



Our next Conversations will be held in a political and geopolitical context radically different from our three previous editions.

Since we first launched our conferences, the deep democratic crisis in Europe and the United States has been the focus of our attention. But with the total war launched by Vladimir Putin's regime against his Ukrainian neighbor, Ukraine, Europe, the whole democratic world and its geopolitical balance are brutally threatened and disrupted. We find ourselves confronted to a war which, from one moment to the next, can jump over the fragile fence of the Ukrainian borders, and reach the West. We are, as in 1914, on the brink of confrontation. Ukraine is fighting for us against a regime that has shown its true face and no longer hides the fact that its enemy is both Ukrainian and Western. Moscow sees itself fighting a civilizational war against the West.

What are the causes of this catastrophe? What does Putin want? What are the motives and goals of the violent national-imperialism that he embodies? Is it a relapse of communist totalitarianism or a much older despotic and imperial operating mode? Do we have a responsibility, as the Kremlin keeps saying, accusing the West of having encircled it? Or was it our strategic blindness to the reality of the Russian threat and our series of renouncements in response to its repeated aggressions that have led to disaster? What will be the political and geopolitical consequences of the extraordinary Ukrainian resistance that is unfolding before our eyes? What is at stake in this battle? How does it concern us? And what answers should the Western democracies give to this existential challenge? How can we get out of the war and how can we build peace and security in Europe and more generally in the new world in which we have been thrown without being fully aware? Could this crisis, as dramatic as it is, be the occasion for a salutary leap forward for our Western societies, which had perhaps forgotten the tragedy of history and the price of freedom?

Program

**Tocqueville
Conversations**

July 8 & 9 2022

**« The Russian
question:
The West
facing Putin »**

To answer these questions, which will obviously evolve according to the developments of this hot crisis, **we are pleased to announce that the next edition of the Tocqueville Conversations will take place on July 8 and 9, 2022 at the Château de Tocqueville, on the theme "The Russian question: the West facing Putin".**

This year, as in previous years, we will discuss these issues with speakers from the political, military and economic worlds and representatives of civil society, in the tradition of the Conversations of frank and open debates, focused on both diagnosis and the search for solutions. More than ever we hope to mix the approaches of the different countries involved in this major crisis.

We hope that you will be able to join us,

With our warmest regards

Laure Mandeville and Jean-Guillaume de Tocqueville



The Conversations are organized in partnership with :



The Russian Question: The West facing Putin

Pre-program

**Friday
July 8**

Anatomy of a disaster: How war resurfaced at the heart of Europe

Welcoming address by

10h50

Jean-Guillaume de Tocqueville, President of the Tocqueville Foundation

Laure Mandeville, Senior Reporter, Le Figaro

Thomas Ilka, Regional Director European Dialogue, Friedrich Naumann
Foundation for Freedom

Opening of the Conference

11h05 – 11h30

Alain Juppé, former French Prime Minister

Roundtable n°1

11h30 - 13h00

Anatomy of the Russian invasion

What are the causes of the aggression? What does Putin want? Are we witnessing a relapse into totalitarian communism or a far more ancient imperial despotism? Did the West really surround Russia, thus contributing to the outbreak of this crisis? Or is it, on the contrary, our passivity in the face of Russia's aggressive revisionism that has led to the catastrophe?

Moderator: Jeffrey Gedmin, Co-founder and editor-in-chief, American Purpose

Garry Kasparov, President Human Rights Foundation, former chess World Champion

Daniel Fried, Ambassador Atlantic Council, former assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

Andrzej Nowak, Professor, Krakow University

Lunch

13h00 - 14h30

Roundtable n°2

14h30 - 15h45

The West: Anatomy of a strategic blindness

The West has been totally mistaken about Russia, its intentions, and the motives of Putin's power. Why have they allowed the conditions for a disaster to settle in?

Moderator: Mary Kissel, former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo,
Executive Vice President, Stephens Inc.

Gabrielius Landsbergis, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

Stefanie Babst, Brooch Associates, former Head of NATO's Strategic Foresight Team

Hubert Védrine, former French Foreign Affairs Minister

Michael Anton, essayist, speechwriter

Roundtable n°3

16h00 – 18h00

Ukraine: Awakening of a Nation, lessons from a resistance

Moderator: Laure Mandeville, Senior reporter, Le Figaro

Constantin Sigov, Philosopher, Director of the European Center, Mohyla Academy, Ukraine

Roman Sigov, Sociologist, fixer

Pascal Bruckner, philosopher

Arielle de Rothschild, Partner, Rothschild & Co, Chair, Care France (tbc)

Conversation

18h00 – 18h40

Anatomy of a crisis: Views from China and Latin America

Yiwei Wang, Jean Monnet Chair Professor, Renmin University of China

Nicolás de Pedro, Head of Research and Senior Fellow, The Institute for Statecraft, London

**Saturday
July 9**

What's next? Defend Ukraine, rebuild Europe, defeat Putin's ideology

Opening of the Conference

8h45 – 9h15

Christoph Franz, Chairman, Roche

Denise Bauer, US Ambassador in France

Roundtable n°4

9h15 – 10h45

Western democracies' response to the war

Moderator: Dana White, former spokeswoman of the Pentagon, World head of communication of Hyundai Group

Andrew Michta, Dean of the College of International and Security Studies, George C. Marshall Center, Garmish

Benjamin Haddad, Europe Director, Atlantic Council

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann, Member of the German Bundestag, Chair of the Defense Committee (tbc)

Mathieu Bock-Côté, Cnews editorialist

Conversation

11h00 – 13h00

The future of the Alliance, a conversation between

Mateusz Morawiecki, Poland Prime Minister,
General James Mattis, Former US Secretary of Defense
and **Admiral Edouard Guillaud**, former Chief of the Defense Staff
Moderated by Ana Palacio, Former Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister

Lunch

13h00 – 13h45

Roundtable n°5

13h45 – 15h15

Neither peace nor war, propaganda vs. truth: a major issue for our democracies

Moderator: Katja Gentinetta, political philosopher, journalist

Elissa Slotkin, former CIA analyst, Michigan Representative (tbc)
Peter Pomerantsev, journalist, Johns Hopkins University
Antoine de Romanet, bishop of the Diocese of the French Armed Forces.
Alex Romero, CEO, Alto Data Analytics

Keynote

15h30 – 16h00

A Conversation between **Mikhaïl Khodorkovski**, Open Russia Fondation
and **Laure Mandeville**, Senior reporter, Le Figaro

Roundtable n°6

16h00 – 17h30

Russia – Europe: how do we get out of the 100 years' war?

Moderator: Pavel Fischer, Czech senator, Chair of the Foreign Affairs, Security and Defense Committee, Czech Senate

Keynote : Bernard Cazeneuve, Former French Prime Minister
François Xavier Bellamy, MEP, PPE
Olesya Khromeychuk, writer, historian, Director, Ukraine Institute London

Conclusion of the Conversations

17h30 – 18h

Vincent Trémolet de Villers, Deputy editor-in-chief, Le Figaro



The Tocqueville Conversations were born out of the convergence of four key elements: **an acute political understanding of the depth of the crisis Western democracies are facing**, both in the US and in Europe; a urgent civic need to move beyond the dogmatic comfort governing elites have entertained, to **address our problems and look for solutions**; the **renewed awareness of the immediate relevance of Alexis de Tocqueville**, the great liberal thinker of the Democratic age, who analyzed masterfully both the conditions, realities and risks inherent to Democratic systems, on both sides of the Atlantic; and lastly, the **foresight of the Tocqueville Family, who saw in advance the symbolic significance of holding our Conversations at The Tocqueville Château**, where the great thinker wrote his Magnus Opus, *Democracy in America*.

In the fall of 2017, informed by her work on the « Trumpian popular revolt » during the Trump campaign, and then by numerous trips throughout a Europe swept by similar rebellions, Laure Mandeville, Senior reporter with Le Figaro, France's oldest national daily, envisioned a grand-scale conference on the crisis of Democracy in the West. Understanding the **significance of the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville in our current crisis**, she reaches out to Jean Guillaume de Tocqueville, President of The Tocqueville Foundation, whose mission is to keep alive the work and spirit of his renowned ancestor and to promote civil society initiatives. Concurrently, Le Figaro, which has become a leading force in examining the causes of our democratic crisis, decides to bring its intellectual resources to the project. On the other side of the Atlantic, they join forces with Joshua Mitchell, professor of political theory at Georgetown University and a leading expert on Tocqueville; and with Vice President Damon Wilson, Ambassador Craig Stapleton and Former minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain Ana Palacio at the Atlantic Council. The region Normandy and the Departement of La Manche, where the Tocqueville Château is situated, also become key partners for the event. The Tocqueville Conversations are born.

Our goals

- Create an indispensable rendezvous at the Tocqueville Chateau, to **contribute to the protection and strengthening of our democracies**.
- Create an **international Tocquevillian network dedicated to reinvent the transatlantic relationship** with strong partners, strong democratic values and robust civic life.
- **Get out of the failing opposition between « good globalists » and « evil nationalists » (or vice versa)**, by outlining the contours of a new social and political consensus that protects the nation, reshapes Europe and defines areas of cooperation on a wider international scale.
- **Address the reality of problems that the popular rebellions reveal** (disruption of globalisation, rise of inequalities, challenge of immigration, tension between islamic fundamentalism and modernity, crisis of identity...), and face the challenges of a world in disorder.

Presentation of the Conversations co-organizers



Tocqueville Foundation

The Tocqueville Foundation is an international operating and prize awarding foundation, registered in France under the auspices of the Fondation Entreprendre. Its mission and vision are deeply rooted in Alexis de Tocqueville's social and political thought, and particularly his belief in the fundamental contribution of civil society to democratic and economic development.

The programs of the Tocqueville Foundation include the Tocqueville Conversations, the Tocqueville Challenge which builds bridges between the corporate, nonprofit and academic worlds, and the Prince's Roundtable on Philanthropy and Prince's prize, co-organized with the Prince Albert II foundation, which gather yearly major philanthropists in Monaco.



Le Figaro

Le Figaro is a French daily morning newspaper founded in 1826 and published in Paris. It is the oldest national daily in France and is the second-largest national newspaper, with an online circulation of more than 10 million unique visitors, a fast growing TV channel and many additional publications. With a center-right editorial line, the newspaper is owned by Le Figaro Group which is part of the Dassault group since 2004.



The Atlantic Council

The Atlantic Council is an American think tank specializing in international affairs. Founded in 1961, it considers the defense and deepening of the transatlantic relationship as a key mission, and has also developed expertise on most regions of the world. It also provides advice to policymakers and a forum of debate on foreign policy and national security for world leaders, intellectuals and the business community. It manages ten regional centers and functional programs related to international security and global economic prosperity. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C.



Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Based on the principles of liberalism, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom offers political education in Germany and abroad. With their events and publications, they help people to become actively involved in political affairs. They support talented young students with scholarships. Since 2007, the addition "for freedom" has become an established part of the foundation's name. After all, freedom isn't exactly in trend these days. This makes it all the more important to campaign for freedom and to take on the responsibility that goes hand in hand with it. They have been doing this since their foundation on May 19th, 1958. The headquarter is based in Potsdam, and they maintain offices throughout Germany and in over 60 countries around the world.



Partners

Le Figaro

Atlantic Council

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

Le Conseil Départemental de la Manche

La Communauté d'Agglomération du Cotentin

La French American Foundation

The Fund for American Studies

Intercollegiate Studies Institute

Zenger News

Diana Spencer Davis Foundation

Claremont Institute

Members of the Steering Committee

Co-chairs : Ana PALACIO, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain and

Laure MANDEVILLE, Senior Reporter with Le Figaro

BEUCLER Pascal, International Consultant

GEDMIN Jeffrey, Editor in Chief of The American Interest

HADDAD Benjamin, Director, Future Europe Initiative, Atlantic Council

LAUGEE Jean-Christophe, Partner Hystra

MELONIO Françoise, Senior Tocqueville Scholar

MITCHELL Joshua, Professor of political theory at Georgetown University, Tocqueville Scholar

SÜß Jeanette, European Affairs Manager/responsible for France, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

TOCQUEVILLE (de) Stéphanie, Tocqueville Foundation

TOCQUEVILLE (de) Jean-Guillaume, Chairman of the Tocqueville Foundation

VEIT François, PRK Partners

WHITE Dana, Former spokeswoman for the US Secretary of Defense



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