



**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 :



**FRIEDRICH NAUMANN  
FOUNDATION** For Freedom.  
European Dialogue



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# The Russian Question: The West facing Putin

**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**, Head Science and Political Strategy, 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: Galia Ackerman**, Journalist, essayist, Desk Russia

**Garry Kasparov**, Chairman, Renew Democracy Initiative, 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. What perceptions, strategies, interests and geopolitical, economic and psychological dynamics can explain this great failure? Too much renunciation in the face of Putin's revisionism? Too much Western patronization? A real ignorance of the Russian reality in the Western elites? A combination of all these?

**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

**Saturday  
July 9**

Roundtable n°3

16h00 – 18h00

## **Ukraine: Awakening of a Nation, lessons from a resistance**

The strength of the Ukrainian resistance after the Russian attack has surprised all observers. What is this Ukrainian nation that we have been so long in putting on our mental map of Europe? For how long has it been on the march? What is and what will be the nature of Ukrainian-Russian relations? Can the "orange man" defeat the "red man" and help free Russia from its imperial tropism? What will the emergence of Ukraine change for Europe? How can it be helped?

**Moderator: Laure Mandeville**, Senior reporter, Le Figaro

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

**Pascal Bruckner**, philosopher

**Arielle de Rothschild**, Partner, Rothschild & Co, Chair, Care France

Special testimonies:

**Aleksander Pavlov**, journalist

**Roman Sigov**, Sociologist, fixer

Conversation

18h00 – 18h40

## **Anatomy of a crisis: Views from China and Latin America**

The perception of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict outside the Western camp is far from being unequivocal, as shown by the votes at the UN and the wait-and-see attitude of major states on the subject. Behind Russia's battle against the West, a multipolar world is emerging that wants to settle its accounts with the West. What is the position of Beijing in particular? Where do the emerging countries stand?

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

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

**Moderated by Isabelle Lasserre**, Deputy editor-in-chief, Figaro Foreign Service

## **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**

The unity of the Western camp in the face of Putin's attack was emphasized at the beginning of the war. But how solid is it? The war in Ukraine has several fronts: one is on the battlefield; the other is of a political-psychological nature and reflects the hybrid war that Russia is waging against the West. Vladimir Putin is banking on the crisis of the Western democracies and their economic and energy vulnerability to weaken them. How do this Western crisis and the war in Ukraine fit together? Why are substantial segments of our societies, on the right as well as on the left, fascinated by the strongman in the Kremlin today, despite the violence he is deploying in Ukraine? What will be the long-term consequences of the pacifist and authoritarian temptation that is emerging? How to respond to Putin's challenges while strengthening our democracies.

**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

**Nicola Beer**, Vice-President, European Parliament, MEP, Renew Europe

**Mathieu Bock-Côté**, Cnews editorialist

**François Xavier Bellamy**, MEP, PPE

## Conversation

11h00 – 13h00

NATO is emerging, at least in the short term, strengthened by Putin's attack in Ukraine. But will this newfound legitimacy last? Will America, obsessed with China, not disengage from Europe? Should we move towards a sharing of tasks? What role for the Alliance in a world where the domination of the West will be increasingly challenged?

## 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

The information battle in Ukraine is a dramatic reminder of how crucial fact-finding and truth-telling have become in a world where social networks and deepfakes can create a tsunami of lies to turn public opinion upside down. Information, the key to the battle for hearts and minds, is becoming even more than money, the nerve of war. What is the state of play of this battle in the light of the war? What means do we have to counter propaganda at home, in Russia and throughout the world?

**Moderator: Katja Gentinetta**, political philosopher, journalist

**Antoine de Romanet**, bishop of the Diocese of the French Armed Forces.

**Alex Romero**, Co-founder & COO, Constella Intelligence

**Marina Moiseyenko**, journalist

## Keynote

15h30 – 16h00

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

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

For several centuries Russia has been wondering about the nature of its relationship with Europe, and vice versa. These two spaces, often separated by politics, have been united by culture. For 100 years, because of communist totalitarianism, Russia has been cut off from Europe, in ideological and political war with it. The exit from communism, which had nourished immense hopes of reunion on both sides, ended in failure and mutual disappointment. Vladimir Putin's regime has returned to the imperial temptation and violent methods of the past. How to get out of this impasse? Will we have to wait for the end of the Putin era to achieve this? What should Europe do in the meantime? Will we have to put the communist totalitarianism on trial, which never happened in the 1990s? Can a democratic Ukraine become a factor of hope, leading to the "return to Europe" of a Russia renouncing the Empire?

**Moderator: Benjamin Haddad**, French Member of the Parliament, LREM, former Europe Director, Atlantic Council

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

**Pierre Lellouche**, former French Secretary of State for European Affairs

**Olesya Khromeychuk**, writer, historian, Director, Ukraine Institute London

**Mikhail Zygar**, Journalist

## Conclusion of the Conversations

**Dan-Aria Sucuri**, President European Liberal Youth, LYMEC





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  
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Diana Spencer Davis Foundation  
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## 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  
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SÜß Jeanette, European Affairs Manager/responsible for France, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom  
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TOCQUEVILLE (de) Jean-Guillaume, Chairman of the Tocqueville Foundation  
VEIT François, PRK Partners  
WHITE Dana, Former spokeswoman for the US Secretary of Defense



## Contact

Thibault LAFONT  
CEO

✉ [tlafont@tocquevillefoundation.org](mailto:tlafont@tocquevillefoundation.org)

☎ +33 6 37 80 48 21

📍 La Filature Bâtiment 5  
32 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière  
75010 PARIS

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@TocquevilleFDN



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