

2ND

EDITION

SPEECHES



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

01.

SPEECHES

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01.

SPEECHES

Inaugural speech
Hervé Morin, President of the Normandy Region 06

Opening keynote speech
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Nobel Peace Prize 12**

Closing keynote speech
Jean-Yves Le Drian 17





Hervé Morin
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INAUGURAL SPEECH

Tuesday 4 June

→ **Hervé Morin**, President of the Normandy Region and Regions of France, former Minister of Defence

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to greet all those who deserve to be honoured because of their outstanding occupation, and the eminent positions they have held in recent decades. I would simply like to tell you that I am delighted to open this second Normandy for Peace Forum, a challenge that we have attempted to take up.

With us today are the Nobel Peace Prize winners Mohamed ElBaradei, whose struggle to combat the immense threat of nuclear proliferation is remembered by everyone, Leymah Gbowee, who has worked hard for peace in Africa and Liberia, Jody Williams, who led a fine fight that we spoke about last night against anti-personnel mines, one of the atrocities of warfare, and Denis Mukwege, who won the Nobel Prize in 2018 for his permanent fight against violence to women. Thank you.

Four Nobel Peace Prize winners in Caen: I think this is the first time we have brought together such personalities, and I would like to thank them for it. Later on, there will be a presentation of the Normandy Manifesto for World Peace that they wrote along with

Anthony Grayling, the philosopher, and Sundeep Waslekar, President of the Indian think tank Strategic Foresight Group. This manifesto was inspired by the fight led by Russell and Einstein in 1955. Its presentation will be one of the highlights of the morning.

This second year of the Forum, ladies and gentlemen, comes at a very special time, since on Thursday, 6 June, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Normandy Landings, the seventy-fifth anniversary of what will always be remembered as the longest day, will be commemorated.

“ On 6 June, we will commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Normandy Landings, the seventy-fifth anniversary of what will always be remembered as the longest day ,”

Through this annual commemoration, we want to maintain a strong link with the 10,000 Allied soldiers killed, wounded or missing. Ladies and gentlemen, we are bound to them by the ties of memory, like the ties that united the coffins of our two Special Forces soldiers, Cédric de Pierrepont and Alain Bertoncello, a few weeks ago, in the courtyard of the Invalides. They both belonged to the Hubert commando unit, which takes its name from a French naval officer, Augustin Hubert, who also died on 6 June 1944, the victim of a sniper in the streets of Ouistreham, along with other soldiers of the famous Kieffer commando unit. The names of heroes never fade, said the head of the French state at the Invalides on 14 May. Kieffer, Hubert, Pierrepont, Bertoncello: heroes of freedom against Nazi and jihadist barbarism, heroes of democracy and, I would like to add, since this is the theme of our Forum this year, peacemakers.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to all those who agreed to speak during these two days: two hundred and fifty speakers, from all continents, not forgetting the organizers of this event; first of all, François-Xavier Priolaud, Vice-President in charge of European and International Affairs - huge thanks to you - and all those who work for the Region, many of whom have got involved to set up this event under the responsibility of Julie Miclot. Thank you all very much for what you are doing for this wonderful Forum that we are trying to build, thank you.

Thank you, Madam Rector, for what the French National Education Department is doing with us in this Forum, for Normandy for Peace is not just these two days but carries on throughout the year. Thank you for the extremely active part you have taken.

Ladies and gentlemen, Nobel Peace Prize winners, political leaders, experienced diplomats, geopolitical experts from academia, leaders of non-governmental organizations, community leaders, journalists, representatives of civil society, thank you for being here, and thank you to all those in Normandy, France, Europe and throughout the world who have decided to attend the conferences, workshops and debates that will take place in the coming days and will once again make Normandy the world's leading peace producer.

As last year, young people will be at the forefront of Normandy for Peace, these two days of conferences and workshops being, as I said, only the tip of the iceberg of the work done with teachers, whom I would also like to thank. Education is obviously at the forefront of the factors impacting peace, provided that it serves this objective, which is unfortunately not always the case in a number of countries that cultivate in schools a spirit of revenge or hatred of their neighbours.

As you will see, this programme is incredibly rich. This year, it is intended to honour peacemakers, and I would like to say, peace fighters. Because yes, peace is a fight. A constant struggle, such is the feeling we have that throughout history conflict always seems to be the rule and peace the exception. A thankless struggle, so often is the path to peace made up of very small steps, minimal progress, long waiting periods and uncertainties.

“ Peace is a constant struggle, such is the feeling we have that throughout history conflict always seems to be the rule and peace the exception. ”

You know that famous phrase by Camus: "peace is the only fight worth fighting". Camus wrote this on 8 August 1945, just after Hiroshima. I would like to read his text to you: "In the face of the terrifying prospects opening up to humanity, we see more clearly how peace is the only fight worth fighting. It is no longer a prayer, but an order which should rise up from the people to governments, the order to definitively choose between hell and reason."

It is obviously a very lucid text, because not only do we still live with the possibility of such a nuclear hell - even more so with the risks linked to atomic proliferation, which will be more and more of a threat every day - but we also

note that though governments may not choose hell, they do not always choose reason either, especially those who are far from democracy. And yet, I am not convinced that this is the only criterion, to judge by certain statements made by leaders of major democracies.

As we speak, ladies and gentlemen, fourteen conflicts are going on. I am just talking about conflicts that kill over a thousand people a year, because otherwise there would be fifty conflicts. In those with more than a thousand dead - and sorry for these macabre figures - the oldest is that of the Moro insurrection in the Philippines, which has had 150,000 victims since 1969. In our Europe, we do not always see it, but these are often very deadly conflicts. The Yemeni conflict will be discussed. Conflicts may be fewer in our time, but they often take a very heavy toll on civilians, even more so for women. It is important to quantify and objectify, and that is why we have reached an agreement with the European Parliament, which will come every year to present the Normandy Index, which is the report on the state of conflict in the world.

As we can see, neither the Peace of Westphalia, nor nuclear weapons, nor, unfortunately, the United Nations will have succeeded in putting an end to the state of war and the arms race, which has resumed in earnest. This leads some authors to overturn Clausewitz's famous maxim on war as a continuation of politics by other means, considering that it is rather politics that is the continuation of war by other means.

In some ways, and even if we do not always realize it, war is everywhere. What makes the task of peacemakers today more complicated is that it may be less between states than it was before. It is more civil, it is more internecine, which does not make it any less deadly. It should be remembered that the American Civil War killed more people than all the conflicts in which Americans have taken part.

Initially civil wars, they draw in neighbouring states and finally the major powers. We very quickly move from local to regional, and from regional to international. This is what justifies the debates that will take place on conflict prevention. War in the XXIst century is not always military: it is commercial, it is media-based, it even takes new forms through digital interference, as we have seen in recent years, not to mention the war against terrorism, which led the then Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, to say that we were at war.

We will listen, I believe with much emotion, to accounts by the victims of terrorists. In this regard, I would like to point out a very fine book called *Le Lambeau*, by one of the Charlie Hebdo victims, Philippe Lançon, in which the author is described as "a war casualty in a country at peace".

It is in this context of permanent, multi-modal conflicts that the questioning of multilateralism by Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin and a few others, fortunately with less military force than the first two, must be seen. It is nothing less than the principle of world peace, patiently built up since 1945, that is being shattered.

“ It is nothing less than the principle of world peace, patiently built up since 1945, that is being shattered. ”

Last September, at the opening session of the United Nations, the Secretary-General, António Guterres, described the international system as having reached breaking point. At the same session, President Emmanuel Macron denounced a world in which might over right has become the ordinary way of settling conflicts. All this is the result of undermining and destabilizing within the UN, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF. Many will express it today and tomorrow, we must oppose this and fight to preserve universalism, multilateralism

and collective security systems. As you will probably say in the workshops, the best way to preserve multilateralism is not just to conserve it; it is also to improve and reform it powerfully.

Donald Trump is not alone in challenging multilateralism. It is also necessary to be able to hear well-founded or sympathetic criticism from Heads of State or fully responsible peacemakers. Criticisms of the effectiveness of the tools, of the methods, of the unanswered questions on migration, trade and climate: we must not blame everything on the American President and be able to face collective security. How can we make it more credible, more effective and better adapted to the problems of the contemporary world, and build it within a new balance of power, at a time when the world is changing?

The question of reactivity will also be discussed at length during these two days. Yes, collective security must be part of an agile world, and not be put in place once things have gone too far. "Building peace is a long-term task, but saving it, in contrast, means being extremely responsive". One conference is on conflict prevention, with Hubert Védrine, whom I would like to thank for being here and for the work we will be doing on mediation issues, and we will also have the example of Cameroon and its English-speaking territory. We must be reactive and agile, but also respectful of States, which is complicated when faced with a civil conflict. From this point of view, I believe that we must improve the links between the United Nations and regional organizations in order to better take into account the realities on the ground with cultures that are not the same. There is not just one Africa; there is not just one Asia, and neither is there just one Europe. One only needs to look at the attitude of the twenty-eight Member States of the European Union towards Russia.

“ Building peace is a long-term task, but saving it, in contrast, means being extremely responsive. ”

Prevention means influencing the causes of conflicts. Ladies and gentlemen, we often talk about religions and nationalism, but there will be causes that will take up more and more space. I am thinking in particular of the issue of global warming. We are in a sense returning to the origins of humanity. We used to fight to feed ourselves and to find a space to live: there is a great risk that the next few decades will see such conflicts once more. We will have the honour - the pleasure, I should say, so much does she appear as a source of life - to listen to a video message from Greta Thunberg, who will be coming to Caen in a few weeks.

Of course, working together for the climate means not only preserving our planet and biodiversity, but also, in the much shorter term, saving peace in many parts of the world. As we know, climate is a major issue. The house is on fire, and we are no longer looking away. This is already a step forward, but we are not taking sufficiently strong action. Rising sea levels, unprecedented storms, worsening droughts, food resources becoming scarce, melting ice, coastal erosion: the impacts of global warming have become a daily reality, and this is likely to turn into a tragic reality.

Within a few decades, twenty or thirty years, one billion people are expected to be displaced by climate change, especially among the poorest peoples. What an injustice this is! Erasmus mobility and Aquarius mobility, as a summary of globalisation. Those least responsible for climate change will be the main victims of it. They will be the new damned of the Earth.

“ Those least responsible for climate change will be the main victims of it. They will be the new damned of the Earth. ”

What impact will that have on peace? Initially, the affected people will remain in their countries. Later, in the face of threats or their inability to live in their villages, these people will leave their country, cross national borders, causing food competition, cultural, religious and identity conflicts, and social deconstruction. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, peace is a fight and, especially today, a fight for the climate.

In 1944, it was Hitler and Mussolini. In ten or twenty years' time, it will be the encroaching oceans, the violence of the climate and the search for food and water that will be the greatest threats to world peace, more than anything else, probably more than nuclear proliferation; at least, that is my feeling.

It is a struggle that is the responsibility of us all, that involves personal initiatives, since there are aspects that have to do with our own conscience, but it is also up to politicians to nobly rise to the occasion, as did Jaurès the morning he was murdered, as did Yitzhak Rabin, murdered during a demonstration for Israeli-Palestinian peace and for the Oslo accords. In the Israeli Prime Minister's pocket were the words of the peace song he had just sung with the demonstrators.

Jaurès, Rabin; I could have mentioned Lincoln, Anwar Sadat, or other less famous people who fought for peace and against hatred, until they died. On Thursday the shadow of these Great Men will hover over the landing beaches, as will the memory of our veterans. How could we not wish it, in these times of nationalist awakening, the drift towards populism and sometimes, it must be said, the debasement of public debate? In these times when passion

prevails over reason, renunciation over demand, ease over determination, fake news over truth, these evils that are so well known and that always herald the darkest clouds are once again with us.

We have neither the power nor the notoriety of the greats of this world who will be heard in forty-eight hours, but here, together, at the Normandy World Peace Forum, we can send them a message, tell them that the greatness of a country does not lie in the number of nuclear warheads, or in the repeated expression of mediocre nationalism, but in a country's ability to fight global warming, to carry a universal message of peace and rapprochement among peoples, an ideal of freedom and democracy. This is how we will remain truly faithful to the sacrifice of the heroes of June 6, 1944, and this is the message we will carry during these two days of conferences.

“ The greatness of a country does not lie in the number of nuclear warheads, or in the repeated expression of mediocre nationalism, but in a country's ability to fight global warming, to carry a universal message of peace and rapprochement among peoples, an ideal of freedom and democracy. ”

Long live Normandy, long live France, long live the world and long live peace.

Thank you.





OPENING KEYNOTE SPEECH

Tuesday 4 June 2019

→ **Doctor Denis Mukwege**, winner of the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize

I would have loved to be here at this time with Nadia Murad, a Yazidi woman and a survivor of sexual violence, who I find so impressive, because breaking one's silence is another way to make peace. I talked with her before coming; unfortunately, she is rather tired because she is a particularly sought-after speaker, but it would have been a real pleasure to be here with her.

President of the Normandy Region and Regions of France, veterans of the Second World War, winners of the Nobel Peace Prize, students, ladies and gentlemen, friends of peace and freedom, I want to thank the Normandy Region for inviting me to speak in this incredible eleventh-century abbey at the second edition of the Normandy World Peace Forum, with its peacemaker theme, ahead of the 75th anniversary of the D-Day landings of 6 June 1944 and the Battle of Normandy.

We respectfully pay tribute to the memory of those who died for freedom and peace, who sacrificed their lives to put an end to violence, barbarity and totalitarianism, who liberated Europe.

We pay tribute to the veterans who are here today. You fought alongside those who are no longer here, turning the page on one of the darkest chapters in mankind's history. You have helped to give your children the hope of a better world, a world based on respect for freedom and dignity, confirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a

world based on friendly relations between states, multilateralism and a ban on the use of force, which is the basis of the collective security system enshrined in Charter of the United Nations, a world based on international criminal justice, which began in Nuremberg and Tokyo and which finds its most brilliant form in the International Criminal Court.

Friends of peace, those who died on the beaches of Normandy left a clear and simple message to the survivors, to us and to the human community: "never again". It is up to all of us to respond to this order and to accept this responsibility, which is intertwined with human survival.

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In response to the misery of war and the mourning of the millions of dead which affected every family and every nation, the solution was to combine the production of coal and steel, indispensable resources for the production of weapons. The European project was inspired by this imperative:

saying no to war and creating ever closer ties between former enemies to develop shared peace and prosperity.

Those who died in the war, whom we will honour tomorrow, made it possible for Europeans to enjoy seventy-five years of peace and prosperity. The European Union has become the most advanced and envied model of regional integration in the world.

Twenty years ago, the fall of the Berlin Wall led us to believe that the era of totalitarianism was consigned to bad memories of the past, that we understood the need to build bridges, rather than walls, between individuals, to learn about other cultures and to strengthen links between nations so as to work together to find solutions to universal problems, to respond to the challenges faced by the modern world, including the fight against poverty, climate change, environmental protection, terrorism, new forms of conflict and the management of migration.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the history of humanity, different populations have never been as interdependent as they are today; yet multilateralism is currently put under significant pressure by the temptation to withdraw. With Brexit and the results of the last European elections, we can see that this hard-earned progress is threatened. What seemed solid now looks fragile.

At the beginning of this XXIst century, we bear horrified witness to violations of our rights and fundamental freedoms, discrimination and the rejection of others. Living in parallel continues to take precedence over living together and Immanuel Kant's dream of perpetual peace is still far from becoming a reality because of a resurgence in the bitter passions of nationalism, anti-Semitism, religious fundamentalism and populism.

**“ Living in parallel
continues to take
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Other people, outsiders, foreigners and those who are different are accused of being the source of our problems. Hateful words lead to racist and sexist attacks. Extremist ideas are becoming commonplace in society and in the political discourse of several countries, to such an extent that they are sometimes repeated by political parties previously considered to be democratic parties. Human rights and international humanitarian rights are violated on a daily basis on every continent.

The D-Day landings on Normandy's beaches remind us of the striking contrast between those who came from distant lands to save Europe, fighting for the continent's freedom and peace, and those whose bodies are now found on beaches, having fled poverty and violence to seek peace and freedom in Europe. The blood shed by foreign fighters, these heroes who died for freedom on European soil, calls for more solidarity and fraternity among people from different backgrounds.

To respond to migration, we must make it our priority to ensure that Europe and the Western world are not the world's only peaceful and prosperous oasis, surrounded by conflict and poverty. It is our collective responsibility to create the necessary conditions to avoid the causes of war and the injustices which push refugees and migrants to want to live elsewhere, before they occur. By reducing this migratory pressure, we will put an end to the narrative which encourages populism and policies which reject and exclude in some of the most privileged countries.

This is increasingly vital, given that the next waves of migration will be more closely linked to climate change which will affect us all. Once again, there will only be a solution if we rely on multilateralism, partnerships and shared responsibilities, both individually and collectively.

Ladies and gentlemen, the current trend to withdraw, which goes hand-in-hand with the rise of policies which threaten freedom, invites us to make an observation. Today, it is essential to reaffirm yesterday's hard-earned achievements to build on them

tomorrow. History has taught us not to repeat the mistakes of the past and that the worst is not always that far from the best. We must open our eyes, we must put an end to the somnambulistic state in which we seem to find ourselves today.

“ Today, it is essential to reaffirm yesterday's hard-earned achievements to build on them tomorrow. ”

The need to find global solutions will lead us to reform our collective security system, which may be undermined by an erroneous interpretation of the principle of national sovereignty. Moreover, the enforcement of the "double standards" principle in international relations, which has resulted in so much frustration, has too often fuelled the fire of conflict; it is closely linked to the right of veto of the United Nations Security Council's permanent members, all of which are nuclear powers but which unfortunately refuse to protect those who are in danger when the countries' geostrategic and economic interests are at stake.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me share the current reality of my country with you. For more than twenty years in the Democratic Republic of Congo, we have experienced the consequences of a strictly economic conflict, the sole purpose of which is to stockpile the necessary mineral resources to guarantee technological progress at the lowest possible price. To be able to own mobile phones and laptops, we need coltan, which is found in the Kivu region where I come from.

This conflict has resulted in six million deaths, four million refugees and internally displaced persons and hundreds of thousands of raped women who continue to flock to the Panzi hospital where I work. All the United Nations' reports on the serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law have remained without effect. These reports languish in desk drawers in New York, thereby maintaining this organised chaos which benefits companies with mafioso and criminal practices.

Some of my patients who are victims of the war's barbaric behaviour arrive in extremely serious and seemingly hopeless states. As a doctor, I have seen things which no surgeon should see. However, after a few weeks or months of treatment, care, supervision and holistic services, our patients transform their suffering into strength.

Today, some have become anaesthetists. This has always surprised me, because I thought that these patients, once they had recovered, would simply try to get as far away as possible. Those who choose to become anaesthetists do so because they cannot bear to let others go through the pain which they have experienced. Some have become lawyers because they could not accept the impunity which their torturers enjoyed. Others have become social workers to help the poor. Some have become teachers because they wanted to leave a better world for their children. Today, all these women who have suffered in mind, body and soul are asking for justice to be done.

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“ Today, all these women who have suffered in mind, body and soul are asking for justice to be done. ”

Women are presented too often as the victims of male violence. However, survivors transform their suffering into genuine power and women's participation in efforts to build peace and to rebuild our society is long overdue.

Women know better than anyone what is good and appropriate for their children and for their community's well-being. Society can no longer afford to exclude half of humanity's voices around the negotiating table. For this reason, we aim to see women fully involved in crisis management and conflict resolution partnerships, because there will be no lasting peace without female participation.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we live without peace, without freedom, without justice and without democracy, as we do in my country, we can fully appreciate their value and we have no choice but to fight for them every day, to leave our children with a different world, a better world, free from violence and injustice. You, living in a peaceful, democratic society, must take action every day to protect and nurture it! You must not wait until it is lost and needs to be reclaimed!

“ Every day, my staff and I are witness to the greatest human suffering but we transform pain into strength and respond to violence with love. ”

Every day, my staff and I are witness to the greatest human suffering but we transform pain into strength and respond to violence with love. Every day, we fight for the human dignity of the victims of sexual violence and barbaric human behaviour. Every day, we are conscious of what life is like and we sow the seeds for a better tomorrow.

Ladies and gentlemen, every single one of us can contribute to the development of lasting peace, can be a catalyst for change and for a better world. Every single one of us can be a peacemaker, in our circle of friends, in our neighbourhood, at school, at university, in our workplace and in our political parties. Every single one of us must be vigilant and refuse to be complacent in the face of speeches which seek to create hate and rejection.

Before it is too late, we must reject all forms of indifference to racism and sexism and we must mobilise against countries' plans to curb their citizens' freedom and to spread lies and hatred to benefit oppression and authoritarianism. We must be a bulwark against populism which feeds on ignorance and indifference to create a fear of others and to further an anti-democratic agenda.

Ladies and gentlemen, in a world which is too often characterised by egocentricity, we are inspired by those who reject indifference. We commend the commitment of millions of volunteers who, just like hundreds of young secondary school students here, have contributed to sustainable development projects with the European programme Walk the (Global) Walk, who work for charities, who are driven by a desire to build bridges between individuals and cultures and who want to create a fairer and more equitable society, in the spirit of solidarity and fraternity. You are the peacemakers, the people who will create a better, fairer and more peaceful world.

**“ You are the
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All of this leads us to commend the focus on remembrance of the Normandy Region and all the initiatives and work which are led by communities, teachers and associations. It is vital to pass on these memories to the new generations; this will help them to understand the world and its issues and to reject any normalisation of ideas based on exclusion and the repression of freedom.

Together, as citizens, responsible politicians, civil society organisations and the media, we can ensure long-lasting peace while rejecting the attacks on our fundamental rights and any shifts towards authoritarian and unequal regimes. Let us stay active and vigilant every day so that we can build bridges, spread the truth, work for solidarity, in the spirit of fraternity, and let us reaffirm our faith in human dignity, equality and freedom for all.

Thank you.

Jean-Yves Le Drian
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CLOSING KEYNOTE SPEECH

Wednesday 5 June 2019

→ Jean-Yves Le Drian, French Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs

The President of the Normandy Region, Hervé Morin, ladies and gentlemen,

Seventy-five years ago, the beaches of Normandy entered into history.

**“ The fight against the
enemies of freedom is a
universal concern. ”**

On these beaches, young people from both hemispheres took the ultimate risk to liberate our country and our continent. Those who died as heroes on that day, sometimes thousands of miles from home, knew that the fight against the enemies of freedom is a universal concern. They were willing to sacrifice everything to prove this to the world.

Inspired by this bravery, when the weapons of war fell silent, we wanted to create a new world. A world governed by the rule of law to ward off the spectre of wars waged against one another. A world of dialogue to prevent the rise of tensions. A world of cooperation, because many of the problems facing states require collective responses.

Gradually, this ideal became reality thanks to the efforts of those who, after two world wars, refused to let such a tragedy repeat itself and who wanted to build a new international order, based on multilateral organisations.

Lest we forget, thirty years on from 1989, that it took fifty years of division in Europe for this ideal which emerged from the beaches of Normandy to become a genuine reality, to create a reunited Europe, to reconcile the geography and the history of our continent.

But today, ladies and gentlemen, as the discussions here have shown, these institutions, these rights, this balance and these achievements are in great danger. Once again, the world is experiencing a period of disruption and upheaval. It is as if some people have forgotten the tragic parts of our history. Consequently, a focus on power is increasingly dominant in international relations. Intimidation, fait accompli politics, military provocation and threats of all kinds are both worrying and commonplace.

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In addition to these power-based international relations, the hyperviolence of terrorism, which is sometimes manipulated by these very relations, has become a part of our daily lives. Having been defeated militarily, these terrorist groups go back into hiding and try to extend their influence, from the south of the Sahara to Asia.

The great principles and institutional pillars of international life are currently challenged like never before. Multilateralism is going through one of the most serious crises in its history. Its most emblematic institutions are suffering systematic and systemic attacks, beginning with the United Nations.

That is why I believe that the lessons learned from June 1944 are so valuable in 2019. The fight for peace remains the most urgent and important fight we must lead today. Today, this fight is a universal and increasingly relevant concern, as has been discussed during this Forum.

I want to thank the President for inviting me to this Normandy World Peace Forum and I want to congratulate everyone who has helped to make this edition a success. As the French Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, I also came to tell you that I have been focused on this fight for peace under the watchful eye of the President of the Republic for the last two years; indeed, I have spent seven years on it, given that I was previously the French Minister of Defence.

I have tried to lead this fight in a pragmatic and ambitious way, focusing as much as possible on the two fundamental principles which have led to seven decades of peace: firstly, by ensuring that cooperation and the rule of law are prioritised and secondly, by ensuring that we work towards a collective defence against those who seek to threaten and to divide us. In other words, by ensuring that we are neither naive nor cynical.

This means that we must not hesitate to respond strongly when necessary, making use of the full range of instruments at our

disposal: from nuclear deterrence to military interventions and economic sanctions. At the same time, by encouraging political dialogue and working for development, we must always seek to encourage resolutions based on the law and on international cooperation.

“ By encouraging political dialogue and working for development, we must always seek to encourage resolutions based on the law and on international cooperation ,”

I had the opportunity to reflect on the situation in the Sahel. At the request of President Hollande, as he was at the time, I was the one who gave the order for Operation Serval in January 2013 and I continue to be responsible for the consequences and the development of this operation in my current role.

I will let you in on a secret and, at the same time, try to raise a number of questions. I believe that every part of a virtuous process has occurred; typically, this should lead to the advent of peace in the Sahel. First, there was a request for official aid, made to the United Nations in accordance with protocol, from a threatened country which was going to be held hostage by terrorism. France was called upon and responded to this request for aid, in accordance with international law. The strength of our armed forces has led to a more stable situation.

A virtuous process followed, with an undisputed democratic election and a political agreement known as the Algiers accord. At the same time, there was a United Nations peacekeeping operation to protect political agreements and to ensure that democracy was respected. The European Union played its role with a training mission to help Mali's armed forces and security forces to rebuild.

The country is doing much better than it was before but the initiative has not yet been successful in its entirety.

It was this thought which led us, at the request of the French President, to encourage African stakeholders to take responsibility by taking action together. This will ensure that Africans are responsible for Africans' safety. This is not the "easy option". The "easy option" is to hide behind an initiative which, although virtuous, has failed to succeed. After considerable reflection with other parties, we have supported the creation of a joint force among the African countries in the region, the G5 countries; this led them to ensure their own safety, thereby empowering them to manage peace on their own. This is a significant change which we must try to implement.

In addition to this comprehensive change, there was a need to create a development tool for simultaneous use during military operations, which is why the Sahel Alliance initiative was launched. Development, defence and diplomacy: the three "Ds" must constantly be applied. This approach must be used to ensure that conflict situations lead to peace processes and that is what we are striving for today.

“ Development, defence and diplomacy: the three “Ds” must constantly be applied to ensure that conflict situations lead to peace processes .”

As the Forum draws to a close, I also wanted to share how vital it is to fight to safeguard the achievements of multilateralism and to continue the movement which was founded

after the Second World War. Why fight for multilateralism? Firstly, for one very simple reason: because multilateralism works! Multilateralism contributed to the COP 21 on climate change. Multilateralism has helped to establish a global fund to fight AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. Multilateralism works, which is why we must support it and advocate it. That is what I am calling on you to do.

To advocate multilateralism is to see it as the only solution to the challenges of our era. But today we have parties and powers which fight against multilateralism. Countries which want cooperation rather than confrontation must take a stand. We must ensure that democracies which are not involved in confrontation, which are respectful of the fundamentals of multilateralism but which want to reform and to adapt, are included.

That is why my German counterpart Heiko Maas and I have taken the initiative, with the support of the French President and the German Chancellor, to organise an event in New York for what we have called the Alliance for Multilateralism, while encouraging democracies and major powers including Mexico, Canada, New Zealand and South Korea to attend. This force can be respected around the world if it establishes new paths for multilateralism and lists the challenges which we are facing as part of a series of proposals and an expression of a shared desire to take action. This will also be our focus during the French presidency of the G7, which will be discussed at the G7 summit in Biarritz next August.

The last point I wanted to make in this speech is that Europe must play a key role in this resurgent multilateralism. Although there was a kind of awakening during the last elections of the European Parliament, our continent is faced with the centrifugal forces of division and attempted destabilisation by certain powers which would like to transform Europe into their playground as a place for indirect confrontation. Our continent is also affected by the ill winds of populism. If it continues, this crisis could have an impact on more than our own future. It could challenge our sovereignty and our interests in globalisation.

Reforming Europe, which is a major focus of the French President's mandate, means clearly defending our interests in globalisation, without aggression but without naivety. What do we mean by reforming Europe? Developing, in terms of our security, a real statement of intent with regard to Europe and acquiring strategic autonomy (while remaining within the alliance) to create a Europe of defence which can play its own role. A few years ago, when the first proposals were made for the development of a Europe of defence, generally just two countries were involved, Germany and France. Today, all the initiatives which were launched three years ago are shared by all member states, enabling us to assert our strategic autonomy.

“Reforming Europe means clearly defending our interests in globalisation, without aggression but without naivety.”

We must also be candid. I believe that if Europe is to become a regulatory power which is able to work with others to create a new kind of multilateralism, it must be candid in asserting itself and it must take stock of the power it already has. Although undoubtedly somewhat overdue, this process is beginning and is beginning to be respected.

There is one area in which Europe must demonstrate its ability to regulate, to innovate and to ensure security: the digital revolution. This revolution, which includes the promise of a more fluid and connected world, involves unprecedented risks and threats to individuals and nations: the possibility of a new kind of attack on essential infrastructure, the possibility of unprecedented attacks on human rights through mass surveillance, the possibility of a new kind

of arms race and, as we know only too well, the possibility of campaigns to manipulate on a massive scale, designed to undermine citizens' trust in democratic processes.

We must contribute to the development of regulations which find the right balance between technological progress and democratic and ethical requirements. This is essential for future peace. It is in this spirit and to mark the centenary of the end of the First World War that a number of countries signed the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace on 11 November 2018, which also marked a new form of multilateralism.

“We must contribute to the development of regulations which find the right balance between technological progress and democratic and ethical requirements.”

These are the messages I wanted to share with you at the end of this Forum. I want to emphasise our commitment to peace while highlighting the fact that peace is much more hard-won than war. Thank you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 2019 Normandy World Peace Forum is the result of a collective effort. The President of the Region would like to thank all those who have contributed to making this such a key event, especially:

- The 240 speakers for their sincere commitment and inspiring speeches
- 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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