



Save the date

# Tocqueville Conversations

June 30 &  
July 1, 2023

« Tomorrow's  
Europe:  
Rearming  
Democracy »

Each year, at the **Château de Tocqueville**, the home where **Alexis de Tocqueville** wrote his magnum opus "**Democracy in America**", the Tocqueville Foundation, in partnership with Le Figaro and the Atlantic Council, **hosts a two-days conference on the challenges that our liberal democracies are increasingly facing.**

In this stunning and symbolic venue we bring together personalities from very different geographical, intellectual and political backgrounds (heads of state, leading political figures and opponents, economic decision-makers, intellectuals, artists, whether French, European, American or others), who may not have been able, or willing to meet, and thus shed new light on contemporary issues.

The Tocqueville Conversations aim to initiate a collective search for solutions and consensus between various opinions, and our Foundation also attaches particular importance to the participation of the younger generations in the debates, so that they can discover, invest in and make their voices heard on subjects of crucial importance for their future.

After exploring in recent years, the crisis of Western democracy in the 21st century, the future of nations, the crisis of American democracy, and the Russian question in the age of Putin's war, our 2023 edition will focus on the major upheavals that Europe is facing today.

The war in Ukraine has already changed Europe. The return of Russian imperialism, the fragility of our democracies, the stunning emergence of Ukraine as a major force and the shift of Europe's center of gravity to the East, all strongly underline the need for the Union to re-evaluate its common security architecture, its relationship with the United States, its vision of its eastern border, and to finally settle the question of Soviet totalitarianism that remained unresolved after 1991. In essence, we need to rethink Europe as well as the internal social contracts of our democracies.

In 2023, the Conversations will be held on **June 30<sup>th</sup> and July 1<sup>st</sup>**, on the theme "**Tomorrow's Europe: Rearming Democracy**" and we are looking forward to welcoming you.

Laure Mandeville and Jean-Guillaume de Tocqueville

Two handwritten signatures in blue ink. The signature on the left is 'Laure Mandeville' and the signature on the right is 'JG de Tocqueville'.

« The depth of the discussions and the discussants' breadth of backgrounds combined to shape and reshape many of my thoughts on the crucial events of our time. I am deeply grateful for being included in these talks. »  
 General James Mattis,  
 Former Secretary of  
 Defense

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.

### Our goals

- Create an essential 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.



A few figures in 2022:  
 42 speakers and moderators  
 200 attendees at the Tocqueville Castle  
 Including 60 students  
 6 000 viewers on Youtube  
 13,5 hours of debates

## The Tocqueville Conversations are organized in partnership with:



# Tomorrow's Europe: Rearming Democracy

Friday,  
June 30<sup>th</sup>

## Europe under attack, the new geopolitical order

**Welcoming address** 10h50

**Jean-Guillaume de Tocqueville**, President of the Tocqueville Foundation

**Alexis Brézet**, Director, Le Figaro

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

**Opening of the conference** 11h05 – 11h45

**François Hollande**, Former French President

**Oleksandra Matviichuk**, Nobel Peace Prize, Ukraine

**Roundtable n°1** 11h45 - 13h15

### The end of the myth of perpetual peace

*Rearming our nations. The great comeback of NATO. The miracle of Ukrainian patriotism. The obsessive Russian question.*

Moderator: **Ana Palacio**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain

**Zbigniew Rau**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

**Nicolas Baverez**, French academic, Tocqueville specialist

**Reinhard Bütikofer**, Member of the European Parliament, Green Party - Germany

**Michael Franken**, US Navy Vice Admiral

**Lunch** 13h15 - 14h15

**Roundtable n°2** 14h15 - 15h30

### When Europe's center of gravity shifts: Ukraine and Eastern Europe on the rise

*The comeback of the « Intermarium » region on the European stage.*

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

**Olexander Scherba**, Ambassador-at-large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

**Jonas Survila**, Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

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

**François Villeroy de Galhau**, Governor of the Banque de France

## Conversation

15h30 – 16h05

**Energy in Europe, a conversation between**  
**Patrick Pouyanné**, CEO, TotalEnergies  
and **Bertille Bayart**, Journalist, Le Figaro

## Roundtable n°3

16h15 – 17h45

**US – Europe: The consequences of the war in**  
**Ukraine**

*We have seen a spectacular return of the US in European politics to provide Western leadership in the face of Putin's war of aggression. President Biden has made an Ukrainian victory a major issue of his presidency. But will America remain committed given the isolationist tendencies in American politics? How can we keep the transatlantic alliance focused and strong, while strengthening Europe? Could the need for Western strategic alignment weaken Europe's attempt to assert its technological and industrial might?*

Moderator: **Rebecca Heinrichs**, Senior fellow, Director of the Keystone Defense Initiative, Hudson Institute

**Francis Fukuyama**, Political scientist, author of « *The End of History and the Last Man* »

**Bernard Cazeneuve**, Former Prime Minister, France

**Patrick Pouyanné**, CEO, TotalEnergies

**Andrew Michta**, dean of the College of International and Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

## Conversation

17h45 – 18h20

**How can the US political trends change the**  
**situation in Ukraine?**

Moderated by **Joshua Mitchell**, Political Theorist, Georgetown

**Saturday,**  
**July 1<sup>st</sup>**

**Europe, the urgency for a new**  
**chapter**

## Opening remarks

8h45 – 9h00

**Olivier Costa de Beauregard**, Chairman, Groupe Industriel  
Marcel Dassault



## Roundtable n°4

9h – 10h30

### The confluence of the Western crisis and Putin's war

*It is in a Europe in deep crisis that Putin's war has arisen. How did it react? Does the war strengthen us? Can Ukrainian patriotism inspire our divided and tired nations? What are the antidotes to the individualistic and nihilistic temptation of a clean slate? How can we rebound? On what values can we unite? The question of guilt and relativism. The Europe of culture. Europe and the law. Europe and truth.*

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

**Borys Gudziak**, Greek-catholic metropolitan, President of Lviv Catholic University

**François Xavier Bellamy**, MEP, PPE

**Pierre Vermeren**, Historian, Paris I Sorbonne

**Raphaël Glucksman**, MEP

## Conversation

10h45 – 12h00

### Europe and Putin, the roots of the fascination.

A conversation between

**Sylvain Tesson**, Writer, and **Mathieu Bock-Côté**, Sociologist, essayist

**Moderated by Vincent Trémolet de Villers**, editor-in-chief "Debate and Opinion", Le Figaro, FigaroVox

## Lunch

12h00 – 13h20

## Intervention

13h20 – 13h30

**Denise Bauer**, US Ambassador in France and Monaco

## Roundtable n°5

13h30 – 14h45

### Rethink the relationship between Nation and Union

*One of the great topics of recent years has been to oppose the logic of the nations to the logic of the Union. How can they be reconciled?*

Moderator: **Benjamin Haddad**, Member of French Parliament, Renaissance

**Slawomir Debski**, Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Nicola Beer**, VP, European Parliament

**Zaki Laïdi**, Advisor to Josep Borrell, European Commission

**Sir Bill Jeffrey**, Former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom

## Roundtable n°6

14h45 – 16h15

### De-Sovietizing the past, facing the neo-totalitarian relapse?

*The question of Soviet and neo-Soviet totalitarianism was not settled in 1991 after the end of the USSR. It is now being forcefully raised with the neo-totalitarian relapse that Russia is experiencing. How to settle the score? Which work of commemoration should be undertaken? Will a trial be necessary?*

**Moderator:** **Katja Gentinetta**, Political philosopher

**Constantin Sigov**, Ukrainian philosopher

**Catherine Belton**, Journalist, author of « Putin's People »

**Miles Yu**, Former China Advisor to Mike Pompeo, Professor, US Naval Academy

**Anastasia Schevchenko**, Activist, Open Russia

**Special testimony:** Daniil Beilinson, OVD-Info, on the importance of civil society

## Conclusion of the Conversations

16h15 – 16h45

**Antoine Arjakovsky**, Research Director at the Collège des Bernardins, Former French Diplomat, presents the work of his commission and concludes the conference.

**A word from a participating student.**



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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.

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- **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



FONDATION  
TOCQUEVILLE

## **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**

Le Figaro is a French daily morning newspaper founded un 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 wich is part of the Dassault group since 2004.



**Atlantic Council**

EUROPE CENTER

## **The Atlantic Council**

The Atlantic Council's Europe Center promotes the leadership and strategies required to bolster the vision of a strong Europe advancing a better global future in partnership with the United States. The Center seeks to understand change in Europe, galvanize leadership, and forge a strategy of renewal. Through cutting-edge research and high-level convening, the Europe Center's work is conducted with the strong belief that the resilience and strength of the European Union, alongside the unity of NATO, is a critical national interest of the United States. The Europe Center promotes leadership, strategies and analysis to ensure a strong, ambitious and forward-looking transatlantic relationship.





## Partners

Le Figaro

Atlantic Council

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, Member of the French  
Parliament

KELLER Alexis, Legal History and Legal Theory  
Professor, University of Geneva, Member of the  
ICRC Assembly

MELONIO Françoise, Senior Tocqueville  
Scholar

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

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



## 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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