

NO PEACE WITHOUT PEOPLE

Conference n°2 | Friday 29 September, 10 a.m. – 12 p.m., Plenary Room



Nicole Gnesotto, Jacques Rupnik, Nicolas Normand, François-Xavier Priollaude and Frédérique Bedos

To celebrate the 75th anniversary of the United Nations' peacekeeping operations, as well as the commitment of peacekeepers, honoured at the Forum through a photographic exhibition, Jean-Pierre Lacroix introduced this second plenary conference. The Under-Secretary-General for UN Peacekeeping Operations started by recalling the multitude of actions undertaken by the United Nations: 80,000 people deployed, including 65,000 military

personnel, different mission sizes, varied and complex mandates, from simple ceasefire enforcement in Cyprus to multi-dimensional missions in South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). According to this diplomat, it is crucial to understand that 'peace can only be lasting if it is based on the commitment of citizens'. Peace-building is a continuum, from conflict prevention to the inclusive application of peace agreements so that

OPENING:

Jean-Pierre Lacroix, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations-UN

MODERATION:

Frédérique Bedos, founding president of the Imagine Project

François-Xavier Priollaude, vice-president of the Normandy Region

SPEAKERS:

Frédéric Charillon, French academic and political scientist

Nicole Gnesotto, vice-president of the Jacques Delors Institute

Nicolas Normand, former French ambassador to Mali, Congo and Senegal, author of 'Le Grand Livre de l'Afrique'

Antonio Patriota, Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom

Delphine O, Ambassador and Secretary General of the Generation Equality Forum (Beijing+25)

Jean-Pierre Raffarin, former French Prime Minister, President of Leaders for Peace

Jean-Maurice Ripert, Ambassador of France, president of the French Association for the United Nations

Jacques Rupnik, French political scientist

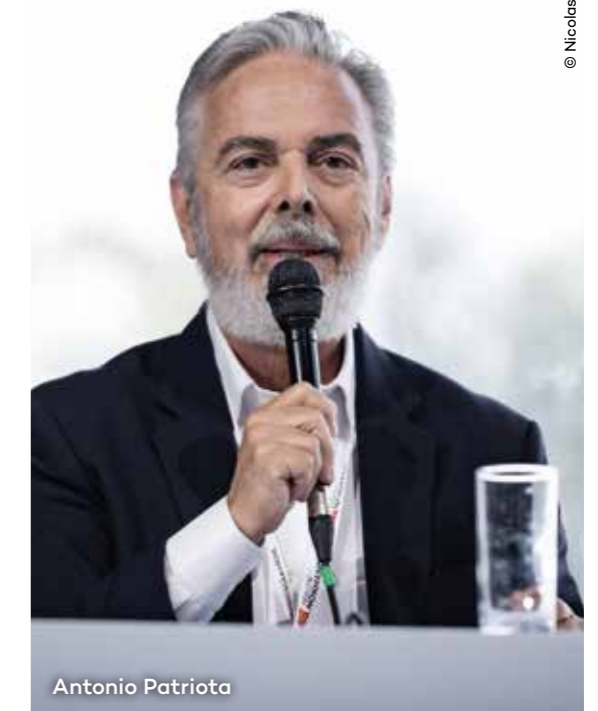


Jean-Pierre Lacroix

Peace can only be lasting if it is based on the commitment of citizens

Jean-Pierre Lacroix

these can take root and are accepted by the people. Peace-building also means accepting that peace agreements have imperfect and uneven starting points, and that we need to engage with different communities to explain the agreement, prepare for inclusive elections, develop accountability mechanisms and continue to protect civilians. Drawing on the examples of South Sudan, Kosovo, Cyprus and the Central African Republic, the diplomat stressed the importance of including women, who are often excluded from the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements. With *'the ever more serious impact of global warming, we must fight and propose alternative solutions. Building lasting peace requires preventing and addressing these global challenges,'* he concluded.



Antonio Patriota

Political scientists, Jacques Rupnik and Frédéric Charillon, as well as ambassador Nicolas Normand were invited to take part in the opening segment of this debate, which focused on the *"paper peace"* that ignored the people.

Jacques Rupnik, a specialist in Central and Eastern Europe, focused on Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where peace was imposed by force under the Dayton Accords. *'Criticism of these agreements is unfair'*, said the political scientist, going back over the chronology of the international intervention to stop the massacres and highlighting the important contributions of international justice, *'because the Serb, Bosnian and Croat leaders had the option of amending their constitutions to adapt these agreements'*.

Frédéric Charillon pointed out that 'for a long time we lived with the idea that states made war and the people suffered', before moving on to the idea that 'states make peace and the people refuse it'. While the reality is more complex than the opposition of bellicose peoples and pacifist

states, there is a great deal of resistance and mistrust on the part of populations during peace processes. To achieve peace between people, a positive peace that goes beyond a simple ceasefire, we must first and foremost work towards reconciliation.

We are not heading for chaos – on the contrary, we are living out what we have always wanted

Bertrand Badie

Nicolas Normand, a former ambassador to sub-Saharan Africa, explained that four types of conflict have emerged on the continent. The first takes place in these regions that have become the *'Wild West without a sheriff'*, where the state is absent, with no police or justice, and where human passions, whether resentment or the desire for conquest, can express themselves. The second is the struggle for power when institutions fail and allow the situation to be resolved by force, as in Southern Sudan or Ethiopia. The third corresponds to the advent of Salafist jihadism, which does not rely on a notion of people but on



Frédéric Charillon

a civilisational issue, based on a specific interpretation of divine law. The fourth type of conflict is separatist conflicts, when several peoples are no longer willing to live together in the same state, as in Mali. Nicolas Normand concluded this first part of the conference by citing the example of the peace agreement to resolve the conflict in Mali's Sahel region, a resounding failure because it was negotiated without the people and by foreign diplomats, and imposed by the international community.

The second part of this debate, entitled, *'Taking peace back into our own hands'*, featured contributions from Jean-Maurice Ripert and Delphine O, the French ambassadors and Antonio Patriota, the Brazilian ambassador. At the start of this discussion, Jean-Maurice Ripert reassured the audience that *'we are not heading for chaos – on the contrary, we are living out what we have always wanted, that no great power should decide on its own on behalf of the others'*. According to the ambassador, *'we're moving towards a world of blurred subsets that assemble and differentiate, and in this world multilateralism will have to be reinvented'*. While we often think of the recurrent deadlock in the Security Council as an example of the failure of multilateralism, we mustn't forget the UN's other actions, first and foremost *'the recognition of the rights of individuals as superior to the rights of States'*, which is fundamental to *'building the peace of tomorrow'*, he maintained.



Delphine O and Jean-Maurice Ripert

Antonio Patriota revisited the definition of the Brics group, which is *'not an alliance but a coordination platform for the emerging countries'*, because *'Brazil has neither allies nor enemies'*. While *'singularities co-exist'* within Brics, it nevertheless remains a group *'fighting for the democratisation of international relations and the promotion of a fairer and more open decision-making system'*.

Delphine O pointed out that *'historically, traditionally, systematically and structurally, women have always been excluded from peace-building'*. The figures cited by the ambassador spoke for themselves: *'Between 1992 and 2019, only 13% of negotiators, 6% of mediators and 4% of signatories were women'*, even though it is estimated that *'the inclusion of women in the process increases the probability that a peace agreement will last for at least two years by 20%, and for a duration of 15 years by 35%'*. While *'women are essential pillars of communities and the social fabric'*, the peace agreement with FARC in Colombia in 2016 is *'the only one that fully involves women, in particular, via a sub-committee on gender'*.

When asked about the recurrent deadlock in the Security Council, Jean-Maurice Ripert stressed the multiple roles of the UN, which is present *'in every conflict zone, in Sudan, Yemen, Burma and the DRC'*, and explained that although it has *'not restored peace, it has certainly prevented millions more deaths'*. Furthermore, the fact that the Security Council is deadlocked is *'in line with the wishes of the founding members, who wanted to avoid one of the major powers leaving the UN in the event of a challenge'*. Faced with *'the undermining of the UN by China, which wants to establish a bipolar Washington-Beijing architecture, we must continue to fight for the United Nations'*, the ambassador asserted.



Watch the full debate on YouTube



Women have always been excluded from peace-building

Delphine O

Antonio Patriota went on to point out that *'paralysis of the Security Council through unilateral action by one member is nothing new'*, that *'both Brazil and France are pressing for reform of the Council'*, but that the possibilities of *'going through the General Assembly should not be overlooked, as illustrated by the condemnation of the Russian invasion of Ukraine'*. The Brazilian ambassador believes it is vital to be *'optimistic about the renewal of multilateralism, at the risk of suffering a civilisational failure'*.

Nicole Gnesotto concluded this conference by noting that it is essential to think of a non-Manichean world and cited a famous phrase from the actress, Jane Fonda: *'If you want something said, ask a man; if you want something done, ask a woman'*.

Jean-Pierre Raffarin :

‘Peace is a discipline’



At the 2023 Normandy World Peace Forum, former French Prime Minister, Jean-Pierre Raffarin, expressed his concerns about the threats posed by populism and climate change, but stressed his confidence in democratic principles and the involvement of young people. Here is his speech.

‘Hello and well done Normandy, peace is work and work requires continuity! I’m impressed by the culture and experience gathered here, as we’ve just seen in the debates, and I think it’s very important that you agree on a strategy to become a key place of reflection, understanding and above all action, to try to bring people together in continuity for peace. Many thanks to Hervé Morin and many thanks to Normandy.

There aren’t just interests in life, there are convictions

I am speaking to you today on behalf of Leaders for Peace, an NGO created six years ago, which has three main functions. We issue an annual report, we support causes that are not sufficiently highlighted, like that of Dr Mukwege against female mutilation in Congo, and we also support education and the spirit of peace in early childhood structures for which an annual prize is awarded. But our reason for being is to work on a pedagogy of peace. There are schools of war but there are few schools of peace. Peace must be learnable, peace can be studied, and all of this should be teachable. We are working on this by building a travelling school of peace that moves around the world and prepares the various players in life.

I’m speaking here between two round table discussions, the first of which is entitled ‘No peace without the people’. I think that everything that has been said is very true and I agree with this premise, but I think that we still need to make an effort to open up diplomacy to civil society, to all the rising strata. All this is still confined to too great an extent to expert debates. Young people need to become more involved in the diplomatic aspects of international relations, because together,

Radicalism today means that people can carry this desire for war

we need to overcome a real paradox in our societies: threats are increasingly foreign and our political debates are increasingly national. It’s a paradox that foreign affairs are often far removed from our concerns, so we find ourselves in a situation in which we don’t have the debates, the insights, the pedagogy and the contradictions. Democracy is about debate. There aren’t just interests in life, there are convictions, and they must confront each other to inform people’s opinions so that people can participate in peace.

I would still propose, my dear Hervé, an amendment: ‘No peace without pacified people’. I am quite struck by the populist mechanism that is developing today, of which President Trump is a prime example. We’ve been in politics for a long time, we were part of a school, that of former President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing and many others, in which one had to bring people together to govern. With Trump and the others it is not a question of bringing people together but of radicalising a proportion of people. It’s better to have 3 million people who are completely motivated and capable of taking action, sometimes reaching an irresponsible and unreasonable level of politics, but this hard core will be convincing in a political system where turnout is the key to elections. It is the one who radicalises his electorate who has the most voters. Radicalism today means that people can carry this desire for war. If you look at French society, the debates in the National Assembly and the television programmes, violence is becoming widespread. Violence and war are twin sisters and a country which sees violence increasing and which ends up accepting it,



***When there is war,
there is resistance
and when there is no war,
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Whether you're in Caen, San Francisco, Bangalore or Shanghai, you all have the same concern: protecting the planet. This is a very important point. When I started politics, we were talking about the conquest of the Moon but no one was talking about the planet. We see this concern today, with young people taking to the streets all over the world. The globalisation of politics is a new fact, something that can be a consensual force today. We'll move towards peace if we want to live, have a future and have perspective. If we're desperate, we will let the baser instincts of our temperament speak. The first step is to seek consensus, to work on this fundamental issue, to make sustainability central to our policy. After this, there is undoubtedly the possibility of building common desires.

The second orientation is that there's no peace without a balance of power – we must not deny forces and impulses. It takes strength to support a people and projects, and it's normal for them to clash in a democracy. Today we need to know what our balance of power is. For me, our strength today, that of Europe but also of the West, is democracy. Today, these democracies are weakened, European integration is fragile, there is a lot of powerlessness in our societies, and we can see that democracy isn't always able to engage the interest of the public. The participation rate is very worrying because a democracy that abstains is a democracy that condemns itself. We must defend and revive these democracies, but for that, we must work together. We have relatively few discussions with other democracies to im-

prove our processes and exchange good practices. We must endeavour to develop a democratic front that isn't opposed to others, but is more appealing, and whose number one objective is the electoral participation of citizens in the future of democracy. This is our primary challenge today, and I believe that there is a tremendous opportunity here, by building this strategic thinking, to position ourselves in the camp of democracies rather than in the camp of the West. The Western camp is seen as American today. When people ask me which camp I am in, I am in the camp of democracies.

The third orientation – whether this is a hope or an utopia – is the return of Europe. Europe was fundamental in history, it built it, but today it's on the verge of exit. The great powers won't wait for us and this Sino-American tension, the matrix of global governance, can end in two ways: by the escalation of tensions, a world war in Taiwan, or by understanding and negotiation at the expense of Europe. Everything is possible but the great danger for the EU is to be outside the system. My belief is that you are respected in the world when you are a leader of something. Where can Europe be a leader? We could have talked about agriculture or industry, but we represent every interest, since we are the first continent to mobilise on the ecological transition, in taking up this subject and being the best, so that after the Washington consensus, there is the Paris consensus that came out of COP 21. Even if we aren't going to play the leading role in all areas vis-à-vis the great powers, let's choose the strategic areas in which we want to excel and can speak to the world with authority, competence and legitimacy. It's important to think in this way, along with other related issues such as the Franco-German relationship, which is hugely relevant. Indeed, when the French and Germans are in agreement, we can often talk about powers and balances of power in the world. Perhaps we need to split relations with China between France and Germany, so that there are sever-

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al of us in the balance of power, so that we are more muscular in our discussions, and to achieve this we need to find common Franco-German policies rather than creating a global pairing. This is what can provide leadership today and ensure that our continent is also a continent of planetary development and democracy. It is in this balance of power that we can regain control of peace.

I end with an extremely difficult question that everyone is asked about every day: should we talk to the adversary? I think that to guide younger people, we should take the example of General de Gaulle. In his life, he gave us guidelines. When there is war, there is resistance and when there is no war, there is dialogue. It's this desire to speak to everyone, to try to anticipate crises, to build peace. Peace is work, dear young people, peace is a discipline to learn but peace is your business, it's up to you to build it because you're the ones who will live it. Thank you for your attention.'