



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 from France, Europe, America and elsewhere—who may not otherwise have met, in order to shed new light on contemporary issues.

The intent of the Tocqueville Conversations is to initiate and sustain a collective search for solutions that have evaded us in these trying times. We aim to establish a workable consensus across a range of opinions. Because our Foundation recognizes that society is a multi-generational bargain, we attach particular importance to the participation of the younger generations in our debates, so that they can discover, invest in, and make their voices heard on subjects of crucial importance for their future.

After exploring 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 in recent years, 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 30th and July 1st**, 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 'J-G 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 masterfully analyzed 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.
- **Transcend the unproductive 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 30th

Europe under attack, the new geopolitical order

Welcoming address

10h50

Jean-Guillaume de Tocqueville, President of the Tocqueville Foundation

Alexis Brézet, Director, Le Figaro

Jean Morin, President, Département de La Manche

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

Europe had a dream. A dream of perpetual peace in a post-national world. But with the war in Ukraine, this naive illusion has evaporated, opening the way for a new geopolitical era, one in which a high intensity war has resurrected memories of the First and Second World Wars in the European mind, reestablished America, at least for now, as the leader of the West, and confirmed the importance of NATO as a vital and expanding alliance. This fast-changing historical moment has also seen the emergence of a vibrant and patriotic Ukraine, and highlighted the leading role Eastern Europe now plays in the future of our continent. Russia has, once again, turned into a major security threat for Europe, and for the whole world. After dangerously disarming for 30 years, Europeans have discovered their utter weakness and started rearming. Will this awakening be enough to bring back peace to Europe? Will the West find the political courage to face Russia until an Ukrainian victory takes place; and will it provide a path to NATO for the Ukrainians at Vilnius? What will be the consequences of this conflict for Europe, and beyond? What role will China play?

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

Intervention

14h15 - 14h25

David Margueritte, President of the
Cotentin Conurbation

Roundtable n°2

14h25 - 15h40

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

The war has already changed the balance of power in Europe. The emergence of Ukraine as a key military and political actor—made possible in no small measure by a vibrant civil society that has taken responsibility for ensuring the logistical and moral support of its army on a daily basis—has been the divine surprise in this otherwise catastrophic geopolitical storm. Another striking new development has been the emergence of Central and Eastern Europe as a key strategic engine in the battle against Putin's Russia. This double factor confirms the return on the front stage, in another form, of the polono-lithuano-ukrainian « kingdom » and the historical region of the Intermarium (between the Baltic and the Black seas). What will be the consequences of this shift of the center of gravity of Europe on EU's direction and goals? What will be the context of the Franco-German engine in that context? Will the Triangle of Weimar (France, Germany, Poland) become a more important tool in European matters? Has France started to redefine its role, by stressing the importance of its relationship with Eastern Europe, after Emmanuel Macron's speech in Bratislava? What will the future of the German «Zeitenwende » in strategic matters?

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

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

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

15h40 – 16h15

Energy in Europe, a conversation between

Patrick Pouyanné, CEO, TotalEnergies

and **Bertille Bayart**, Journalist, Le Figaro

Roundtable n°3

16h25 – 17h55

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

**Saturday,
July 1st**

Conversation

17h55 – 18h30

Tocqueville and us

A conversation between **Joshua Mitchell**, Political Theorist, Georgetown, **Jean Yarbrough**, Gary M. Pendergast Sr. Professor of Social Sciences and **Pierre-André de Chalendar**, CEO, Saint-Gobain

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

Putin's war interrupted in a Europe in deep crisis. This concomitance of war and our civilizational crisis, creates a particularly perilous situation. Will the war unite us or increase the existing lines of divide ? Why has Putin been supported with such blindness by the political elites of Europe ? Why is he still supported by the extreme right, the extreme left and a significant segment of the nationalist circles in Europe and the United States ? How can we counter the hybrid war he is waging against Europe and the wider West, and open the eyes of national conservative groups which continue to believe he is the defender of traditional values ? Shouldn't we also recognize that the identity politics approach of the Woke left –which denounces the Western model and its legal institutions as a form of oppression, is in synch with a Russian regime which attempts to demonstrate that democracy and truth are fake notions hiding the cynical and naked interests of a neocolonial West? How do we get out of the hemiplegic political debate in which some are focused on the Russian threat while others see only the threats (of Islamism) inside our walls ?

What is the project for the Europe of tomorrow? Can Ukrainian Patriotism, which combines love of country and understanding of the importance of the « European home » inspire our divided and exhausted societies ? How could the dialogue on values between the East and West of Europe help us?

Moderator: Laure Mandeville, Senior reporter, Le Figaro

Olexander Scherba, Ambassador-at-large for Strategic Communications, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

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

Eszter Soos, Politologist, Milton Friedman University, Budapest

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 scores? What are the interactions between past and present, the continuity between national-bolshevism and putinism? Isn't it time to recognize, with Vassili Grossman, the deep links between Nazism and communism? How will we protect ourselves from Russian imperialism? Will a trial of Soviet and Russian crimes, be needed on the model of Nuremberg? Should we create a Special court for Russia's crime of aggression, that the Ukrainians and many European voices are instantly asking? Also, what are the perspectives of Putin's regime and how should Europe deal with it? Should we prepare for post Putin Russia and help the Russian democratic forces in exile to invent a future? Why kind of threat does the alliance of Communist China and Putin's Russia represent for Europe?

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 Shevchenko, 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.



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



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 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.



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, Professor of Legal Theory,
University of Geneva, Member of the ICRC
Governing Board

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

☎ +33 6 37 80 48 21

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

Follow us



@TocquevilleFDN



Tocqueville Foundation



Conversations Tocqueville