 3,000 students in Normandy have taken action to support the Sustainable Development Goals over the last 3 years. Given the programme’s results and the enthusiasm it has elicited within the educational community, the European programme known as Walk The Global Walk will now continue at a regional level and be known as EcHo.

124 classes, 86 schools, 3,060 students, 215 teachers, 960 hours and 276 trips. Walk The Global Walk’s statistics in Normandy over the last three years have shown the impact of this initiative

which focuses on education, global civic duty and human rights, along with climate change and gender equality. The Normandy World Peace Forum provided an opportunity for the various initiatives to be presented by giving the floor to secondary school students and teachers involved in the initiative. Students at Collège Saint-Joseph, who focused on Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 (sustainable cities and communities) in 2018-2019, spoke about the diary in recycled paper which they designed and produced and which provides a daily suggestion about how to help the planet. Their involvement also resulted in the creation of a bicycle repair workshop within the school to promote sustainable mobility. “These initiatives have made us



realise that adults can listen to us and that our ideas can be considered,” Léo and Camille explained.

Action on the ground

Nolwenn and Alexandre from the horticultural Lycée d’Evreux spoke about their work on SDG 13 (take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts), which was their constant focus in 2019-2020. Their involvement went beyond the framework of their school: they created a charitable association to raise environmental awareness and develop more ambitious projects. Their teacher, Christelle, has been thrilled by their work. “The very nature of our students’ studies show their interest in biodiversity. The Walk The Global Walk initiative has helped to build on their appreciation for the environment.” The final example of the involvement of young people from Normandy in 2020 and 2021 focused on SDG 16: peace, justice and strong institutions. Oscar, Axelle and Emile from Collège Le Ferronay in Cherbourg presented their project which led to an illustrated book on justice, the result of class discussions. “We worked on our arguments and learned to listen respectfully to other people, even when they did not agree with us. It made us grow up,” they explained, emphasising that they set up an exhibition in the school on this SDG which was visited by



more than 50% of the students. “This kind of initiative gives real meaning to what we teach,” said Marine, an English teacher who is particularly keen on project-based teaching.

Gratitude from adults

Invited to comment on the work which was presented, several representatives of Parliamentarians For Peace¹ expressed “their gratitude” and even “their admiration” for the young people involved. Rósa Björk Brynjólfsdóttir explained that “the activism of young people from Iceland forced politicians to take action” and thanked young people from Normandy “for their energy and their efforts”. Gerry Taama, a former officer of Togo’s armed forces and an opposition politician, said he was “impressed”, adding that he was “not so mature” at their age. “The planet is like a train: we are all on board and we have to decide where we are going,” he said, before admitting he felt “emotional to see this new generation’s involvement.” This work will continue, as pointed out by François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region and the team at the International Institute for Human Rights and Peace, because the initiative to support the SDGs will continue with a new programme called ECHO. There is no doubt that we will hear more about it soon!



Gerry Taama and Thomas Friang

¹ See also page 112.

Debate co-organised by the International institute for human rights and peace with the participation of Open Diplomacy and the Parliamentarians for Peace.

ACHIEVEMENTS

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At the Forum, UNESCO focuses on **the challenges facing the Francophone world**

11 UNESCO Ambassadors and 5 UNESCO Representatives met on Thursday 30 September at the Forum to prepare a declaration on the contemporary challenges facing the Francophone world, to be presented at the next Francophone Summit in Djerba.

Led by Ghazi Gherairi, Ambassador of Tunisia to UNESCO, and Véronique Roger-Lacan, Permanent Delegate of France to UNESCO, this working session also welcomed Jean Emmanuel Jacquet, the Haitian Minister of Culture and Communication, Catherine Morin-Desailly, Chair of the Culture, Education and Communication Committee at the French Senate, Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region, and François-Xavier Priollaud, Vice-President of the Normandy Region.

Having already met as part of the regional initiative Flaubert 21, the ambassadors focused on the importance of dialogue between cultures across the Francophone world to build peace. Once again, rather than merely raising awareness of peace, the Normandy World Peace Forum worked to build peace.



© Eric Blenowski - Normandy Region

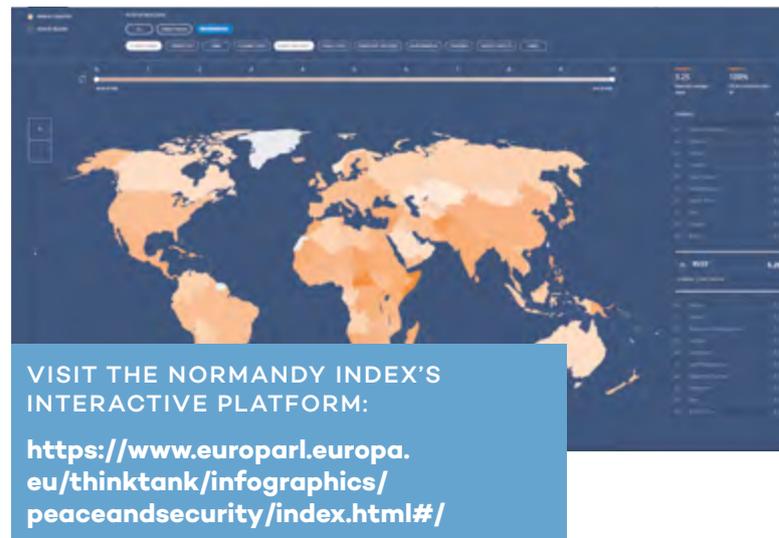
Assessing threats to peace around the world

Developed and prepared by the European Parliamentary Research Service and the Institute for Economics and Peace in partnership with the Normandy Region, the Normandy Index assesses each country's vulnerability to conflict. It is based on 11 levels of threats identified in the European Union's Global Strategy: climate change, cybersecurity, democratic process, economic crises, energy insecurity, fragile states, homicides, disinformation, terrorism, violent conflicts, weapons of mass destruction.

Presented for the first time at the Normandy World Peace Forum in June 2019, the Normandy Index continues to develop and is enhanced every year with new case studies on the sources of conflict and new threats to peace for each country in the international spotlight. It currently studies 136 countries and an interactive platform, which is open to all, can be used to compare the level of threats by geographical area or over time.

In his preface to the 2021 Index, the President of the European Parliament, David Maria Sassoli, highlights the need for societies to be resilient in response

to contemporary challenges: *"In conflict zones and fragile states, the combined effects of these threats have exacerbated violence, poverty and hunger. The pandemic has challenged democracy even in developed countries, fuelling known risks such as disinformation, authoritarianism and information manipulation. The complex nature of these obstacles will undoubtedly define the future of the international security landscape and will require robust and long-lasting responses."*



VISIT THE NORMANDY INDEX'S
INTERACTIVE PLATFORM:

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

The Normandy Chair for Peace

Launched in 2019, the Normandy Chair for Peace reflects the Normandy Region's desire to contribute to academic research and the training of high-level researchers in the field of peace and environmental studies. A genuinely tripartite partnership between the Normandy Region, the University of Caen Normandy and the CNRS, it brings together international researchers to discuss the rights of

future generations, particularly with regard to climate change. This year, the Chair contributed to the Normandy World Peace Forum in the Village for Peace and during debates, alongside Chief Ninawa of the Amazon's Huni Kui tribe and Gert-Peter Bruch, President of Planète Amazone.

All the latest news about the Chair:
<https://chairepaix.hypotheses.org/>

Parliamentarians for peace

During the Forum, Catherine Morin-Dessailly¹ and Thomas Friang² discussed the development of Parliamentarians For Peace, led by Open Diplomacy with the support of the Normandy Region.

In 2021, 15 parliamentarians from all over the world joined the project, bringing the number of elected representatives involved to 25. Together, they continued to reflect and work together on the issues surrounding the governance of peace which were discussed during the Normandy World Peace Forum: global health, protecting the environment, the inclusion of minorities and making the best use of digital innovations. In particular, they worked to identify sustainable solutions to promote as part of international bodies and in their respective parliaments. Two parliamentarians who are part of the project spoke in Caen during the Forum to present their annual statement with the conclusions of a year of joint work on current international issues. Rósa Björk Brynjólfssdóttir, a member of Iceland's parliament, spoke of the challenge of combating global warming. *“As a member of parliament, elected by the people, we represent these people and have the means to decide on public policies. Calls for climate action from citizens, particularly young people, are intensifying. It is our responsibility to meet this challenge. To this end, we focus on social justice and human rights because we know that peace and climate change are linked.*

Climate change leads to instability and will create large-scale migratory phenomena. Members of parliament have an enormous responsibility to act. The only truly effective and sustainable way forward involves co-operation, dialogue and multilateralism, all of which were discussed at Normandy for Peace and which we implement as part of the Parliamentarians for Peace initiative.”

Wide-ranging issues

Manish Tewari, former Indian Minister for Communication and member of India's Lok Sabha parliament, addressed the scientific, technological and digital developments which are creating blind spots when it comes to international regulations, whether legal, juridical or ethical. *“The future of the human race lies at the crossroads of automation, artificial intelligence and new technologies; this will have profound consequences for the future of humanity. In this respect, the Internet has been the boldest experiment ever to have succeeded. Unfortunately, if we do not establish clear rules of engagement, we risk witnessing its demise. China, for example, has transformed the Internet into an enormous intranet. Other countries want to cannibalise this tool for communication and interaction between women and men on a global scale because of religious beliefs or for various different reasons. It is very important that we can ensure that this forum for freedom which we have created is protected through the involvement of elected representatives.”* One more example of the wide range of issues addressed by Parliamentarians for Peace.



Catherine Morin-Dessailly, Rosa Björk Brynjólfssdóttir and Manish Tewari

© Eric Bjerneaki - Normandy Region

¹ President of the French Senate's Culture, Education and Communication Committee and Joint President of Parliamentarians for Peace

² Director of the Institut Open Diplomacy and Joint President of Parliamentarians for Peace

Peace, on beating drums!

Although the Normandy World Peace Forum was in full swing during the day with conferences, debates and key events including the Freedom Prize, it also continued after dark with a cultural evening.

The evening focused on music and cartoons, in partnership with the Permanent Delegation of France to UNESCO and with the participation of Véronique Roger-Lacan, ambassador and Permanent Delegate of France to UNESCO. Michka Assayas, who presents *Very Good Trip* on France-Inter and wrote *Le Dictionnaire du Rock* hosted the evening, alongside the founder of *Projet Imagine*, Frédérique Bedos, and the Vice-President of the Normandy Region, François-Xavier Priollaud, during which humorous cartoons were drawn live and displayed to the audience. This event celebrated music as an *“instrument of peace”*, an approach which is obvious to many, but which does not seem to be universal. The host recalled that in post-war Romania, music by Ravel and Debussy was considered to be decadent. Jazz and rock were seen as being so dangerous by the communist authorities that musicians who played these musical genres were put in prison. In some Middle Eastern and Central Asian countries, metal musicians are often arrested and imprisoned, while religious sects are known to destroy musical instruments in the areas they control. It was therefore important to see and hear more than just talented artists on stage at the Normandy World Peace Forum. This ode to freedom began with a concert by Piers Faccini whose multiculturalism is reflected in his English, Italian and French roots and the cosmopolitan music he proudly creates. *“Music is a form of communication in its own right. I belong to a generation which believed that people with guitars would change the world.”*

Being open-minded about the world

The cultural evening also paid tribute to comics and graphic novels. The cartoonists Zeina Abirached and Jul discussed their work and the creative process which enables them to convey messages. Jul, who has drawn Lucky Luke since the death of Goscinny, mentioned Bass Reeves, the first Black sheriff in the United States, who appears in *A Cowboy in High Cotton* which was released in



Elaha Soroor and the Kefaya's band

2020. This is the first time that the most famous cowboy in comics has shared his adventures with a Black character. Afghan pop singer Elaha Soroor and the group Kefaya joined forces to create an album which combines Afghan and Indian folk music with jazz and electro influences. Their outspoken album makes reference to Afghan women. Several of them wrote the lyrics of songs which were performed for the audience. The songs touched on love, separation and resilience. Michka Assayas recounted the unique story of Elaha Soroor who discovered music illicitly in Iran as a child; when she became a music student, her uncle threatened her life. She secretly took part in and won the Afghan Star competition; this led to a rift with her family, whom she left before moving to London in exile. She emphasised that she was open-minded about the world, explaining that she *“did not feel Afghan”* and felt *“more at home”* in London. In this way, she made it clear that she believes that an identity can be acquired and is not necessarily something innate. Jean Emmanuel Jacquet, Haiti's Minister of Culture and Communication, spoke of his delight in taking part in the Forum, this *“event which focuses on tomorrow's world and its approach to peace.”* He said that Haiti symbolises *“the fight for freedom”*, explaining that the island became *“the first Black Republic in the free world”* in 1804. He also discussed the cultural links which connect Normandy and his country, including Haiti's National Poetry Festival, and argued that culture can be a tool for reconciliation. The evening ended as it began: with music, this universal hymn to peace.

Meeting, discussing and learning

For this fourth edition, in addition to the debates and conferences, the Forum organised numerous activities, events, concerts and even a bookshop with signing sessions to further explore the subjects of the Forum.

New for this year, the Atrium and Studio Agora spaces welcomed speakers and exhibitors to offer short sessions on subjects ranging from human rights to the role of international institutions, from fake news to the rights of future generations and the situation of refugees. Many visitors were pleased to enjoy a unique opportunity to take part in in-depth discussions on peace.

This year, the Village for Peace welcomed four photography exhibitions which could be visited independently and with guided tours to explore key conflicts and issues in more depth.

They Can't Kill Us All

In partnership with the *Les Femmes s'exposent* festival

The photography festival, which aims to showcase the work of female photographers, held its 4th edition in Houlgate from 1 June to 5 September 2021. Les Femmes s'exposent transferred one of its exhibitions to the Forum: They Can't Kill Us All by the photographer Charlène Flores focuses on the Hong Kong people's revolution against China's National Security Law.



© Arnaud Tinel

Walls: between war and peace

In partnership with Paris Match

Once again, Paris Match used photos from its archives to create an exhibition for the Normandy World Peace Forum entitled Walls: between war and peace. It was thought that every wall would fall after the end of the Berlin Wall; today, there are more walls than ever. And yet, at the foot of these walls live peacemakers who fight for freedom.



© Nicolas Broquedis

An Imperfect World

Gilles Caron

The world disappointed and appalled Gilles Caron who, in the course of his short career, photographed it endlessly to show its limits and its beauty. An Imperfect World, in partnership with Le Point du Jour and La Fondation Gilles Caron, highlights this ambivalence.



© Julien Hélie

Free and Equal

Sylvia Galmot

Sylvia Galmot is a self-taught photographer and an artist who is committed to women's rights. The Free and Equal exhibition by Sylvia Galmot features the portraits of 28 women from different backgrounds, bearing a message of hope and solidarity.



© Eric Biermacki - Normandy Region

Acknowledgements

Although it was organised once again in rather unique circumstances, both in terms of the pandemic and because of current events in Central Asia and the Near and Middle East, the fourth edition was another great success as a result of the efforts of all the people who worked to ensure that the Forum was the best it could be. I would like to thank them for their involvement, particularly:

- ▶ **The public, including many young people**, who attended Abbaye-aux-Dames in person or who attended the Forum remotely
- ▶ **The Forum's panellists and partners** within the Village for Peace who shared their ideas for action, their experience and their expertise and contributed to discussions on governing peace
- ▶ **The sponsors and partners of the Normandy for Peace international network** who continue to develop this regional initiative
- ▶ **State departments and the city of Caen** which ensured the health and safety of the Forum's attendees
- ▶ **The teams involved in the Forum every year**: elected representatives, local government, service providers and volunteers who all helped to create this much-needed and remarkable event.

Hervé Morin

President of the Normandy Region,
former French Minister of Defence

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



The Normandy Region
is looking forward to seeing you
in 2022 for the 5th edition of
the Normandy World Peace Forum!



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