

THE GAMES OF SHAME: CAN THE 2024 PARIS OLYMPICS WHITEWASH GENOCIDE AND WIDESPREAD EXCLUSION?



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This report evidences a significant disconnect between the Olympic values and rhetoric surrounding the Paris edition, and what it truly means for France to host them. The Games being offered are racist, Islamophobic, genocidal, elitist, destructive and repressive...”

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Introduction

The Games of Shame: Can the 2024 Paris Olympics whitewash genocide and widespread exclusion?

The Olympic Games are more than just a global sporting event; they represent one of the most prestigious platforms for the host nation to showcase its culture, social model, and national pride. Through a grand display of athletic prowess and cultural ceremonies, the host country has the unique opportunity to project its identity and values to a worldwide audience. The Olympics are envisioned as a celebration of inclusivity, where diverse cultures come together in a spirit of unity and sportsmanship. Moreover, the event is intended to bring tangible benefits to the local population, fostering a sense of community and providing economic and social upliftment.

On its website, the Paris 2024 Organizing Committee states that "Sport is a lever for inclusion and social cohesion, fighting isolation by uniting people in all their diversity around a common passion or a simple moment of sharing. For sport alone has the power to break down barriers - social or hierarchical, for example - by putting everyone on an equal footing"¹. One thing is certain : the Olympic Committee's stated ambition of leaving a more inclusive society after the Games has already been seriously compromised, to say the least.

As the Paris 2024 Olympics approach, all indicators suggest that the Games will accelerate discrimination and exclusion for the most vulnerable populations, as the reality in France is at odds with the professed Olympic values. France's record on Islamophobia, which notably extends into the realms of sports, creates an inhospitable environment for Muslim athletes and visitors from Muslim-majority countries. Due to discriminatory and restrictive legislation and societal stigmatisation, inclusion through sport faces one notable exception for French athletes, especially for female ones ; you cannot be too visibly Muslim (i.e wear a hijab). This reality undermines the Olympic spirit of equality and respect, and sharply contradicts the Olympic Committee's emphasis on empowering women².

This pervasive Islamophobia not only undermines the inclusivity of the Games but it dramatically feeds into broader geopolitical issues. It fosters an environment where the systematic oppression and brutalization of Muslim-majority populations is accepted. While Israel is committing a live-streamed genocide, and is being ostracised as an international pariah, the normalisation of its presence at the Olympics is beyond disturbing. France's complicity in this ongoing genocidal campaign against Palestinians exacerbates this issue and renders its role as a host unacceptable. What should the Olympics look like at a time of genocide, especially when the host country is an active participant? What is there to celebrate, and what is left of the Olympic spirit of global unity and peace when such atrocities are taking place and being overlooked? This should give us pause. Genocide is not a game, and you cannot play fair with it.

Instead of fulfilling its promise of inclusivity and local benefit, it has been made very clear that the Paris Olympic Games will not be the people's game. The displacement and marginalisation of vulnerable populations such as migrants, homeless individuals and students during the preparations for the Paris 2024 Olympics point to an underlying exclusionary agenda and ongoing gentrification. These actions starkly contrast with the

¹ Paris 2024 - [Léguer une société plus inclusive après les Jeux \(olympics.com\)](https://olympics.com)

² Ibid.

Olympic values of inclusion and human dignity, raising serious ethical questions about the organisation of such events.

Moreover, the heightened security measures and repression, alongside the normalisation of generalised surveillance, highlight a troubling trend towards the erosion of civil liberties. This excessive surveillance and security apparatus contribute to a climate of fear and control, undermining the sense of freedom and openness that the Olympics are supposed to embody.

It is now clear that instead of fostering social cohesion and inclusivity, the Paris 2024 Olympics' legacy will be islamophobic and anti-social, overshadowing the celebratory nature of the event. This report aims to argue that the Paris 2024 Olympics not only fail to uphold the Olympic values of peace, respect, and inclusivity but also actively perpetuate injustice and inequality. It is imperative that the international community holds the organising bodies accountable to higher ethical standards.

A/ Islamophobia in sports and the 2024 Olympics

The exclusion of Muslim female athletes

Gendered Islamophobia is not unique to France, but is particularly salient in the French context, where laws banning the wearing of religious signs or signs constructed as religious specifically target Muslim women³. Recorded acts of Islamophobia also confirm this trend, and figures collected by the Collective Against Islamophobia in France (CCIF) regularly showed that Muslim women, particularly those wearing hijab, were more likely to face discrimination in hiring and housing, suffer physical and verbal assaults, and be denied access to certain private or public places and services.

Sports, often associated in France with inclusive values and even the fight against racism, are unfortunately no exception. The French sports milieu is regularly criticised for its structural sexism, but for Muslim women who wear hijab, access to sport, whether amateur or professional, is an obstacle course.

As host of the 2024 Olympics, France cannot ban hijab for foreign athletes during this competition. However, the Minister of Sport has banned its own qualified or selected athletes from wearing hijab, in the name of *laïcité* and to prevent any form of "proselytising"⁴. This decision, criticised by the UN⁵ and several NGOs including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch⁶, is consistent with how France treats its Muslim athletes. Three of France's most popular sports - football, rugby, and basketball - particularly illustrate this state of affairs.

Since 2014, hijab has been allowed in international football competitions following a decision by the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) allowing headgear for religious reasons⁷. Until then, wearing any head covering was prohibited for safety. Despite FIFA's directive, the French Football Federation (FFF) has decided to uphold its ban on hijab in

3 <https://www.horsdatteinte.org/livre/les-femmes-musulmanes-ne-sont-elles-pas-des-femmes/>

4 <https://www.ouest-france.fr/jeux-olympiques/jo-2024-la-ministre-des-sports-annonce-linterdiction-du-port-du-voile-pour-la-delegation-francaise-ebef1fda-5b07-11ee-bfa3-55d0c0a38439>

5 <https://www.france24.com/en/france/20230927-un-slams-france-s-decision-to-ban-its-olympic-team-from-wearing-muslim-hijab>

6 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/06/11/letter-ioc-re-overturn-all-bans-athletes-wearing-hijab-france-2024-paris-summer>

7 <https://www.aljazeera.com/sports/2014/3/1/fifa-lifts-ban-on-head-covers>

its competitions, invoking the principle of *laïcité* (the specific and largely abused brand of French secularism)⁸. For players who may be selected for the French national team, the door is bolted shut, as the Council of State (Conseil d'État) considers them bound by the requirement of "neutrality", as they perform the equivalent of a "public service mission"⁹. In basketball, the international federation (FIBA) authorised hijab in 2017. But here again, France refused to comply with the new regulations, effectively excluding hijab-wearing women from its professional league. In December 2022, the French Basketball Federation (FFBB) officially introduced a ban on the "wearing any equipment with a religious connotation" in its rules¹⁰. In doing so, the French state confirmed that it would rather keep being Islamophobic than benefit from key reinforcements for the Olympics, such as UC Irvine's Diaba Konate, repeatedly named best defensive player in the NCAA's Big West Conference. For context, this is the highest level of American college sport, whose players often move on to the highest level in the world: the Women's NBA.

Rugby is an interesting case as it shows that even without specific rules, Muslim athletes wearing hijab are still excluded from French national teams. The French federation, this time in line with the international federation, allows hijabs to be worn under a protective helmet to ensure players safety. Nevertheless, Assa Koïta, who had been a member of the national rugby team since 2011, was unable to play again after she decided to wear hijab in 2014. She recounts the suspicion of the technical staff, alarmed by this change, and their subsequent unwillingness to call her back into the French team, even when she had returned to a higher level than before she was injured and decided to wear hijab¹¹. Thus, even when rules favour players wishing to wear hijab, the national team door - the highest level of sporting recognition - remains closed.

Recreational sports and Muslim women in France

While the Olympics showcase top-level athletes, the event often aims to encourage the public to engage in sports and physical activity. But even in the anonymity of recreational sport, it is becoming increasingly difficult for women wearing hijab to practice the sport they want in France.

Female amateur football and basketball players are simply excluded from competitions, despite no law prohibiting their participation. As mentioned above, both sports federations have established arbitrary rules banning hijab, even though it is authorised by international organisations. Two groups of women players, Les Hijabeuses for football and Basket Pour Toutes for basketball, are campaigning to practice their sport freely. Les Hijabeuses even took their fight to the State Council (Conseil d'État), which ruled in June 2023 that players, as users of a public service, were not bound by the principle of neutrality. However, it also confirmed that the FFF had the right to prohibit hijabs in order to prevent "clashes or confrontations unrelated to sport"¹². In essence, the State Council deemed the headscarf a potential public order disturbance risk in itself, and decided that those who decide to wear it must be punished, whether they are responsible for this risk or not.

8 https://www.liberation.fr/sports/2017/05/06/quelles-federations-sportives-tolerent-le-port-du-voile-islamique_1567544/

9 <https://www.lequipe.fr/Football/Actualites/Le-rapporteur-public-du-conseil-d-etat-favorable-au-port-du-hijab-dans-les-competitions-de-football/1404944>

10 https://www.ffbb.com/sites/default/files/reglements_sportifs_generaux_vdef_22.pdf

11 <https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/xv-de-france-la-federation-de-rugby-creve-l-abces-sur-la-question-du-voile-d-assa-koi-ta-9254377>

12 <https://www.conseil-etat.fr/Media/actualites/documents/2023/juin-2023/458088-4595478-463408.pdf>

The Décathlon controversy. In 2019, Décathlon, a French sports retailer and manufacturer, added a sports-appropriate hijab to its online catalogue, set to hit the shelves in March. However, a number of social media users express outrage at the French company's decision to commercialise a hijab. This Islamophobic view was then echoed by the press and political figures, including members of President Emmanuel Macron's party and even his then Minister of Solidarity and Health, Agnès Buzyn. Décathlon received many angry messages and calls, and some of its in-store employees were "verbally abused and threatened, sometimes physically". Fearing for the safety of its employees (and surely for its image), Décathlon decided to pull the plug on its hijab, even though it was already being sold in Morocco¹³. Similar products were available for sale in France, but at significantly higher prices than the €8 advertised by Décathlon: Nike and Adidas sports hijabs cost three to four times more. Décathlon eventually launched a similar product in 2022, but it was no longer marketed as a sports hijab, but as a "multipurpose headband", mainly advertised as a cap or neck warmer¹⁴.



IMAGE SOURCE: DECATHLON MAROC/FACEBOOK

As the 2016 controversy over the burkini ban on French beaches indicated, Muslim women wearing hijabs are systematically excluded from water sports and activities. Although the State Council ruled against burkini bans on beaches, some towns continue to issue such bans. If these bans are systematically invalidated, they still signal to women wearing hijab (and no doubt to Muslims in general) that they are not welcome there¹⁵. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of public and private swimming pools, as well as other water parks, prohibit the use of the burkini. In one instance, a landlord even tried to make a woman pay for the entire communal pool to be cleaned after she had bathed in a burkini at a holiday rental complex¹⁶. Similar incidents occur regularly in gyms and university intramural sports, even if they often emphasise access to sport for all students.

One last often overlooked issue is the exclusion of Muslim girls from sports within the French public-school system. In France, two to four hours a week are devoted to physical education from elementary school through high school. As wearing hijab (and now also the "abaya"¹⁷) is forbidden, girls who wear them and their families have three options. The first is to remove hijab when entering public schools. The second is to enrol in private schools, particularly Muslim ones, which are rare and regularly hounded by the state¹⁸. The third option is homeschooling, which in most cases cuts these girls off from regular, collective and free physical activity, preventing them from discovering a relatively wide range of sports. The relatively recent Anti Separatism Law has restricted this last option, making it much harder to secure permission for homeschooling, especially for Muslim families¹⁹.

¹³ https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2019/02/26/decathlon-propose-un-hijab-de-course-puis-renonce-face-a-l-ire-de-politiques_5428624_3224.html and <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47380058>

¹⁴ <https://www.al-kanz.org/2022/06/02/decathlon-hijab-sport-adidas/>

¹⁵ https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2023/07/17/le-conseil-d-etat-invalide-un-nouvel-arrete-anti-burkini_6182371_3224.html

¹⁶ <https://www.ouest-france.fr/societe/faits-divers/elle-se-baigne-en-burkini-le-propretaire-facture-le-nettoyage-de-la-piscine-5175524>

¹⁷ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/27/how-do-you-distinguish-between-an-abaya-and-a-maxi-dress>

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJEFjUfax8> ; https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/03/14/college-avicenne-a-nice-la-prefecture-ordonne-la-fermeture-de-cet-etablissement-prive-musulman-hors-contrat_6222052_3224.html et <https://www.ouest-france.fr/education/le-lycee-musulman-averroes-a-lille-prive-de-subvention-les-parents-deleves-portent-plainte-5f1d1de4-03d3-11ef-b06d-1aa5699c630f>

¹⁹ <https://fr.euronews.com/2023/11/06/enquete-france-la-loi-anti-separatisme-sur-l'instruction-en-famille-ravive-les-tensions>

Muslim men are also targeted. In April 2024, a small amateur football club had its licence revoked by prefectural decree, which could affect its affiliation to the French Football Federation (FFF) and prevent it from receiving public subsidies reserved for sports clubs. The decree cites "the use of an emblematic sign of the Muslim religion as the club's logo" (a crescent moon and a star), even though the logo was modified in 2023 and other amateur clubs use a Christian cross or a Star of David in their branding. Interestingly, the decree also refers to a "deliberate choice not to develop women's football", an allegation the club denies and that, in any case, is not a requirement. This speaks volumes: while the state is deploying its crushing force to exclude women wearing hijab from sporting activities, a small football club with a significant proportion of Muslim players is the one being vilified for allegedly excluding women. This illustrates that the French state doesn't genuinely care about feminism, but gladly weaponizes it to further its Islamophobic agenda, which is not limited to Muslim women²⁰.

Restrictions on attire in sports are also beginning to extend to Muslim men. In the spring of 2024, a letter from the FFF to presidents of amateur leagues emphasised a ban on wearing leggings, even for men, on the grounds that, according to proponents of a so-called "rigorist"²¹ Islam, men should keep their thighs and knees covered. In fact, covering the "awra", or the area between the navel and the knee, is a common and orthodox practice recognized by most Muslim theologians.

Policing Ramadan

The headscarf is not the only issue that has sparked Islamophobic controversy in French sports. Ramadan frequently becomes a contentious topic as well. While many countries are accommodating religious fasting practices in both professional and amateur sports, France is going the opposite way, explicitly going against any accommodations that would allow athletes and sports enthusiasts to freely observe their faith.

In 2023, FC Nantes coach Antoine Kombouaré decided to exclude Jaouen Hadjam from a Ligue 1 game taking place during the month of Ramadan, on the grounds that the player refused to break his fast. Kombouaré's decision (which led to 0-3 loss) sparked controversy. Although top-level sports doctors disagree on the physiological impact of fasting on athletic performance²², some emphasise the importance of moral and psychological support for professional athletes. They argue that athletes can be significantly bolstered by the support they receive in practising their religion fully²³. Karim Benzema's 2022 performance with Real Madrid, when he won the Ballon d'Or, the highest individual award for a football player, underscores this point. During Ramadan, while fasting, Benzema scored four goals in the Champions League quarter-finals against Chelsea and three against Manchester City in the semi-finals. This exceptional performance contrasts sharply with Antoine Kombouaré's humiliating 5-1 defeat in the Coupe de France final, a considerably less prestigious competition.

20 <https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/actu-et-enquetes/cest-de-lislamophobie-un-club-de-football-francais-sanctionne-pour-separatisme-et>

21 <https://www.leparisien.fr/sports/football/football-pourquoi-la-fff-interdit-le-port-des-collants-et-des-casques-au-nom-de-la-laicite-30-04-2024-O7KBZTWGFNDK3A5D7CX26SC6Pl.php>

22 <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2019/may/15/fasts-and-late-night-protein-shakes-how-muslim-athletes-compete-during-ramadan>

23 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zglOwcp3bqY>



IMAGE SOURCE: SETTEOLYMPIQUEFC/FACEBOOK

In 2024, controversy flared up again during Ramadan, with more professional teams discouraging players from fasting, in some cases, sanctioning those who did²⁴. The French Football Federation (FFF) further escalated the controversy by mandating that players choose between fasting and being selected for the national team²⁵. This policy means that access to the national team is not based solely on performance but is conditional on players agreeing not to fast on game and training days. Midfielder Mahamadou Diawara, called up to the French Under-19 team, refused this arrangement and was consequently replaced by another player²⁶.

Simultaneously, the FFF announced its decision, at both professional and amateur levels, to ban all breaks during matches to allow fasting players to break their fast, a common practice in several European countries²⁷. While no ban has yet been imposed on school sports, there is also no dispensation available for children and teenagers who decide to fast.

Racism, scrutiny and suspicion around racialized athletes

Beyond these prohibitions linked to Muslim religious practices, it is also worth highlighting the way in which media and politicians scrutinise racialized French athletes and disseminate racist and Islamophobic narratives and language about them. Research²⁸ has been carried out on these recurring controversies that range from the physical advantages of black athletes²⁹ and their lack of intelligence³⁰, to the positioning of racialized French football team players on pictures taken during visits by prominent officials³¹.

Karim Benzema, mentioned above, is one of the athletes who have borne the brunt of racism and Islamophobia within the French national football team. Despite spending most of his career at Real Madrid, considered by many to be the greatest team in the world, and being one of only four French players to ever win the Ballon d'Or, Benzema was excluded from the French national team for a very long time due to a series of scandals and controversies that were played up by French media and politicians. The most recent controversy erupted in October 2023, at a time when the player had already announced his retirement from the national team and had moved to the Saudi league. Following a post made by Benzema on X (formerly Twitter) in solidarity with Gazans being shelled by the Israeli colonial army, Macron's Minister of the Interior, Gerald Darmanin, claimed that the player had "notorious links with the Muslim Brotherhood" a "hydra" that "creates an atmosphere of jihadism". These unfounded accusations, against both Benzema and the many organisations claiming the legacy of the Muslim Brotherhood, were then picked up and relayed, mostly uncritically, by many journalists, commentators and politicians³².

This episode has the merit of demonstrating the close links that exist between the categories of 'Arab', 'Muslim' and support for the Palestinian cause in the minds of France's political and media elites. Benzema is not the only athlete that has been attacked and vilified for his support of the Palestinian people. For criticising the Israeli colonisation of Palestine on Instagram, black former basketball star player Émilie Gomis was forced out of the French

24 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9p3J2vqJlk> and <https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/220324/le-football-francais-fait-le-jeune-de-la-tolerance>

25 <https://time.com/6959545/france-football-federation-ramadan-fasting-rules-muslims-soccer/>

26 https://www.espn.com/soccer/story/_/id/39777586/diawara-leaves-france-u19-squad-fasting-ban-sources

27 <https://apnews.com/article/france-soccer-ramadan-islam-fasting-secularism-5230817c30dacc8564d72a8762af771#:~:tex- t=The%20secular%20outlook%20in%20France,Germany%2C%20England%20and%20the%20Netherlands>

28 <https://www.cairn.info/revue-mouvements-2014-2-page-81.htm> and <https://journals.openedition.org/questionsdecommunication/18996>

29 https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/un-coach-m-a-dit-vous-les-noirs-vous-flottez-moins-bien-les-sportifs-ultra-marins-encore-victimes-de-cliches-racistes_6350863.html

30 https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2018/11/09/noirs-costauds-et-blancs-intelligents-comment-le-sport-entretient-les-prejuges-raciaux_5381505_3242.html

31 <https://www.radiofrance.fr/mouv/patrice-evra-fracasse-le-graet-et-denonce-des-actes-de-racisme-en-equipe-de-france-8773045>

32 <https://www.nytimes.com/athletic/5004730/2023/10/30/explained-karim-benzema-and-the-extraordinary-attacks-on-him-from-french-politicians/>

Olympic Committee's Athletes' Commission. She was one of the few non-white athletes on the Athletes' Commission, which, of course, does not include any visibly Muslim athlete. Gomis tried her best to appease critics, withdrawing the post, explaining herself in another, and even sending a letter of apology to the French Minister of Sports, but to no avail³³. No doubt that being a black woman athlete played a role in the severity of the sanction she received.

B/ Enabling genocide and widespread Islamophobia

Welcoming genocide at the Paris Olympics

More than 270 days of unspeakable horror and televised massacre and the worst always seems yet to come. The people of Gaza are being bombed, shot, starved, kidnapped, tortured, raped, buried alive, burnt alive and found in mass graves. Gaza has been transformed from an open-air prison into a death camp. While Israel is committing genocide and war crimes against Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, and the International Criminal Court is considering an arrest warrant for Netanyahu and several other politicians, and while the United Nations has officially blacklisted Israel for intentionally harming children in armed conflict, with an independent UN investigation concluding that Israel has committed crimes of extermination, France continues to turn a blind eye to the situation in Palestine.

Despite these severe allegations, the Israeli Olympic delegation is expected to participate in the 2024 Olympic Games in Paris, as Israel continues to enjoy impunity. Even though the International Olympic Committee says the games are not meant to be political, the very history of the Olympics and of international sports events in general actually show the opposite : politics and protests have always been part of the Games. South Africa was barred from 1964 to 1988 because of its apartheid regime. The USSR 1980 Olympics were boycotted because of the country's war in Afghanistan. More recently, Russia was banned from the Olympics as a sanction following its invasion of Ukraine. Moreover, many were quick to call for a boycott of the last Football World Cup in Qatar because of the poor human rights record of the host country. It turns out sport is and has always been very political, especially in times of war and human rights abuse.

Majed Abu Maraheel, the first Palestinian athlete to compete in the Olympic Games, passed away on June, 11th, at the Nuseirat refugee camp in Gaza. His death, at the age of 61, was due to kidney failure exacerbated by power outages and medical shortages caused by the current genocidal campaign against Palestinians. In 1996, Maraheel made history as the flag bearer for Palestine at the Atlanta Olympic Games, where he competed as a distance runner in the 10km race.

The normalisation of the Israeli delegation's presence is all the more scandalous given that Israel has been committing crimes against Palestinian athletes since the start of its genocidal campaign, perpetuating a brutal tradition of imprisoning, maiming and killing Palestinian athletes³⁴. At least 270 Palestinian athletes have been killed since October 7th, 2023, and sport facilities have been systematically targeted by Israeli relentless bombing³⁵.

³³ <https://apnews.com/article/olympics-paris-2024-gomis-resigns-e903ea53099a315503197bb473fdd562>

³⁴ Will the IOC Do Anything About the Killing of Palestinian Athletes? | The Nation

³⁵ Israel must be held accountable for its crimes against Palestinian athletes in Gaza (euromedmonitor.org)

Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris, stated that Russian and Belarussian athletes were not welcome in Paris for the Olympics. However, French politicians seem to find no issue at all with the presence of the Israeli delegation at the Games. When asked about the presence of Israeli athletes, Amélie Oudea Castéra, the Minister of Sport and Olympic and Paralympic Games, said that Ukraine and Palestine were two very different situations. According to her, Israel has been a victim of the "worst terrorist attack" of this century and has therefore the right to defend itself, "in accordance with international laws", she added quickly. During his interview on BFM and RMC, an interview fully dedicated to the Olympics, French President Macron took a similar stance. He pointed out that while Russia has chosen to invade Ukraine and has been involved in a war for 2 years, Israel has been a victim of a terror attack. Macron emphasised that one can disagree with Israel's methods of retaliation, but it's important not to forget that it's a victim. Interestingly, neither Oudéa Castéra nor Macron commented on the "response" they're witnessing from Israel. When every law of the book has been breached, they insist on maintaining the mainstream narrative and portraying Israel as a victim. Needless to say, they chose not to acknowledge that Israel is a settler colony and an apartheid state currently committing genocide. They also ignored fundamental principles of international law, such as the fact that a state cannot claim the right to self-defence against threats emanating from the territories it occupies.

On the racist use of the word terrorism

If we broadly define terrorism as an act of violence aiming at coercing another party to abide by one's political agenda, we must acknowledge that one of its most common and racist use primarily targets Muslim organisations or individuals. The fact that the atrocities committed by the Israeli Occupation Forces are not labelled as terrorism, and the rhetoric used by the Israeli government in its genocidal campaign is not considered advocacy for terrorism, undermines the credibility of using this term in any other context.

The stark contrast in the treatment of Ukraine and Palestine reveals much about France and the "liberal" West. On multiple levels, the decision not to prevent Israel from participating in the Olympics illustrates the racism and hypocrisy prevalent in the West.

During his interview, Macron went on to say that athletes are adversaries but not enemies. He evasively mentioned the history of violence at the Games, notably alluding to the Munich massacre of 1972, and indicated his intention to pursue an Olympic Truce and seek assistance from China. In other words, Macron is hoping to put the genocide on pause and prays that the Games proceed smoothly so that everyone can enjoy them, with the help of a country currently committing genocide against the Uyghurs. But there is no such thing as genocidal peace.

Complicity in genocide

France's unconditional support to Israel reminds us that, departing from its previous so-called 'Arab policy'³⁶, French diplomacy is not neutral on the subject. Not only is the host country of the Olympic Games normalizing the presence of a State that is currently committing genocide, it is also a primary accomplice in that genocide. Over the past few months, the French government has been very evasive about its arm sales to Israel. Amnesty International and 10 others NGOs have decided to sue the French government for

³⁶ <https://www.milestonesjournal.net/reflections/gaza2023/2023/12/5/5qdb Yudqz3aazn5psee fr4f4q21ri3>

its complicity with Israel³⁷. In addition to providing the Zionist State with intelligence support and weapons to “defend itself” as stated by the government, France supplied Israel with at least 100,000 rounds of submachine gun ammunition at the end of October 2023³⁸, and the NGO Disclose has revealed on June 17, 2024 that the host country of the Games delivers armed drones to Israel which bombs civilians in Gaza³⁹. This criminal diplomatic stance may and should alienate many countries and athletes, particularly those sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. In this context, how can France welcome the Palestinian delegation, while simultaneously supporting the genocide of their families and their people back home?

In addition to its military cooperation, France has been adopting all the Zionist talking points from the first day of this genocide and its diplomatic stances effectively legitimize and normalize Israel's actions on the international stage. No lie has been too big, no propaganda too ridiculous or racist, for the French government to stop paying blind allegiance to Israel's fascist government and halt its support to the murderous madness of a genocidal state. Israel has fed the world lies about beheaded babies, women being raped, UNHCR staff being Hamas operatives and Hamas using civilians as human shields to justify its genocidal campaign. While all of them have been systematically debunked, the French government and French media persist in perpetuating them to justify their complicity. After Israel defied the ICJ ruling demanding that it halts its offensive on Rafah by burning Palestinians alive in tents where they had sought refuge following displacement, a major French TV channel chose to provide a platform to war criminal Netanyahu. He used this opportunity to advocate for genocide under the guise of the war on terror rhetoric and disseminate further lies to viewers. When all French media and many French representatives systematically add “according to Hamas” when reporting any information that isn't Zionist propaganda, they not only delegitimize and silence Palestinian voices but also attempt to divert attention from the horrific images that speak for themselves. Moreover, the constant focus on women and children when talking about Palestinians in Gaza not only dehumanises Palestinian men; it perpetuates the racist and Islamophobic idea that Palestinian men, as Muslim men, can never be fully innocent.

France has historically portrayed itself as a guardian of Christians in the Middle East. However, it is notable that amidst ongoing persecution and targeting of their communities and churches by Israel, Palestinian Christians are left without support. This reveals that France's concern for Christians in the region is contingent upon them being victims of Muslims. If their suffering does not serve to vilify Islam, France appears indifferent to their plight.

France deliberately omits the colonial identity of the State of Israel and its apartheid regime to propagate the Zionist narrative. The prosecution and intimidation of activists, and anyone who speaks up for Palestine, further contribute to normalizing the genocide. Numerous activists and political figures have been intimidated by the police, some of them even convicted of “apologie du terrorisme” (i.e. advocacy for terrorism), for their criticism of Israeli policy. The hateful and racist campaign against Rima Hassan, the first French-Palestinian woman to serve in the European Parliament, illustrates the desire to silence any dissenting voice that challenges the Zionist narrative.

37 [Vente d'armes à Israël : pourquoi nous saisissons la justice française - Amnesty International France](#)

38 <https://www.humanite.fr/monde/armee-israelienne/la-france-aurait-fourni-a-israel-des-equipements-de-mitrailleuses-selon-une-enquete-de-disclose-et-marsactun>

39 [En pleine guerre à Gaza, la France équipe des drones armés israéliens \(disclose.ngo\)](#)

The shameful use and weaponization of antisemitism to justify the ongoing genocide of Palestinians to silent dissent and distract us from the focal point (the actual genocide!) is another key element of Zionist propaganda. The March “for the Republic and against antisemitism” organised after October 7th aimed at conflating criticism of the Israeli genocidal campaign with antisemitism to try to silence and intimidate any expression of Palestine solidarity in France and shield Israel's genocidal actions from international scrutiny. Weaponizing antisemitism in this manner is itself antisemitic as it exploits Jewish suffering and history for political ends, reducing a serious issue to a mere tool to justify an ongoing genocide.

The whitewashing of Israel's genocide that we have been noticing for months is absolutely appalling. When Israel has broken an encyclopedia of international laws, when every single Knesset member and cabinet minister is actively advocating for genocide and mass murder, the genocide is still referred to as a humanitarian crisis when it's a man made genocide. One of the bloodiest massacres has been whitewashed as a hostage rescue and the countless videos and social media posts in which IOF soldiers brag about the latest atrocity they've committed never seem to be enough to challenge the “according to Hamas” Zionist narrative. France is not fulfilling its obligation in accordance with international law to prevent a genocide in which more than 4000 of its own citizens are actively participating⁴⁰. Many countries, including France, were quick to say they wanted to impose sanctions on Iran for its retaliatory attack on Israel. And yet, it seems that even while committing genocide, Israel is above the law and needs no sanction.

Widespread Islamophobia

Islamophobia in France is terrifyingly commonplace and systemic. One has to consider it part of the political and cultural landscape because of how deeply it is rooted in French history and governance, as France refuses to recognise the political and legal existence of minorities on its soil⁴¹. For years now, France's record on Islamophobia has been pointed out by Human rights organisations⁴². Domestically, not a single day goes by without Islam and Muslim being the hot topic on news channels. They are seen and portrayed as an everlasting issue that France needs to deal with. The centrality of Islam in the 2022 elections was a forerunner of one of the most repressive eras for Muslims in France. But it bears reminding that the previous years had already seen an unprecedented rise in Islamophobia and the strengthening of its institutionalisation. Through the “Systematic Obstruction” policy⁴³ the state unveiled its concerted effort to control and marginalise Muslim communities through acute surveillance and punitive measures.

40 [Génocide à Gaza : plusieurs milliers de Français dans les rangs de Tsahal \(revolutionpermanente.fr\)](#) and [Guerre à Gaza : un soldat franco-israélien sous le coup d'une plainte pour « actes de torture » sur des Palestiniens - L'Humanité \(humanite.fr\)](#)

41 <https://www.cage.ngo/articles/french-master-muslim-slaves>

42 [France: Dissolving Anti-Discrimination Group Threatens Rights | Human Rights Watch \(hrw.org\)](#), [UN urged to take action against France over 'entrenching Islamophobia' | Middle East Eye](#)

43 [“We are Beginning to Spread Terror”: The State-Sponsored Persecution of Muslims in France](#)

Key figures

As of April 2024⁴⁴, as part of the systematic obstruction policy, statistics released by the French government indicate the following:

- 31,000 systematic order controls have been conducted.
- 1,112 Muslim organisations, including schools, mosques, and businesses, have been closed down or disbanded by the state.
- €55,914,668 have been seized.

In this context, the Anti Separatism Law, motivated by the same so-called imperative of defending secularism and combating separatism, came to strengthen the obstruction policy⁴⁵, expanding significantly governmental powers to dissolve an organisation or to close down places of worship without judicial oversight. These policies, which ostensibly aim to combat radicalization and terrorism, have in practice facilitated a broad crackdown on Muslim communities, institutions, and expressions of faith, amounting to persecution as understood in International Law⁴⁶.

As shown in the following timeline, these policies collectively aim to restrict the autonomy of Muslim institutions, curtail religious freedoms and propagate a narrative of suspicion and distrust toward Muslims. The legal system became a tool to monitor, control, punish and humiliate Muslims in France.

Timeline

- February 2018, a secret initiative later known as the “Plan to Fight Radicalisation” was launched in 15 undisclosed areas across France. This Islamophobic policy specifically targeted mosques, Islamic schools, and Muslim-run businesses, yet no official statement or documentation was released to announce its implementation.
- November 28, 2019, former Minister of the Interior Christophe Castaner publicly revealed the existence of this anti-radicalisation policy during an address to the Prefects and announced the policy's expansion to the entire French territory. To support this nationwide implementation, the French State established the “Departmental Cells for Fighting against Islamism and Communitarian Withdrawal,” tasked with facilitating and enforcing the policy.
- In late 2020, the French government decided to dissolve by decree two of the most prominent Muslims NGOs in the country, Baraka City, a humanitarian organisation and the CCIF (Collective Against Islamophobia in France), which has played for years a key role in documenting Islamophobic acts and defending victims of Islamophobia. It was only the opening act of the witch-hunt that ensued, aimed at silencing Muslims and Muslim organisations in civil society.
- 24 August 2021: Anti-Separatism Bill enacted into Law.

⁴⁴ <https://www.cipdr.gouv.fr/lutte-islamisme-et-separatisme-clir/>

⁴⁵ https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/file/pdf/cir_45206/CIRC

⁴⁶ <https://www.cage.ngo/articles/we-are-beginning-to-spread-terror-the-state-sponsored-persecution-of-muslims-in-france>

Since 2022, France has experienced a marked escalation in domestic Islamophobia. The election campaign has seen a rise in Islamophobic rhetoric, with candidates such as Éric Zemmour and Marine Le Pen making Islam and immigration central themes of the debates. Such rhetoric has further normalised suspicion and hostility towards Muslims, presenting Islam as a threat to French values. This environment has led to significant policy decisions that intensify Islamophobia in all spheres of public life.

Schools have long been presented as a major battlefield for the preservation of *laïcité*⁴⁷ and French values, especially since the 2004 law, and Islamophobia has become alarmingly prevalent. The ban on wearing the “abaya” and “qamis” in public schools, implemented through a directive from the Minister of National Education on August 31, 2023, coincided with a period of government turmoil sparked by widespread protests against pension reform. Additionally, it followed major uprisings triggered by the police killing of Muslim teenager Nahel Merzouk in June 2023, which exposed the violent repression and systemic police brutality faced by Muslim communities and visible minorities. The State's new Islamophobic offensive imposed a new hegemonic racist discourse in French political life and in the media. The definition of the abaya has been intentionally kept vague to cover any attire worn by Muslim students that is considered too loose or too covering. This discriminatory policy, both racist and sexist, specifically targets young women perceived as Muslim. Non-Muslim students could wear the exact same outfit without it being labeled as religious attire. In this context, reports of Islamophobic incidents in schools increased significantly in 2023⁴⁸. Furthermore, a media investigation revealed that teachers training now includes overt Islamophobic narratives (“Islam has to be opposed more than Catholicism”), thus perpetuating biases within the educational system⁴⁹. Private Islamic schools continue to be targeted, as demonstrated by the Averroès Muslim High School losing its public contract and funding without any legal basis.

These policies, justified under the guise of *laïcité*, undermine the principles of republican equality by systematically singling out and marginalising Muslim practices or anything perceived as such. The annual controversy around the burkini epitomises societal unwillingness to accommodate Muslim cultural practices. The Council of State's decision to suspend Grenoble municipality's regulation authorising the wearing of the burkini in swimming pools, enabled by the Anti Separatism Law, reinforces state intervention against expressions of Muslim identity. One must note the irony of France systematically presenting Islam as incompatible with French values, especially those of equality between men and women, yet probably being the country that regulates the most women's attire.

Freedom of speech and religious expression face tightening restrictions, as highlighted by the cancellation of religious events and by high-profile cases like the expulsion of Imam Hassan Iquioussen. This expulsion, presented as a measure against “separatism,” exemplifies a broader crackdown on Muslim voices considered incompatible with French values. Among the accusations against him are his views on family norms, which are said to violate the principle of equality between men and women; his denunciation of Islamophobia, which is seen as a call for violence; and his pro-Palestine stances, which are regarded as antisemitic.

47 https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2022/10/18/atteintes-a-la-laicite-darmanin-mobilise-les-prefets_6146214_3224.html

48 <https://ccieurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/rapport-ccie-2023.pdf>

49 <https://www.blast-info.fr/articles/2023/info-blast-comment-lislamophobie-est-enseignee-aux-futurs-profs-ZtV6Ret5SZuhp6NU-jn4UCw>

The repression of pro-Palestinian demonstrations following the Al Aqsa flood operation in September 2023, and the Ministry of Justice's guidelines conflating support for Palestine with support for terrorism, exemplify the stifling of political dissent and solidarity. The government's stance has led to raids and questioning of Muslim media figures expressing pro-Palestinian sentiments.

In this overtly Islamophobic environment, mosques have been frequently attacked by far-right groups⁵⁰ and Islamic institutions continue to face scrutiny and harassment as part of the systematic obstruction policy. The adoption of the Immigration Law in December 2023, hailed by Marine Le Pen as an "ideological victory" for her movement, institutionalised "national preference" for accessing the welfare state, perpetuating systemic discrimination against non-European immigrants, particularly Muslims.

Thus, the systemic obstruction policy and the Anti-Separatism Law laid the legal framework that facilitated Islamophobic government practices in the country. But we mustn't forget that this was facilitated by the growing institutionalisation of Islamophobia in previous years as part of the war on terror. Will the host country be able to hide its deeply ingrained racism and Islamophobia for the duration of the Olympic Games?

French style war on terror

Since the early 90's, France played a pioneering role in opposing Islamic resurgence movements, becoming a prominent actor in the subsequent global War on Terror. Domestically, France's counterterrorism approach has led to an erosion of civil liberties due to increased surveillance of Muslims. Following the November 2015 attacks, France declared a state of emergency, granting authorities expanded powers to conduct searches and detain suspects without judicial oversight. This state of emergency was extended several times and eventually led to the incorporation of many of its measures into ordinary law in 2017, such as expanded surveillance capabilities and the ability to close places of worship suspected of fostering extremism.

Islamic beliefs and Muslims have been presented as enemies within and treated as such. State policies intentionally conflate legitimate religious practices with signs of "radicalisation", thereby stigmatising all Muslims as potential threats. Amongst the signs of "radicalization" presented as part of the deradicalization program were praying, fasting, growing a beard or sleeping on the floor. Clearly, counter-terror policies have strengthened and justified domestic Islamophobia. In light of this hostile context, what message is France conveying to the world, particularly to the Muslim athletes it will be hosting for the Games? Clearly not a welcoming one.

Internationally, France has been on the forefront of military operations across Muslim majority Nations, in Mali, Libya and Syria and has contributed to the destabilisation of these countries. Athletes from these regions will undoubtedly have a bittersweet experience, knowing that the host country of the Games has played a significant role in causing chaos in their homelands. The 2011 NATO-led intervention in Libya plunged the country into chaos, contributing to the proliferation of armed groups and a migration crisis. In Mali, France's military intervention, initiated in January 2013 under Operation Serval and later expanded in the Sahel region to Operation Barkhane has a calamitous record. Not only has it entrenched a cycle of violence and brought instability in Mali and neighbouring countries but French forces have been guilty of brutalising civilian populations and of grave human

⁵⁰ <https://ccieurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/rapport-ccie-2023.pdf>

rights violations⁵¹. France has also been a key member of the Global Coalition to defeat ISIS and deployed special forces in Iraq and Syria. The coalition's airstrikes resulted in significant civilian casualties. Beyond these direct military engagements, the infamous Guantanamo Bay detention camp has become a symbol of the brutal methods employed in the global War on Terror. France has been more than silently complicit in these practices. Not only has it conducted secret interrogations but it has also systematically supported the US and opposed any condemnation of this barbaric system by the UN⁵².

France has not only entrenched Islamophobia within its own borders but has also actively exported this xenophobic obsession globally, wielding it as a tool of cultural and political influence at a time of strategic decline⁵³. Under the guise of promoting secularism and combating extremism, France has imposed its aggressive anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies on the international stage, fuelling discrimination against Muslim communities worldwide.

The normalisation of violence against Muslim bodies sheds light on the acceptance of genocide against Muslim populations by France and the West. The slow and inadequate responses (or outright support, as seen in the infamous case of Israel) to the treatment of Uyghurs by China, Muslim Indians by Hindu Nationalists, or to the UAE's role in the Sudanese civil war, often cloaked in diplomatic rhetoric, reveal a troubling willingness to overlook atrocities committed against Muslim populations. The support of the West to the countries guilty of these atrocities remains consistent and unhindered. Even before the competition begins, we can already tell from the participation of all these countries that Islamophobia will be one of the big winners.

C/ Displacement, Gentrification, Environmental Destruction and Securitization Invisibilizing the undesirables: The social cleansing of Paris

In a long interview addressing the organisation of the Olympic Games, President Macron stated that *"One of the objectives of the opening ceremony is to showcase the most beautiful face of France"*⁵⁴. It's no surprise then that the streets of Paris have been and continue to be cleared of any undesirable and foreign presence that might tarnish France's image. So what does the sanitised version of Paris look like? A city where any kind of visible misery has been hidden and all the informal living areas dismantled. The organisation of the Games has become an accelerator of exclusion for the most vulnerable populations. In an alarming report⁵⁵, a group of associations has documented the abusive practices and policies towards the most vulnerable people in the areas hosting the Olympic Games. The "social cleansing" that they're describing and denouncing refers to the harassment, expulsion, and invisibilization of groups deemed undesirable by public authorities from Olympic venues and host cities. Despite official promises to create a more inclusive society post-Games⁵⁶, the reality has been starkly different.

51 [Lumière sur dix ans d'opérations militaires françaises au Sahel | Mediapart](#)

52 [La France, complice diplomatique de Guantanamo \(nouvelobs.com\)](#) ; [Cable: 05PARIS2039_a \(wikileaks.org\)](#)

53 <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20221223-will-stoking-islamophobia-help-reverse-frances-international-decline/>

54 [En direct sur RMC et BFMTV pour parler des Jeux olympiques et paralympiques de Paris.](#)

55 [le revers de la médaille – JOP Paris 2024 : ne laissons pas l'exclusion en héritage](#)

56 <https://olympics.com/fr/paris-2024/nos-engagements/promouvoir-le-role-du-sport/societe-plus-inclusive>

Migrants have been one of the primary targets of this social cleansing policy. The eviction of the Unibéton squat in April 2023, home to 500 exiled people near the Olympic Village, marked the beginning of an intensified wave of evictions. The pace of these evictions accelerated further from September 2023, with 16 operations in the last four months of 2023 and 26 in the first five months of 2024, nearly matching the total number of evictions in 2022⁵⁷. In April 2024, France's largest squat in Vitry-sur-Seine, home to up to 450 migrants, was evacuated⁵⁸. Among those forced out of the Paris region were a high number of unaccompanied minors. These evictions are all the more scandalous given that many migrants have worked, often illegally, on the Olympic construction sites⁵⁹. The call for boycott of the 2022 World Cup in Qatar was not only motivated by the poor human rights record of the host country. Critics frequently highlighted the inhumane treatment that foreign workers endured on various construction sites. Without equating the two situations, it is crucial to acknowledge that the working conditions for foreigners in France on the Olympic construction sites are far from acceptable, with numerous accounts of systematic exploitation. Undocumented workers have been compelled to perform extremely difficult tasks without the necessary safety measures, sometimes working up to 13 hours a day⁶⁰. Authorities have increasingly targeted specific ethnic and racialized social groups, as evidenced by prefectural orders and municipalities explicitly mentioning "people of Romanian origin" (Roma) or referring to "migrants" to justify actions. This biopolitical handling of bodies deemed as foreign and undesirable in public spaces reveals the deeply racist nature of these evictions.

The list of vulnerable victims of this social cleansing policy includes students. In the run-up to the Olympic Games, nearly 3,000 students in the Paris region had to leave their accommodation for the summer. Twelve student residences have been requisitioned by the government to house law enforcement officers and rescue workers near the Olympic venues. As a form of compensation, they received a resounding 100 euros and two tickets to the Games⁶¹. These evictions have caused significant stress for the affected students throughout the year, often without satisfactory alternative accommodations being offered. One recurring concern expressed by the prefectures is the visibility of homeless individuals during the Olympic Games. In a context marked by a growing number of rough sleepers, homeless individuals have faced systematic harassment, eviction—often involving the disposal of their belongings—and relocation outside the Île-de-France region. As in the case of migrants, these evictions were often carried out violently and outside any legal framework. Those who were evicted were only offered alternative accommodation in select instances, and the solutions provided were rarely permanent. Most of the housing provided was temporary, lasting anywhere from a few days to several months. In the eyes of the government, nobody seems to be considered too vulnerable to be spared. The French newspaper *Le canard enchaîné* reports that even hospitals have been instructed to limit outings of psychiatric patients as much as possible, even if this means going against medical advice⁶².

57 <https://lereversdelamedaille.fr/>

58 À 100 jours des JO 2024, le plus grand squat de France évacué au sud de Paris (france24.com)

59 <https://www.cairn.info/revue-migrations-societe-2023-2-page-3.htm#re8no8>

60 www.middleeasteye.net

61 JO de Paris 2024 : « 100 euros et deux places » en dédommagement pour les étudiants dont les logements seront réquisitionnés (lemonde.fr)

62 <https://www.lecanardenchaine.fr/>

It's important to bear in mind that the fate of these vulnerable people is a matter of political will. As we all have been able to notice, the way Ukrainian refugees have been received shows that it is feasible to offer dignified accommodations for new arrivals in France (and consequently for homeless people too) without resorting to street living. However, it appears that beyond the Olympic Games, this cleansing policy conceals a sinister long-term agenda. In 2021, a residence for foreign workers was demolished to make way for the future Olympic village. Forced to leave, the displaced workers requested to be relocated to the same neighbourhood after the Games, but their plea was denied⁶³. It seems the Olympic Games are being leveraged to hasten the ongoing process of gentrification.

The gentrification of immigrant, low-income neighbourhoods

Areas where the Olympics infrastructure was built were profoundly altered, often at the expense of local communities. In addition to systematic evictions ordered by the state, experts and residents fear accelerated gentrification of the 93 department (Seine-Saint-Denis), the infamous northern suburbs (*banlieues*) of Paris. The 93 is home to large public housing estates and non-white, low-income neighbourhoods.

In Saint-Ouen, a town bordering Paris, the construction or renovation of public transportation, parks, shops and housing came hand in hand with the creation of the Olympic Village. This should be something to celebrate for long-time underserved residents, but the modest inhabitants of Saint-Ouen are being displaced by a wealthier population, keen to live near Paris but unable, or unwilling, to pay the exorbitant housing costs of the capital. This trend, already underway before Paris was awarded the Games, has been amplified by the Olympic infrastructure plans and subsequent construction. According to the press, average house prices rose by 10.5%⁶⁴ in 2018, just after the official announcement that Paris was to host the Games. Over the next five years, and despite adverse economic conditions for real estate, prices jumped by another 18.8%⁶⁵. Meanwhile, construction work related to the Olympics has led to the demolition of several buildings, and it is likely that residents, that have not been promised much by the state, will be rehoused further away from Paris, possibly in worse living quarters⁶⁶.

Saint-Denis, bordering Paris and Saint-Ouen, faces a similar situation. The Olympic Village, stretching between Saint-Ouen and Saint-Denis, is to be converted into housing, some of which was supposed to be affordable. But average prices are around €7,000 per square metre, whereas market prices usually stand between €4,000 and €7,000 per square metre. Additionally, real estate agents report that prices in Saint-Denis have risen by "30% to 40% in five years", compared to a 5% to 10% increase in the rest of the Île-de-France region (the Paris metropolitan area)⁶⁷. Saint-Denis residents are also promised that they will benefit from the Olympic infrastructure, including the Olympic aquatic centre, which will be open to the public after the Games. But which public are we talking about exactly? Undoubtedly not the numerous women wearing hijab in Saint-Denis, who will likely be barred from access, even if gentrification processes haven't pushed them out of the city by then.

63 <https://fr.euronews.com/2021/05/05/jo-de-paris-des-travailleurs-etrangeurs-perdants-des-jeux-olympiques>

64 https://www.bfmtv.com/immobilier/prix-immobilier/jo-2024-saint-ouen-fait-bande-a-part-pour-limiter-la-flambee-des-prix-immobiliers-dans-le-neuf_AN-201905150353.html

65 <https://www.leparisien.fr/immobilier/prix-de-limmobilier-en-seine-saint-denis-a-saint-ouen-leffet-jo-semble-se-dissiper-12-01-2024-QNHCCAZAJVCE5BQ4CCVKGMUAVE.php#:~:text=En%20revanche%2C%20si%20l'on,396%20euros%20le%20m%C3%A8tre%20carr%C3%A9.>

66 https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/saint-ouen-sur-seine_93070/a-saint-ouen-l-approche-des-jeux-olympiques-confirme-une-inevitable-gentrification_52771244.html

67 https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2024/06/20/paris-2024-les-habitants-s-inquietent-du-risque-de-gentrification-de-saint-denis_6241805_3242.html

Gentrification is not just a process replacing low-income populations with wealthier ones. It often involves replacing racialized communities, which are typically poorer due to structural racism, with white populations, generally better off thanks to their racial privilege. The images produced before construction to illustrate the project's final outcome highlight this potential future. Once displayed on the barriers surrounding the construction site of the Olympic Village, in neighbourhoods counting a significant proportion of racialized inhabitants, these images depicted a changed neighbourhood, predominantly inhabited by white people⁶⁸.

No Olympics for the 93 department youth. In 2020, during the height of the Covid crisis, the government launched Quartiers d'Été, a scheme designed to provide summer activities for young people in the most underprivileged neighbourhoods. While this scheme can be criticised (not least because the Ministry of the Interior designed it to combat "radicalization", "delinquency" and "community isolation"⁶⁹ an expression that only ever single-out racialized communities), it gives young people in France's most deprived and poorest neighbourhoods access to various activities run by local organisers during the summer holidays. Appropriately, in this Olympic year, many calls for application for Quartiers d'Été in the Paris metropolitan area emphasised that special attention would be given to Olympic related projects. But an exception was made in the 93 department, which includes cities evoked earlier, where part of the Olympic Games will be held. In this department, it is stated that projects most likely to be funded will involve trips outside the department⁷⁰. It seems that the 93 prefecture considers that the department's youth (often singled out as violent, criminal, radicalised, etc...) ought to clear the streets so as not to risk disrupting the "true people's celebration"⁷¹ that the Olympic Games are marketed to be. The implication is that it would be a shame to let them spoil the summer for tourists and well-to-do white France, as they did last year when they revolted en masse following the police killing of one of their own, Nahel Merzouk.

Olympics and environmental destruction

Gentrification processes, that deliberately go hand in hand with hosting the Olympic Games in different metropolises⁷², frequently come with environmental costs that affect local communities. The 2024 Games are no exception. For instance, a swimming pool project dedicated to athletes' training in Aubervilliers, another town bordering Paris and Saint-Denis, involved the destruction of workers' gardens established at the beginning of the 20th century to allow low-income resident to do some gardening and grow their own food. Grassroot organising managed to save part of these gardens that were to be completely destroyed by the original pool project in order to make way for a spa and solarium, amenities of little use to Aubervilliers' inhabitants, half of whom live below the poverty line. In contrast, the gardens provide free fresh produce and serve as a source of coolness and greenery in an area with scarce green spaces and where poorly insulated social housing exacerbates heat waves⁷³.

68 <https://www.bondyblog.fr/societe/jeux-olympiques-dapres-mon-estimation-il-y-a-1-500-personnes-qui-ont-ete-deloge-es-de-maniere-permanente/> and <https://chroniques-architecture.com/avant-apres-le-village-olympique-paris-2024-en-perspective/>

69 <https://www.cipdr.gouv.fr/un-plan-quartiers-dete-2020-pour-preparer-un-bel-ete-solidaire-dans-les-quartiers-prioritaires/>

70 <https://www.bondyblog.fr/enquete/seine-saint-denis-la-prefecture-veut-envoyer-des-jeunes-de-quartier-loin-des-jo/>

71 <https://www.sports.gouv.fr/une-vraie-fete-populaire-2030>

72 https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2024/02/29/village-olympique-de-paris-2024-a-barcelone-et-a-londres-la-dynamique-de-gentrification-etait-deliberee_6219254_3242.html?random=721758949 ; <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/sports-and-active-living/articles/10.3389/fspor.2021.805567/full> and <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0261517711000999?via%3Dihub>

73 <https://information.tv5monde.com/international/jo-paris-2024-des-jardins-ouvriers-detruits-pour-une-piscine-olympique-36024>

Despite public protests, part of Parc de la Courneuve (officially Parc Georges-Valbon) was also cleared for the construction of the Olympics Media Village. The immense 407-hectare park, spanning La Courneuve, Saint-Denis, Stains, Dugny and Garges-lès-Gonesse, has long attracted real estate developers' covetous interest. In 2015 already, residents' protests frustrated a real estate project marketed as a French-style Central Park⁷⁴ that would have ransacked the park. This time however, the Media Village project was approved, leading to the destruction of l'Aire des vents, an area not officially part of Parc de la Courneuve but regarded by locals as integral to it. L'Aire des vents was known as the site of the Fête de l'Huma, a major festival that brought the French Left, from unions to political parties, together every year. The Media village will be repurposed after the Games and 1300 housing units are planned. Still, local residents fear they will be unaffordable, as with the athletes' village in Saint-Ouen and Saint-Denis, and will therefore attract a wealthier gentrifying population⁷⁵.

While these two projects symbolise the impact of the games on the environment of low-income neighbourhoods, and thus, on their residents, they are not the only ones destroying what little green space remains in these areas. Other projects have pushed concreting to the limit, irreversibly polluted soils⁷⁶, and brought record pollution levels near schools and residential areas⁷⁷. As a result, residents who will not be displaced by gentrification will have to live in an environment ravaged by the Olympics, on which they have had no say, as neither they nor the general French population were adequately consulted about hosting the Games.

Police everywhere, Olympics nowhere

These imposed, and therefore contested, games also provided an opportunity for the state to deploy, redeploy and reinforce its repressive security arsenal. Recent examples suggest that counterterrorism measures will be "maliciously repurposed"⁷⁸ to maintain order and quell protests around the Games (that's if we assume that counterterrorism policies are not intentionally designed to be abused to begin with). At the very least, the protection perimeters of the SILT Law, which brought some of the measures of the French State of Emergency into common law in 2017, will be used to restrict freedom of movement in certain areas where events and competitions will be taking place⁷⁹.

For Macron's government, the Games will also be a chance, as was the case for other host countries⁸⁰, to advance its police agenda. Before and during the Games, thousands of police operations will be carried out to intimidate and dissuade, particularly in low-income, non-white neighbourhoods⁸¹; snipers will be positioned in strategic locations⁸²; public spaces in Paris will be "saturated with police"⁸³; "the number of law enforcement officers in public

74 <https://www.lejournaldugrandparis.fr/stephane-troussel-central-park-grand-paris-ne-sera/>

75 <https://reporterre.net/Les-JO-2024-a-Paris-une-catastrophe-ecologique-en-Seine-Saint-Denis>

76 <https://reporterre.net/Jeux-olympiques-arretons-le-saccage> and <https://reporterre.net/Les-Jeux-olympiques-sont-le-pretexte-a-la-betonisation-de-l-Ile-de-France>

77 <https://www.bondyblog.fr/societe/jo-2024-a-saint-denis-les-interets-financiers-avant-la-sante-des-enfants/>

78 https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2023/04/30/des-lois-antiterroristes-detournees-pour-garantir-le-maintien-de-l-ordre_6171579_3224.html

79 https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2024/04/25/jo-2024-le-perimetre-de-protection-sera-mis-en-place-huit-jours-avant-la-ceremonie-d-ouverture_6229862_3242.html

80 <https://journals.openedition.org/ideas/1407>

81 <https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceculture/podcasts/le-reportage-de-la-redaction/securite-en-seine-saint-denis-la-police-multiplie-les-actions-avant-les-jop-3877488>

82 <https://www.leparisien.fr/jo-paris-2024-tireurs-delite-drones-le-dispositif-de-securite-xxl-de-la-ceremonie-douverture-se-precise-05-03-2024-7SK3WJU2EBCWVGK64RSXAAUGTY.php#:~:text=%C3%A9lite%2C%20drones%E2%80%A6-,Le%20dispositif%20de%20s%C3%A9curit%C3%A9%20XXL%20de%20la%20c%C3%A9r%C3%A9monie%20d'ouverture,aux%20abords%20de%20la%20Seine.>

83 <https://www.revolutionpermanente.fr/Coalition-internationale-Macron-fait-appel-a-ses-allies-pour-des-JO-toujours-plus-repressifs>

transportation will be doubled⁸⁴; 30000 French law enforcement officers will be transferred from the provinces to Paris⁸⁵ along with foreign police and military reinforcements⁸⁶; and 14,000 additional law enforcement officers will be deployed throughout France⁸⁷. This massive police deployment is concerning, even more so when considering the severe police violence used against Moroccan fans, during the World Cup⁸⁸, and Ivorian fans, during the African Cup of Nations⁸⁹, as they celebrated their teams' successes in French cities. One can only wonder who will be allowed to celebrate victories during the Olympics.

The introduction of algorithmic surveillance

At the heart of the debate surrounding the increase in repressive measures ahead of the Olympic Games is the issue of algorithmic surveillance legalised in France by Article 7 of the Olympic Bill adopted in March 2023, a first within the European Union⁹⁰. Practically, this law allows images captured by video surveillance cameras or drones to be processed by software that detects behaviour deemed "suspicious". This term is, of course, very vague, enabling algorithmic surveillance to associate dangerousness with behaviour that are commonplace, such as walking against the flow of a crowd, lingering in one spot, sitting on the ground, running, or frequently returning to the same location.

Permission to use algorithmic surveillance extends until December 2024, but as with any security law that grants more power to the state, it is highly likely that its use will be extended or even authorised permanently. This possibility was already hinted at by the Macron government's sports minister, Amélie Oudéa-Castéra⁹¹. Some organisations, such as Amnesty International, are also concerned about a potential progression from algorithmic surveillance to the use of facial recognition technologies, which pose even greater threat for civil liberties⁹².

It should also be noted that, to deploy its algorithmic surveillance, the state is collaborating with a number of French and foreign companies with disturbing track records. These include France's Thalès, which supplies dictatorships with surveillance equipment⁹³ and military weaponry⁹⁴, and the start-up Oosto (formerly Anyvision), involved in the surveillance of Palestinians in the West Bank⁹⁵ and thereby complicit in Israeli occupation and apartheid. Other surveillance technologies will also be introduced, such as the use of full-body scanners (as in airports) and QR codes regulating access to certain areas of Paris. While these two technologies may seem relatively innocuous, they nonetheless raise concerns in terms of civil liberties and data privacy, while normalising, for both individuals and the state, the advent of surveillance societies⁹⁶.

84 <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/4011462-20221123-securite-allons-doubler-effectifs-forces-ordre-transports-annonce-gerald-darmanin>

85 https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/01/19/paris-2024-pendant-les-jeux-30-000-forces-de-securite-interieure-seront-deplacees-vers-paris_6211829_3224.html

86 https://www.francetvinfo.fr/les-jeux-olympiques/paris-2024-pourquoi-la-france-a-t-elle-recours-a-des-soldats-et-policiers-etrangers-pour-aider-a-securiser-les-jeux-olympiques_6455450.html

87 <https://www.francebleu.fr/infos/societe/jo-paris-2024-en-dordogne-les-policiers-et-gendarmes-vont-avoir-du-renfort-cet-ete-1749163>

88 <https://www.revolutionpermanente.fr/Victoire-du-Maroc-la-police-charge-et-gaze-les-supporters-l-extreme-droite-a-l-offensive>

89 <https://contre-attaque.net/2024/02/08/paris-la-police-attaque-la-joie-des-supporters-de-cote-divoire/>

90 https://www.lemonde.fr/sport/article/2023/03/23/jo-2024-les-deputes-autorisent-la-videosurveillance-algorithmique-avant-pendant-et-apres-les-jeux_6166681_3242.html

91 <https://www.rtl.fr/actu/sciences-tech/la-videosurveillance-algorithmique-pourrait-etre-maintenue-apres-les-jeux-olympiques-de-paris-2024-7900301770>

92 [https://www.amnesty.fr/liberte-d-expression/actualites/jo-paris-de-la-videosurveillance-algorithmique-a-la-reconnaissance-faciale-il-n-y-a-qu-un-pas#:~:text=JO%202024%20%3A%20de%20la%20vid%C3%A9osurveillance,y%20a%20qu'un%20pas&text=-La%20vid%C3%A9osurveillance%20algorithmique%20\(VSA\)%20a,olympiques%20et%20paralympiques%20de%20Paris.](https://www.amnesty.fr/liberte-d-expression/actualites/jo-paris-de-la-videosurveillance-algorithmique-a-la-reconnaissance-faciale-il-n-y-a-qu-un-pas#:~:text=JO%202024%20%3A%20de%20la%20vid%C3%A9osurveillance,y%20a%20qu'un%20pas&text=-La%20vid%C3%A9osurveillance%20algorithmique%20(VSA)%20a,olympiques%20et%20paralympiques%20de%20Paris.)

93 <https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/comment-la-france-arme-la-dictature-en-egypte>

94 <https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/yemen-arms-exports-france/>

95 <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/all/why-did-microsoft-fund-israeli-firm-surveils-west-bank-palestinians-n1072116>

96 <https://theconversation.com/le-retour-du-controle-par-qr-code-pour-les-jo-de-paris-2024-nest-pas-anodin-228300>

The Olympics, counterterrorism and Islamophobia

Beyond these abstract considerations about potential risks posed by certain surveillance technologies, it is crucial to address how concrete surveillance mechanisms are directly impacting marginalised communities. The justification for deploying surveillance resources often hinges on the terrorist threat, which disproportionately targets Muslims. In France, they often bear the brunt of the security apparatus and suffer its most severe consequences. Leading to the Olympics, Gérald Darmanin, Macron's Minister of the Interior, announced a series of measures designed at tightening control and intimidating individuals with a *fiche S* (S file), that single them out as national security risks. This security file has faced significant criticisms for enabling more extensive surveillance of individuals without clear evidence of criminal or terrorist involvement. Moreover, evidence suggests a disproportionate representation of Muslims in this file, which includes tens of thousands of individuals⁹⁷. *Fiche S* are predominantly sourced from unverifiable police and intelligence memos (white notes). They are therefore difficult to challenge and largely based on an interpretation of what constitutes dangerous behaviour, often based on Islamophobic theories of radicalization that criminalise common aspects of Muslim religious practice.

More specifically, Gerald Darmanin instructed prefects to implement "a strategy that aims to frustrate" individuals with a *fiche S* belonging to the "Islamist and jihadist movement" before and during the Olympics⁹⁸. This strategy involves using "offences with no connection to terrorism" – essentially pretexts – to justify police and judicial targeting; raising the number of "home visits", a euphemism for extremely violent police house raids; expanding the use of MICAS, another euphemism for measures that restrict freedom via house arrest; and increasing the number of OQTFs (Obligation to leave France), recently used to carry out Islamophobic expulsions of imams like Hassan Iquioussen, who have spent most of their lives in the country⁹⁹.

On the whole, as part of Darmanin's strategy, more than 5,100 Muslims will be closely monitored¹⁰⁰. CAGE and other organisations have collected testimonies related to house raids that targeted at least 250 Muslims in Paris alone. In addition, a growing number of Muslim activists have been raided and placed under house arrest until October. Darmanin's "strategy to frustrate" is effectively a fear and terror tactic aimed at "sending a message" to Muslims and quelling any form of dissent¹⁰¹.

These measures, reminiscent of colonial rule¹⁰², either constitute forms of surveillance in their own right or involve surveillance equipment. Yet, they receive scant attention in discussions about the surveillance apparatus surrounding the Olympics. Perhaps because they have been normalised. Perhaps because they are not as alluring as surveillance by "advanced" technological means. Perhaps also because they primarily target marginalised groups perceived as legitimate targets of surveillance...

97 https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2023/10/16/terrorisme-qu-est-ce-que-la-fiche-s_4741574_4355771.html

98 <https://www.leparisien.fr/jo-paris-2024/jo-paris-2024-le-plan-de-gerald-darmanin-pour-traquer-les-radicalises-islamistes-avant-et-pendant-les-jeux-07-05-2024-HO4OYD7WRFVDVDTFD67OGLJOKI.php>

99 <https://www.revolutionpermanente.fr/Menace-d-expulsion-de-l-imam-M-Mahjoubi-une-nouvelle-campagne-raciste-signee-Darmanin-et-le-RN>

100 <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/perquisitions-signalements-au-moindre-pretexte-mises-a-l-ecart-des-sites-a-l-approche-des-jo-darmanin-deploie-un-dispositif-pour-entraver-les-islamistes-20240507>

101 <https://www.cairn.info/revue-mouvements-2022-4-page-78.htm>

102 <https://www.editions-ladecouverte.fr/l-ennemi-interieur-9782707169150> ; https://www.editions-ladecouverte.fr/de_l_indigenat-9782355220050 and <https://www.babelio.com/livres/Le-Cour-Grandmaison-Ennemis-mortels/1176715>

Yet, it is these measures that are the most violent. Here, it's not only a question of (data) privacy or civil liberties: these modes of surveillance are immediately violent for those subjected to them. How many people whose house arrest has meant social death? How many families have been torn apart by OQTFs? How many endure a perpetual regime of suspicion due to a *fiche S*? How many parents and children have suffered trauma as a result of extremely brutal house raids that demolished their homes and humiliated them in front of their neighbours?

In early June, amid widespread indifference, several families experienced these "home visits" called for by Darmanin. Despite their willingness to cooperate, their walls and doors were torn down and police officers were eager to use physical and verbal violence against these Muslim families¹⁰³. But as we have seen again and again, shattering lives seems to be the price to pay to host the Olympics.

Conclusion

This report evidences a significant disconnect between the Olympic values and rhetoric surrounding the Paris edition, and what it truly means for France to host them. The Games being offered are racist, Islamophobic, genocidal, elitist, destructive and repressive, which is unsurprising given the trajectory of France over, at the very least, the last two decades, that is to say, since the 2004 French law on secularism and conspicuous religious symbols in schools.

When the French state forces Muslim athletes to remove their headscarves to practise their chosen sport, it simply perpetuates the legacy of unveiling ceremonies that happened in colonised Algeria. When athletes are discouraged or barred from fasting during the month of Ramadan, it echoes fatwas issued to Muslim soldiers drafted by France in its colonies during World War I, urging them to forgo fasting and "show their devotion to the noble government of the French Republic"¹⁰⁴.

Coloniality is intrinsically linked to the exercise of power in France, and to the country's global campaigns, notably its war on terror. It is therefore hardly surprising that its government is keen to defend a colonial entity, Israel, and ensure its prominent place at the Olympic Games. The Islamophobic policies of the French state and its imperialism are inextricably linked to the apartheid, colonization and genocide perpetrated by Israel. They are merely different forms or stages of supremacist systems operating in concert.

The ongoing Israeli genocidal campaign has confirmed the utter failure of so-called liberal morality, exposing the collective support and complicity in genocide. The masks have slipped, and pretence is no longer necessary. In this context, it's no wonder that the media coverage has been much more important (and it's an understatement) about Rima Hassan wearing a keffiyeh than about Ludivine Daoudi, a candidate for the Rassemblement National, wearing a Nazi helmet¹⁰⁵. When "Palestinian" is used as a slur in a US presidential debate, and in France, solidarity with Palestine is equated with supporting terrorism, it's not surprising that 6-year-old Hind Rajab's¹⁰⁶ cry for help was met with 355 bullets. This brutal and inhumane response is a testament to the international community's complete

103 <https://x.com/CCIEurope/status/1800452722350854611>

104 <https://www.france24.com/fr/20150711-grande-guerre-ramadan-tranchees-pratique-religieuse-islam-soldats-colonies-musulmans>

105 Far-right candidate exits French elections after Nazi cap controversy (rfi.fr)

106 Israeli tank fired at Hind Rajab family car from metres away: Investigation | Israel-Palestine conflict News | Al Jazeera

disregard for Palestinians and Muslim-majority populations. It should therefore be made clear that there is nothing left to celebrate. No amount of whitewashing can conceal the horrors and depravity perpetrated by the genocidal Israeli army. No athletic achievement can make us forget the brutalised, mutilated, and bulldozed bodies.

The impact the Olympics will have on the most vulnerable populations is a far cry from the language of "true people celebration" promoted by its advocates. Instead, it appears that the Paris Games will primarily cater to an elite. On their own scale, they are contributing to an acceleration in the rise of inequalities, resulting not only from structural factors (war in Ukraine, COVID-19 Pandemic, etc...) but also from policies implemented by the Macron government (immigration law, unemployment insurance reforms, pension reform, etc.). Simultaneously, these Olympics are strengthening the French state security apparatus, which is precisely intended to pacify those who bear the brunt of rising inequalities. Thus, it is likely that the enhanced security apparatus surrounding the Olympics will at least be partially extended after they end, disproportionately affecting low-income racialized communities, that will continue to be the primary targets of mass surveillance and police violence.

The Paris Olympics, organised to present France as a country that unites people in joy, are a tragic farce. Emmanuel Macron's successive governments have done nothing but divide the French, boost nationalism, Islamophobia and strengthen the far right, not least because Macron and his cronies have never shied away from embracing elitist, racist and colonial discourses and policies. When all is said and done, the rise of far right to power/at the gates of power will not clash with hosting the Olympic Games in Paris. On the contrary, it is fitting, as these very Olympics have been used to reinforce France's repressive apparatus and further its descent into authoritarianism.

In light of the information provided in this report, we are calling for a boycott of the 2024 Paris Olympics. Given the gravity of these circumstances, this action is essential to express our outrage at the normalization of genocide, discrimination, and widespread exclusion. We urge everyone to join this boycott through every possible avenue, whether that means not purchasing tickets, not attending events, not watching the Games on TV, publicly expressing dissent, organising protests or boycotting sponsors. Knowing how political everything is on such a prominent platform, we view this action not only as a necessary political stance, but as a moral obligation. If the Olympic Committee refuses to hold host countries accountable to any political or moral standards, this responsibility falls upon us. If the Olympics cannot reflect basic human values of dignity and equality, then the boycott will, by insisting that Palestinian lives matter and stating that if the Games can't be for everyone, they should be for no one.

Recommendations

International Olympics Committee and Policy Makers

1. Immediately suspend Israel's participation in the Olympics due to ongoing war crimes and genocide perpetrated in Gaza. Ban on Israeli athletes should be enforced.
2. Call for an end to genocide and colonisation in Palestine.
3. Establish a reparations fund for communities displaced or harmed by Olympic preparations.
4. Implement a zero-tolerance policy for any form of racial or religious discrimination during the Games.
5. Create a Muslim Athletes' Council with veto power over policies affecting Muslim participants.

Civil Society

1. Organise a complete boycott of the Olympics, including viewership, attendance, and sponsorships.
2. Document French Islamophobia and Racism and showcase the way the Olympics reinforce and normalise it.
3. Hold the International Olympic Committee and France accountable for their endorsement and normalisation of genocide and Islamophobia.
4. Call for public and civil disobedience through mobilisation and protests.
5. Reach out to the media and spread boycott narratives.
6. Launch decolonial education initiatives to counter state propaganda and historical revisionism.
7. Provide legal aid and support to individuals and communities facing eviction or discrimination.

French Government

1. Immediately halt the genocide-enabling arms sales and support to Israel.
2. Stop discriminating against Muslim athletes and stop banning hijabi athletes from the Olympics.
3. Repeal all discriminatory laws and policies, including the "Anti-Separatism" law and hijab bans in sports. These paved the way for Islamophobia in the Olympics.
4. Stop intimidating and surveilling French Muslims through impromptu Intelligence visits, raids and territory expulsions motivated by a so-called cleaning in view of the Olympics.
5. End the "systematic obstruction" policy targeting Muslim organisations and communities.
6. Abolish the use of Fiche S and all forms of religious profiling.
7. Immediately halt all evictions and displacements related to the Olympics and guarantee the right of return for all evicted residents to their original neighbourhoods.
8. Stop clearing the presence of migrants in the area of the Olympics to 'preserve' and portray a specific image of France on the international stage.
9. Stop the gentrification by replacing racialised minority communities with middle class communities being artificially inserted in the area of the Olympics village. Stop making students even more precarious by seizing their accommodations to host Olympics related staff.
10. Stop ravaging the environment and depriving racialised inhabitants from green spaces in Seine-Saint-Denis to host the Olympic Games.



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