



Diversity in Europe

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*« These strangers in a foreign World  
Protection asked of me-  
Befriend them, lest yourself in Heaven  
Be found a refugee »*

*« Ces Etrangères, en Monde inconnu  
Asile m'ont demandé  
Accueille-les, car Toi-même au Ciel  
Pourrait être une Réfugiée »*

**Emily Dickinson** (Quatrains II-2, 1864-65, Amherst, Massachusetts, Etats-Unis)  
translation by **Claire Malroux** (NRF, Poésie/Gallimard, Paris, 2000)

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## Diversity in Geopolitics

The Institute for Research and Information on Volunteering (Iriv) has published since September 2016 a newsletter dedicated to migration- *Regards Croisés sur la Migration*.

The first issues (September 2016 - March 2018) were dedicated to a comparison between Paris and Berlin based on testimonies gathered among migrants interviewed in the two European capital cities. Since 2018, our newsletter has been entitled “Diversity in Europe”. Its main aim is now to tackle the issue of diversity- the motto chosen by the European Union (EU) since 2000 and in 2004 after the last biggest enlargement of the European Union (from 15 to 25 EU members).

The first issue (November 2018) was focussed on diversity at school with Rotterdam (in the Netherlands) whose inhabitants coming from abroad represent more than 70 % of the total population which is both a challenge and an opportunity to experience new approaches. Paris also has in its schools very diverse students in its classrooms.

The second issue (March 2019) was dedicated to religious & cultural diversity, with a focus on the Jewish community. If the Judaeo-Christian roots of the European Union are obvious, the European Union is a secular project with a genuine cultural identity open to all religions- “*United in diversity*”. This issue suggested a comparison between Paris and Thessaloniki, two cities sharing an history of troubled times during World War II.

The third issue (November 2019) tackled the issue of interreligious dialogue with articles on diversity in Switzerland and France. This is especially important in secular countries where all religions have to be respected together with the right to be free from any religious belonging or belief. A “republican” approach has allowed a civil peace for the past century in most of our European societies (but during World War II).

The fourth issue (March 2020) was focused on Education and Interfaith dialogue among multicultural countries. A first article analysed diversity inclusion in the USA, insisting on the necessity to enhance a “glocal diversity mindset”. A second article reminded of the example of Sarajevo, a city of peaceful existence between Jews, Muslims, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats in a European country, Bosnia, with a historical “multifaceted, universal identity” that was brutally treated during the bloody Balkan war (1992-1995s).

The fourth issue (March 2020) is dedicated to education and interfaith dialogue in multicultural countries. A first article looks at inclusion and diversity in the United States. A second article recalls the example of Sarajevo, a model of peaceful existence between religious communities.

The fifth issue (November 2020) addresses diversity in the Mediterranean. The first article discusses the eastern part of the Mediterranean region, a crossroads between Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. The second article discusses the contradictory strategies in the Middle East and the role of the European Union

The sixth issue (March 2021) discusses artistic diversity and intercultural education. The first article presents Mexico and the great wealth of its craftsmanship. The second article discusses intercultural dialogue and intercultural education.

The seventh issue (November 2021) illustrates francophone diversity. Diversity is at the heart of the Francophonie (first article), which has many facets, including literature (second article).

The eighth issue (March 2022) was dedicated to Ukraine under war. It suggested a reflection on the diversity in learning- the grid of analysis for war at stake in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is also meaningful for better understanding unpleasant and conflictual experiences which can be seen as real *casus belli* (second article).

This 9th issue tackles the issue of diversity in Geopolitics- a war is always a failure. When dialogue is cut, weapons and forces express themselves with violence. There has been a brutalisation among States that may question the role of the Francophonie but also of the Intelligence services in the fragile balance between a « hot » war and a ceasefire, while looking forward to a real peace that seems more and more illusory in troubled times in disturbed geopolitics.

Bénédicte Halba, présidente de l’iriv  
Emmanuel Adjovi, docteur en droit

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## The Francophonie, a gateway to geopolitical dialogue in a New World

From its outbreak in February 2022 to the end of the year, the nature of the war in Ukraine has changed profoundly. The qualifiers that the different protagonists give him are far from reality. We hear threats of co-belligerence and even the use of nuclear weapons. This could mean in a logic of chain, the annihilation of the human species on the earth that it has long bruised. At best, the outcome of war foreshadows either a bipolarization of the world or the emergence of a multipolar world. It will probably be a new Cold War where the great powers, preoccupied with their interests, will want to push all the states of the world to enter a logic of camps, thus a logic of separation, rivalry, and confrontation. This block logic will generate proxy wars (hybrid or not) everywhere, and not only in the South

In this new world of multiple blocs, the Francophonie can play a role as a gateway to geopolitical dialogue. This role will consist of rising above the camps, overcoming political and geopolitical rivalries to become an institution that facilitates political dialogue, exchanges and peaceful settlement of conflicts between state actors with opposing strategic interests. Indeed, as the representative of one of the world's leading linguistic areas, the International Organisation of the Francophonie (OIF) has a triple political, cultural and economic dimension that can enable it to fulfil its office. When it was created in 1970, the institutional Francophonie established itself as an organization of intercultural dialogue and solidarity. Thanks to the Beirut Summit in 2002, it made a shift to add a political and influential dimension to its cultural attribute. This "third Francophonie", to use the words used by professors Phan and Guillou, gives the organization a leading diplomatic role in an increasingly complex global context. For it has become "a space for globalized intercultural dialogue, a peaceful antidote to the confrontation of cultures that is beginning, a place of mobilization for peace, security or even the struggle for diversity and the preservation of the common goods of humanity". 1) This political vision does not seem to be shared by all authors. Some prefer to stick to the defence of cultural and linguistic diversity. This is the case of Hubert Védrine who maintains that the OIF has too much pretended to transform itself into a kind of United Nations. Before being political, or economic, the Francophonie must be linguistic and "uninhibited" (Emmanuel Macron) (2).

This approach does not seem to sufficiently consider not only the geopolitical implications of the strategic dimension of cultural issues, but also the definition of geopolitics itself. Culture is at the heart of contemporary economic re-compositions, Jean Tardif and Joëlle Farchy rightly recalled, who propose to include "geo-cultural issues on the same footing as geopolitical and geo-economic issues in global governance that the current international system is no longer sufficient to ensure (3)

It is firstly a matter of making the "explicitly assumed and affirmed choice of cultural pluralism" as a global political project. This means affirming and promoting the right to difference and the recognition of the existence of "multiple modernity" (Samuel Eisenstadt) or "plural universalism" (4). It is therefore a question "of providing an appropriate answer to the question of living together on a global scale, of controlling the cultural component of power relations and of correcting excessive imbalances in cultural flows." (5) This requires the implementation of international public policies and arrangements that promote fair trade

Similarly, according to Hubert Védrine, geopolitics "simply consists in studying the interactions between geography, history and international politics." In the interactions between contemporary state societies, in their perpetual "struggle for life", culture plays a crucial role in the era of global media such as the Internet and social networks. "Culture and art – cultures and the arts – are geopolitical determinants in the same way as farming methods, mining resources, land use planning or social systems" (6). This means that as a major geo-cultural player in the world, the Francophonie cannot escape the challenges of post-Ukraine geopolitics.

In this exercise, it will have to be imaginative not to reproduce the UN model. It should not be a "penny" or a "small United Nations". The strategy of influence of the Francophonie should be to use politically the tool of dialogue of cultures to highlight the interdependencies and fragilities of States and peoples under the aegis of globalization. On the one hand, from the point of view of governance, it will necessary be to go beyond the intergovernmental plan to adopt the multiparty or multi-party principle. The European Union's role is to establish a governance mechanism in which state actors and representatives of civil society, the private sector and academia work together. This should result in modes of deliberation not based on the power of States, but on the search for collaboration or cooperation

On the other hand, in the midst of power games, the Francophonie can position itself as a geo-cultural actor that promotes the intensification of dialogues and cultural exchanges in order to help appease international relations. To overcome the competition and rivalry of States, the Francophonie could manoeuvre to bring the actors belonging officially to opposing blocs to work together to preserve the common goods of humanity. In the implementation of this cultural diplomacy, it will be able to rely on the diversity of its composition. Indeed, it brings together 88 Member States and governments from all continents, leaving beyond the French language many common goods including peace.

Emmanuel Adjovi, doctor in Law, Paris, 11 / 2022

## Diversity in Intelligence service - where have been the *master minds* ?

2022 was a year of great concern for democracies. In Europe, the war broke out in Ukraine, attacked by Russia, which had been preparing for eight years (annexation of Crimea in 2014); extremist political parties are at the gates of power in several European countries (France, Sweden, Italy, etc.); the Balkans remain a powder keg (Serbian threat in Bosnia). In Latin America, Bolsonaro's policy and his supporters are a main threat in Brazil; Nicolas Maduro is still in power in a bloodless Venezuela... Africa is the target of jihadism which is deployed at the same time as the mercenaries, the «war dogs» of the Russian organization Wagner when its wealth is not monopolized by China which continues to weave its web. In Asia, the Marcos are back in the Philippines, the military junta is all powerful in Myanmar and can continue to persecute the Rohingya. All is well in the Brave New World. (1).

Faced with these repeated offensives against democracy, the democratic, western countries are reassured: they can count on effective intelligence services, with agents recruited among the best, «master minds», animated by the general interest, the defence of Western values of universalism, solidarity, brotherhood, and defence of the oppressed... Yet doubt has settled (2) . What were the «master minds» doing in Afghanistan? They do not seem to have foreseen the fall of the Afghan government and the regime supported for twenty years by the Allies, especially the Americans. The Taliban have regained power without difficulty, sowing panic in a population that could expect the worst, which is happening (3). In Europe, the French «master minds» did not plan the Russian attack of February 2022, which led to the dismissal of the head of French military intelligence. The American services have saved honour by informing the world hour by hour about the progress of Russian troops, disconcerted by a transparency to which they are not accustomed. It is ultimately the Ukrainian services that are the most surprising, multiplying the outbursts against Putin and his henchmen who take the setbacks and are increasingly discredited in the eyes of the world. The American services have not been warned of the latest Ukrainian outbursts (deadly attack against a Russian figure supporting Putin or against the Kerch bridge in Crimea in October 2022...). Cyberwarfare is the chosen battlefield for Ukrainian services that do wonders, harassing since the beginning of the conflict the Russian aggressor (administrations, companies, etc.) whose specialty it used to be (4).

Would Allied intelligence, even the most prestigious services, be running out of steam? Would it be undermined by internal and fratricidal struggles, power quarrels, which see clans with dubious methods, more animated by alcoves and other low blows, than by the general interest? Jean-Paul Sartre advised not to «despair Billancourt» when the intellectuals «companions of the USSR» began to know the true face of Stalinism (5). Should we also be silent faced to the many mistakes of allied intelligence?

In the past, cases broke out at the highest level the police in France. Super-cops, of whom there was no doubt that they had skills or courage, were dragged into the dark affairs of the public service they were supposed to serve. The big gangsterism could sleep easy and the thugs counted points - the police were busy trapping their own colleagues. The most prestigious services of the police were discredited with the population but especially with the thugs, whom they should have impressed by their integrity, their effectiveness in confusing them and sending them where they belong to, the prison (6).

Does the same process happen in allied intelligence? We are entitled to question the effectiveness but especially the spirit of the services. The best of the agents seem to be assigned to the conflict zones, to countries most at risk. These real «master minds» build the «legend» of their services and participate in the «storytelling» of extraordinary spies who succeed in formidable blows, grow democracies, and reassure citizens (7). But how many are there? And the other agents, the «stashed» in the back who harass «targets», who are neither terrorists nor gangsters, to whom do they report? Wouldn't public money be better spent fighting the real enemies of democracies, the real «criminal spirits» - terrorists, gangsters, and other bad guys?

One of the main missions of the intelligence services in democratic countries, in addition to thwarting the plots of terrorists, is to build a positive image, The European Parliament has been convinced that democracies should support them not only in their own countries but also in authoritarian regimes where people are the first victims of dictatorships. Credibility and trust are built on the image that opinions have of the intelligence services- so that citizens can share sensitive information if necessary or sometimes, for certain profiles, join the ranks of the services, when their diverse and specific experience and skills can be useful.

What is the point of spending huge budgets on communications- on mass-market series or Hollywood films, when the baseness and the smallness of the actions of some services discredited the entire intelligence? The best soft power, the most effective, is the action of agents on the ground, not in the conflict zones that few people have access to. We observe their work every day. When citizens who have not asked for anything find themselves confronted with stupidity and malice, when they expected, poor naive, intelligence in action, doubt sets in. Diversity of profiles is a force for intelligence when it is respected and valued, not when it is exploited and abused by stupid and malicious minds.

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- (1) Aldous Huxley (1932), « Brave New World » London : Chatto & Windus
- (2) This question has existed since the creation of modern intelligence services, as journalist Jacques Follorou points out with a question: "Do spies make history?" , Le Monde, 8 November 2022; reading note of a book published on French intelligence J-F Clair, M. Guerin & R. Nart «La DST sur le front de la guerre froide», Paris: Mareuil éditions
- (3) Claire Billet, «Afghanistan, le prix de la paix », documentary, France 5 , September 2022
- (4) Emission spéciale « C plus clair », by Caroline Roux ; France 5 , October 2022
- (5) French intellectual and activist supporting the French communist party and unionists in the automobile plant of Renault in Boulogne-Billancourt (Hauts de Seine) in the 1950s
- (6) Several films have illustrated episodes of this police war at the highest level - especially in the 1970s to stop the public enemy number 1, Jacques Mesrine, who opposed two divisional commissioners; later, another police war was told by former police officer Olivier Marchal in 2004 in his film « 36 Quai des Orfèvres » opposing two chieftains of the police to arrest a gang,
- (7) Ben Affleck« Argo », 2012, United States; retracing the rescue of American hostages held at the Tehran embassy after the arrival of the Mullahs in power in 1979 violently opposed to the United States