

2ND
EDITION

THE DEBATES



WORLD
FORUM
— NORMANDY —
FOR PEACE

4 - 5 JUNE 2019

THE ESSENTIALS

THE PEACEMAKERS

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Note to readers

This document compiles summaries of the discussions and debates held at the second 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 the different points of view and the essential elements of each sequence.

Whether you attended the 2019 Normandy World Peace Forum or not, the Normandy Region has created this document to summarise the highlights of the second edition of this event. You will find a summary of the conferences and debates and a presentation of the highlights of the event, held on 4 and 5 June 2019.

The Normandy World Peace Forum in a few figures:

-  **6,000 attendees, including 2,500 young people**, came to focus on peace: debating, learning, finding out more and discussing.
-  **240 experts, Nobel Peace Prize winners, government representatives and figures from the academic world and civil society** analysed the stakeholders and the processes involved in the development of long-lasting peace.
-  **More than 400 people signed the Manifesto for Peace** during the two days of the Forum.

We hope you enjoy reading this document!

The Normandy Region

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE PEACEMAKERS



From left to right: Sarah Taylor, Catherine Turner, Christina Shaheen, Jody Williams

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WOMEN AS LEADERS FOR PEACE: A FORCE FOR THE FUTURE

Tuesday 4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Salle Guillaume

Moderator:

- **Sarah Taylor,**
Senior Researcher, International Peace Institute

Speakers:

- **Christina Shaheen,**
Gender Adviser, Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary General for Syria, United Nations
- **Catherine Turner,**
Associate Professor, Durham University
- **Jody Williams,**
1997 Nobel Peace Prize winner

Despite the numerous initiatives which have been launched in recent years, women remain under-represented in peace processes: just 2% of UN mediators are women and some women have even been murdered for their involvement. Yet their role seems vital in negotiations, particularly to promote women's rights.

Catherine Turner emphasises that peace processes required combined efforts at every level of society, involving diplomats as well as political, religious and social authorities at a local level. In her view, it is at a local level that women can put their mediating skills to use and exercise a form of leadership in peace processes. On this subject, Christina Shaheen refers to a citizens' initiative which began in 2018 and was led by several women's groups; it resulted in protests in favour of peace in Idleb in Syria and a petition signed by 10,000 women which was delivered to the UN Security Council. This initiative alerted

the international community to the gravity of the humanitarian situation of the civilians who were facing a resurgence in the fighting in north-western Syria.

However, in Catherine Turner's view, if women are to take on a meaningful role in prominent processes, the very notion of leadership must adapt to include new elements, no longer focusing solely on power mechanisms but on concrete conflict resolution skills as well.

Jody Williams has adopted the following principle: "If I do nothing to change a situation which I consider to be unfair, then I am part of the problem." She earned the approval of participants in peace processes because of her ability to encourage people to question their own behaviour, even if this required her to adopt a provocative attitude. She has never felt penalised for being a woman and believes that recognition is earned on the basis of an individual's skills. Her greatest achievement remains the culmination of her fight against the use of land mines, a process in which women played a major role.

Women can contribute real innovation to future peace processes. They are able to question the rules of the traditional diplomatic game, which were created by men and are fundamentally based on the concepts of power and military domination. Women are much more than their traditional image of "family caregivers" and are more inclined to focus on interhuman relations in ways which are unrelated to the balance of power and domination. As such, they deserve better representation in groups which participate in negotiations.

Jody Williams took the example of the process against the spread of "killer robots", which are robotic weapons with an autonomous decision-making ability to engage targets. This work is coordinated by a woman, who rebelled against the fact that the panel of experts which had been appointed was exclusively male. She demanded significant female representation as part of this panel,

arguing that women could enhance the debate. Her demands were met. The idea that female representation on expert panels is valuable has been increasingly championed, even by men.

This example illustrates another problem: women are not always given the recognition they deserve for their skills. Often, they must fight to obtain this recognition. Jody Williams tempers this statement by pointing out that "women's past successes are the steps which today's women can climb as they make their way to the top of society".

WHAT EUROPEAN POLICY FOR PEACE?

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle Auditorium

Moderator:

→ **Antoine Arjakovsky**,
Co-Director of the Department
of Political and Religious Research,
Collège des Bernardins

Speakers:

→ **Alain Lamassoure**,
French MEP

→ **Elena Lazarou**,
Political Analyst, European Parliament
Research Service

Born from the ashes of the Second World War, the European Union (EU) is built on the ideals of peace and solidarity among nations, which must be reflected in its foreign policy. This requires us to consider the very definition of peace and to innovate to come up with a suitable strategy for future challenges.

For Antoine Arjakovsky, geopolitics can be understood in the humanist sense: between interconnected nation states, which makes it possible to move from a strategic approach to peace – “if you want peace, prepare for war” – to a preventive approach, although this does require civil society’s participation. Insofar as peace is a priority for the EU, he wonders how to make this objective more visible, citing the creation of a Commissioner for Peace as an example.

Recently published by Elena Lazarou, the report entitled “Peace And Security In 2019: Overview Of EU Action And Outlook For The Future” approaches the subject of peace from a holistic point of view, with the promotion of peace constituting a horizontal value which must be present in all of the EU’s actions with regard to the outside world. In Elena Lazarou’s view, this is the reason that the EU has not appointed a Commissioner for Peace: peace is the guiding principle in every aspect of

its foreign policy, which has been entrusted to the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs since the Lisbon Treaty.

How can nation states work together for peace for everyone’s benefit? This multilateralism to promote peace is an integral part of the European model and has a normative power in several areas, including development, the promotion of democracy, defence and security, disinformation, terrorism and hybrid threats. Lastly, the report raises the question of the way in which the EU will adapt to a geopolitical environment in which new threats continue to emerge.

With the advent of the Cold War, it became clear that the absence of violence resulted in a kind of peace, although it was not necessarily associated with people’s well-being. Conversely, positive peace includes other elements which simultaneously benefit prosperity and act as barriers to the threat of conflict. The definition of positive peace has been the subject of in-depth work by the Institute for Economics and Peace in Sydney, with which Elena Lazarou has developed the Normandy Index, a barometer which measures a country’s vulnerability to conflict.

In Alain Lamassoure’s analysis, it is thanks to the miracle of the construction of Europe that the citizens of European countries now experience “peaceful hearts”, which goes well beyond positive peace, while for other people around the world, war remains the “continuation of politics by other means”, to quote Clausewitz. This experience of “peaceful hearts” is so widespread that European children feel as if they have been “vaccinated” against war. Europeans cannot imagine a potential armed conflict on European soil, in Alain Lamassoure’s view.

On the global stage, a second level of peace is emerging. Although there are numerous on-going wars, almost all of which occur

internally within a single country, the world has enjoyed peace for three quarters of a century because the major powers have found it more advantageous to develop other types of relationships. However, this situation cannot be described as that of “peaceful hearts” but rather as that of a “silence of arms”; this can be jeopardised at any time, especially if the leaders of the major powers are tempted to destabilise the diplomatic system.

For Alain Lamassoure, although these various indices are particularly interesting, we must view them with a temporal focus, bearing in mind that peace is never definitive and that it is vital to take national specificities into account. In addition, the vocabulary used in political debates should also be a criterion. Over the last ten years, hate speech has become a part of political debate.

Alain Lamassoure argues that we must understand how to avoid foreseeable wars to maintain peace. The war in Bosnia is an example of this: there were many signs of a risk of conflict but this did not prevent the international community from compelling Bosnians to hold a referendum, thereby triggering the war. The MEP thinks that the appointment of a Commissioner for Peace should be supported, provided that this Commissioner is also responsible for security or, in other words, is able to take action in the fight against terrorism.

Alain Lamassoure notes that none of the twenty-eight European countries is sovereign when it comes to security, which is to say that no European country can unilaterally declare a war like the one which reached the beaches of Normandy seventy-five years ago. Europeans prefer to believe that no-one will threaten them and that the United States will always be ready to help them. However, since the United States has made it very clear that the security of Western Europe is not a priority, Europe must “take control of its own security”, in Alain Lamassoure’s view. All European states are ready to take a common position on this subject; the MEP argues that France should vote in favour of the EU during the next meeting of the UN Security Council, and that there should be a permanent peacetime alliance.

For Elena Lazarou, many of the threats to peace are now transnational. She therefore laments the absence of transnational “heroes of peace” who would be able to inspire Europeans and to deal with issues on an international scale. She emphasises that such figures are emerging and forming movements to build a different future, such as Greta Thunberg.



From left to right: Lorena Rodriguez, Bernard Amsalem, Gary Al-Smith, Daniel Costantini

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SPORT: STILL A CATALYST FOR PEACE?

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle Abbesses

Moderator:

- **Lorena Rodriguez,**
Head of Media and Communication,
Peace & Sport

Speakers:

- **Gary Al-Smith,**
Sports Journalist and UNICEF
Ambassador
- **Bernard Amsalem,**
Vice-President of the French National
Olympic and Sports Committee
- **Daniel Costantini,**
Former coach of the French handball
team

According to a study by the consultancy firm AT Kearney, global sport is worth roughly \$620 billion dollars. However, ministries of sport tend to have the smallest budgets, even though sport has been shown to contribute to diplomatic processes and to help to re-establish dialogue between states. For example, in 1971, a table tennis match between an American man and a Chinese man helped to revive trade between the two countries. Teams including players from both Koreas also competed at the 2018 Olympic

Winter Games. In the speakers' views, sport's role in the facilitation of peace in a given society, and even on a global scale, is underestimated.

The world sports movement includes the International Olympic Committee (IOC), international and national federations which organise major sporting events. These organisations contribute to sport's universal image. For example, every three years, the IOC and the UN organise a congress on peace and sport: the concept of the "Olympic truce" is still relevant after more than 3,000 years, confirming the pacifist nature of sport.

For Bernard Amsalem, "sport is a medicine against the excesses of society". Gary Al-Smith notes that team sports are one of the easiest ways to break down ethnic, religious, linguistic, social and economic barriers. When players are on the field, these differences simply no longer exist. Players just need to know the rules which apply. In the same way, teams from small countries, which do not have major infrastructure in terms of sport, are able to compete with teams from rich countries within the framework of international competitions. For many young people from economically disadvantaged areas, sport is an accessible way of encouraging social mobility.

However, it is not enough to put people who are in conflict on the field and to expect peace to materialise. Sport is not limited to its sentimental or symbolic aspects. It generates a lot of money and hides tragic realities.

Daniel Costantini notes that in 1976, the African continent boycotted the Olympic Games and that Western nations did the same in 1980 when they were held in the USSR. Today, every nation does everything it can to attend because not participating in the Olympic Games would be interpreted as a desire to withdraw from the international community. Nevertheless, while opening and closing ceremonies offer moments of genuine fraternity, competition itself can be considered, to some extent, as a form of organised and regulated warfare. In team sports, communication can lead to a war of words.

Some supporters may take this war-like aspect too seriously but, in Gary Al-Smith's view, sport is essentially a mirror of society; if it has a role to play in education, stakeholders within sport also have a responsibility. To this end, the journalist who specialises in African sport believes that wealthy football clubs should invest more in the communities around them, mainly to show that there is no place for racism and intolerance in sport. He also believes that they should be more responsible with regard to the sources of their funding, particularly when clubs are bought by Gulf countries. These big sporting clubs tend to be far removed from the people, when the people should be the most important part of global sport, in Gary Al-Smith's view. He believes that sporting events should be representative of societies and countries, because athletes are role models, especially for young people.

Bernard Amsalem emphasises the tendency to judge sport using football, which crystallises the problems of society, as a yardstick. However, France has one hundred and seventeen different sports federations.

Violence and racism are rare in other team sports such as rugby or handball. Yet the budget for sport represents just 0.13% of the French state's budget. For Bernard Amsalem, sport is an investment, not an expense. In France, sport represents a potential 700,000 additional jobs, which do not exist because the associative model which dominates in France is unsuited to this area of business. Sport should become a part of the social economy to ensure that its value is better recognised. In France, sporting associations and federations should become Public Interest Cooperative Companies (PICC); governance could then involve private and public partners, which would ensure recognition for sport as a respected economic power.

Lorena Rodriguez notes that the sports sector is changing rapidly, with the development of urban sports and e-sports which are particularly popular with young people. Bernard Amsalem believes that a framework for e-sports is required to avoid potential dangers but these new sports must be respected by the world of traditional sports; otherwise, there is a risk of a definitive split between the two, which will ultimately harm sport in general. For Bernard Amsalem, the future of sport lies in female sport. In a world in which the governing bodies of sports federations remain predominantly male, there is still much more to do.

(1) Public Interest Cooperative Companies are French legal entities; they aim to produce or supply goods and services which are in the public interest and which have a social utility. PICCs must have three types of partners or shareholders: producers of goods or services, beneficiaries of the goods and services offered and natural or legal persons contributing to the cooperative's activity (source: BPI France website).

WAR JOURNALISM: GENERATION SARAJEVO

4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Salle Tocqueville

Moderator:

→ **Mathilde BouSSION,**
Freelance Journalist

Speakers:

→ **Jérôme Delay,**
Photographer, Associated Press

→ **Karen Lajon,**
Senior Reporter, Journal du Dimanche

→ **Jean-Marie Lemaire,**
Morocco Correspondent, France 24

→ **Emmanuel Ortiz,**
Photojournalist

→ **Loïck Berrou,**
Journalist, France 24

For a journalist, covering a war means narrating its events and reporting on what life is like for local residents. But ultimately, some wars become powerful experiences for these professionals. The siege of Sarajevo was one of these wars.

Shared memories have had a lasting impact on the journalists who were asked to cover this conflict. To enter the city of Sarajevo when it was under siege, every journalist had to pass through Sniper Alley, a "crossing which was rather complicated", in Karen Lajon's words. Once they were in the city, freelance photojournalists sought to take the best photos before selling them to have enough money to eat. Journalists who were sent by their publications worked with the help of a local chaperone, through whom they managed to obtain various basic foodstuffs.

The siege of Sarajevo was characterised by its particularly long duration, lasting more than a thousand days. Consequently, journalists worked on rotation for a few weeks at a time, something which forced them to readjust regularly to the specificities of the situation. For some, however, life was much easier in Sarajevo than in Paris, where editors' indifference to the conflict was a real source of despair.

Reports were put together using Bosnian television resources before they were entrusted to people who left for France by plane. Later, following the arrival of the Reuters agency and its resources, images could be sent for a fee by satellite to newsrooms in Paris. Some photographers also used an ancestor of the fax, the belinograph, which transformed an image's colours into electrical impulses, with a view to their transmission via satellite.

More generally, "everything was negotiated in Sarajevo" at that time, including journalists' photos and reports, in Jérôme Delay's words. Although some reporters managed to "earn plenty of money because of this conflict", in Mathilde BouSSION's view, others used their money to buy armoured cars, which they then rented to other journalists, thus saving lives. In short, "resourcefulness" was key to survival in Bosnia, but solidarity was also called for, given the dangerous nature of the region: a pooling system ensured that just one cameraman or woman would be sent, for example, who would then be responsible for sharing his or her images. Freelance journalists took advantage of the resources, particularly the cars, of their peers, which were provided by agencies.

Access to information within a theatre of war is specific to each conflict, Karen Lajon explains. In general, the first forty-eight hours offer a real window of opportunity for journalists, before access is very quickly restricted. The disastrous experience of the United States

in Vietnam prompted them to develop the principle of the "embedded journalist" who gradually ends up appropriating their military strategy. In contrast, French officers, still scarred by the Algerian war, were known for their "extremely mediocre" communications policy, according to Emmanuel Ortiz.

This conflict asked questions of the journalist's role. Some reporters were invited to The Hague as eyewitnesses to the Srebrenica massacre. This raises the question: when journalists go beyond the testimony of their reports, are they simply assuming their civic duty or are they becoming activists?

If journalism requires perspective, while avoiding any Manichean analysis of events and people, it should be recognised that Western war reporters failed to remain completely neutral. In Jean-Marie Lemaire's view, this conflict even had a rather "romantic" side to it for French journalists, who took up the cause of the inhabitants of the besieged city. In Karen Lajon's view, this proximity between the French press and the city's inhabitants may even have contributed to the fact that, unlike their English peers, French journalists did not identify the presence of the first jihadists. With hindsight, she now describes Bosnia as a "template for Al Qaeda". In the same way, some Western communications agencies soon sought to portray the Serbian people as the "bad guys", whereas responsibility for the conflict's cruelty was in fact widely shared by all warring parties, explains Jérôme Delay.

The journalist's role also involves questioning political decisions, something which French reporters did with regard to France's participation in this conflict and its role within the United Nations Protection Force. In Loïck Berrou's view, the more time passed, the less the United Nations' humanitarian corridor made sense, until the conflict completely changed in the wake of NATO's first strikes. Beyond their reflections on political choices, journalists can also influence leaders. Karen

Lajon argues that the work of war reporters during the siege of Sarajevo led to President Clinton's (undeniably overdue) understanding of the need to intervene.

To discuss "Generation Sarajevo" is to make reference to the journalists who began their careers during this historic time. The siege of Sarajevo and the conflicts in the Balkans in general educated an entire generation of war reporters, thereby helping to shape their views and their approaches to covering conflict.



From left to right: Kelly McBride, Xavier Cadoret, Dörte Liebetruhl

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WHAT ROLE FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITIES IN PEACE BUILDING?

4 June, 3.15pm - 4.30pm, Salle CESER

Moderator:

- **Thomas Andersson,**
President of the Regional council of Jämtland, Sweden, member of the bureau of the Assembly of European Regions and the Congress of the Council of Europe

Speakers:

- **Xavier Cadoret,**
President of the Chamber of local authorities, Congress of the Council of Europe
- **Dörte Liebetruhl,**
Member of the Chamber of Regions, Congress of the Council of Europe
- **Kelly McBride,**
Member of the Democratic Institute

The regions' involvement in peace processes makes it possible to address their involvement in conflicts with greater finesse, and therefore to formulate concrete proposals and implement innovative solutions. Xavier Cadoret points out the Normandy Region's creation and organization of the Normandy World Peace Forum provides an initial response to the question raised.

A number of factors are likely to threaten peace, or at least the political and democratic stability of an area. Society may be destabilized by a breakdown in trust between the people and the political class, whether due to the hegemony of the state's word or to mechanisms of misinformation. Some sociologists also point to the weakening of unifying forces, such as the family, trade unions and political parties, as a vector of tension. For Xavier Cadoret, diversity is also a source of division when difficulties arise, particularly in the economic sphere, as mutual misunderstanding is a breeding ground for prejudice, rumour and discord. Dörte Liebetruhl underlines the importance of cultural exchanges at European and international level, a process in which local authorities can

take part, to help people become more open to differences. For example, the Lower Saxony Parliament, of which she is a member, aims to facilitate student participation in the Erasmus programme. One of the objectives of this policy is to enable everyone to benefit from globalisation. Dörte Liebetruhl also mentions the fact that crèches in Lower Saxony are free in order not to exclude anyone.

Xavier Cadoret emphasises the need to organise public services at the most relevant territorial level, so that they are easy to understand and accessible for people. This condition seems fundamental to maintaining an effective dialogue with civil society. This first raises the question of the effectiveness of the organization between the different territorial strata across a country. For example, Latvia is a country whose territorial organisation has shortcomings: the lack of an intermediate level between State and municipalities prevents the smallest ones from receiving community aid, as the applications are too complex for them to prepare. On the other hand, in France, difficulties may arise if several territorial authorities are potentially competent in a given field. Secondly, there is the question of real budgetary autonomy for local and regional authorities. Considering that democracy can only function fully with support from regions, the Council of Europe is committed to promoting decentralisation, but it faces a context of budgetary restrictions for local authorities and the recentralisation of power by governments, according to Xavier Cadoret.

For her part, Dörte Liebetruhl places particular emphasis on the role of local authorities in analysing the processes currently at work that tend to weaken ties within Europe, such as Brexit. Kelly McBride points out that democratic values, taught in school, are deeply rooted among the British. However, she notes that during the campaign for the referendum on keeping the United Kingdom in the European Union, no venue was provided for participatory democracy and citizen debate to take place. Citizens therefore had to form their opinions on this crucial issue for the future of their country on the basis of speeches that were relayed in the media and

on social networks. In Kelly McBride's view, during the campaign the British were fed with information that was not necessarily relevant or even completely wrong, and Brexit is therefore the consequence of this deficient democratic debate.

Kelly McBride notes that local authorities are able to receive citizens and provide them with a venue where they can exercise participatory democracy. For example, an assembly was set up by randomly selecting citizens of the Belgian German-speaking community. This assembly was invited to reflect on agenda for political work on a number of issues. Xavier Cadoret, on the other hand, mentions the exclusion of the Russian-speaking community in Latvia, which does not have access to full citizenship or political representation. In his view, trust in the political class is essential. He also refers to the results of a barometer produced in 2018 which showed that "six out of ten citizens in the European Union do not trust their main national political institutions". Xavier Cadoret believes that local authorities could try to restore this trust if national governments gave them the means to do so.

UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS, FROM BEGINNING TO RESOLUTION



From left to right: Barthélemy Courmont, Mohamed ElBaradei, Jean-François Di Meglio

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NORTH KOREA: FAILURE OR SUCCESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS?

4 June, 5pm - 6.15pm, Salle CESER

Moderator:

→ **Jean-François Di Meglio**,
President, Asia Centre

Speakers:

→ **Barthélemy Courmont**,
Research Director, Institute of
International and Strategic Relations

→ **Mohamed ElBaradei**,
2005 Nobel Peace Prize winner
and former Director General of the
International Atomic Energy Agency

Having been occupied by the Japanese during the Second World War, the Korean peninsula was divided into two zones on both sides of the 38th parallel after Japan's surrender. In 1950, the People's Army of Korea invaded the south of the peninsula, supported by the USSR and China, triggering the Korean War, the first major conflict of the Cold War. In 1953, the fighting ceased and North and South Korea have coexisted in an uncertain situation: the two countries are technically still at war, since no peace treaty was ever signed.

In the meantime, the geopolitical situation has changed significantly. The Soviet bloc has disappeared, China remains a communist country, having abandoned its economic plan to move towards the socialist market economy, and South Korea has become a regional economic power. North Korea has changed very little in comparison, remaining faithful to its Stalinist model.

Less densely populated than its neighbours (with a population density which is half that of South Korea, a fifth of that of Japan and a fiftieth of that of China) and with an economy which is radically less developed, North Korea nevertheless enjoys diplomatic prominence. Since 1985, whilst alternating between phases of détente and verbal escalation with the international community, the regime has successfully developed its nuclear programme and claims to be able to strike the United States with its nuclear missiles. However, this success has been achieved at the cost of severe economic sanctions against this poor country, where famine is a constant threat.

In Mohamed ElBaradei's view, it seems clear that the North Korean regime views its nuclear arsenal as a guarantee of security against the United States, which it perceives to be a major threat. Its nuclear programme has been skilfully handled: the North Koreans have been able to take advantage of the international community's procrastination to create doubts as to their ability to successfully implement such a programme, particularly without the support of the former Soviet bloc.

Barthélemy Courmont notes that changes in US international policy over the years have served the interests of the North Korean regime. Bill Clinton pursued a policy of openness, promising American help to build nuclear power plants on North Korean soil and humanitarian aid in exchange for the suspension of the country's nuclear programme. George W. Bush adopted a much harder line than his predecessor, even going as far as describing North Korea as a part of the "Axis of Evil", along with Iraq and Iran. Mohamed ElBaradei adds that when the North Korean leaders witnessed the total annihilation of Saddam Hussein's army during the second Gulf War, they undoubtedly thought they were to become the next targets for eradication by the United States. This probably encouraged them to pursue their nuclear programme, in Barthélemy Courmont's view; indeed, the first North Korean nuclear tests occurred during George W. Bush's presidency.

Barthélemy Courmont recalls that Barack Obama advocated global disarmament in a speech in Prague in 2009 and pursued a

policy of openness, both with Washington's allies and its "competitors". This did not stop North Korea from conducting further nuclear tests, which were a source of great embarrassment to the Obama administration.

Barthélemy Courmont further analyses the relationship between Pyongyang and the Trump administration. Initially, Donald Trump sought to intimidate the North Korean regime, before adopting a much more conciliatory attitude, going so far as to declare that he "loved" Kim Jong-un. As it happens, Barthélemy Courmont describes the latter as "extremely predictable", with a mentality which is "quite easy to understand". For the Pyongyang regime, nuclear weapons offer a threat which opens the door to negotiations at the very highest level. It is clear that this strategy has worked: the meetings between Kim Jong-un and Donald Trump left the entire international community with bated breath, recalling the US-Soviet summit meetings of the Cold War.

Barthélemy Courmont does not think that North Korea will give up its nuclear weapons. He describes the skill of the North Korean negotiators, who focus on trading off concessions by accepting the shut down or inspection of certain nuclear facilities, for example. He feels that American diplomats were insufficiently prepared for the summit meetings which took place. Mohamed ElBaradei adds to this analysis; in his view, the two sides did not "play fair" during the negotiation process, with the North Koreans adopting an apparent attitude of openness, despite clear intentions to continue with their nuclear programme, and negotiators on the other side coming up with proposals in the hope that the Pyongyang regime would eventually implode of its own accord.

In Mohamed ElBaradei's eyes, nuclear non-proliferation treaties have become obsolete. The major nuclear powers are not content to merely modernise their arsenal, they also insist on developing new types of weapons, such as autonomous military robots, in the name of national security. In his view, the concept of "national security" is totally misguided and the processes involved are not sustainable in

the long term: democracies tend to crumble in the face of rising populism. He believes that the following question should be asked: "how can we learn to live together without the need for all these weapons?" Mohamed ElBaradei does not feel that North Korea is the principal threat to global peace: the Pyongyang regime is undoubtedly aware that the minute it uses nuclear weapons, the country will be erased from the map. The main risk for North Korea is an involuntary nuclear escalation based on a misinterpretation between Russia and the United States, for example. Leaders would have only a few minutes to make the decision in response to what could look like a nuclear attack.

Irrespective of the question of nuclear warfare, issues arise with regard to the conflict, which is still officially ongoing, and the region's geopolitical balance. Barthélemy Courmont begins by analysing the North Korean regime's position. Without its historical ally of the Soviet Union and with China becoming increasingly distant (having passed several resolutions on economic sanctions for North Korea), the country appears to be relatively isolated. It must also respond to neighbouring countries with larger populations and stronger economies. North Korea's nuclear arsenal is the only way for the country to restore a certain balance, even if it is primarily a deterrent. North Korea therefore seems unable to prevail militarily over its southern neighbour and it is likely that the country would be alone in the event of an attack by an international coalition.

As for South Korea, Barthélemy Courmont notes that the population has been relatively indifferent to nuclear testing because the resumption of a conventional armed conflict is a constant and much more tangible threat: half of the country's population lives in Seoul and the surrounding area, within firing range of North Korean artillery. For Barthélemy Courmont, it is possible that the policy to extend the hand of friendship, which was initiated by President Moon Jae-in and which breaks with the policies of his predecessors, will lead to tangible results. Clear signs of thawing relations between the two countries have already been noted, with Moon Jae-in going so far as to visit Pyongyang. Barthélemy Courmont declares

that Moon Jae-in's approach of not discussing the nuclear issue with North Korea to be intelligent; the South Korean President is aware that his neighbouring country will not give up its arsenal. Instead, he focuses on the possibility of making investments in North Korea and reuniting families which have been separated by war. Barthélemy Courmont concludes that the signing of a peace treaty no longer seems beyond the realm of imagination.

Mohamed ElBaradei believes that President Trump could achieve tangible results with North Korea, if both sides offer respective concessions, as part of an iterative process. In his view, dialogue must be maintained. However, Barthélemy Courmont feels that it would have been possible to bring about a far earlier end to the process if dialogue with North Korea had been accepted immediately.

He notes that North Korea is one of the last totalitarian regimes on the planet. As such, it is impossible to find out the opinion of North Korea's civil society. However, in South Korea, the public is particularly engaged. Moon Jae-in's policy to extend the hand of friendship is supported by a majority of South Koreans but opinions may change if the expected results are not achieved.

However, the ultimate objective of each regime is not just to make peace but to reunify the country, in Barthélemy Courmont's view. He sees North Korea's economic backwardness as problematic in this regard because he believes that the South Korean economy is not robust enough to take the strain of integrating the North Korean population and bringing its infrastructure up to standard. This explains why South Koreans are rather worried about the prospect of the North Korean regime's sudden collapse.

Barthélemy Courmont and Mohamed ElBaradei both feel that the status quo would be an acceptable solution for North and South Korea, along with the other powers present in the region. Mohamed ElBaradei emphasises that a reunified Korea could potentially become a serious economic rival to Japan. The idea of having a pro-American Korea with nuclear weapons as a potential neighbour is unappealing to China. Lastly, Mohamed

ElBaradei notes that the official objective of the United States' military presence in South Korea, Japan and Guam is to protect its Korean ally; in addition, it enables the United States to expand its sphere of influence in the region and to prepare for a possible conflict with China.

For Mohamed ElBaradei, the international community may have learned a lesson from the overthrow of the Iraqi regime, which did not contribute to the long-awaited restoration of the geopolitical balance in the Middle East: a fragile balance between warring parties can be considered to be a satisfactory conclusion, once the threat of armed conflict is contained.

THE PEACE PROCESS IN YEMEN: FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES

Tuesday 4 June, 3.15pm - 4.30pm, Salle Robert le Magnifique

Moderator:

→ **Mirna Jammal,**
Journalist at France 24, Vice-President
of the Association de la Presse
Étrangère

Speakers:

→ **Philippe Boloignon,**
Deputy Director of the Global
Advocacy division of Human Rights
Watch

→ **Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour,**
Iranian Deputy Minister for Research
and Education, President of the
Institute for Political & International
Studies

→ **Patricia Lalonde,**
Member of the European Parliament

Once dubbed “fortunate Arabia”, Yemen is now ravaged by war and famine and the peace process looks particularly difficult. Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour summarises the issue with a question: “how can we create a blueprint for a peaceful Yemen?”

For the Iranian Deputy Minister, the first fundamental condition for a return to peace is the rejection of preconceived ideas. In his view, the Saudis launched an offensive, thinking that it would last just a few days, but the conflict has turned out to be much longer and more complex than expected.

Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour believes that a peace process will only be successful if it takes the realities of Yemen into account. The Houthis are a proud people while the Yemenis are one of the oldest nations in the world: neither will renounce their identity. Similarly, a Manichean and simplistic view of the conflict between the Saudi coalition and pro-Iranian factions is not relevant here, as multiple parties are involved, including

France and Germany, for example, which both sell arms to Saudi Arabia. All powers in the region (and further afield) have an interest in the conflict in Yemen, in one way or another. Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour also believes that peace will only be possible if military intervention is rejected. A compromise which is acceptable to all parties must be sought.

The humanitarian crisis in Yemen is one of the most dramatic that Human Rights Watch has ever seen, Philippe Boloignon says. From the beginning, the Houthis used child soldiers and land mines when they seized Sanaa; they are also accused of kidnapping and torture. The Saudi coalition, meanwhile, organised a blockade of Yemen which created a serious humanitarian crisis and bombed civilian populations, destroying schools and hospitals.

In Philippe Boloignon’s view, the United States also bears significant responsibility because of their support for the Saudi coalition in providing arms and logistical support to the Saudi clan. The United Kingdom and France indirectly support this coalition with the sale of billions of dollars of arms to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, knowing that these weapons are likely to be used to violate human rights. Since all three are members of the UN Security Council, these countries take a much more measured stance than with regards to Syria, for example.

Human Rights Watch calls for an arms embargo against the Saudi coalition to crack down on human rights violations. At present, only a few countries, including Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, have suspended their arms sales to the warring parties. Human Rights Watch also calls for personal measures to be taken against Mohammed bin Salman, the Saudi Crown Prince who planned the offensive. The international community has recently begun to ask questions of this man, in the wake of the murder of a Saudi journalist in a Turkish consulate.

Picking up on previous remarks, Patricia Lalonde points out that the US Congress voted to stop providing logistical support to the Saudi coalition, a decision which was immediately overturned by a presidential veto. She is also shocked by the treatment of journalists who have obtained information which proves that French weapons were used in Yemeni operations: this has led to interrogations by the French Directorate-General for External Security.

Various resolutions have been passed by the European Parliament with a view to finding a solution to the conflict and with regard to the sale of arms, but they are not binding on member states. In addition, an attempt to initiate a process of negotiations between all factions was met with real inertia by some lobbies, leading to the failure of this initiative. The mere idea that the Houthis could take a seat at the negotiating table unleashed the Saudis’ anger; they refuse to discuss with what they consider to be a pro-Iranian rebel group. In Patricia Lalonde’s view, this viewpoint is highly reductive because the Houthis represent an important community in Yemen and are not mere puppets, manipulated by Iran.

Patricia Lalonde wanted to travel to Aden and Sanaa to begin discussions but her trip was cancelled after she was refused a visa for Saudi Arabia. Despite this, she welcomed the negotiators who defended the Houthis’ position in Stockholm to the European Parliament.

Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour thinks that the Houthis have adhered to the commitments they made in Stockholm by withdrawing from certain ports, while the Saudi coalition continues its bombing campaign, thereby violating its own commitments. Clearly, the latter still believes that it is capable of quickly achieving a total military victory and therefore does not need to negotiate peace. It also feels reassured by the support of the UN Security Council’s permanent members.

Another complex aspect is mentioned during the debate: the secessionist tendencies in southern Yemen. Armed militias, composed mainly of Salafists and funded by the United Arab Emirates, are active. In Patricia Lalonde’s

view, the Emiratis are focusing on dividing the country with the independence of South Yemen. Paradoxically, these militias fight the government forces in exile, which is supported by the Saudis. The Hadi government is also allied with the Muslim Brotherhood, which is being fought by the Emiratis. The situation becomes even more complex in view of the fact that the United Arab Emirates is gaining control of ports and islands in South Yemen, at the expense of their separatist allies.

Patricia Lalonde is concerned that the whole region may be engulfed by the war in Yemen. For example, she can see Washington deciding to go to war against Tehran. However, she mentions that other powers, including Russia, are working behind the scenes to encourage the peace process and that the United States now seems prepared to negotiate with Iran, even if the latter does not seem to be open to dialogue, given the current relations between the two countries.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: WHAT END TO THE CRISIS?

4 June, 3.15pm - 4.30pm, Salle Tocqueville

Moderator:

→ **Mathilde Boussion,**
Freelance Journalist

Speakers:

→ **Jérôme Delay,**
Africa Photo Editor, Associated Press

→ **Maria Malagardis,**
Journalist, Libération

→ **Sonia Rolley,**
Journalist, RFI

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the second largest country in Africa after Algeria, is extremely rich in minerals and has fertile land but is severely lacking in infrastructure. The country has witnessed successive conflicts since independence was declared in 1960 but the peaceful departure of President Kabila, who has now been in power for seventeen years, may herald the beginning of a new era.

Although the election did not take place in exemplary democratic conditions, the new President, Felix Tshisekedi, who was previously a member of the opposition, nonetheless called for the formation of a coalition with Joseph Kabila's party when the results were announced. Given the situation, will he be able to implement his own policy?

During the election campaign, every journalist in the DRC feared an explosion of violence. Yet despite the operational difficulties and the obstacles which characterised the election campaign, the mobilisation and the patience of the voters were genuinely surprising for international observers. Residents of some provinces, however, were not able to vote, either because of the presence of armed groups or because of the Ebola outbreak. While Kinshasa witnessed war-like violence

in 2006, even before the publication of the results, and the 2011 elections were marked by a week of post-election violence, for the first time in 2018, Sonia Rolley observed a complete absence of violence, despite a closely contested result.

In Jérôme Delay's view, it would appear that the ruling party influenced the election to ensure that the opposition party won, undoubtedly considering its candidate to be "the most controllable". This incongruous situation can also be explained by a certain understanding on the part of Joseph Kabila and, in particular, by "people's fatigue" after so many years lost to conflict. For Maria Malagardis, the departure of the former President was probably even more important than the identity of his successor in the eyes of the country's citizens. In addition, the violent repression of previous demonstrations was bound to discourage Congolese citizens from taking to the streets to demand the real results of the election.

Moreover, the Democratic Republic of Congo was closely involved with the consequences of the Rwandan genocide: two million Rwandans, including the perpetrators of the genocide, crossed the border into eastern DRC. In the refugee camps, the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide gathered in armed groups and sought to protect themselves by joining forces with the Congolese rebellion of Laurent Désiré Kabila, Joseph Kabila's father. "A period of ten years of crimes" then began, Sonia Rolley explains, amounting to more than six hundred war crimes and crimes against humanity, documented by the UN in its Mapping Report, published in 2010.

These armed groups remain very active today. Although they were exploited by neighbouring countries, they claimed to have political demands, in the wake of the genocide, which they often used to ensure that they were able to join the army; today, they function much more

like mafioso and criminal organisations and are involved in metal trafficking, racketeering and the abductions of businessmen. The country's citizens are also worried about their presence in Goma, a city which is almost under siege and whose residents are caught up in an obvious humanitarian crisis. Yet "the humanitarian response is not the right one", in Maria Malagardis' view: the work of NGOs, despite its importance, has so far led to a striking reconstruction of a colonial city on the one hand and an African city on the other.

Armed groups have become so fragmented over time that insecurity is now a reality throughout the country but the main insecurity continues to come from the country's security forces, in Sonia Rolley's view: according to UN data, state agents are responsible for more than 60% of human rights' violations across the country. While the names of these soldiers do not appear in UN reports, they are the same individuals. The Minister of Development has publicly announced that if he became governor of South Kivu, he would ensure that all armed groups were under his authority. Another element confirms the complicity between the state and armed groups, according to Maria Malagardis: while the arms embargo was only lifted for the security forces, their arsenal is currently in the hands of armed groups and other militias.

For the parties involved, the end of the crisis will have to involve a fight against impunity, which must be a priority in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Audience contributions

Three eminent public figures attended this debate, sharing their views of the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Doctor Denis Mukwege, winner of the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize, who is Congolese, expresses his outrage at the use of rape as a weapon of war in the DRC. In his hospital, he has heard the testimony of many women who have been subjected to sexual violence, perpetrated by members of armed groups who have direct links to certain members of the government. With regard to the situation in Eastern DRC, he condemns the "chaos organised by the government of Kinshasa and neighbouring countries" for the economic benefit of a few individuals. The state's complicity seems obvious to him.

Denis Mukwege believes that peace cannot be built without justice. Consequently, he feels that the UN must play its role in the DRC as a supranational body to denounce the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, not all of whom are Congolese nationals.

Pierre Buyoya, the former President of the Republic of Burundi, Representative of the African Union for Security in the Sahel, recalls that the United Nations has already intervened extensively in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, without addressing the complex challenges which face the country.

According to Jean-Marie Guéhenno, the former United Nations' Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, the presence of peacekeepers in the DRC "limits the chaos" and it would be reckless to withdraw them. However, he feels that the United Nations' loss of credibility in the Democratic Republic of the Congo means that it cannot lead the country towards a political solution, something which can only be done by the Congolese themselves.

COLOMBIA: PEACE AND THEN WHAT?

4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Salle Robert Le Magnifique

Presentation by **Félix Mora Ortiz**,
President of La Paz Football Club

Moderator:

→ **Mary Whelan**,
Former Ambassador of Ireland

Speakers:

→ **Isabelle Ioannides**,
Political Analyst, European Parliament
Research Service

→ **Hal Philip Klepak**,
Professor Emeritus of History and
Strategy, Royal Military College of
Canada

→ **Gonzalo Restrepo López**,
President of Fondation Casino,
member of the Colombian
government's negotiating delegation
during the Havana peace process

→ **Margarita Rosa Hernandez**,
Executive Advisor to the Colombian
President for peace agreements

As part of the 2019 edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, a football match was organised between a team from Normandy and a team of Colombians from the club La Paz, which brings together victims of the conflict in Colombia and former guerrilla fighters of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) who are reintegrating into society. The La Paz club is a beacon of hope, turning football into a means of reconciliation. Félix Mora Ortiz recalls the values of the beautiful game: "social cohesion, development and teamwork which are the foundation for building peace". He believes that peace in Colombia requires social transformation, rather than mere words.

Gonzalo Restrepo López emphasises that negotiating agreements is always an easier process than implementing these agreements. The fate of the agreement negotiated by a dozen politicians and military officials from 2012 to 2016 was placed in the hands of 40 million citizens, despite the fact that in a referendum in which Colombian citizens were asked "Do you support the final agreement to end the conflict and to build a stable, lasting peace?", 50.21% voted "no". However, the difference between "yes" and "no" was not so much about the peace agreement itself as it was about the degree of clemency towards the FARC leaders.

To ensure the success of this peace agreement, the government decided to focus on the country's rural structures, where inequalities are most stark. Indeed, it is vital to prioritise equality in a local context. The agreement provides for support for the 170 poorest communities in the country, which had direct experience of the conflict's violence and whose inhabitants often resort to clandestine economies for their survival. To this end, the peace agreement also includes a voluntary substitution scheme for illicit crops, which aims to ensure that most victims involved in this kind of crop growing, along with some perpetrators, make the move from the illegal market to the legal market.

Moreover, the government is working on the reintegration of former fighters, including allowing them to be represented in Congress, the House of Representatives and the Senate. In addition, those who worked for the former FARC bases have been registered with the country's social security system and receive financial aid.

Lastly, the agreement involves redress for victims. They have the right to know the truth and to be assured that such violence will not happen again.

However, Hal Philip Klepak clarifies that peace was possible because the main rebel group, the FARC, was defeated on the ground, which led to it accepting negotiations. Over the course of the years of conflict, the Colombian army realised that cooperation with civil society was vital and that respect for human rights was a means of gaining the support of civil society. In his view, the government must now deal with the socio-economic difficulties which led to the conflict. Once again, the state must intervene in poorer regions, by means of education and medical care, for example, but this will only be possible if the nation is united behind the idea of peace. The reorganisation of state security forces will also be important in this transition period; they must find their place in society after decades of conflict.

However, for Isabelle Ioannides, civil society must not feel that it is responsible for building peace. This is the government's responsibility, all the more so given that while peace has been negotiated with the FARC, other armed groups continue to be active in the country. Moreover, in Gonzalo Restrepo López's view, the state was too slow in its efforts to regain control of areas formerly controlled by the FARC, and did not provide residents with water, education, healthcare and work sufficiently early on, which has led to the emergence of new leaders and criminals. The land registry reform is now vital for a new distribution of land.

Margarita Rosa Hernandez notes that the first article of the agreement provides for rural reform and the use of a universal land registry for a more equitable distribution of land. A land fund will also provide three million hectares of land for free to those most affected by the violence.

Moreover, the peace agreement establishes a transitional justice system, including two institutions, the Truth Commission and the Search Commission for Missing Persons. Without them, there can be no reconciliation between fighters and victims. The Peace Tribunal continues to seek legal remedies against the FARC's former leaders. For the Colombian government, it is vital that those who do not commit to building a peaceful

future and to turning away from past crimes are brought to justice as part of this transitional process. This process includes crimes which may be subject to amnesty, along with any crimes which have been committed during the war or which constitute violations of international humanitarian law and human rights.

Gonzalo Restrepo López explains that the majority of victims support the 2016 peace agreement. However, the implementation of such an agreement is always complex and will take 15 to 20 years. Nevertheless, the first years of implementation are the most important because they are an opportunity to show that there is a genuine political will to respect the agreement. Today, Colombians await lasting peace.

CAMEROON, A NASCENT CONFLICT

4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Salle CESER

Moderator:

→ **Philippe Bolopion**,
Deputy Director of the global
advocacy division of Human Rights
Watch

Speakers:

→ **Ilaria Allegrozzi**,
Senior Researcher for Central Africa,
Human Rights Watch

→ **Akere Muna**,
Lawyer, Commissioner of sanctions
of the African development bank,
former Vice-President of Transparency
International, former President of the
Cameroon bar association

Considered to be a stable country in recent decades, Cameroon has been facing violent fighting in English-speaking areas between government forces and separatist movements for the past two years. The opposing forces accuse each other of human rights violations.

The origins of the current conflict date back to the time when Cameroon was created, as the country was made up of territories colonized by France and the United Kingdom respectively. The French-speaking (majority) and English-speaking (minority) communities coexisted peacefully for several decades, not without difficulties related in particular to the coexistence of two educational systems. The situation quickly escalated when student protests were violently repressed, with English-speaking demonstrators seeking greater equity in the recognition of their qualifications.

These tensions were fuelled by a latent political and security crisis. The country was destabilized beforehand by two conflicts: one with the Islamists of Boko Haram in the north of the country, and the Central African civil war, with incursions by rebels into Cameroonian territory. These two conflicts

caused significant refugee movements. The political crisis has worsened since the last presidential elections, with the ruling regime becoming increasingly repressive according to international observers.

The International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) Human Rights Watch carried out an investigation in the field into human rights violations perpetrated by both sides. The security forces, the police and the army are accused of abuse against the people during operations against the separatist forces: villages are reported to have been burned down and civilians killed. The Rapid Intervention Battalion, composed of members of the Cameroonian army's Special Forces, was particularly singled out. In particular, Human Rights Watch investigated the case of a village that was virtually wiped off the map in north-west Cameroon on 22 November 2018. The situation is likely to get still worse as no legal action is ever taken in response to this violence, and those responsible are even being protected. Akere Muna even warns that the population is eventually acclimatizing to this ambient violence.

The separatists are mainly accused of kidnapping. Schools are targeted most of the time, and teachers and students are regularly kidnapped. For example, 170 pupils were kidnapped from a boarding school in February 2019 against a background of general indifference from the media.

Akere Muna testifies that he was ambushed on his way to a loved one's funeral. The fighters, armed with Kalashnikovs, were aged between 15 and 20 and visibly dependent on drugs. In his view, this is no longer an emerging conflict but an open and violent war. Young people are the first victims of this conflict: almost 90% of the English-speaking population no longer has access to the education system, forcing young students who can afford it to migrate to French-speaking regions. Those who dare to attend the few schools still open are targeted by separatists.

Teachers are also being threatened and even murdered. Girls are particularly excluded from the school system and are prone to early pregnancy. There are more and more child soldiers, and drug trafficking is flourishing. The reintegration of these young people excluded from the school system is already proving very difficult.

Akere Muna has decided to run in the presidential elections against Paul Biya, who has been running the country since 1982. Its objective was to breathe new life into the Cameroonian political landscape, in a country that has only known two presidents since its independence. He also wanted to embody a form of hope for young people and for English-speakers, and to bring them together around the idea of a more balanced society. The country has the potential to become one of the main economic powers in the region, but it is plagued by corruption, and growing tribal and religious divisions are destabilizing it. According to Akere Muna, the current government is not seeking to appease them but rather to divide the population in order to better dominate them: he believes that President Biya, re-elected by more than 71% of the votes, now feels encouraged to pursue an increasingly repressive political line, organizing round-ups among opponents.

Human Rights Watch has been banned from the country, as the current government seeks to hide abuse against civilians by government forces. The latter are eager to react when Human Rights Watch invites them - which the INGO systematically does - to share their side of the story. The organisation sees this tightening as a sign of a restriction of human rights in Cameroon.

In Akere Muna's view, a resolution to the conflict currently seems impossible because the attitude of the current government is one of "total denial" and "full panic". Cameroonian parliamentarians who try to address the issue are denied the opportunity to speak. Akere Muna himself was charged with sedition for writing an article in which he denounced the beating of lawyers and students during demonstrations. Maurice Kamto theoretically

faces the death penalty for demonstrating against the ruling government, as he is suspected by the government of being a member of a separatist group. Akere Muna also denounces the absence of prisoners among the armed separatists, accusing the government of ordering them to kill rather than imprison them. Ilaria Allegrozzi mentions prisoners who were detained in Yaoundé, some of whom were tortured. Illegal detention centres exist elsewhere in Cameroon, where torture is systematic.

For Akere Muna, the solution would certainly involve granting greater autonomy to the Regions, a project that was theoretically launched in 1996 but is still at a standstill. He believes it is essential that the peace process should be mediated by neutral players, considering that dialogue is impossible between those at war. Philippe Bolopion also points out that the Cameroonian state refuses to negotiate with the separatist movements, which it considers to be terrorists and accuses of murder and torture.

Ilaria Allegrozzi notes that little is known about the Cameroonian conflict, which is slowing down involvement by the international community and in particular the UN Security Council. In particular, she points out that France, which is the country most likely to hold the Cameroonian State to account, does not seem sufficiently involved. France must also be vigilant about how it might facilitate human rights violations through existing military cooperation.

Audience contributions

Pierre Buyoya, former President of Burundi, was present and was invited to comment. A specialist in peace processes in the Sahel region, he says he is personally “worried” about the ongoing conflict in Cameroon, perceiving it to be “a war that is not being called one”. The African Union has tried hard to prevent the conflagration and solve the problem at its source. Pierre Buyoya believes that, of all African conflicts, Cameroon’s is “one of the easiest to resolve”. Unfortunately, sovereignty issues often limit the effectiveness of initiatives launched by international institutions. Many African states adopt a denial attitude towards conflicts in their territory.

Now that the conflict is open, Pierre Buyoya believes that resolving it will require a dialogue between the central government and the separatist movements to be opened up. He thinks that the Cameroonian state will have no choice but to accept dialogue sooner or later. From experience, he considers that this acceptance mostly comes too late, after many deaths and much destruction.

For Pierre Buyoya, “a military solution will not work, just as it has not worked elsewhere”. It is important that the international community, like the UN, the African Union and humanitarian NGOs, should continue to press for the Cameroonian government to accept dialogue. Akere Muna also advocates the establishment, “at least in Africa, of a right to humanitarian intervention”, considering the implications of a conflict in a given region for neighbouring countries.

SOUTH SUDAN/SUDAN: IS PEACE POSSIBLE LOCALLY WITHOUT REGIONAL STABILITY?

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle CESER

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

→ **Mohammed Nagi**,
Editor in Chief, Sudan Tribune

→ **Rory Keane**,
Director of the United Nations Liaison
Office for Peace and Security

→ **Hélène Papper**,
Director of the United Nations
Information Centre for Colombia,
Venezuela and Ecuador

Sudan is the youngest state on the planet. Founded in July 2011, it quickly descended into civil war which led to an estimated 50,000 to 383,000 deaths between September 2013 and April 2018. Although 93% of Sudan’s population is Muslim, Southern Sudan is home to 60% Christians, 33% animists and 6% Muslims and its population is dominated by two ethnic minorities, the Dinka, of which President Salva Kiir is a member, and the Nuer, to which Vice-President Riek Machar belongs.

The civil war pitted these two figures against one another, despite the fact that both men helped to found the state in 2011 and were a part of the same movement for national liberation, the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). For Sudan’s political forces, the country’s identity must be rooted in Islam. The various ethnic groups of South Sudan were previously united in their aim of not becoming second-class citizens within an Islamic state. Once secession was declared, the question of national identity arose.

The 2005 election of Salva Kiir as President of the Autonomous Region of South Sudan was the first stage in the active participation, particularly among young people and women, in the future of their country; the United Nations contributed to this with the creation of spaces for speech and dialogue, by investing in the development of a free press, for example. The referendum on self-determination in 2011 gave cause for hope but it was supposed to be followed by national reconciliation between South Sudan’s various tribes.

In Hélène Papper’s view, reliable communication channels failed and when a conflict arose within Salva Kiir’s security forces in 2013, fear and rumours took over: the people took up weapons once more, leading to a civil war.

Eight peace agreements have been signed since the ceasefire of February 2014, with the last signed on 12 May 2019. Today, the revitalised agreement on the resolution of the conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) of 12 September 2018 applies. In particular, it provides for a six-month pre-transitional period, followed by a three-year transition period after which elections will be held. It also provides for the release of a certain number of prisoners, the opening of humanitarian corridors, the creation of a fund for reconstruction and a new distribution of the country’s wealth, which must no longer be based on ethnic criteria or political proximity.

Today, the international community continues to mobilise in South Sudan, overseen by the UN as part of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, and the ceasefire is guaranteed by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which is made up of seven countries in southern Africa, including Sudan and South Sudan.

However, in Mohammed Nagi's view, the primary objective of the R-ARCSS was to solve the problems which arose after the first peace agreements were signed in August 2015, beginning with the issue of tribal borders (given that Salva Kiir had divided South Sudan into more than thirty provinces in 2016) and the need to reunify the South Sudanese army. The former Sudanese President Omar El Bashir had accepted an agreement with the United States in December 2016 to promote peace in South Sudan. Sudan then became closely involved, taking on a role as a mediator. However, the parties involved failed to implement the conditions of the 2018 peace agreement and the pre-transitional period was extended for six months on 12 May 2019, in the hope that they might find a compromise to begin the process of reunifying the army. Yet this will not be possible without external support, particularly from the United States, which has greatly reduced the aid it provides the country under Donald Trump's presidency.

Besides, the removal of the Sudanese President, Omar El Bashir, on 11 April 2019 after the takeover of the army, will inevitably have consequences on the situation in South Sudan, particularly given its support for the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in-Opposition (SPLM-IO), Riek Machar's party during the first civil war. The pre-transitional period can only lead to the effects as they were envisaged in the peace agreements if dialogue continues between political leaders. To that end, the meeting organised by the Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby at the Vatican on 9 and 10 April 2019 between the Catholic Salva Kiir and the Presbyterian Riek Machar was significant.

For Hélène Papper, communication is vital because it helps to humanise the different parties and to initiate dialogue. However, "wanting independence is not enough. It requires a long-term commitment". But it is not clear that the conflict's protagonists have a genuine desire for peace. Moreover, the regional environment is particularly divided, including within IGAD. Consequently, international representatives must call on national leaders to continue engaging in

a process which will lead to peace and national reconciliation. In such a situation, the United Nations does not replace the state; instead, it strengthens the efforts which have already been undertaken, particularly with regard to the protection of civilians, insofar as is possible.

Rory Keane emphasises, in addition, that state-building is a psychosocial process which inevitably takes time. The international community must support this process and understand the situation in which the state in question first emerged, by working with local initiatives rather than trying to substitute them. These initiatives are led by civil society and churches, which are found throughout South Sudan, and are able to mobilise women and to overcome barriers in terms of ethnic groups and clans. As Hélène Papper says, "young people are the hope of Southern Sudan. They must now be given the opportunity to engage in dialogue".

VENEZUELA: A LATIN AMERICAN CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle Robert Le Magnifique

Moderator:

→ **Pascal Drouhaud**,
Geo-politologist and President, Latfran Association (Latin America-France)

Speakers:

→ **Carmen Alguindigue Morles**,
Lawyer, Professor, Representative of the Guaido government for Andorra

→ **Luisa Elena Molina**,
Professor at the Faculty of Forestry and Environmental Sciences, Institute of Geography and Natural Resources, at the University of the Andes, Venezuela, member of the UNESCO Chair in World Food Systems

→ **Jean-Jacques Kourliandsky**,
Director of the Latin America Observatory, Fondation Jean Jaurès, Researcher, Institute of International and Strategic Relations

→ **Thomas Posado**,
Doctor of political science, University Paris VIII

At a time when over 10% of the population has already left Venezuela subject to health and humanitarian issues, the question of the presence of new players in Latin America is a legitimate one. "Are we seeing a return to the Cold War?" wonders Pascal Drouhaud. Although Venezuela is no longer the main item on western TV news, Carmen Alguindigue Morles says that "the state dictatorship" is continuing there.

While the political origins of this crisis date back to the presidency of Hugo Chavez, it has now become an economic and social crisis. At the same time, the local crisis has turned into a regional one, as a result of population migration, then into an international one with the arrival of new players such as China, Russia and Turkey. However, for Jean-Jacques Kourliandsky, the discreet appearance of China is a particularly interesting factor, given that in Latin America, China is not considered as a communist country, but as the second largest economy in the world. As far as Turkey is concerned, President Erdogan has only been interested in Latin America since January 2016, mainly for economic purposes. By signing the Orinoco mining arc decree, Nicolas Maduro won the favour of President Erdogan, who was particularly interested in the gold in the area, and also in the possibility of expressing his dissatisfaction with the United States on other issues. Of course, the Trump government played a major role in the Venezuelan crisis by immediately acknowledging Juan Guaido's victory, before adopting an extremely offensive position in terms of economic sanctions. In contrast, Russia, which owns 49.9% of Citgo, the North American subsidiary of Venezuela's largest state-owned oil company, is very interested in keeping Nicolas Maduro in power.

But does that mean that Venezuela is a national security issue for the United States, Russia, China or Turkey? According to Thomas Posado, although the economic stakes are high, the Venezuelan crisis is not an international security issue for these countries, which are not affected by the arrival of migrants. Moreover, the United States, China and Russia are not influencing this conflict for strictly oil-related reasons: in reality, for these major players, "giving in on Venezuela would call into question the multilateral management of world affairs", according to Jean-Jacques Kourliandsky.

In short, Venezuela is now being used as a battleground in the context of geopolitical tensions in which the Venezuelan people have become the hostages. However, the humanitarian emergency is turning out to be all the more acute because Venezuela was not a poor country before the crisis. Over 3 million Venezuelans have left, first for Colombia, but also for Peru, Ecuador or even Chile. However, this migration crisis, which is affecting all Venezuelan families, has made it possible to inform the rest of the world of the current plight of Venezuelans, who are suffering from shortages of medicines, food and water, and power cuts. All have been forced to eat fewer meals each day and change their diets, leading, according to Luisa Elena Molina, to a process of malnutrition and undernutrition.

As Carmen Alguindigue Morles explains, in order to be able to envisage an end to the crisis, all those involved must first of all be aware of the fact that Venezuela's difficulties have taken root over the past twenty years, as successive violations of the economic, social and civil rights of Venezuelans have occurred. Carmen Alguindigue Morles denounces a "delinquent" government apparatus, causing a "system of systematic human rights violation", as evidenced by the cases brought before the International Criminal Court.

In such a context, how can negotiations be initiated? Dialogue is only possible if all stakeholders respect the democratic process. In addition, for Luisa Elena Molina, the humanitarian crisis, which the Maduro government has finally admitted exists, must also be addressed in the neighbouring countries that receive Venezuelan migrants. Negotiations should focus not only on civil rights, but also on Venezuelans' rights to life and health, as well as their environmental rights, which are deeply affected by new mineral exploitation.

But a minimum of mutual recognition between the stakeholders is essential to start a dialogue, and to be able to hope for a compromise. For the time being, each of the parties considers that only its own point of view can lead to a way out of the crisis. Several attempts are nevertheless under way with the support of external organizations: the Lima Group and

the European Contact Group tend to be in favour of Juan Guaido, while the Montevideo Initiative, which brings together Mexico, Uruguay and the Caribbean countries and whose position is more nuanced, suffers from the fact that it is supported by only a limited number of countries. It has recently been possible to establish contact between the two parties in Norway, but the representativeness of those present is still in doubt.

As with any peace process, there is still a long way to go to restore dialogue. Both the multiplicity of international players involved and the obvious impacts of this crisis on Venezuela's neighbours point to slow and numerous discussions before Venezuela can once again become a constitutional democracy.



From left to right: Pascal Gollnisch, Christian Makarian, Nabil Fawaz, David Rigoulet-Roze

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SYRIA: WHAT BALANCE OF POWER AFTER THE CONFLICT?

4 June, 5pm - 6.15pm, Salle Robert Le Magnifique

Moderator:

→ **Christian Makarian,**
Journalist, L'Express

Speakers:

→ **Nabil Fawaz,**
Member of the Syrian People's
Democratic Party, former Mayor
of Raqqa

→ **Pascal Gollnisch,**
Director General of L'Œuvre d'Orient

→ **David Rigoulet Roze,**
Researcher at the Institut Prospective
et Sécurité en Europe

The conflict in Syria is known for the extremely dramatic nature of the humanitarian and geopolitical situation to which it has led. To date, it has killed between 300,000 and 500,000 people and displaced 14 million people, half of whom have fled to other countries; the country had a population of 25 million before the war. Although ISIS, which continues to control a small area in eastern Syria, is now almost defeated, attacks continue to be perpetrated in its name. Moreover, although the victory of al-Assad's

regime is almost guaranteed, the victors of the conflict seem to be Russia and Iran in military terms, if not at a diplomatic level.

Christian Makarian sees Russian involvement in the conflict, from March 2015, as a way for Russia to take revenge on the West, after its failure during the 2011 Libyan revolution and the negative reactions to the annexation of Crimea in 2014. He thinks that this intervention is a way for the Kremlin to reaffirm its geopolitical interests and to regain its place on the international stage, while Iran sees Syria as being essential in its access to the Mediterranean Sea. However, when considering the Syrian civil war, it is the West's passivity which is most striking, Christian Makarian concludes.

Nabil Fawaz recalls that at the very moment when the Normandy World Peace Forum is taking place, Russian planes, al-Assad's troops and the Iranian army continue to bomb towns and villages within a small geographical area which is home to five million people, to no reaction from the rest of the world. Before the war, Syria was a rich country and was not known for the presence of religious fundamentalists. In the view of Raqqa's former Mayor, the Syrians revolted not to ask for food or to impose religion but to demand freedom and democracy and to rise up against the regime of al-Assad who is

part of the Alawite minority and is responsible for a policy of discrimination against Sunnis.

For Nabil Fawaz, a number of “thugs” have joined forces in Syria: the al-Assad regime, Russia, Hezbollah and various Shiite groups backed by Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. If it were not for Iranian intervention in 2013, the Free Syrian Army would probably have overthrown the al-Assad regime in the first year of the conflict. Today, a democratic future seems definitively impossible, as Nabil Fawaz emphasises: “the regime can say: “I am everything”, al-Assad is nothing more than a Russian slave.”

The former Mayor of Raqqa acknowledges that Syria’s opposition to the al-Assad regime is facing significant problems due to its lack of independence. David Rigoulet Roze adds that this fragmented opposition was quickly adopted by those who espoused Islamist and jihadist thinking and did not receive comparable support. Nabil Fawaz recalls that Gulf countries were the only countries to respond to requests for financial aid from the Syrian revolution at the beginning of the civil war; they were then free to dictate their strategies. For David Rigoulet Roze, the pre-existing division within the country between conservative, rural Islam and a more urban and progressive Syria also led to the creation of a dynamic which was quickly used by jihadism.

In the researcher’s view, the main issue of the conflict is peace, rather than a military victory. Although Russia, Iran and Turkey initiated the Astana process, the parties involved have divergent interests. David Rigoulet Roze observes that while Tehran wants al-Assad to remain in power, Moscow is more focused on keeping the institutional regime in place, although it has not yet regained control over the entire country. He says that in the North, Turkey has established a semi-protectorate, justified by the supposed Kurdish threat, which makes President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan an essential figure in the civil war. Pascal Gollnisch notes that the Kurds want to transform Syrian Mesopotamia into an autonomous Syrian Kurdistan, although the majority of the population is Arabic-speaking and Turkey opposes any such development. David Rigoulet Roze also mentions that the East is under the control of Syrian democratic forces, supported by the Western coalition.

Moreover, the researcher believes that neither Syria nor Russia can afford the country’s reconstruction, which will cost more than \$400 billion and will take several decades. Only the West has the necessary resources. For David Rigoulet Roze, it could provide financial resources on condition of a political transition to democracy, a transition which Russia is likely to accept, unlike Iran and Turkey. Furthermore, it will be impossible for displaced Syrians to return to their homeland without prior reconstruction. However, the Syrian state is not awaiting their return in David Rigoulet Roze’s view: Syria’s Law No. 10 allows for the expropriation of hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees who are now living abroad.

Pascal Gollnisch does not see why Russia would relinquish the influence it currently has in Syria, something which is seen as restoring Russian honour on the international stage. Moreover, he condemns the now almost traditional resignation of Western countries in the face of challenges, despite their repeated affirmations as to their beliefs in human rights. This resignation is sometimes called “realism”, is sometimes justified by impending elections or economic interests and is based on the idea that violations of civil liberties are inevitable in certain regions of the world.

As part of this process to restore peace and to rebuild, Pascal Gollnisch believes that the country can count on the Syrians’ incredible resilience, especially that of young Muslim and Christian women who are already mobilising and are stepping up their efforts to rebuild Syrian society. Beyond geopolitical tensions, there is no doubt that a renewed, revived Syria cannot happen without them.

THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH WAR: 25 YEARS OF STALEMATE?

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle Tocqueville

Moderator:

→ **Adam Hug,**
Director, Foreign Policy Centre

Speakers:

→ **Leila Alieva,**
Senior Researcher, St Anthony’s College, Oxford University

→ **Laurence Broers,**
Research associate, Conciliation Resources and Chatham House

→ **Olesya Vartanyan,**
Analyst, International Crisis Group

→ **Thornike Gordadze,**
Former Minister of State for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, former Deputy Minister of Foreign affairs of Georgia

Twenty-five years after the ceasefire, signed in 1994 following clashes between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the violence continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. This predominantly Armenian territory declared its independence on 2 September 1991 but it is not recognised by any UN member state. However, uninterrupted negotiations have been held since 1992. They have undoubtedly led to a limited opening of borders and a reduction in violence but without the establishment of a more structural process, with the aim of negotiating a lasting peace agreement, this progress is particularly fragile.

In Laurence Broers’ view, no post-Soviet conflict has intensified as much as the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It involves two sovereign states, members of the UN, the Council of Europe and NATO’s Partnership for Peace, which makes it difficult for other states, particularly in the West, to adopt a position.

In addition, Azerbaijan is enjoying an economic revival due to its oil reserves, which enables the country to reinforce its military spending without establishing a genuine political pluralism. In Leila Alieva’s view, Azerbaijan feels that Nagorno-Karabakh has been used by Russia to put pressure on the country when it wanted to be independent and to shrug off Moscow’s control. However, she believes that the country’s regime has become increasingly authoritarian over the years, particularly since 2014, because of fears that the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine could spread to the region; this has led to the imprisonment of civil society figures who were particularly active in the discussions with Armenia.

Conversely, Armenia has neither oil nor gas reserves and its development is affected by the divergent interests of foreign countries. Laurence Broers stresses that it had to develop an alliance with Russia, despite the objections of civil society, and that the population’s desire for democratic participation was quashed in favour of an authoritarian regime. Moreover, while Turkey was one of the first states to recognise Armenian independence, it broke off diplomatic relations with the country after Armenian forces took control of the Kalbajar District. An attempt to normalise relations in 2009 failed because Turkey submitted this normalisation to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, in accordance with Azerbaijan’s terms.

Georgia is equally vital for Armenia, given that all its imports and exports pass through the country. However, Georgia fears that in the event of a resurgence in the conflict with Azerbaijan, Turkey and Russia would ask for the right of transit for their armies through the country, which would have catastrophic consequences for Georgia.

The involvement of regional stakeholders (Russia, Turkey, Iran and Georgia) in the

conflict can be seen as both positive, because their influence prevents the resumption of violence, and negative, because it prevents a definitive end to the conflict. The Kremlin played an important role in the 1990s by providing military and economic support for Armenia in its fight against Azerbaijan. The 1994 ceasefire was negotiated in the presence of Russia. Some say that it has now taken control of Armenia's biggest companies. This stranglehold on the country's sovereignty has caused discontent among the Armenian population; this discontent has contributed to the emergence of the non-violent people's movement in 2017, which led to the resignation of Serge Sarkissian (who had been in power since 2008) the following year and to his replacement by the leader of the opposition, Nikol Pachinian. In Laurence Broers' view, this change showed the Armenians that security and democracy are not necessarily contradictory. In January 2019, the Foreign Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan committed to preparing for peace.

However, Laurence Broers believes that we must be cautious about this process: Nikol Pachinian remains focused on domestic reforms and does not want to make himself unpopular by taking decisions with regard to the conflict. Ilham Aliyev, the President of Azerbaijan, has a choice between the status quo, which is likely to frustrate the planned liberalisation of Armenia by Nikol Pachinian, and a resolution of the conflict which may be of little benefit to his own country.

In Olesya Vartanyan's view, peace in Nagorno-Karabakh is vital for the region's economic development and prosperity. Yet the countries' populations have the feeling that a new war is inevitable because of the significant militarisation of the territory over the last twenty-five years. All young people in Nagorno-Karabakh are required to perform two years of military service and the army remains the largest employer in the territory. Nevertheless, an increasing number of young people in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are entering a globalised world and want to move beyond the issue of national borders.

Without a real civil society in Nagorno-Karabakh and without alternatives being offered to local populations, it will be impossible to keep the peace. The people of Nagorno-Karabakh, whether they have remained in the region or have taken refuge in a neighbouring country, are excluded from diplomatic processes. For Laurence Broers, the institutionalisation of organisations in Nagorno-Karabakh is essential, with the help of international organisations, so that they can represent civil society, both as a part of discussions with Azerbaijan and with regard to the resolution of the territory's internal tensions.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh involves three countries but it also involves also three societies which have much in common. No peace will be possible without these societies' commitment and agreement. Twenty-five years have already been lost in a process which will certainly take several more decades.

RUSSIA-UKRAINE: THE ROADS TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle Robert Le Magnifique

Moderator:

→ **Antoine Arjakovsky,**
Joint Director of the Political and Religious Research department, Collège des Bernardins

Speakers:

→ **Galia Ackerman,**
Historian, Author of the book *The Immortal Regiment: Putin's Sacred War*

→ **Anastasia Kirilenko,**
Journalist, Creator of the film *Who is Mister Putin?*

→ **Constantin Sigov,**
Editor and Professor at the Mohyla Academy in Kiev

Diplomatic negotiations between Russia and Ukraine have stalled over the last two years. The war has killed nearly 14,000 people and has displaced and wounded millions of people. So how can we discuss peace? That is the issue which the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union commission focused on during a closed seminar at the second edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum.

Created in 2018 by the Collège des Bernardins, the Mohyla Academy, the Ukrainian Catholic University and the Memorial Society, this commission is a forum for trilateral dialogue and is made up of leading figures who want to provide insight into the causes of the war between Russia and Ukraine and to seek

solutions to it. This third seminar questioned the role of the European Union and the issue of the rule of law, one of the three causes of the conflict identified by the commission, along with history and religion.

According to the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union commission, respect for international law requires an immediate end to the war led by the Russian Federation in Ukraine. The idea of sovereignty being based on the balance of power, as demonstrated by the actions of Russia, is contrary to the principles of the rule of law.

In view of these violations of international law, the commission recommended that Russia's right to vote in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe should not be renewed. Not only does it suggest supporting the European Parliament resolution⁽¹⁾, ratified in March 2019, it also suggests following the recommendations of the Open Dialogue Foundation in favour of the Magnitsky Act⁽²⁾ and establishing dialogue between civil society in Ukraine and Russia.

The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union commission supports the principle of open, uninhibited dialogue for every Ukrainian and Russian. It demands the release of all political prisoners and the creation, led by the European Union, of a single register to document cases of human rights violations.

(1) The European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2019 on the state of political relations between the European Union and Russia stresses that "the Union cannot envisage a gradual return to 'business as usual' until Russia fully implements the Minsk Agreement and restores the territorial integrity of Ukraine" and that there is a necessity "for consultations to be advanced within the Normandy format process, including a stronger EU role".

(2) The Magnitsky Act is named after the lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, who died in prison in 2009 and has become a symbol of the fight against corruption. Passed by the United States, this law authorises the government to punish those who are guilty of human rights violations, by prohibiting them from travelling to the United States, for example. It has inspired other lawmakers in Canada, Estonia and the United Kingdom. The Open Dialogue Foundation calls for a similar law to be adopted by the European Union.

What political and educational means can be implemented to counteract fake news, which is spread on a huge scale in the West by Russia, without breaking the links which still unite some of the intelligentsia of Russia and Ukraine?

The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union commission has decided to create an online citizens' forum so that Russians and Ukrainians can remain in contact, despite the war, and consider a peaceful settlement which, for the moment, seems to be extremely difficult. Moreover, peace will require justice, something which is absolutely essential if there is to be true freedom and genuine solidarity between Europeans.

In Galia Ackerman's view, the root cause of the ongoing conflict lies in the victory of the Ukrainian people in Independence Square, which led to the proclamation of the European approach for Ukraine, while Russia took an entirely different path, rehabilitating its Soviet past. In this way, a "civilisational rift" has developed, against a backdrop of significant militarisation in Russian attitudes.

Would a referendum in Ukraine be a solution? What question should be asked and in which region? In the referendum of 1st December 1991, the vast majority of Ukrainians voted in favour of independence. For Constantin Sigov, the opinion of the Crimean people cannot be given properly without an end to the war and a return to border controls beforehand. The 2014 referendum was held in conditions which make it impossible to recognise its validity: the Russian army occupied Crimea at the time and, as soon as the results were published, President Putin finalised this annexation, making Crimea a region of the Russian Federation.

In addition to diplomatic dialogue, the commission intends to work with working parties which seek to find points of agreement for the common good, before submitting them to civil society. We must counter the half-truths which are spreading today and which would have us believe that this is more of a local conflict and not really a war.

Since the annexation of Crimea, fear is even more commonplace in Russia; how can we find intermediaries who are able to express themselves without fear for their personal and professional lives? Anastasia Kirilenko suggests that the European Union should focus on education, as Russian citizens still have the right to train in professional fields which are practical and not necessarily political.

For its part, the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union commission will continue to work to restore a climate of trust and to welcome all points of view. Antoine Arjakovsky concludes that there must be a change "from solitary nation states to nation states which stand in solidarity" to ensure lasting peace.

THE NEW CHINESE DIPLOMACY: WHAT IMPACT FOR GLOBAL STABILITY?

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle Auditorium

Moderator:

→ **Joris Zylberman,**
Co-Founder and Editor in Chief,
Asialyst

Speakers:

→ **Stéphanie Balme,**
Dean of the Collège Universitaire,
Sciences Po

→ **Nicolas Baverez,**
Member of the Steering Committee
of the Institut Montaigne, editorial writer

→ **Hubert Testard,**
Teacher at Sciences Po, co-author of
Asie, les nouvelles règles du jeu
(*Asia: the new rules of the game*)

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

Today's Chinese diplomacy, which focuses on new partnerships and bilateral agreements instead of alliances, is conditioned by several seminal traumas: the Opium Wars, followed by the Treaty of Versailles. While making peace in Europe involves efforts to pacify conflicts, China has developed the concept of peaceful emergence: since peace is based on economic prosperity, there is a need to develop in harmony with the rest of the world. However, under President Xi Jinping's leadership in recent years, the country has tried to be assertive, but not aggressive, and determined to defend its own interests on the global diplomatic stage. President Trump, meanwhile, has declared that his country's diplomatic relations with China are focused on obtaining a better trade agreement; other subjects are merely a means to an end, in his view.

However, Jean-François Di Meglio feels that this split is unclear. Chinese doctrine is always based on self-assertion, in contrast to previous

humiliations, which forces it to define its space. However, the very presence of Taiwan ensures that China cannot be characterised as a continental power. While China has ambitions concerning this island, the most impressive victories are those which are won without having been fought. As such, China is currently focused on the possible election of a more pro-Beijing candidate in 2020. For Jean-François Di Meglio, Chinese aggression is primarily verbal and is made public when dealing with weak intermediaries, which is why he prefers to call it a "reappropriation of a desire for sovereignty".

In the South China Sea, China intends to replace the decisions of the Hague's Court of Arbitration with a code of conduct which, to date, has been accepted to varying degrees by the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). However, it should be acknowledged that the current situation suits some parties. For Jean-François Di Meglio, this may even be an Asian way of reinventing peace-seeking diplomacy instead of treaties.

The Chinese-US trade war was not initiated by China but the economic stakes are high, valued at 1.5 points of its gross domestic product. Some of President Trump's demands turn out to be unworkable: by focusing on China, he is seeking to destroy the value chain of goods which are imported by the United States. Today, China's tone has hardened and although a compromise cannot be ruled out, there is little chance of it being implemented to the White House's satisfaction.

In Nicolas Baverez's view, since the events in Tiananmen, the Chinese government has swapped development and stability for the monopoly of the Communist Party and a refusal to allow political freedom. This model now shapes a world which has become rather bipolar, while Chinese expansion destabilises it. This split occurred when the nineteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

was held and when Donald Trump won the US election. America's reaction has been further accelerated by its perception of China's new digital and spatial leadership. The technological war has gradually become a strategic confrontation playing out on all fronts, which is why Nicolas Baverez mentions a "second Cold War" and is worried about a new Sarajevo, given the current level of tensions.

By contrast, in Stéphanie Balme's view, the world is divided into three hubs, rather than two: the third is European, even in terms of technology. China now has all the necessary elements to become a great technological power and produces innovations every day, all whilst having the ability to scale them up. Moreover, while the country completely missed the industrial revolution, its Four Modernisations initiative has helped to develop an extremely powerful ecosystem of teaching, research and innovation over the last forty years.

The United States, meanwhile, has understood the need for a more offensive strategy and, in the hope of gaining time, has blocked Huawei's road to 5G. In this situation, despite its defiant nature, China is playing the game of constructive dialogue with the rest of the world. However, it will never abandon Huawei, the "Trojan horse of its scientific power" on the international stage, as Stéphanie Balme confirms. Some suspect that the Chinese secret services control this telecommunications giant, which is a beacon of China's technological excellence, for the purposes of espionage.

The new Silk Roads are bringing massive Chinese investment in infrastructure, which has the virtuous effect of revitalising other countries' investment policies. Nevertheless, issues with the operational feasibility of some projects are becoming apparent and, even beyond environmental issues, some of the countries concerned are incurring significant debts. The diplomacy of the Silk Roads initiative is part of a consistent and long-term strategy which aims to project the Chinese model around the world.

For Stéphanie Balme, China uses its economic model as a soft power with many authoritarian regimes, which see it as a source of legitimacy. In the same way, Beijing benefits from the divisions between Western countries, which explains the importance of Europe's new policy with regard to China, which is currently being developed and which should be implemented in 2020.

WHAT NEW ORDER FOR ALGERIA?

4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Salle Abbesses

Moderator:

→ **Neila Latrous,**
Editor-in-Chief of Jeune Afrique,
Maghreb and Middle East

Speakers:

- **Kader Abderrahim,**
Research Director at Institut de
Prospective et de Sécurité en Europe,
senior lecturer at Sciences Po
- **Jean Dufourcq,**
Rear Admiral, 2nd section, French
Ministry of the Armed Forces, research
fellow at the Institut de Stratégie
Comparée, Ecole Militaire in Paris
- **Samir Yahyaoui,**
Leader of the Ibykar people's
movement

The current situation in Algeria is provoking a profound change in the nature of its political system. This system, which has always been very opaque, has been turned upside down by an Algerian population which is now hyper-connected and which is changing its views on its future: Algerians are reflecting on their own situation and are making demands about how their country and its resources are managed.

Intuitively and collectively, Algerians realised that political violence was no longer appropriate and took to the streets to express their demands. There will be no turning back, even if the political transition has not yet begun. Indeed, almost four months after this great popular movement began, there is no spokesman to convey the collective demands of Algerians.

Nevertheless, a new generation has emerged and has taken its place in the streets, where it patiently awaits the departure of all former political elites. It does not want Islamists, who no longer constitute a credible political solution, either. For the moment, the Algerian army has resisted the temptation of a military coup but it

may be tempted to manipulate the Islamist risk. The army feels responsible for the future of the country, which has led to many discussions, some violent, within its ranks. However, the generals seem to understand the need to leave room for civil society.

For the first time since 1962, there is a true balance of power between the current system and the streets. Algerian citizens are defending themselves from a system which is completely out of touch, although the country currently finds itself in an institutional black hole, since the President in office is only to remain there for the period of the transition. The speed at which Algerians have collectively become aware of their situation and demanded change has been quite exceptional. Moreover, although their daily lives remain very difficult, it quickly became clear that their movement was peaceful. They have reappropriated their own citizenship, something which has never happened before in the Arab world and which is absolutely fundamental, insofar as this reappropriation marks the beginning of a political process.

"Algeria is not and has never been a state", says Kader Abderrahim who, by "state", refers to the provision of good governance of a country, the development of its population's education and the guarantee of its population's security. In his view, Algeria is merely a system which was set up in 1962 by a specific group and Algerians are well aware of this: they never use the term "state" in their slogans. However, Samir Yahyaoui believes that "Algeria is a nation", although the army completely monopolised the country's independence in 1962, taking its citizens hostage.

A political framework must now be created. The Chief of Staff of the army has called for dialogue, but on what basis? Algeria needs a bedrock of common values which, at present, has not emerged. The absence of a spokesperson initially served the revolution, insofar as it enabled a reversal in the balance of power, leading to initial discussions between the system and civil society which were almost on

equal terms. For Samir Yahyaoui, this transition was necessary but the constitutional void which now exists demands innovation: setting up a constituent assembly, for example, to begin making progress towards a parliamentary system. However, the situation in Tunisia has shown that there is a risk of stagnation: should the focus be on other approaches to ensure faster progress, still within the context of a negotiated transition?

Jean Dufourcq believes that Algeria's economic outlook is closely linked to the political transition. In his view, Algeria is a genuine "reservoir of growth" and its influence could reach much further than its own borders. The lack of reaction of Algeria's six neighbouring countries can undoubtedly be explained by their caution; but they are also hopeful that Algeria will take the entire Maghreb region on a new path with a view to creating a new economic and social area and a laboratory for globalisation.

WHAT IMPACT WILL BREXIT HAVE ON THE IRISH PEACE AGREEMENT?

4 June, 3.15pm - 4.30pm, Salle Guillaume

Moderator:

- **Barbara Walshe,**
Chair of the Board of directors,
Glencree Centre for Peace and
Reconciliation

Speakers:

- **Pat Hynes,**
Coordinator of the programme for
political and community dialogue,
Glencree Centre for Peace and
Reconciliation
- **Róisín McGlone,**
Coordinator of a European dialogue
project in Northern Ireland, Glencree
Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
- **Nina Obermaier,**
Advisor to the chief negotiator for
Task Force Article 50, European
Commission

Following the independence movement, which began in 1916, Ireland was divided into two parts in 1921: the independent Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland, still part of the United Kingdom. From the late 1960s onwards, Northern Ireland was marked by a violent conflict between supporters of a unified Ireland - with a Catholic majority - and those in favour of the status quo - with a Protestant majority. The Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation was founded in 1974 to resolve this conflict, with the peace process finally coming to a conclusion in 1998.

The Northern Ireland issue resurfaced on 23 June 2016, when the British voted in favour of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union (EU), although 65% of Northern Irish people had voted to stay. The Brexit was to come into force in March 2019, but this date was postponed to 31 October. The Irish fear the outcome of the process, particularly in the

event of leaving without an agreement.

Northern Ireland has a very close relationship with the United Kingdom. A significant number of its nationals work in Great Britain. Relations with the Republic of Ireland have also developed. Pat Hynes likens Brexit to a "profound political disruption", so great are the implications for peace in Northern Ireland and relations with the United Kingdom. He points out that the 1998 peace agreement had its roots in the United Kingdom's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. As the Republic of Ireland joined the EEC at the same time, the physical border with Northern Ireland was erased, making de-escalation of the conflict very much easier. The spectre of a new customs border in Ireland, which will necessarily lead to worsened conditions for the movement of goods and people, is therefore a cause for concern.

Róisín McGlone remembers her youth in Belfast in the 1960s and 1970s. She grew up in a small, fragmented land, and her prospects were limited. The Good Friday Agreement marked a revolution because it meant that the people of Northern Ireland had a potential future both in Ireland and in Great Britain or even in other EU countries. The implementation of the peace process has been slow because all military installations and walls separating communities had to be dismantled. With these symbolic barriers gone, Northern Irish people were able to live in a peaceful country. They now fear that the instability generated by Brexit will profoundly upset the current balance, and lead to an upsurge in violence - even if it is unlikely that it will be as severe as in the darkest hours. More generally, Róisín McGlone fears that Brexit will lead to the impoverishment of the people, with rising unemployment and a dysfunctional education system.

Nina Obermaier says that, from the very beginning of negotiations with the United Kingdom in connection with its exit from the EU, the Irish issue appeared complex. Theresa

May's government did not envisage keeping the United Kingdom in a customs union with the EU. The States of the European Union want the United Kingdom to ratify the draft exit agreement, as this would provide the opportunity to put in place a range of regulatory provisions that would address, inter alia, the various practical issues raised by restoring a customs border around Northern Ireland. Pat Hynes agrees, pointing out that the agreement would be reassuring for Northern Ireland because, should Brexit lead to a recession in the United Kingdom, it could maintain its trade relations with members of the European Union.

With or without a deal, the United Kingdom will therefore not be able to leave the EU without having to face substantial consequences. "Trade relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland are twice as great as those with China, India and Brazil together," says Pat Hynes. Whatever happens, the United Kingdom and Ireland will remain where they are on the map of Europe, and it will therefore be necessary to find a way to continue their relations. Coming back to a question about the Irish government's willingness to sign bilateral agreements with the United Kingdom, Pat Hynes explains that the return of a border with Northern Ireland will involve not only Ireland, but the whole EU. It is therefore important that the negotiations be conducted at Task Force level, in consultation with all Member States. Nina Obermaier adds that solidarity between Member States is essential, and that the cement binding the European Union together could eventually crumble if some sought to get the better of others.

Nina Obermaier gives her view of the post-31 October period. As the Member States of the European Union have ruled out any renegotiation of the agreement reached by Theresa May, there are only three possible outcomes: the United Kingdom remains in the Union, it leaves with a deal or it leaves without a deal. The latter outcome is the most formidable. All European regulations with regard to the United Kingdom would instantly lapse on 1 November 2019 without any measures to replace them. The situation for the other Member States would be chaotic for a few weeks, but they have been preparing for this eventuality in recent months.

For the United Kingdom, on the other hand, the consequences would be catastrophic because the void caused by the sudden disappearance of all the agreements put in place since joining the European Union, would have to be filled, a project that would take many years. One of the most unfortunate consequences would be the sudden reappearance of a physical border in Ireland, which could shake the current equilibrium.



From left to right: Param-Preet Singh, Khin Zaw Win, Nancy Lindborg

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THE ROHINGYA IN BURMA AND BANGLADESH: A SITUATION WHICH IS UNDER THE RADAR?

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle CESER

Moderator:

- **Philippe Boloignon,**
Deputy Director of the Global Advocacy division, Human Rights Watch

Speakers:

- **Nancy Lindborg,**
President of the United States Institute of Peace
- **Param-Preet Singh,**
Deputy Director of the International Justice programme, Human Rights Watch
- **Khin Zaw Win,**
Director of the Tampadipa Institute, former political prisoner

After several decades of persecution, the Rohingya, a Muslim minority who live in Burma, now known as Myanmar, have been the victims of a policy of ethnic cleansing since 2016. In 2018, the Normandy World Peace Forum launched an appeal to the international community to ensure an end to

the violence, after a moving speech by the activist Tun Khin. Today, although the situation is currently much less frequently reported, it remains extremely serious.

Nancy Lindborg notes that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has described it as "a genocide". The complexity of this situation lies in age-old conflicts between three groups, each of which considers itself to be the victim. The first group is the Rohingya who have long been the targets of attempts to drive them out of Myanmar. Nearly a million people have crossed the Bangladesh border and more than 500,000 are still living in detention camps in the Rakhine State. The second group is the inhabitants of the Rakhine State, who consider themselves to have been victims of the Bamar, the majority ethnic group in Myanmar, since the 18th century when the Bamar first conquered the region. Lastly, some of the Bamar feel that they are resisting an Islamic invasion, although Muslims make up just 5% of Myanmar's population.

In the camps, the Rohingya do not have access to higher education or to real medical care. Myanmar's government has accepted

the return of refugees in Bangladesh but has insisted that this can only happen after their identity has been verified. However, if they return to the country, their safety cannot be guaranteed and they will have no land and no rights. Indeed, citizenship in the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, the new name for Burma since 2010, depends on each person's ability to prove that his or her family was present in the country before 1824, when British settlers arrived. This process has recognised one hundred and thirty-five ethnic groups but has not recognised the Rohingya.

Moreover, Aung San Suu Kyi's government does not include any Muslim member and representatives of the Rohingya fear imprisonment if they return to Myanmar. This ethnic minority therefore has no public voice within the country.

The subject is very divisive within Myanmar's society, which is mostly Buddhist. When it was an English colony, Burma, as it was known, was very cosmopolitan and Buddhists and Muslims lived peacefully together. In Param-Preet Singh's view, after living under an authoritarian regime for three decades, latent resentment became apparent with the advent of democracy and the country saw the emergence of ultra-nationalist Buddhists who are led today by Ashin Wirathu, the "Buddhist bin Laden" who encourages violence against Muslims.

Today, Islamophobia is a daily reality in Myanmar and the majority of Myanmar's support the government's actions. Moreover, the position of the Rohingya in Myanmar is just one aspect of the issue of ethnic minorities in the country. Crimes have been committed against a large number of minorities in recent decades which has led to dozens of ethnic groups arming themselves.

Aung San Suu Kyi, winner of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, was long considered to be an icon of peace but international observers were disappointed by the election in 2015, which marked a return to democracy in the country. Journalists and critics of the government were imprisoned. For Khin Zaw Win, "the Rohingya crisis has shown Aung San Suu Kyi's true colours". She remains silent

about the crimes which have been committed against minorities. Khin Zaw Win feels that a new generation must take the lead and defend democracy; however, this requires support from the international community.

The UN tried to compile a report on the crimes committed against the Rohingya since 2016. In theory, the International Criminal Court could try such crimes but since Myanmar has not ratified the treaty of this court, only the UN Security Council can decide to prosecute the criminals. However, China vetoes any resolution on the subject because of its ties to Myanmar. Nevertheless, Param-Preet Singh believes that civil society should continue to exert pressure to remind the Security Council of its responsibilities.

Moreover, it is possible to prove to the International Criminal Court that Myanmar has violated the obligations of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, a legal text which the state has signed. On this basis, the Gambia, which has no direct relationship to Myanmar but which is part of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, has committed to bringing the Republic of the Union of Myanmar to justice before the ICC. Other states could join it: the more countries which become involved, the more significant their action will be.

For Khin Zaw Win, real change could come from civil society, if it were more willing to accept minorities. On 16 May 2019, a group of Buddhists and youth activists from Myanmar organised the "White Rose" campaign, offering roses to Muslims to show their solidarity. Several organisations are working to foster dialogue between religious denominations but these denominations are insufficient in number, particularly as other minorities are scared to defend the Rohingya. However, when the state shows itself to be lacking, others must engage. As such, in view of the genocide of the Rohingya, there is no question of defending national interests; instead, there must be a defence of universal values, promoted by the international community.

CHALLENGES AND ISSUES FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE



From left to right: Olivier Wieviorka, Tanja Petovar, Philippe Perchoc, Guillaume Malaurie

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IDENTITY BUILDING AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

Tuesday 4 June, 1.30pm - 2.45pm, Auditorium

Moderator:

→ **Guillaume Mallaurie**,
Historia, Groupe Sophia Publications

Speakers:

→ **Philippe Perchoc**,
Political Analyst, European Parliament
research service

→ **Tanja Petovar**,
Senior Consultant, The Balkans Initiative

→ **Olivier Wieviorka**,
University Professor, École Normale
Supérieure Paris-Saclay

Drawing on historical precedents, the question of identity and the rise of nationalism have made the news in recent years. They are particularly visible in Europe, the continent on which this debate will be centred, with Brexit and the Ukrainian conflict.

Nationalism in Europe is a phenomenon with a long history. After all, the Visegrád group, a formal group now made up of Poland,

Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, was created in 1335 to form an alliance against the supremacy of the House of Habsburg.

Questions of national identity, however, have not always been as important as they are currently, as we saw with Romain Gary, with his diverse origins, who limited his national identity to his identity card. Nationalism and communitarianism suffered a marked decline at the end of the Second World War, thereby reversing the root causes of this conflict. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC) and finally the European Union (EU) are the result of this period of harmony. Should this period now be considered to be a historical digression or to be an indicator of future long-lasting entente between different populations?

The instrumentalisation of the past is a timeless phenomenon. However, compared with the inter-war period, the current nationalist movements do not seem to be targeting territorial expansion, which is why there is a low risk of armed conflict. It should also be noted that nationalism is further exacerbated

today in Eastern European countries, young democracies which lived under Soviet rule for decades and which do not have the historical legacy of Western nations. This was true of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), which denied any involvement in Nazism, blaming the capitalist system.

Commenting on the Balkans, where she was born, Tanja Petovar explains that the interests of the nation prevailed over those of its people in Tito's Yugoslavia. Consequently, nationalism was marginalised. The war which broke out in the 1990s was therefore all the more shocking, particularly because of the many war crimes which ensued. Tanja Petovar has a critical view of the nationalists of the period; she believes that their actions were primarily driven by pragmatism and that they saw demands as a way to appropriate the legacy of the Communist state. In her view, these same figures, who are now part of the current oligarchy, show no loyalty to their country, which has been left to languish while they focus on their own interests.

Moreover, Tanja Petovar considers that the Serbian Orthodox Church is seriously corrupt, something which has repercussions on society as a whole. She believes that the majority of the population is swayed by dominant forces. Using a metaphor, she compares societies in the Balkans to someone who focuses on remembering the achievements of his or her ancestors, having failed to find meaning in his or her own life. The disappearance of the Soviet bloc deprived society of a vision of a potential future. In Tanja Petovar's view, Slobodan Milošević was elected to lead Serbia after promising that a utopian lifestyle was immediately possible. Instead, the Serbian people experienced the agonies of war and poverty.

Tanja Petovar is convinced that ignorance is fertile ground for half-truths and lies, which can lead to all sorts of ideologies. In her eyes, it is no coincidence that the Central European University, which is dedicated to training future intellectual elites, is being fiercely attacked by the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. Olivier Wieviorka mentions a precedent: in the 1990s, the European University of the Humanities, which had been founded in Minsk

and pursued a similar objective, was forced to move to Lithuania.

Invited to comment on the subject of national sovereignty embodied by states and the unifying power of the EU, Philippe Perchoc believes that "the European Union has permanently changed a significant number of the member states" in Europe. Thus, the antagonisms which may previously have existed between neighbouring countries have considerably diminished. Unfortunately, it is around the EU itself that the nationalist movements are crystallising today.

At the time, the fall of the Iron Curtain was seen as a guarantee that the intense trauma of the two World Wars was definitely a thing of the past. Unfortunately, the civil war in the former Yugoslavia quickly challenged this optimism. Work to rediscover Europe's past was also required to ensure the long-lasting nature of the Second World War's legacy of remembrance. The act of forgetting has played a fundamental role in the construction of Europe, to such an extent that the current friendship between French and German citizens seems to be entirely genuine. In this regard, Tanja Petovar stresses that forgiving and forgetting are difficult processes, especially when, as in the former Yugoslavia, some of those responsible for the war are still part of the ruling political class. The legacies of the past may be considered to be "stocks of memories": just like actors' costumes, they can be donned to highlight specific aspects of the history of the people.

Three elements seem to be key to a positive construction: freedom of expression, which makes it possible to appropriate the trauma of the past, freedom of research, which is vital in enabling historians to shed light on periods of history, and the rule of law, which establishes rules which apply to all. These three principles make it possible to successfully complete the long process from trauma to acceptance.

BREXIT: EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION/DESTRUCTION

4 June, 5pm-6.15pm, Salle Auditorium

Moderator:

- **Monika Nogaj,**
Unit head, external policy, European parliament research service

Speakers:

- **Tom Cargill,**
Executive Director of the British Foreign Policy Group
- **Nicole Gnesotto,**
Professor at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM)
- **Matt Qvortrup,**
Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the European Political Science Review

On 23 June 2016, the result of the vote on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union (EU) sounded like a thunderclap all over Europe: for the first time in history, a country was engaged in the process of leaving the Union. The issue of restoring a physical border in Northern Ireland quickly emerged as the most difficult aspect of this issue. Since then, the issue of Brexit has been extensively debated, but there are still many uncertainties. The agreement reached as a result of the negotiations between the British Government and the European Union was rejected several times by the British Parliament, raising concerns about the possibility of leaving without an agreement. The deadline, initially set for 29 March, was extended to 31 October 2019, without this achieving consensus among parliamentarians in the United Kingdom. Neither Theresa May, the Prime Minister who resigned in June, nor Boris Johnson, her successor, were able to convince them.

The Brexit issue deeply divides the British and carries with it a risk of regional disruption as Northern Ireland and Scotland voted

overwhelmingly in favour of keeping the United Kingdom in the EU. The Scottish Parliament is calling for a new referendum on Scotland's membership of the United Kingdom, arguing that in 2014, the prospect of leaving the European Union had contributed to the victory of the "Remainers". The panel points out that the camp of supporters of a united Ireland is growing, especially among Protestants - who have traditionally been committed to keeping it in the United Kingdom.

He analyses the consequences of Brexit on the European Union and the United Kingdom. While observers feared that the EU would be dislocated in the event of Brexit, Member States instead stood up to protect their interests in the negotiations and strengthen their spirit of solidarity. As for the United Kingdom, it seems to have the ability to rebuild itself after leaving the European Union, but the process will be a long one because of a deep identity crisis. The first step will therefore be to reconcile the British, in particular by addressing the concerns that led a majority of them to vote for Brexit, and then to rebuild relations between the United Kingdom and the EU.

Nicole Gnesotto does not believe that Brexit represents a risk for the European Union. However, she warns against "nostalgia for remaining", referring to a strategy of prolonging negotiations with the United Kingdom in the hope that the latter would eventually backtrack on its decision. In her view, this would be the "worst mistake" for the EU.

Three years after the vote in favour of Brexit, the only real surprise for Nicole Gnesotto is the fact that this historic democracy is unable to reach internal agreement about the exit arrangements. Clearly, the victory of the "Leavers" was a shock to public opinion in Europe, as few thought that such a result was possible. This British decision seems irrational because the United Kingdom had succeeded

in imposing its liberal model within the European Union - to the great displeasure of the French, according to Nicole Gnesotto. In her opinion, David Cameron was threatening Brexit in order to obtain satisfaction on almost every point. The victory of the "Leavers" seemed all the more improbable to international observers because its supporters were a heterogeneous group of populists and ultra-liberals who advocated the "Global Britain" model. The European Union was forced to deal with the result of this vote, an expression of the will of the British.

From the very beginning of the negotiations in which Nicole Gnesotto participated, one thing became clear: even if a "favourable" agreement was reached, with Brexit the United Kingdom would lose much more than the European Union. No fewer than 740 international agreements will lapse on the date of exit from the EU. Nicole Gnesotto therefore suggests that what is an unfortunate but entirely manageable event for the European Union could be catastrophic for the United Kingdom, especially in the event of "no deal". She feels that the EU now seems even more solid because, during the negotiations, other countries' desire to leave the union was severely dampened in view of the consequences of the choice made by Britain.

For Nicole Gnesotto, extending the deadline from 29 March to 31 October 2019 has already given rise to a grotesque situation, with European elections being organized in the United Kingdom. In her view, it is imperative that the country take a decision quickly because it is unthinkable that the United Kingdom should take part in the multi-annual budgetary discussions that will begin on 1 November. Franco-German cohesion on this issue has also cracked: Angela Merkel was prepared to give the British another year to preserve the interests of the European market, while Emmanuel Macron refused to go beyond 31 October in order to preserve EU interests.

Matt Qvortrup believes that the British are ready to accept the economic consequences of their decision, considering that the loss of a few growth points is the price to pay for

their freedom. He understood the Europeans' exasperation with Brexit. However, whatever the outcome of the current process, British and European interests remain deeply linked.

A major common theme is global stability. The European Union's action for peace at international level could be affected by Brexit. The United Kingdom is a key player, a member of the G7, a nuclear power, a preferred interlocutor of the United States and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. For its part, the country will lose its access to the European Union's decision-making structures and its credibility as a regional power will be undermined, says Matt Qvortrup. Although there are significant differences between the EU and the British Parliament on some issues, such as the Common Security and Defence Policy, some believe that the British position is likely to remain for many years convergent with that of other European countries on major global issues such as climate change, migration and peace-keeping. Brexit therefore requires a rethinking of the relationship, but does not mark the end of cooperation between the European Union and the United Kingdom to address the challenges facing peace around the world.

PERSONAL RECONSTRUCTION AFTER CONFLICT: THE SOLDIERS' RETURN

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle Tocqueville

Moderator:

→ **Rahma Sophia Rachdi,**
Journalist, United States Press Agency

Speakers:

→ **Céline Bardet,**
Founder and President of We Are Not Weapons Of War

→ **Pierre Buyoya,**
Former President of the Republic of Burundi, High Representative of the African Union for Mali and the Sahel

→ **Heidi Riley,**
Assistant Professor, University College Dublin

In addition to the reconstruction of places and infrastructure, the end of a conflict also involves the reconstruction of the men and women who participated in the conflict. While wars between countries, which involve fighters from national armies, are decreasing in number, internal and terrorist-related conflicts are still frequent, particularly in Africa. These conflicts, which involve non-state movements, often come to an end with peace agreements, which take the issue of former fighters into account by means of the DDR process, which stands for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. Indeed, disarmament on its own is often insufficient: former fighters must be reintegrated into the new social fabric which is created at the end of the conflict. Some join the security or state forces, including the army, the police and the border force, while others return to civilian life, which requires the establishment of educational and professional reintegration programmes.

Nevertheless, Céline Bardet emphasises that most DDR processes are unsatisfactory. For example, after the revolution in Libya, when the country stabilised between 2012 and 2014, programmes which were supported most notably by the European Union were implemented to reintegrate the revolution's militias in the police and the army but this was a failure. Young people took up arms to liberate the country but by the time the conflict ended, they were traumatised, something which was not taken into account: they did not receive any psychosocial care or treatment. Moreover, Céline Bardet believes that a DDR process can only work when the state has strong institutions, which was not the case in Libya. Young people rejected the processes for peace and disarmament and the country descended into chaos once more.

The DDR process must consider the differences between conflicts and between fighters as well. A fighter from Colombia is not a fighter from Liberia or Syria. Yet the DDR process is usually developed in a technocratic way, based on linearity (from disarmament to reintegration). In addition, demobilisation often requires the separation of members of armed groups. However, former fighters have experienced a form of social connection in these groups, however inappropriate this may seem, and this link is destroyed by the DDR process. In some cases, maintaining these relationships has been shown to facilitate reintegration. To this end, the reintegration of warlords, who are likely to retain the allegiance of their fighters, must be a priority, in Pierre Buyoya's view, because this is likely to facilitate the reintegration of other soldiers. Lastly, it is often assumed that access to employment is sufficient for reintegration. However, although educational or work-related programmes are important, they are time-limited by their very nature.

Furthermore, although international humanitarian law does not formally distinguish between terrorists and fighters, the reasons behind the decision to join armed groups must be analysed if there is to be hope of a successful reintegration, in Heidi Reily's view, particularly given that the concept of a "terrorist" is often used to justify state repression. Ideology is often not the root cause: economic needs, the brutality of state security forces and the spiral of violence are just some of the reasons behind young people's decisions to take up arms.

In Pierre Buyoya's view, if a DDR process is to be successful, it requires genuine political will to implement the peace agreements, which include reconciliation and, sometimes, an amnesty for those who have fought (and who have not committed war crimes) but it must also be part of a more general framework to reform the state's security institutions.

As for the perpetrators of war crimes, they may be sentenced to prison but they then return to civil society, where their victims live. Communities are not always ready to accept them. Consequently, the reintegration process must consider communities and focus on the rebuilding of society, without forcing these communities to accept the reintegration of former fighters.

To rebuild a country, there must be dialogue between the perpetrators and the victims but this is usually difficult or even taboo. This is a timely issue today, with European jihadists returning to the countries of their birth. In an attempt to understand their actions without excusing them, how can society engage again in dialogue with a section of its population which has become radicalised or has committed crimes? There is no simple answer to this question but any return to a more peaceful situation requires "making peace with one's enemies", as Céline Bardet points out.

EDUCATION, AN AGENT OF PEACE

4 June, 3.15-4.30pm, Salle Auditorium

Moderator:

- **Françoise Mélonio**,
Professor Emeritus, Sorbonne
University

Speakers:

- **Olivier Sidokpohou**,
Educational Inspector of Mathematics
and Assessor for the General
Education Inspectorate of France
- **Bénédicte de Saint-Pierre**,
Deputy Chair of United Way
- **Florent Bonaventure**,
Director of Studies and
Communication at Campus France

In 1846, the great French republican philosopher Jules Michelet wrote: "If education worked to unite men as much as it tries to divide them, if only two children, one poor and one rich, sat on the same school benches, so closely linked by their friendship, so divided by their careers, and if only they saw each other often, they themselves would do more than all the policies and all the morality in the world. With their selfless, innocent friendship, they would preserve the hallowed bond of society."

Today's media regularly reports on school violence and inequalities between schools. There is an increasing number of initiatives which aim to achieve true educational justice and to strengthen the quality of the education provided, two inseparable elements which ensure that education, in its many forms, is a factor which strengthens social co-existence and contributes both to society's proper functioning and to the strength of relationships between nations.

The French national education system is often judged harshly and is considered to be a "sorting machine" for students, given the significant role of their geographical and social origins in individual success. However, when a

child whose parents do not speak French or did not attend university is educated to a secondary level or beyond, this is already a great success and should not be denigrated when compared with other students from more advantaged backgrounds.

Knowledge does not prevent brutality; it is not enough in itself. It must be supported and embodied, particularly by teachers. The impossibility of expressing one's feelings, which often results in the perception of other people's very existence as an aggression, is one of the main sources of violence in schools. However, it is possible to learn to express a thought, a feeling and even a disagreement. Olivier Sidokpohou points out that the French national education system aims to strengthen this learning process, particularly via the final oral exam of the French baccalaureate. Knowledge is a cornerstone which encourages the development of dialogue and creates a certain distance with which to approach controversial subjects, while taking a step back from the conflict.

Gender inequality and prejudices are also sources of violence. Choosing school subjects is influenced by age-old social prejudices, particularly for girls. Paradoxically, co-education accentuates stereotypes as young boys try to find differences between themselves and girls and vice versa. Long-term work must be done in advance to show that no subject is specifically male or female.

Education must begin by encouraging self-knowledge, if it is to provide an understanding of other people which goes beyond stereotypes. This involves helping young people to understand their own desires and identity, while encouraging them to be open to new opportunities (professions, cultures, knowledge and social environments which are different to their own). However, none of this is possible without self-confidence. Consequently, it is vital to ensure that young people, both in educational and out-of-school settings, have an impression of their own success, rather than of their own

failure. In being open-minded with regard to other people, they must learn what they want to become and enrol in an educational course or a programme which gives them the opportunity "to develop their own self-confidence".

However, this self-confidence cannot develop without a teacher's confidence in his or her students. Its absence can be devastating, according to Olivier Sidokpohou, but this confidence can also be perceived differently by students and teachers: students may see the demanding nature of teachers as a way of highlighting students' failures. It is therefore up to teachers to demonstrate their confidence as part of their everyday teaching, thereby proving that confidence is entirely compatible with a demanding nature.

In addition, schools are places for international exchanges. Every year, 245,000 foreign students cross borders to study in France. 42% of doctoral students are foreign students, who contribute to the reputation of French universities. There is international competition between countries to attract these young talents because they provide countries with an economic boost and a qualified workforce. Florent Bonaventure considers that the presence of these students benefits both their host country and their country of origin, enabling them to experience another world view and to develop a better understanding of others. However, although this encourages a sense of openness, the experience can be psychologically difficult for foreign students, leading to their withdrawal and an isolated focus on their own identity.

Lastly, education regarding universal values and social behaviour must be included in school curricula as part of an educational programme focusing on citizenship. In 1999, a UN resolution gave a clear definition of the culture of non-violence and peace and the eight areas of action to promote this culture were unanimously adopted by the 193 states which participate in the United Nations. The first of these areas is education for all.

If education is to be a genuine agent of peace, it must include the expression of personal identity, discussions and the teaching of universal values.



From left to right: Sandrine Mercier, Jean-Marc Mignon, Vincent Fonvieille, Julien Buot

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SUSTAINABLE TOURISM, A PASSPORT FOR PEACE?

4 June, 5pm - 6.15pm, Salle Tocqueville

Moderator:

- **Sandrine Mercier**,
Editor in Chief, A/R Magazine
voyageur

Speakers:

- **Julien Buot**,
Secretary General, Acteurs
du Tourisme Durable
- **Vincent Fonvieille**,
Founder of La Balaguère, President
of Agir pour un Tourisme Responsable
- **Jean-Marc Mignon**,
President of the International Social
Tourism Organisation, member of the
World Committee on Tourism Ethics
of the World Tourism Organisation

The Amman Declaration on Peace through Tourism in 2000 suggested that tourism should become a vehicle for peace in “promoting dialogues on peace” and in bridging the

have and have-not societies of the various regions of the world. Do we need tourism to contribute to peace or do we need peace to develop tourism?

Tourism is one of the important industries in the world. As Tunisia has shown, a sudden shut-down in tourist activity can be dramatic for a country from an economic, social and even environmental point of view. Tourism enables local residents to escape poverty: once the political situation stabilised in Mauritania and Dogon Country, where tourism did not previously exist, tourist activities could be established, in close connection with the people living there; this became an obvious boost to their well-being, which is itself a source of peace. However, this virtuous effect can only work if tourism sets rules. It must provide as much for the people who live there as for the tourists who come and go.

For Jean-Marc Mignon, although peace is undoubtedly behind the rise of tourism in certain regions, there are also forms of tourism which reinforce relations between states. The

same can be said for the work of the Franco-German Youth Office since 1963; it has made it possible for some eight million young people from France and Germany to develop closer ties between the two countries.

However, some kinds of tourism do not promote peace: poorly managed and intrusive tourism for huge numbers of people does not serve peace. That is why, even beyond education for tourists, some kinds of tourism must be prioritised. Building a resort where water is scarce will lead to drought and will increase tensions in the area. In developing countries, mass tourism has many harmful effects. We must therefore establish forms of tourism which include partnerships with local populations and which offer economic benefits for the region. Tourism then becomes complementary to the region’s primary activity, which is often agricultural and, by its very existence, protects the local economy from any downturn.

Tourism should not take precedence over other activities within a region, which could cause a sufficient political transformation as to impoverish its inhabitants. For example, a change of opinion on security within a country on the website of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs is enough to significantly reduce the number of visiting tourists. The impact of this institution on the income derived from tourism within a particular region and on the safety of travelling French nationals must lead to caution. The Ministry’s proposed map is not infallible, which is why Julien Buot suggests that organisations which offer responsible tourism should work with the Ministry by providing in-depth and nuanced assessments of the situation in various countries.

The infrastructure developed and the income generated by the presence of tourists can have a positive effect on local populations. However, tourists are associated with numerous problems, particularly with regard to the environment. The concept of sustainable tourism was developed to respond to these issues.

Following the 1995 World Conference on Sustainable Tourism in Lanzarote, sustainable tourism was defined as “a tourism which takes account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, by meeting the needs of visitors, professionals, the environment and host communities”.

According to the World Tourism Organisation, sustainable tourism must make the best use of environmental resources, respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities and ensure viable economic activities in the long term by providing all parties with socio-economic benefits which are equitably distributed. For Julien Buot, sustainable tourism therefore aims to encourage people to travel better, not necessarily less. Attention to environmental issues should not come at the expense of access to travel for a maximum number of people, which corresponds to the social aspect of sustainable development.

For Vincent Fonvieille, mass tourism cannot be banned. He therefore believes that it would be better to try to convince companies within the sector to change their practices. Mass tourism must not be pitted against more small-scale tourism, because even big operators are now looking to commit to more sustainable tourism.

Sustainable tourism can contribute to peace by limiting the harmful effects of the presence of visitors and by encouraging travellers to find out more about other people. Peace can only be established when people of different cultural origins begin to talk, to learn and to understand one another. Vincent Fonvieille believes that “travel encourages humility”: it makes it possible to put matters into perspective, even with regard to travellers’ own countries. Travelling therefore helps to educate people about peace, as a Malian proverb confirms: “travel leads to encounters, encounters lead to knowledge and knowledge leads to trust”.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATURAL RESOURCES: TOMORROW'S WARS

5 June, 3.45pm - 5pm, Salle Guillaume

Moderator:

- **Paul Stares,**
Director of the Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations

Speakers:

- **Kabiné Komara,**
Former Prime Minister of Guinea
- **Nancy Lindborg,**
President of the United States Institute of Peace
- **Nicolas Regaud,**
Special Advisor for Indo-Pacific Asia, International Relations and Strategy, French Ministry of the Armed Forces

A clear scientific consensus on climate change has been established. This will result in higher temperatures and an increase in the frequency of certain phenomena, such as heat waves and droughts. Experts on military matters have seized on this issue, concluding that climate change could be a source of conflict in some parts of the world.

The scarcity of drinking water is one of the main threats associated with climate change. This phenomenon leads to a decrease in rainfall in some regions. Climate change has been evident for decades in West Africa, for example: Kabiné Komara mentions the Sahara Desert, which has been spreading south since the 1960s, while Nancy Lindborg notes that droughts which used to occur every ten years now tend to occur every year in the Horn of Africa.

Rising temperatures are also having an effect. The evaporation rate of rivers is rising, as can be seen with the Nile and the Niger. Some countries may even become completely uninhabitable simply because of rising temperatures, leading to population flight. This

situation is compounded by human pressure: the global population is growing rapidly in some parts of the world, as are per capita water requirements. For example, Nancy Lindborg comments that the Nile will only be able to meet 60% of the water requirements of the countries it crosses over the next ten years. However, Kabiné Komara notes that water requirements can be reduced by recycling, particularly with regard to irrigation.

The issue of declining river flows takes on another dimension when the rivers cross several countries. There are many examples of upstream/downstream conflicts: Nicolas Regaud mentions China's construction of numerous dams on the Brahmaputra, a source of irritation for India, which was planning to do the same. Meanwhile, Bangladesh must suffer the consequences of Chinese and Indian construction.

However, Kabiné Komara mentions an example of the efficient sharing of the Senegal River's water resources: Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal have created the Senegal River Basin Development Authority for the joint management of the river and the various countries even share ownership of the developments which are built.

The issue of accessing water is the cause of both international disputes and armed conflicts, particularly when states are not robust enough to manage the crisis. Conflicts are often exacerbated by additional problems, such as economic underdevelopment, exploding population and inter-community tensions. Kabiné Komara explains that because of the scarcity of water in the region around Lake Chad, the surface area of which has decreased by 90%, nomadic populations do not have enough water for their herds. In consequence, they migrate towards the south, where overcrowding with local farmers is the cause of significant violence, which has been twice as deadly as Boko Haram's attacks in the region.

Nancy Lindborg points out that Syria experienced its worst drought in 900 years between 2006 and 2009, according to NASA measurements. 85% of farms ceased farming and 70% of herds were lost. Farmers left the countryside en masse, seeking refuge in cities where they became victims of social exclusion, orchestrated by the Syrian regime, and were forced to survive in very difficult conditions. This contributed to the emergence of the protest movement in 2011 which quickly degenerated into civil war.

Climate change also results in the melting of glaciers which leads to rising sea levels. Kabiné Komara emphasises that new conflicts are likely to emerge in a race for the resources of the Arctic Ocean, as the polar ice melts. On the other side of the world, rising sea levels endanger some island nations, such as the Kiribati Islands and the Marshall Islands, which have already partially disappeared. Because of its large population and low altitude, Bangladesh will be hard hit by coastal erosion and soil salinisation. 50 million climate refugees could be forced to migrate north. Countries in the path of the most powerful typhoons suffer massive destruction, from which they struggle to recover.

Over the coming decades, we should therefore expect to see an increasing number of international conflicts caused by climate change. Kabiné Komara stresses that current global warming predictions remain limited to an increase of 1.1°C when compared to the pre-industrial era. However, according to the assumptions of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), global temperatures will rise by more than 3°C in 2100. Some studies predict an even greater rise in temperatures.

In Nicolas Regaud's view, if we want to provide a better response to these situations, it is important to ensure a better understanding of weather events, to secure infrastructure so as to be able to help the local victims of climate disasters and to launch prevention programmes which are based on scientific research.

To respond to environmental issues, several speakers mention initiatives as part of an approach of international solidarity to protect the climate. Kabiné Komara believes that it is essential that developed countries, which are primarily responsible for climate change, make funds available for the victims of this phenomenon, most of whom live in developing countries. He adds that these states will need to be supported if they are to make a transition to more virtuous systems, including the fight against deforestation and the recycling of water, for example. Developed countries are not immune to the consequences of climate change, as Nicolas Regaud notes: the cost of such consequences is constantly increasing and may require the use of such funds.

Nancy Lindborg believes that public opinion must be taken into account in authorities' decision-making processes in developed countries with regard to the establishment of international climate solidarity. The fight against the ideas shared by climate sceptics will be decisive, as will efforts to raise awareness among younger generations, who are most affected by climate change.

ISLAM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4 juin, 15h15-16h30, Salle Abbesses

Moderator:

- **Kader Abderrahim**,
Research Director at Institut de Prospective et de Sécurité en Europe, senior lecturer at Sciences Po

Speakers:

- **Ghaleb Bencheikh**,
Islamologist, President of the Fondation de l'islam de France
- **Ensaf Haidar**,
President of the Raif Badawi Foundation for Freedom

The perception of Islam in international relations has suffered greatly from terrorist organisations which fight in its name and the treatment of human rights, particularly women's rights, in the Muslim world. Given that France is home to the largest number of Muslims in the West, the representation of their interests to the public authorities is an area of concern. Can Islam be an ideological tool for those who argue in favour of it at a political level?

At the heart of today's global chaos is the emergence of an ideological and religious monstrosity, ISIS, stretching from northern Nigeria to the island of Jolo. For Ghaleb Bencheikh, "we cannot deny responsibility and say "stop confusing the two, it has nothing to do with Islam". Yes, there is a connection: every day, individuals within ISIS claim to be a follower of Islam."

To overcome the crisis, he believes that titanic efforts must be made in four areas. Firstly, with regard to freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. Secondly, with regard to equality among human beings, beyond any differences in gender and denomination. Thirdly, with regard to the deconsecration of violence: how can individuals believe that it has a purpose and, moreover, how can it be justified by the divine? Lastly, with regard to the separation

of education and religion. According to the Islamologist, these issues are of the utmost importance in the Muslim world.

In the organisation of Islam in France, a country which has a non-Muslim majority but whose population includes a large number of Muslims, Ghaleb Bencheikh sees implications for the perception of Islam and its ability to evolve and to absorb influences. In an open, secular and democratic society, each and every citizen is considered as he or she is, irrespective of any other background or belief and the French state has no role to play in religion as it stands. However, the structuring of Islam is an issue for French civilisation and French government authorities need recognised representatives. The structure of the Islamic faith across France has become a "national issue", in Ghaleb Bencheikh's view. According to the Islamologist, "our beloved country will have the Islam it deserves": either beauty, intelligence and humanism, incorporating the efforts of all citizens, or something which is caught up between Islamist radicals on the one hand and identity trends on the other. He believes that creating order for Islam's currently fragmented stakeholders might enable France to become an example of peaceful coexistence between citizens, irrespective of their religious backgrounds. For Kader Abderrahim, the state has an educational role to play as a democracy, ensuring that there is freedom of choice for all.

In response to the issue of citizens' freedom, Ensaf Haidar recounts the unjust fate of her husband, the journalist and activist Raif Badawi, who has been imprisoned in Saudi Arabia since June 2012 for the crime of apostasy. To analyse what has led to this lack of freedom of thought in Muslim countries, it is not enough to speak of "dumbing down", as Ghaleb Bencheikh emphasises. After a civilisational climax, which saw the emergence of the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires, characterised by their humanism, the Muslim world came to an abrupt stop. In Ghaleb Bencheikh's view, Islam missed the historical sequence of "Descartes moment

- Freud moment", with philosophers including Stuart Mill, Locke and Bayle and now indulges in three forms of ignorance. Firstly, "holy ignorance", in the words of Olivier Roy, which involves preserving a human construction by the divine; secondly, institutionalised ignorance, which is the source of private and state patronage in some countries, with the aim of building mosques to "teach lies"; lastly, complex ignorance, which excludes all those who think differently. To get out of this rut, this world view must be overhauled in its entirety, in the Islamologist's view. He believes that this battle for civilisation and to ensure human dignity can be successful if we stop using religion for any purposes other than the spiritual and if this change comes to pass in Riyadh, Jeddah and Cairo.

However, morality and politics are not

automatically compatible: leaders' decisions are sometimes guided by emotion and passion. Moreover, freedom of expression, which can now rely on many new tools for its growth, also encourages the development of radical ideas. The fact remains that it must always be possible to discuss issues.

In Ghaleb Bencheikh's view, young Muslims are now asking questions; the contradictory debate has reached the Islamic world. Although women are the greatest victims of the Saudi Arabian regime, Sunni Muslim Kurdish women risk their lives to fight the Islamists. The antidotes to radical Islamism remain education, culture and an awareness of and interest in the outside world, which sum up the daily struggles of the Fondation de l'islam de France and of Raif Badawi in his prison cell.

SCIENCE AND PEACE: IS PEACE THE RATIONAL FATE OF HUMANITY?

4 June, 5pm - 6.15pm, Salle Abesses

Moderator:

→ **Jean Audouze,**
President of the association
Prévenance

Intervenante:

→ **Anilore Banon,**
Sculptor specialising in monumental
works

Can we rationally expect culture to lead to peace? The association Prévenance champions a school of thought which, at the very least, teaches children to live together harmoniously, in the hope that these children will act as intermediaries and share a culture of peace with society in its entirety. Indeed, teachers are peacemakers: it is their responsibility to pass on the values of dialogue and conflict management. That is why the whole of society should serve them to help them to fulfil their mission. Jean Audouze laments the fact that French university education does not prioritise multidisciplinary, which fosters critical thinking, analytical precision and an understanding of disparate points of view.

In Anilore Banon's view, art's primary role is to make it possible to talk about societal problems. Indeed, by means of emotion, it is able to share sensations which can provoke reactions and create another view of reality. Her monumental sculpture, *Les Braves*, installed on Omaha Beach, aims to highlight the power of courage. More generally, the artistic world as a whole is able to spread peace: the practice of art is a vehicle for the culture of peace.

In the same way, although atomic bombs have actually been produced by science and although much scientific progress is directly linked to military efforts, it is still possible to link science and the culture of peace. Indeed,

science attempts to develop an objective discourse about nature and human beings. Moreover, it is undoubtedly one of the few activities without a hierarchy: it is the person who discovers something who has the authority. Lastly, science provides tools for peace: given by Germany to the Middle East, the SESAME accelerator now brings together Israeli and Palestinian scientists, among others. Similarly, the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN) was created at the end of the Second World War with the aim of encouraging collaboration between physicists who had previously been enemies.

Anilore Banon's *Vitae* project aims to send a sculpture to the moon, bringing art and science together. The project is presented in schools, enabling children to focus on a subject which inspires them. They stop being aggressive when considering the possibilities of this new world.

Peace is not only a matter for the military: if each individual manages to think differently about peace, then peace will no longer be reduced to an absence of war and, instead, will lead to the construction of a new society. In contrast, fear, which is spreading among the youngest generations, is particularly worrying because it gives rise to a hatred of others, according to Anilore Banon. Solutions can be found in scientific research. The *Vitae* project is the result of this desire to reject fear and to foster solidarity. This animated, smart sculpture will feature a million hand prints. Its ambition is to bring all of humanity together, which is why the decision was made to install it on the Moon, encouraging a new way of thinking about peace.

Peace is certainly a rational fate, insofar as it is reasonable, but can reason alone lead humanity to peace? For Anilore Banon, however, we should rely on a great deal of emotion and courage because, too often, reason leads human beings to accept situations

which, in reality, are unacceptable. We must dream differently of peace: together, we must decide that peace is possible.

In Jean Audouze's view, we must convince ourselves, through reason, that peace is humanity's greatest chance. In this respect, he sees the US President's attitude towards climate change as "suicidal": protecting the environment is not just critical, it can also contribute to peace, given that certain regions of the planet will soon become uninhabitable.

Art, guided by emotions and intuition, is not opposed to science, which undoubtedly relies on a certain number of principles and laws. Unfortunately, the constraints now imposed on scientists to obtain funding can hamper their creativity, according to Jean Audouze. In this way, it is no longer conceivable to entrust a student with a dangerous problem in terms of short-term results; how, then, can we hope that he or she makes an impressive discovery? The culture of peace involves risk-taking.

In the same way, science, when properly taught, requires its students to question themselves, because the question itself is part of the scientific process. Although they are too often neglected by the political world, Jean Audouze sees education and culture as having implications for the fundamental issues facing society as a whole. In reality, teachers, artists and scientists have one thing in common: their curiosity. Yet how can curious individuals be bellicose?

If the culture of peace is to become humanity's fate, this supposes the emergence of a global conscience, which seems a distant prospect in view of the current rise of egotism. However, Anilore Banon believes that the pace of change in the world today gives us reason to be optimistic.

FAKE NEWS AND STRATEGIES FOR DISINFORMATION: THE WEAPONS OF THE 21ST CENTURY?

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle Guillaume

Moderator:

→ **François Picard,**
Journalist, France 24

Speakers:

→ **Loïc Berrou,**
Deputy Director, France 24

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

→ **Catherine Morin-Desailly,**
President of the French Senate's
Culture and Education Committee

Some see social media as a new tool with which to revitalise public debate and to create a forum for citizens' opinions. However, in the absence of any real intermediary and verification of the veracity of the comments made, social media users receive the message they want to hear. In this way, communities can be formed, based on rumours, away from the public sphere. In contrast, journalism is based on reliable sources and makes the distinction between facts and opinions.

The credibility of journalists is often called into question, particularly by those who are most accustomed to using social media, who tend to be young. In Loïc Berrou's view, the internet accentuates confirmation bias: people are always tempted to believe information about which they are already convinced. The creators of fake news use it to disadvantage internet users, playing on people's emotions with sensationalist headlines. As a result, fake news spreads six times more quickly than the truth.

However, some aspects of social media offer more reassuring news for journalists. The average view duration of France 24's videos on YouTube is increasing and the average age of viewers is between 27 and 32, while some videos by Agence France Presse which reveal the truth about fake news have been watched by more people than those who initially shared the fake news. In 2017, the mainstream media came out on top in terms of public trust. However, journalists remain reasonably helpless in the face of fake news, simply because they do not have the tools to fight against such "news", beyond the practices behind France 24's Network of Observers.

Moreover, the subject of disinformation is now part of a broader issue with regard to influence. The war for information has become strategic for every state, as we have seen with the emergence of the concept of "soft power", developed by Joseph Nye. Moreover, although propaganda has always been a reality, it has been transformed by multiple factors: it is now necessary to "win hearts and minds", in United Nations-speak. However, while journalists see this development as an erosion of democracy, it has become a driver of the democratisation process for citizens in authoritarian states: in the absence of regulation, social media becomes a tool for expression and for raising awareness, given that news channels are government-controlled. In Emmanuel Dupuy's view, society is at the dawn of a new revolution, marked by the advent of artificial intelligence: with 5G, the flow of information will become immediate, constant, with no control and without any policing. Given the struggle for influence which states are waging with regard to access to information, Emmanuel Dupuy suggests regulation by an as yet non-existent organisation.

Catherine Morin-Desailly recalls that when Edward Snowden revealed that all European data was the subject of massive surveillance by the National Security Agency (NSA), the whole world became aware that the internet had become a battlefield. Having quickly understood the importance of the internet and online companies, the United States has pioneered these new technologies. Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft, collectively known as GAFAM, have become oligopolies. As for Europe, it is no more than "a colony of the digital world", in Catherine Morin-Desailly's view: it depends on these companies for work and trade – and for access to information too. In this respect, the internet was built on a model which is based on a strategy of attention, attracting an increasing number of people before locking them into their own ways of thinking; their data is then reused to encourage ever-increasing consumerism, benefiting the owners of oligopolies who seek to minimise the tax they pay.

Catherine Morin-Desailly also mentions Cambridge Analytica, which subsequently demonstrated how potentially dangerous this model has become. To combat this, France has decided to give judges the possibility of decreeing whether an item of news is genuine or fake within twenty-four hours, by means of a law "which could potentially be hostile to freedom", in Catherine Morin-Desailly's view. She believes that there must be urgent discussions on platforms' status and responsibilities, while focusing on the issue of the sustainability of the online business model. Europe, meanwhile, has adopted a General Data Protection Regulation but it has several blind spots which need to be addressed, particularly with regard to smart objects.

In Emmanuel Dupuy's view, the threat now comes from the new GAFAM: the Chinese web giants of Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent and Xiami, which will be responsible for the digital economy of the future. Caught between internet companies from all over the world, Europe must regain control of its digital destiny and restore consumer confidence by means of a regulated internet system which demonstrates genuine progress. For Catherine Morin-Desailly, France's public broadcasters and education system must play their part to provide citizens with essential education on the media. Lastly, in Loïc Berrou's view, journalists must reconcile the horizontal way in which information is now shared, via social media, and their usual and often vertical course of action, via newspapers and reports, without any real possibility of interaction.

MIGRATION CHALLENGES: GLOBAL ISSUES, LOCAL RESPONSES?

4 June, 5pm - 6.15pm, Salle Guillaume

Moderator:

→ **Laurent Marchand,**
Journalist, Ouest France

Speakers:

→ **Paolo Artini,**
Representative for France
and Monaco, UNHCR for refugees

→ **Pierre Henry,**
Director General of France Terre
d'Asile

→ **Hervé Le Bras,**
Director of studies, Ecole des Hautes
Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris)

→ **Boris Pistorius,**
Minister of Internal Affairs of Lower
Saxony

Paolo Artini explains that in 2018, nearly 70 million people - including 25 million refugees - were forced to move because of conflicts or human rights violations. Only a minority of these migratory flows end up in developed countries. Although several million Syrian refugees arrived in Europe from 2015, such migration flows are manageable on a continental scale. However, Mediterranean countries that have faced waves of refugees arriving by sea in makeshift boats have faced problems for which they were ill-prepared, such as rescue at sea and physically receiving migrants, forcing them to seek a solution on a case-by-case basis. The closure of Italian ports to refugees has forced Libya to take charge of sea rescue and the reception of migrants, but they end up being housed in very difficult conditions and are regularly moved from one centre to another as the fighting develops.

While the peak of the migration crisis has passed, the crisis has gained political ground, says Pierre Henry. European solidarity does not work perfectly in his view. Pre-reception arrangements are insufficient, complicating the submission of asylum applications by refugees housed in precarious conditions, and fuelling the idea in people's minds that the authorities might no longer be able to cope in the face of migrant flows. Extreme right-wing movements are taking advantage of this situation, concludes Pierre Henry. According to Boris Pistorius, Germany has shown itself capable of effectively managing the arrival of 1.1 million refugees in 2015 alone, including 170,000 in Lower Saxony alone, with a population of 8 million. Public buildings have been requisitioned to feed and house all the refugees. However, Germany has not been spared by the rise of the far right, notes Boris Pistorius, as the *Alternativ für Deutschland* movement has succeeded in breaking through in the former GDR, where migration flows were low in the communist era and where prejudiced speeches are more likely to be heard.

Hervé Le Bras puts the importance of the migration crisis into perspective by citing some figures. In France, while 120,000 refugees arrived in the country in 2018, a total of 260,000 people received a residence permit. Migration flows are tending to increase, but other movements in the opposite direction are also to be taken into account. 90,000 people who arrived in the country in previous years have left, while 200,000 French people emigrated. Net migration in France is therefore very low, at around 60,000 people per year for the past ten years or so. The only period in history when France had to manage a substantial migratory flow was the period following Algeria's independence. Hervé Le Bras notes that Germany, in contrast, has been confronted with several large-scale migratory flows: at the end of the First World War with the repatriation of Germans living in the regions annexed by the victorious countries, at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall with the return of

the German-speaking people living in the Soviet bloc, and during the civil war in Yugoslavia.

Pierre Henry advocates the following principle: "one Euro for the reception of refugees and one Euro for host populations", in order to maintain an adequate level of public service and prevent "competition of poverty and precariousness". This local approach seems essential to stem the rise of extremist movements. Paolo Artini also points out that, paradoxically, nationalist ideas are progressing in areas where refugee flows are low. Xenophobic speeches find a favourable ground for growth in the minds of people unfamiliar with cultural diversity. The countries and regions affected by the rise of extremism, such as Hungary, Poland, Italy and eastern Germany, are also facing a major demographic challenge, and the reception of migrants would have been a good opportunity for them to offset the decline in their populations. For Poland, moreover, the refusal to receive 500 Syrian refugees is above all a political message, given that the country has welcomed one million Ukrainian immigrants.

Boris Pistorius in turn stresses the need to invest in local public services, particularly in nurseries and schools, so the people received can be successfully integrated. According to him, the prime cause of integration failure is the fact that the rest of the population does not accept migrants. Associations have organised welcome parties when refugees arriving in Germany have been redirected to small reception facilities, in order to encourage newcomers and local residents to get to know each other and to combat the prejudices at their roots.

A major mistake was made in the 1990s, when the German authorities did not see fit to invest for Yugoslav migrants whose asylum applications had been refused, thinking that they would leave the country on their own. But the majority remained, which posed serious integration problems.

For the speakers, it must be noted that the principle of the Dublin III Regulation, which requires refugees' asylum applications to be examined by their first host country, does not work. For example, countries tend to send applications back and

forth between each other. The ineffectiveness of this system went unnoticed until 2015, before the influx of migrants in Italy, Spain and Greece pushed it to its limits. For Pierre Henry, building a new system is now difficult to conceive because solidarity no longer works on migration issues. Boris Pistorius stresses the fact that Member States have chosen to create a barrier at the European Union's border, rather than seeking to analyse migrants' motivations and take preventive action on the factors that generate migratory flows, such as conflicts or climate change.



From left to right: James Lindsay, Sophia Besch, Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer, Lori Esposito Murray

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EUROPE/UNITED STATES: WHAT FUTURE FOR THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE?

5 June, 2pm - 3.15pm, Salle Abbesses

Moderator:

- **James Lindsay**,
Senior Vice-president, Director of studies and President of the Maurice R. Greenberg chair, Council on Foreign Relations

Speakers:

- **Sophia Besch**,
Associate Researcher, Center for European Reform
- **Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer**,
Director of the Paris office, German Marshall Fund of the United States
- **Lori Esposito Murray**,
Senior Associate Researcher, Council of Foreign Relations

The alliances created after the end of the Second World War, which brought peace and prosperity to Europe, are now in danger, particularly due to the United States decision to disengage from the international scene. This calls into question the transatlantic alliance, which has been central to multilateralism for seventy years.

For Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer, this disengagement is cyclical: it occurs after periods of strong involvement, for example, after the Vietnam war or the first war in Iraq. In this sense, Donald Trump is accelerating a change initiated by Barack Obama, who wanted to abandon the United States' longstanding role as "global policemen", and by focusing attention on his internal policy, embodied in the slogan "America First".

Moreover, transatlantic relations should not be seen in isolation, but thought of as part of a changing global environment. China is now one of the United States' foreign policy priorities, and the United States favours unilateral relations with Beijing. Moreover, the weakening of the European Union, due to internal divisions and the rejection by some citizens of globalisation and political elites, serves Donald Trump's interests and affects the transatlantic alliance.

Conversely, for Sophia Besch, the American President's policy is not only a form of acceleration of pre-existing trends. Donald Trump is questioning the very foundations of the transatlantic alliance. This position has already had consequences, particularly in the area of defence. Similarly, according to Lori

Esposito Murray, "the transatlantic alliance might be transformed or come to an end, but it will certainly not remain as it has been for the past seventy years".

There have always been disagreements, but the fundamental principles of the transatlantic alliance, which aimed to ensure democracy and collective defence, had never been called into question until now. However, Lori Esposito Murray points out that the President of the United States is attacking these two principles and the institutions that symbolize them in the context of the transatlantic alliance, criticizing the credibility and necessity of both the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). According to the researcher, he blames the former above all because it constitutes an economic power capable of opposing the unilateral commercial moves undertaken by the White House. The second is challenged by President Trump because of the financial involvement of the United States, which he considers disproportionate compared to that of other member countries, raising the legitimate question of the *raison d'être* of NATO, an institution created in the context of the Cold War, since the dissolution of the USSR.

The USA is undergoing a profound demographic change, with the growth of Hispanic and Asian populations, which have no traditional cultural ties with Europe. Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer believes that it is therefore today essential to promote the transatlantic alliance, by approaching it pragmatically rather than emotionally or symbolically, by making the EU a relevant partner for the United States, for example in trade and technology.

However, Lori Esposito Murray remains optimistic. The transatlantic alliance has proved its effectiveness, maintaining peace for seventy years. In addition, the European Union and the United States face common threats, principally Russia's interference in Western democracies and China's economic power, which allows China to offer the world an alternative model to that of Western democracies, based on state authority. Thus, despite President Trump's injunctions, joint

work continues, for example on Russia's annexation of Ukraine and cyber security, and the transatlantic alliance remains active in addressing global challenges such as migration, climate change and terrorism, which require international cooperation.

Moreover, for Lori Esposito Murray, the response to Donald Trump's foreign policy by France and Germany through the idea of a European Defence Force makes it possible to approach the issue in a supranational way, trying to build a consensus between European countries, while facing the military threat that Russia is likely to pose.

According to Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer, President Trump's disruptive approach, despite its destructive nature, has highlighted the need to adapt the institutions arising from the Second World War to the challenges of the 21st century. Any transition phase can be a source of chaos, but also one of creativity and innovation. It is then a question of giving new thought to cooperation between the European Union and the United States. For Sophia Besch, European societies are now in peril because they have remained too self-effacing in defending their common values. Reaffirming them remains the best way to achieve the necessary transformation of the transatlantic alliance, without denying its foundations.

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- The partners and patrons of the Forum, who promote the Normandy for Peace initiative in the region, in France and internationally
- The Region's elected officials and agents for their year-round work on the themes of peace and freedom
- The 6,000 participants who attended this second Forum

See you next year!

Hervé Morin

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



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