



# TOCQUEVILLE CONVERSATIONS

6<sup>th</sup> edition

5 & 6 July 2024

## CITIZENS, WAKE UP!

How can we save our democracies?

LE FIGARO



FONDATION  
TOCQUEVILLE



Atlantic Council

EUROPE CENTER

Friday,  
July 5<sup>th</sup>

# Where have the citizens gone?

## Welcome

10h50

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

**David Margueritte**, President, Cotentin Conurbation

**Catherine Brunaud-Rhyn**, Vice-Chairwoman in charge of Attractiveness, Territorial Development and Culture

**Laure Mandeville**, Senior Reporter, Le Figaro

## Opening

11h05 – 11h45

**General Christopher G. Cavoli**, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe

## Roundtable n°1

11h45 - 13h15

### Democracy Under Threat: Where is the Citizen?

*Authoritarianism, Putinism, wokism, Islamism, nihilism, consumerism... How to cope? How to defend democracy?*

Moderator : **Valérie Toranian**, Director, Le Point

Keynote : **Jean-Michel Blanquer**, Former French Education Minister

**Oleksander Scherba**, Ambassador-at-large, Ukraine

**Matthieu Bock-Côté**, Essayist, Sociologist

**Daniel Levy**, Former Senior Israeli Negotiator, President, US/Middle East Project

## Lunch

13h15 - 14h30

## Roundtable n°2

14h30 – 16h

### The *Citoyen-Soldat*: Engaging Citizens in National Security

Moderator : **Andrew Michta**, Director and Senior Fellow, Scowcroft Strategy Initiative, Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center

**Yair Golan**, General and Israeli Politician

**Tetiana Ogarkova**, Literature professor, Université Mogila

**Colonel Alexandre Vautravers**, Professor of International Relations, EMG Colonel of the Swiss Army, Editor-in-Chief of the Swiss Military Review

**Edouard Guillaud**, Admiral, Former Chief of the Defense Staff

**Saturday,  
July 6<sup>th</sup>**

## **Conversation**

16h – 16h45

### **A mayor in battle, Conversation on Ukraine at war**

A Conversation with **Vitali Klitschko**, Mayor of Kiev  
Moderated by **Laure Mandeville**, Senior Reporter, Le Figaro

## **Roundtable n°3**

17h – 19h

### **Citizenship and Religion**

Moderator : **Joshua Mitchell**, Political Theorist, Tocqueville Scholar  
**Florence Bergeaud-Blackler**, CNRS Anthropologist, expert of the Muslim Brotherhood and islamist ideology  
**Ghaleb Bencheikh**, President, Foundation for France Islam  
**Yann Boissière**, Rabbi, Judaism in Motion  
**Anne-Marie Pelletier**, Exegete and theologian

# **Citizens, wake up!**

## **Opening**

9h – 9h15

**Hervé Morin**, President of the Normandy Region, Former French Defense Minister

## **Conversation**

9h15 – 10h15

### **Citizens and Populism : from revolution to submission**

Moderated by **Gabriel Scheinman**, Hamilton Society  
**Dana White**, Former Pentagon Spokesperson  
and **Yascha Mounk**, Author, politologist, Harvard University

## **Conversation**

10h15 – 11h

### **Citizenship, Civil Society and Philanthropy**

Moderator: **John Gizzi**, Journalist, Newsmax  
**Cynthia Wu**, Taiwanese Politican, Philanthropist  
**Amitabh Shah**, Chief Inspiration Officer, YUVA Unstoppable

## **Conversation**

11h15 – 12h15

**Edouard Philippe**, Former Prime Minister  
**Bernard Cazeneuve**, Former Prime Minister  
and **Norbert Röttgen**, Member of the German Parliament, former Federal Minister for Environment  
Moderated by **Bertille Bayart**, Journalist, Le Figaro

## Lunch

12h15 – 13h30

## Roundtable n°4

13h30 – 14h30

### Citizens vs AI?

**Geoffroy Roux de Bézieux**, Honorary President, MEDEF

**Scott Carpenter**, Managing Director, Jigsaw, Founder of Google Ideas,

**Muriel Popa-Fabre**, AI Expert at the Council of Europe

A conversation moderated by **Katja Gentinetta**, Political Philosopher and Advisor

## Conversation

14h30 – 15h10

### Citizens vs Dictatorship

A conversation between **Evan Mawarire**, Zimbabwean Pastor, Political Activist

and **Victor Erofeev**, Russian Author

Moderated by **Anne-Elizabeth Moutet**, Journalist, The Telegraph

## Roundtable n°5

15h25 – 16h45

### Education, a major lever for the emergence/construction of citizenship

Moderator : **Eugénie Bastié**, Journalist, Le Figaro

**Joshua Mitchell**, Political Theorist, Tocqueville Scholar

**Constantin Sigov**, Director of the European Studies Department, University Mogila, Kiev

**Mathilde Brézet**, High-School teacher, author

**Jean Yarbrough**, Gary M. Penty Sr. Professor of Social Sciences, Bowdoin College

## Conclusion of the Conversations

16h45 – 17h

By a group of students.

« 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 2023:**  
 45 speakers and moderators  
 250 attendees at the Tocqueville Castle  
 Including 60 students  
 20 000 viewers on Youtube  
 13,5 hours of debates

## The Tocqueville Conversations are organized in partnership with:



Alfred Sommer  
 Paris - La Madeleine





# Presentation of the Conversations co-organizers



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## **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.



## 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



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