

THE AGE OF REFLECTION¹⁰

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The Left Coming
to be Right

French Suicide

The Republic
is Dead

Exclusive interview
with Marine Le Pen

Towards Strict
Secularism

Exclusive interview
with Nicolas Sarkozy



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English version

Version française



Debate with
George Ritzer

The New McDonaldization Order?

George Ritzer (born 1940) is an American sociologist, professor, and author who studies globalization, metatheory, patterns of consumption, and modern and postmodern social theory. His most notable contribution to date is his concept of McDonaldization, which draws upon Max Weber's idea of rationalization through the lens of the fast food industry. In addition to creating his own theories, Ritzer has also written many general sociology books, including *Introduction to Sociology* (2012) as well as *Essentials to Sociology* (2014), and modern and postmodern social theory textbooks. Currently, Ritzer is a Distinguished Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park.

| Seyed Mojtaba Mousavi

In 1993 George Ritzer, a prominent sociologist authored *The McDonaldization of Society*, a book which to this day has remained one of the most insightful and popular sociology books of all time.

Throughout his book Ritzer articulates his concept of McDonaldization, which he drew from Max Weber, its characteristics and implications within society.

McDonaldization is defined by Ritzer as the process by which principles of fast food restaurants have come to dominate virtually every aspect of society.

McDonald's and other fast food restaurants offer an alternative to labor-intensive, home-cooked meals that have been attractive to busy families since the 1950s. Two of their most appealing qualities are convenience and affordability. These qualities and similar principles are becoming increasingly important in all aspects of our modern society.

The building block of McDonaldization is Max Weber's concept of rationalization, which is the process of replacing traditional and emotional thought with reason and efficiency. Weber believed that most societies throughout history were governed by tradition and that the most significant trend in modern sociology is an increasing rationalization of every part of our daily lives. He also believed that rationalization would continue until our society would become an iron cage, dehumanizing everyone and creating an extreme level of uniformity.

Likewise, Ritzer uses McDonald's as a metaphor for the over-rationalization of society. The popularity of the restaurant itself is a perfect example of rationalization because traditional, home-cooked family meals have been replaced with meals of practicality and convenience. Continued rationalization has led to sectors beyond the fast food industry becoming increasingly uniform and automated.

But while George Ritzer's commentaries indeed portrayed the state of American society, how have the effects of McDonaldization influenced our multi-cultural and polarized world? And are we still exposed to this phenomenon of hyper-rationality that Ritzer describes in his book?

Mr Ritzer looks at the issue of McDonaldization from both

a politico-economic and symbolic aspect of the process of rationalization. "McDonaldized systems have political and economic aspects and implications; they are material realities that have material effects. In a multi-cultural and polarized world, there will resistance to the McDonaldized systems created in the dominant societies and cultures. However, to function successfully in the modern world all systems must McDonaldized to some degree (e.g. ISIS's use of the internet, encryption, etc.) ... The world is still exposed to increasing rationalization (McDonaldization) and even hyper-rationalization."

Hyper-rationality is a difficult concept to grasp since it affects all aspects of society: from the social to the political and of course the economic. Ritzer defines modern hyper-rationality as a product of our desire to ever more rationalize the rational.

"In our pursuit of ever-more rationality, we are always "pushing the envelope", pushing the limits. In so doing we create systems that are more rational than rational: Hyper-rational. Perhaps the best example today is Artificial Intelligence and the creation of robots that may be able to outthink humans," he noted in exclusive comments to *The Age Of Reflection*.

As Society continues on its pursuit of rationalization, many experts have argued, among whom Peter L Berger, in 1996 in a report of the National Interest that the effects of this phenomenon Ritzer coined as McDonaldization actually allowed for the creation of radical fundamentalism - a knee-jerk reaction to the secularization process which first manifested in the West.

Ritzer postulates that rather than be the product of the McDonaldization of society, the fundamentalism expressed by Wahhabism stands in reaction to hyper-rationality. He concedes however that "their [radical groups] extremism are examples of some of the irrational consequences of rationalization.

When looking at Western society one cannot help of course but ponder over the links which exist in between politics and cultural concepts. It was Jean Baudrillard in his *Consumer Society*, who defined consumerism as when the needs are more directed on values than the objects. If we accept this definition to be true what does such a theory reveal about US policies and Society

altogether?

On the matter Ritzer notes the following: "To Baudrillard, consumption is not about needs because if it was, we would stop when our needs are met. Of course, we continue to consume well beyond that point. In general, capitalist societies need people to consume (consumption is more important than production in advanced capitalist societies). Both the cultural and political system support consumption, although sometimes in different ways and to varying degrees." A consumer society par excellence, the United States has interestingly been now better known for some of its products than its industrial achievements. Referring to US capitalism as the expression and pillar of America's strength, Ritzer noted in amusement: "Well its a funny kind of capitalism that McDonalds represents because after all capitalism - American capitalism - for generations was the symbol of the huge smoke-stack industry, steel and automobiles ... but it is not the automobile industry that represents America around the world now it is McDonalds and Disney and Coca Cola."

For all its flaws however capitalism has retained a powerful gravitational pull. Theorists, such as Robert Bocoock, believe that «the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the late 1980s partly derived from the attractions of capitalism in the eyes of many living in these former communist societies.» Could it be today that the US intends to use a similar pattern of "change" vis a vis both Cuba and Iran, and in doing so absorb both powers to its political rationalization?

George Ritzer is not exactly convinced. He proposed instead that it is capitalism and the promises it offers which have attracted people and communities and encouraged thereof a certain political alignment. "It has less to do with US policies than the attractions of capitalism to people, especially in the realm of consumption. For better or worse, many throughout the world (including in Iran and Cuba) would like to be able to consume in the way, and at the level, that Americans consume," he emphasized. "I am critical of that level of consumption if for no other reason than it is not ecologically sustainable, but it is an irresistible model to millions throughout the world," he added. ■

Does Liberalism Work in Iran?

The requirements Iran needs for survival of its economy

| Prof. Jeffrey Frankel, Harvard University



The word "liberal" is used in so many different ways, by many different people, that one must make a strong attempt to define it before one attempts to use it.

Definitions of liberalism

In Europe, "Liberalism" is usually used to mean something close to its original classic English sense from the 19th century: the belief in a system where individuals are free to make their own choices without coercion from powerful long-established institutions (such as monarchy, feudalism, dictatorship, aristocracy, or oligarchy). Liberalism includes the freedom to pursue individual

economic interests, in deciding where to live, whom to work for, what to buy and consume, and so forth. The French concept of *laissez-faire* and the Austrian school associated with Friederich von Hayek are closely associated with liberalism in the classical 19th century British sense.¹ Outside of the economic sphere, liberalism also includes such civil rights as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to practice a religion of one's choice, and so forth.

Other definitions of liberalism go off in either one of two opposite directions. On the one hand, beginning in Latin America in the 1980s, the term "neo-liberalism" was revived and used to describe what was seen as an extreme belief in free-market or *laissez-faire* policies such as were ascribed by critics to Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan. The term has spread beyond Latin America, but is almost always used disparagingly. On the other hand, and confusingly, the policies of Pinochet, Thatcher, Reagan, and the modern U.S. Republican Party are in the United States universally termed, not "neo-liberal," but rather conservative. "Liberal" is here considered to mean precisely the opposite of these policies! That is, "liberals" are assumed to be in favor of a large role for the government, while conservatives are assumed to favor a small role for government. (At least that is assumed to describe the positions of the two groups on economic affairs. When it comes to military intervention abroad and some aspects of social policy such as religion, it is generally the other way around, with "conservatives" favoring a big role for the government and liberals a small role.)

This definition of liberalism became prominent in the 1930s with the policies of the American Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt. Since that time, Americans have presumed that liberal refers to the use of the government to protect and enhance the civil rights of everyone including minorities, to curtail the power of monopolies, and to make the distribution of income more equal.² The explanation of the paradox is that in previous centuries, governments had generally been used by powerful elite groups to accomplish the opposite goals in order to benefit themselves.

If the term liberalism is to be used at all, it is probably best to return to the core definition, the belief in a system where individuals are free to make their own choices without coercion from powerful long-established institutions such as feudalism,

monarchy, dictatorship, aristocracy, or oligarchy.

Origins of liberalism: The Enlightenment

Liberalism can be said to have been born in Western Europe in the 18th century movement known as the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment arose via meetings of scientists and writers, who communicated through books and pamphlets but also in person in the new coffee houses and in literary salons, especially in France. The members of the movement believed in the principles of reason, progress, and individual liberty; tolerance of different religions and social groups; and the separation of church and state – all of which was a challenge to the powers of absolute monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church. It was very strongly influenced by the scientific revolution that had begun in the 16th and 17th centuries (including the revolutionary theories of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton) and English and Dutch philosophers of the period (Bacon, Locke and Spinoza; and Descartes). The leading figures of the Enlightenment period included Rousseau and Voltaire in France and Hume and Smith in England [also Diderot and Montesquieu in France and Kant in Germany].

The abstract ideas of the Enlightenment were successfully put into practice in the American Revolution (as represented by the Declaration of Independence in 1776) and the founding of the American republic (as represented by the US Constitution in 1789). But they equally inspired the French Revolution in 1789, which was less successful in that it descended into the Reign of Terror, followed by the restoration of absolutist order under Napoleon.³ Democracy as a political system was put into practice in England and elsewhere, but much more gradually. The classic work of economic liberalism is Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776). Its most famous example is the pin factory, in which productivity is enhanced when everyone specializes in a particular job. Its most famous metaphor is the "invisible hand" according to which individual actors, in pursuing their own economic interest, are led to produce those things that are most in demand by consumers whom they probably do not even know. But the book in fact is a lot more than a statement of the case for *laissez-faire*. It includes the warning that large producers will collude with each other if they are allowed to, exercising monopoly power to raise prices artificially, above what would be justified in perfectly competitive markets.

A good illustration of liberal economics is the case of international trade. David Ricardo, building on Smith, pointed out the advantages of free trade, under which each country could specialize in the production and export of the commodity at which it had a comparative advantage. The free-traders presumed that the objective of a country's policy should be to maximize the overall economic welfare of the total population of its individual citizens, not to maximize the gold or power in the hands of the monarch or some other elite. Free trade theory was put into effect in 1846 when Britain repealed the Corn Laws, which had blocked the import of lower-priced grain from abroad so as to benefit rich aristocratic rural landowners at the expense of workers and the new urban middle class. Efficiency, growth, and equality all benefited from the liberalization of

trade. The technological progress of the Industrial Revolution and the liberal economics of the market system over time raised British GDP far above that of the old mercantilist states like Spain and Portugal.

Which economic system works best?

Classical or neo-classical economic theory says that free markets work best under certain very special conditions. The price of a commodity such as food should normally be set in competitive markets. Of course everyone would like to be able to buy food at a low price (while farmers would like to be able to sell it at a high price). But if the government keeps the price artificially low in an effort to make consumers happy, as in many developing countries, producers won't have the incentive to produce enough. There will be excess demand, with the available supply rationed by waiting in line, coupons, or bribery and corruption.⁴

Price controls are often justified by talking about the distribution of income. But in practice, in countries where the government controls the prices of food or fuel, the benefits go mostly to the well-connected and better-off, not to the poor.

a. Market failures

To be sure, there are many conditions under which free markets do not give the right answer. Each of these possible market failures calls for an appropriate role of the government. One market failure is the exercise of monopoly power; it calls for governments to pursue competition policy or anti-trust policy (the American term). Another market failure is the existence of externalities like pollution, which calls for environmental regulation, for example by taxing fossil fuels or banning the most dangerous substances outright. A third is the need for provision of public goods, such as a stable national currency. A fourth is inequality, which is best addressed through some form of income redistribution: progressive income taxation in advanced countries and conditional cash transfers in poor countries.

Each of these market failures can be addressed by well-targeted government intervention that is efficient in that it minimizes damage either to individual rights or to market-measured GDP. Each of them in practice is often used instead to justify clumsy government intervention, which sometimes does more damage than the market failure that is supposedly being addressed. For example, government often creates monopolies rather than reining them in. Fossil fuel subsidies produce even more pollution than the free market would on its own. Many policies justified by income redistribution accomplish little reduction in poverty at high cost, or even end up benefiting the rich at the expense of the poor.

b. The 1989 victory of capitalism over communism

The writings of Karl Marx and the arrival of communism in Russia in 1917 were largely motivated by the (accurate) perception that the capitalist system had produced tremendous inequality. But by 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, it had become clear not only that the experiment had huge costs in terms of the loss of human rights and other individual freedoms, but also that it had failed as a model for economic development. Developing countries looked around and saw that the communist systems had failed and the market system had succeeded.

c. Different models of capitalism

This leaves the question which model of capitalism is the right one. There are many.

i. Asian models of capitalism -- Japanese capitalism was said in the 1980s to be superior to the Anglo-American kind, because of such features as long-term horizons in corporate governance, relationship banking in finance, lifetime employment and year-end bonuses in labor markets, administrative guidance, and strategic trade policy. Success in other Asian countries was similarly attributed to Confucian values.

ii. The Anglo-American model -- Then in the 1990s, when Japanese growth ground to a halt and financial crises hit Thailand, Korea, Indonesia and other Asian countries, the conventional wisdom turned around 180 degrees. Now the Asian countries were said to be afflicted with crony capitalism. Anglo-American system was said to work best, with firms that maximized profits, arms-length lending and shareholder capitalism, flexible labor markets, and American-style accounting standards, bankruptcy laws and securities markets. But soon financial crises in the United States and the United Kingdom in the 2000s seriously undermined the credibility of that system as well.⁵

iii. Ordoliberalism -- German ordoliberalism believes in classical liberalism, supported by a democratic constitution and government that enforces the rules under which economic agents play the game. This school of thought includes strong government intervention to address market failures like monopoly. The recognition that laissez faire does not necessarily lead to perfect competition is welcome. Unfortunately, ordoliberalism includes a strong aversion to counter-cyclical fiscal or monetary policies, arising from a strong belief in rules in general, which has led Germany to bear some blame for exacerbating the euro crisis since 2010.

iv. Social liberalism -- Many Western European economies after World War II sought to combine capitalist economics with greater social protection, including a more extensive social safety net and a bigger government role in areas such as health care and education, than is found in the United States. For example, Ludwig Erhard, the architect of successful reconstruction of Germany after the war, developed the concept of Social Market Economy ("Soziale Marktwirtschaft").

v. In most European countries the social welfare state became so large, with excessive regulation and excessive budget deficits, that by the 1970s it was clearly hurting growth. For example overall tax rates were so high as to discourage work, both at the high end of the income ladder and the low end. The new Nordic model, pertaining to the Scandinavian countries (including Finland), features a comprehensive system of social protection combined with a return to free markets and responsible fiscal policy. Similarly, reforms liberalized labor markets in the Netherlands in the 1990s and Germany in the 2000s. In each case, the long-term result was improved economic performance in terms of output and employment, together with more equality, security, and mobility than achieved in the United States.

d. Big lessons from small countries

There is no reason to look only to large countries such as the United States, Japan, or European countries for economic models. Small countries may have some answers. They are often better able to experiment with innovative policies and

institutions and some of the results are worthy of emulation.

Consider a short list of examples. Some of them come from small advanced countries: New Zealand's Inflation Targeting, Estonia's flat tax, Switzerland's debt brake, Ireland's policy with respect to Foreign Direct Investment, and Canada's banking structure. Some examples come from countries that were considered «developing» 40 years ago, but have since industrialized. Korea stands for education. Among Singapore's innovative policies were forced saving and traffic congestion pricing. Costa Rica and Mauritius outperformed their respective regions by, among other policies, forswearing standing armies. Mexico experimented successfully with Conditional Cash Transfers. A final set of examples come from countries that export oil, mineral and agricultural commodities -- historically vulnerable to the «resource curse» -- but that have learned how to avoid the pitfalls: Chile's structural budget rules, Mexico's hedging of oil export revenues via options, and Botswana's «Pula Fund» as a model for Sovereign Wealth Funds.

What do Middle Eastern countries need, for good economic performance?

It has been observed that countries in the Mideast tend to have lower growth rates than many others. We don't know why this is for sure.

a. Is Islam compatible with capitalism?

Some might say that Islam must be incompatible with market capitalism. But it is hard to see what there might be in Islam that should make this so. Consider one example. The prohibition of *riba* (usually translated as usury) is interpreted by many to mean a prohibition on all interest. Even under this interpretation however, Islamic banking seems like a perfectly workable alternative -- perhaps an improvement if it avoids the bankruptcies and financial crises that sometime accompanying conventional bonds and bank loans.

Econometric studies seem to show that poor economic performance in the Mideast is not statistically related to Islam per se, but to other factors common in the region. These factors include autocratic governments and low literacy and labor force participation among women.

b. The Natural Resource Curse

Disappointing economic performance in the Middle Eastern countries seems to have more to do with oil than with other factors. This seems surprising, if one expects oils to be a source of wealth. But it is an example of the Natural Resource Curse that to some extent applies also to minerals. Natural resource wealth often -- though not always -- leads to illiberal economic and social systems. One theory is that in a country where physical possession of the natural resource is all that a government or ruling elite needs in order to finance itself, they have no reason to foster the liberal system of individual rights and decentralized decision making that is necessary for success in manufacturing and services.

c. The case of Iran

Every country has its own history, its own culture, and its own institutions. But some fundamental lessons work well for all. A package appropriate for everyone would start with a presumption of free markets and human rights, combined with well-targeted government intervention to limit (rather than worsen) such specific market failures as monopoly,

environmental externalities, and unequal income distribution. I would like to apply the word “liberalism” to that package of policy principles.

In the case of Iran, one more thing would be needed: the end of international sanctions. Economic sanctions against some countries have little effect. In other cases, such as US sanctions against Cuba, their biggest effect has been to give the government a plausible-sounding excuse for its long-standing failure to manage the economy. But in the case of Iran, international sanctions really have crippled the economy. If Iran achieved liberalism in the sense just defined and the rest of the world liberalized economic restrictions against Iran, the road to economic development would be wide open.

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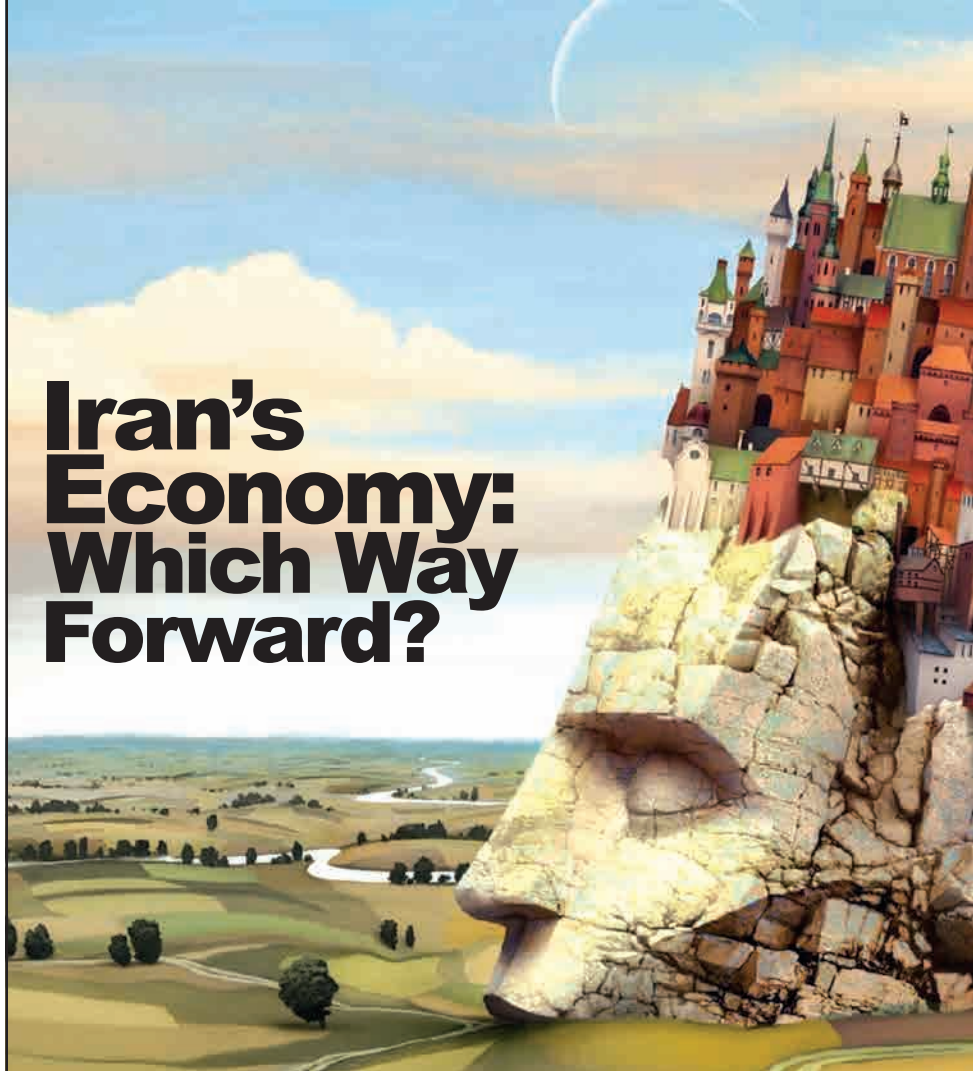
1. Hayek rejected the label of “conservative,” preferring classical liberalism or, if necessary “libertarianism.” Although his most famous work was a critique of socialism or central planning, he was in favor of a social safety net, including mandatory universal health care and unemployment insurance, which are opposed by American conservatives today.

2. This movement existed before Franklin Roosevelt, but in the late 19th and early 20th centuries it had gone under the name “Progressivism.”

3. Edmund Burke’s 1790 pamphlet “Reflections on the Revolution in France,” is considered one of the founding documents of conservatism (and thus, presumably, the opposite of liberalism, in the modern American sense). Burke argued that the radical overthrow of long-standing institutions such as the French monarchy might lead, not to the utopia envisioned, but to anarchy or worse. This point is consistent with the word “conservatism” in the sense of wishing to avoid change that is too rapid. But modern self-described conservatives, such as some recent Republican politicians in the United States, tend to believe in a radical overthrow of the current order. They might seek to justify this as a return to an earlier better time in the history of their countries or to fundamental religious principles; but their interpretations often do not follow from the actual history of their countries or their religions.

4. Similarly, if the price of food is set artificially high, to make farmers happy, as in many industrialized countries, there will be excess supply, with the difference bought from well-connected farmers by the government and wasted.

5. Much of the earlier preaching to Asian countries in the 1990s about the virtues of good governance and the evils of crony capitalism turned out to be true; but it turned out that the United States needed to hear and absorb the same sermons. Even after the 2008-09 financial crisis that started in the US and UK, it is not clear that the lessons have been learned. ■



Iran’s Economy: Which Way Forward?

As Iran enters fresh post sanctions era

Mohammed Amin has a Mathematics degree from Cambridge University and is a Fellow of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales and an Associate Member of the Association of Corporate Treasurers. Professionally Amin is a tax adviser, and in 1990 was the first Muslim in the UK to become a partner in Price Waterhouse. When he retired at the end of 2009, he was PwC’s UK Head of Islamic Finance and a member of PwC’s four-person Global Islamic Finance Leadership Team. He has presented on Islamic finance around the world as well as advising the UK Government. In retirement he is Chairman of the Conservative Muslim Forum which is part of the UK Conservative Party.



In 1979 the Iranian people overthrew the tyrannical regime of the Shah. The revolution led to a unique form of government under the oversight of Iran’s religious authorities led by Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Only a year later the country was plunged into a devastating war after it was attacked by Iraq. More recently, Iran’s economy has suffered from severe external economic sanctions as a result of the nuclear dispute.

The recent resolution of the nuclear dispute with the impending lifting of sanctions offers new opportunities for the Iranian economy. Another consequence of the removal of external economic restrictions will be that Iran can no

longer avoid confronting some key policy choices.

With the right policy choices, Iran with its young, highly educated population and generous natural resources has the potential to become a developed country.

Societal impact of Islamic finance

The financial system matters for economic reasons. It also matters for religious reasons to those individuals who have religious beliefs, and the overwhelming majority of Iranians are Muslims.

With regard to the economics of finance, conventional finance has a very large debt-based fixed return component represented by the banking sector and the bond market, both corporate bonds and sovereign bonds, all of which use interest bearing contracts. Conventional finance also has a very large equity-based component represented by the market in quoted shares, venture capital, mutual funds, private equity etc. Debt-based contracts and equity based contracts are used in appropriate circumstances depending upon the requirements or preferences of the parties.

When it comes to religious matters, Muslims' religious views regarding Islamic finance fall into three categories:

1. Some Muslims regard conventional finance as acceptable even if they are concerned about some unethical practices of some conventional bankers.
2. Some Muslims regard conventional finance as prohibited for religious reasons. However, they regard Islamic finance as actually practised by the Islamic banks found in most Muslim majority countries, and in many countries such as the United Kingdom where Muslims are a minority, to be religiously acceptable.
3. Some Muslims reject both conventional finance and Islamic finance as actually practised. They seek the creation of other Islamic financial institutions which they regard as more religiously appropriate but which are not currently operated by anyone; perhaps because such financial institutions would be uneconomic to operate.

In most countries conventional banks and Islamic banks operate side-by-side with individuals deciding which they wish to use. Some Muslim majority countries, including Sudan and Iran, have prohibited the operation of conventional banks and require all banking within their jurisdiction to be Islamic.

The religious aspects of finance and the economic aspects of finance are often conflated. That is a mistake and leads to misunderstandings. The distinction is explained below.

The many Muslim scholars who consider conventional finance as unacceptable base that opinion on conventional finance's use of contracts that provide for the payment of interest. For example, a bank lends \$10,000 to a customer today for a period of 1 year, and in 12 months' time the customer must repay a total of \$10,500, as there is an interest charge of 5%. Accordingly, their opinion is that Muslims should not be party to such contracts.

However, those same Muslim scholars generally have no religious objection to the use of murabaha contracts. For example, if the customer of an Islamic bank requires finance to acquire a car, he may identify the car that he wants, which a car dealer is willing to sell for \$10,000. The Islamic bank will purchase that car from the car dealer for \$10,000 and immediately sell the car to the customer for \$10,500, agreeing with the customer that he does not need to pay the bank the \$10,500 until 12 months have elapsed, although he may pay the full \$10,500 sooner if he wishes. The fact that the bank paid the dealer only \$10,000 is fully disclosed to the customer.

While the interest bearing loan contract and the murabaha

contract which are illustrated above have basically the same economics, the Muslim scholars who advise on such matters consider the loan contract impermissible but the murabaha contract permissible. Such opinions are regarded as problematical by Muslims who fall into category (3) above who contend that the operations of Islamic banks using murabaha contracts are not truly Islamic. However as mentioned above there are no banking institutions which provide financial services acceptable to category (3) Muslims, presumably because what category (3) Muslims desire would be commercially unfeasible to provide.

The Islamic banking sector as actually operated in Muslim majority countries and in countries where Muslims are a minority primarily uses fixed return contracts, such as the murabaha contract above and ijarah contracts where fixed levels of rent are paid for the use of an asset. Islamic financial institutions also provide equity based financial services such as investment into quoted shares. Overall in Islamic finance one finds a spectrum of fixed return contracts and equity based contracts which is similar to the spectrum found in conventional finance.

Accordingly, the author considers that the introduction of Islamic finance brings no fundamental societal change compared with the operation of conventional finance. Whether banking is conventional or Islamic is purely a religious question and has no economic implications.

What states should do

There are some functions, referred to by economists as the provision of "public goods" that can only be performed by the state.

Examples are external defence, maintenance of internal law and order, the operation of a civil justice system, the operation of a monetary system, the regulation of monopolies etc. Most people would also include the operation of a social safety net so that citizens who suffer serious ill-health or are otherwise unable to support themselves do not die of starvation.

There are also other services, beyond the provision of strictly defined public goods, where it can be appropriate for the state to be involved. An illustration is the provision of healthcare where many countries, one example being the United Kingdom, consider that it is efficient for the state to provide universal health care rather than leaving it to the private market.

What states should not do

States are universally bad at operating commercial businesses. Example after example has shown that it leads to decisions being distorted by political imperatives.

It is even worse when the state prohibits the operation of private businesses. The experience of the USSR and the People's Republic of China prior to the reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping shows that the state is incapable of efficiently making all of the decisions required by a national economy. Economies operate much better when they contain a multiplicity of independent agents making separate economic decisions taking into account the information they gain from market-determined prices. That is why societies that practice free-market capitalism tend to be rich and societies that practice state socialism tend to be poor.

There are also many services which are often provided by states which can be better provided by the private sector. One example

is the operation of schools and universities where cross-country comparisons show that it is most appropriate for the state to provide finance but the institutions operate best when they are independent decision-making units rather than units under the direct control of a central government ministry.

Characteristics of successful economies

Looking around the world, some countries have high levels of per capita income simply because they have high levels of natural resources income (mostly oil) combined with relatively low levels of population.

Putting that factor to one side, successful economies typically have certain characteristics in common:

- The rule of law is strong. Laws are clearly drawn up, available to the public and only amended in accordance with clear and transparent procedures. Contracts when entered into can be enforced through the courts relatively swiftly and cost effectively. Even sovereign national governments abide by contracts that they have entered into. Corruption is low.
- Transparency is high. Citizens are able to communicate freely with each other. There is a free media which can criticise the government and hold it to account.
- Enterprise is free. Citizens are free to set up businesses without excessive requirements for permits from the government. It is easy to hire and fire employees. It is relatively straightforward to obtain capital from multiple sources, to buy and sell businesses and to close down businesses.
- Monopolies are regulated. There is a high level of competition in the economy.
- The economy is internationally open. It is easy to export and import goods. Foreigners are free to come to the country and establish new businesses or to acquire businesses from national citizens and to compete on equal terms with businesses owned by national citizens.
- The state is limited. The government confines itself to the provision of a reliable legal system, the maintenance of internal order and the provision of public goods. In particular, the government does not get involved in the regulation of prices or wages.

Obviously there are many counter-examples at the level of detail. For example, the USA prides itself on its free-market system but many US states and cities have detailed rules even over such trivial matters as who can open a hairdressing business, which limit the freedom of enterprise. However, in overall terms it is clear that the USA has the above characteristics.

Similarly, the People's Republic of China since the Deng Xiaoping reforms has enjoyed spectacular economic growth despite continuing with an excessive role for the state and having high levels of government corruption. However, it is clear that China's future economic growth will be inhibited if these problems are not addressed.

Iran's political system

Iran has a system of democracy overseen by a religious hierarchy at whose pinnacle is the Supreme Leader. Accordingly, it has some of the characteristics of a pluralistic society and some of the characteristics of an autocracy.

As indicated above, it is possible for autocratic systems such as that of China to achieve significant economic growth if they

allow freedom of enterprise even while maintaining an unfree society. However eventually such systems hit limitations unless they evolve into truly free societies. China with its increasingly free internal social media and the freedom to travel overseas of its citizens is gradually evolving in that direction although it has yet to confront the illogicality of the Chinese Communist Party seeking to maintain total control of the state.

Iran will in due course face similar challenges as its economy develops. To a large extent these challenges have been hidden while Iran has had to operate a siege economy due to external economic sanctions being imposed due to the nuclear question. As well as inhibiting external trade and financial transactions, these sanctions have in practice inhibited the ability of Iranians citizens to travel abroad.

Evaluating Iran's economic system

Iran is a middle income country. The following table is taken from the International Monetary Fund's 2014 table of countries' Gross Domestic Product based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) per capita.

Country	Ranking out of 187 countries	GDP per person PPP dollars
Taiwan	19	46,036
South Korea	30	35,379
Iran	70	17,443
Egypt	99	10,918
India	125	5,808

Unlike the other countries in the above table, Iran has oil and gas reserves which are very significant in comparison with the rest of its economy.

The non-governmental organisation Transparency International publishes annually an assessment of perceived government corruption. This gives each country a public sector corruption score on a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). The countries are then ranked in order from 1 (least corrupt) to 175 (most corrupt). The table below uses data from the report for 2014.

Country	Ranking out of 175 countries	Corruption Score
Taiwan	35	61
South Korea	43	55
India	85	38
Egypt	94	37
Iran	136	27

Iran scores very badly, far below even India and Egypt which are countries generally regarded as having high levels of government corruption.

Corruption typically distorts the economy, with economic rewards flowing primarily to a small clique of individuals closely associated with the government, who are granted favours such as licenses to operate monopolies.

While the rankings will always have some countries ranked towards the bottom since some country must be ranked 1 while some country must be ranked 175, the difference in corruption

scores could be either small or large. The least corrupt country in the 2014 rankings, Denmark, has a corruption score of 92 (a perfect score would be 100) while Iran scores only 27.

Countries that score badly on corruption often also score badly on the “Ease of doing business.” Strictly that is not a logical necessity since a non-corrupt country could still decide to have very awkward, restrictive and hard to comply with business rules and regulations. However complex rules and regulations and corruption tend to go hand-in-hand since every additional restrictive regulation typically represents an additional opportunity for corruption on the part of the civil servants who are responsible for administering the regulation concerned.

The World Bank Group has an annual publication on this subject. The figures below are taken from “Doing Business 2016 Measuring Regulatory Quality and Efficiency” which measures a very large number of regulatory areas as well as combining them into overall national rankings.

To avoid excessive detail, the table below extracts only three numbers from the much more detailed information available in the full document.

Country	Ranking out of 189 countries	Overall distance to frontier score (0–100)	Quality of land administration index (0–30)
South Korea	4	83.88	27.5
Taiwan	11	80.55	28.5
Iran	118	57.44	15
India	130	54.68	7
Egypt	131	54.43	7

As mentioned before, any ranking system will result in some country being ranked top and some country being ranked bottom. Accordingly, the “Overall distance to frontier score” provides a single score assessing how far each country is away from “perfection”. A country need not be troubled by its lower ranking if its absolute score is not too far below the score of the highest ranked country.

Gratifyingly, while Iran was ranked as the most corrupt country of the ones chosen for comparison, it performs significantly better on ease of doing business. This may be attributable to Iran’s unitary state (many complications arise in India from the power of the individual states) and from its relatively high levels of education. However, its absolute score is far below that of Taiwan and only slightly above that of Egypt.

The author noted that the World Bank Group specifically assesses the quality of land administration. The ease of proving title to land and buying and selling land, or using land as security for borrowing, is a critical factor in the development of capitalism. The book «The Mystery of Capital» by the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto emphasises the importance of this factor and in particular mentioned the poor quality of land administration in Egypt. Fortunately, Iran perform significantly better than Egypt but is still far below countries such as South Korea and Taiwan.

Challenges for Iran and recommendations

After the 1979 revolution the Iranian economy had very high levels of state ownership. In recent years a privatisation programme has attempted to reduce this.

However, as the experience of many formerly communist countries has shown, privatisation can be difficult when one begins with an economy that has very high state ownership and limited individual wealth. At the simplest, there are very few potential national buyers of businesses to be privatised and many countries are (incorrectly) reluctant to sell state owned enterprises to foreign purchasers.

Some countries in Eastern Europe undertook “voucher privatisations” where the state gave vouchers to individual citizens that could be used for the purchase of shares in companies being privatised. However, in many cases entrepreneurial citizens were able to encourage others to sell them their privatisation vouchers at prices far below their true value.

In Iran many companies that have been privatised have remained significantly directly owned by the state while a significant proportion of those shares that have allegedly passed into private ownership are actually owned by quasi-state entities such as state retirement funds and companies associated with military entities.

Iran has also historically subsidised energy and food prices with the normal consequences found in all economies where such subsidies exist. These are the distortion of the market, over-consumption of that which is supplied below true market price and growing burdens of public expenditure. Accordingly, there has been a programme of replacing subsidies with direct cash transfers which is the normal technique for ending a subsidy program.

The extent to which Iran wishes to change its historic policies is fundamentally a political question. The policies outlined below would, over a relatively short period of time, dramatically improve the performance of the Iranian economy. However, they would at the same time weaken the control over the state and the population which is exercised by the present political structures.

Population registration

In recent years India has carried out a programme of registering its citizens and giving them an electronic identification. This enables them to identify themselves to banks for the purposes of opening bank accounts and for many other purposes.

Such a system of electronic identification would make it much more practical for Iran to phase out its remaining subsidies and to replace them by a programme of cash transfers to poorer citizens. It would also make it easier to introduce a system for electronic tax filings which would enable subsidies to be withdrawn as citizens’ incomes increased.

Ease of doing business

The government should systematically review all of its rules and procedures governing the formation of companies, tax filings, employment regulations, land registration etc. to improve its absolute score in the World Bank Group doing business assessment.

The easier it becomes for Iranian citizens to start their own businesses, the more will do so. Similarly, once external sanctions are lifted, the easier it is for citizens to import and export from Iran, the more will do so.

At the same time, the abolition of restrictions will reduce the scope for corruption. As mentioned above, one of the key reasons that corruption flourishes in some economies is the number of rules and regulations which give officials scope to demand bribes. ■



Towards Strict Secularism

An Exclusive interview with former French President **Nicolas Sarkozy** on the political future of an irritable society

- | I am a fan of strict secularism in the French society
- | Stonewalling of people like Le Pen has left the society in a critical state
- | Our society is in need of a shock to resurrect its values
- | The US model of economic liberalism is the best for the French society
- | People are afraid some may be trying to change their style of living

| Somayah Ebrahim Khalili

عصر اندیشه | France has been facing a growing crisis ever since its capital, Paris, was targeted by a series of terrorist attacks which exposed some of the French society's cultural and social maladies. You are at the helm of one of the leading political party in France after winning in the party's main constituencies. How are you planning to overcome the current social crisis in France?

Having been able to persevere before the National Front, in my view, is a social victory by itself. We could prove to the citizens that we are able to withstand the domestic and foreign pressures and can overcome our rivals. The rest of the issues will be settled by the citizens themselves and I have no worries about this. I forbid all republicans from retreating and call on them to close ranks so we will be able to solve our problems together. We must ensure all the French population that we will stand up to the National Front's politically motivated campaigning.

■ Speaking of politics, how probable, do you think, is formation and strengthening of Bonapartism? In her interviews with *The Age of Reflection*, Miss Le Pen maintained that your party has ruined France and nothing is left from what was once known as republicanism. Do you agree that the French Fifth Republic has dwindles away?

I am a republican and will remain one until the end. I defend my ideals and do not pay the least heed of what my rivals and even enemies in the French society are talking about, especially the ones who are in the Natural Front. The crisis that was imposed on my presidency probably was never experienced by any of the presidents of the Fifth Republic before. I am committed to my ideals but stonewalling of people like Le Pen has left the French society in a critical

state. As you can see, even though it is now some years that Sarkozy is no longer the president but Sarkozyism is still alive in the society and would be revived by a small sparkle like the one you saw in the recent elections. I have many ideas for my country's social and political arenas. I have nothing to do with the supporters of the naturalist front because I believe they are like viruses that can infect any society. I believe the French society is in need of a shock to revive some of its values. A second Schengen pact can be a good solution for the country's current conditions. To solve the country's economic problems, a social shock in the market and jobs must be induced in the society so that it can pass behind the recession it is stuck in. There are several plans that I am pursuing for the time being.

■ A number of French politicians say that former leftists have become rightists in the French political community and liberalism is gradually killing France. Do you, as a republican leader, think that liberalism and capitalism are useful to the society or are you pondering a third solution?

I consider myself a liberal and I know the values and defend them. I think that real liberalism can relieve the French society of its problems and respond to the needs of the society, especially in the economic field. I feel that the US pattern of economic liberalism is very useful for the French society and can solve many problems. I always believe that based on this model, the French society must evolve to undergo a major change so that my economic model will be an answer to the current problems in all social and political arenas.

I think today's attacks against me are mostly because of the pressure exerted by the nationalist front and its supporters. In my opinion, Marine Le Pen is worse than her father and her presence in the political arena of France has caused many difficulties. The current internal crises in France are caused by

the Nationalist Front's activities and their rabble rousing; which are useless and the recent elections proved it. I think Le Pen has exploited her family reputation in politics.

■ **After the constituency elections in France, you spoke of the «French deep anger». What is your analysis of the psychology of the people in France today? With what social strata are we dealing with when we say understanding their anger is difficult?**

Yes, I think this deep anger must be understood. The anger has been caused because of the involvement of many different fronts in the political communities of the society. I participated in the elections to understand this anger. People want their republican candidates to focus on the country as their top priority; a value which has fallen in recent years thanks to the activities of many parties such as the National Front, bringing about this anger. The French people must have come to the polls to vote for my ideas so that these values will be reinstated in the society. The values were missing for several years, especially during the past 4 years which led to this crisis, I mean since the election of Francis Hollande as the French president.

It seems that my participation in the elections carried with it the best message of the people to the current authorities. This is why I have repeatedly stressed that it is the duty of me and my party to listen to this anger, understand it and try to find a solution for it; this is the anger of a people who work a lot in the French society and get nothing; this is the anger of a people who try a lot but are rarely seen in the society; it is the anger of a people for whom living is almost impossible in the French society; the anger of those who are always worried about losing their jobs; the anger of those who are afraid the society might undermine their identity; the anger of those who are afraid some may want to change their way of living. I think to solve these problems of the French people, the Republicans must be trusted. They have a coherent program to eliminate these concerns.

■ **Some analysts say there is an implicit sense of Islamophobia among the rulers of France which has caused this rage among French Arabs. Some blame the current administration and say their covert support for the ISIS has led to such horrific incident. Do you think that these discriminatory policies and double standards against Islam and Muslims are the chief causes of the current chaotic state of France?**

I am not willing to answer this question. I should only say that I am a fan of «Strict Secularism» in the French society. In my opinion, it is the religious classes in the French society that must adapt themselves to the Republican values of the administration, not the other way round. What links us in the society is our life style and culture not beliefs and religion. I think, in this case, I am more of a fan of Bonapartism. A secular state is the ideal model for governing the French society. ■



French Suicide The Republic is dead

**An exclusive interview with Marine Le Pen
President of the French National Front**

Marine Le Pen is a French politician who is the president of the National Front, a far-right political party in France and one of the main political forces. A lawyer by profession, she is the youngest daughter of longtime FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen. She is the aunt of Marion Maréchal-Le Pen.

She joined the FN in 1986, its Executive Committee in 2000 and was a vice-president of the FN for eight years (2003–2011). She currently is an ex officio member of the FN Executive Office, Executive Committee and Central Committee. She has been a regional councillor since 1998, a Member of the European Parliament since 2004 and was a municipal councillor in Hénin-Beaumont, Pas-de-Calais for three years (2008–2011).

عصر اندیشه | The French terrorist attacks have raised many questions in the minds of political observers and intellectuals, and in addition to it, we see a development in the militarist policies in the heart of Europe. In a speech delivered by François Hollande before the Parliament, there seems to be a disposition of establishing a «police state»; a sort of strong security sovereignty which can destroy democracy. On the other hand, «security» is considered as one of the main needs of the human society, then the governments should take measures to provide it; but the question is whether it is not possible to maintain

security without «death of the Republic»?

It is an interesting question; Hollande declares a state of emergency in different situations, deploying a great number of military forces throughout the country. What do you personally think about it? It is only because he tends to show off the police and military power, and consequently prioritize them. President of the Republic and the security forces wield immense power according to the French Constitution of 1955 in order for them to take control of the society in a state of emergency; he just wants to hold on to his power, but there is always a state of emergency in France and the police forces are all put on alert. The police would, in such a condition, excuse any public assembly simply for no particular reason and then make arrests based on it as is it, nowadays, the case. Lots of citizens are arrested and imprisoned only because of their possible threats to the



public security in spite of the strong oppositions expressed by some parties in the country.

Hollande is always claiming that he predicts threats of the terrorist and Islamist groups to France such as the ISIS, and therefore acts on the basis of such predictions. That is why, in France, the socialist party is now in power and free to act. It is axiomatic that formation of the groups like the ISIS is a product of the NATO military assistance to the Islamist groups in various countries. NATO was going to change the Syrian regime by providing such groups with the required equipment, but actually it has not changed thus far. The current situation in France is more or less similar to it. The recent attacks is the outcome of one thing: the dictatorial thought which is dominant in France and its military power which is ruling.

■ It is interesting that some consider you to be in close association with the Bonapartists, and assume that the National Front policies are an association of or in line with Napoleon Bonaparte's slogans. If this is the case, considering that you will rise to power, do you think we will not deal with a government having the militarist and

dictatorial characteristic?

Your questions have a challenging and controversial tinge, nevertheless, I generally think Bonapartism will appear in France when the major crises start to be seen in the society, economics and politics. That is why Marx calls Bonapartism a «semi-authoritarian» front. It is the very movement enabling the middle classes to express themselves in crisis points and recognize their importance.

However, Hollande opposes my view. He claims that Bonapartism is a movement, in the French society, against the radical socialists! That is also a strange claim of Hollande. Do you know why? That some would consider me, as well, to be a Bonapartist as I do not want France to be dependent in the international assemblies and to act according to what the other countries do in the international level. I tend to select a rather different approach in the policies, and some say to me that this trend, in the 21st century, would result in a sort of political prestige for me and that I am struggling to promote myself to higher positions.

We are now living in a world in which politics are dictated by the international economy. Well, there is no go except for a new approach so as to determine political strategies. I think, in today's world, what saves France is formation of a strategic government, not taking into consideration various movements and thoughts to which you refer and force me into considering ourselves to be a supporter of them. Such a government can afford to save France from the current situation. Napoleon would say that, «neither a Republican nor an aristocrat; I am a Nationalist.» General de Gaulle would always repeat that, «neither a Left nor a Right; I am a French», and today I say, «Neither a Left nor a Right». I personally think that any of these doctrines could be used in certain circumstances.

■ You claim that, in today's world, the economic factors determine the policies. These factors, more often than not, are in accordance with the liberal models, and the US is continuously seeking to Americanize Europe as they have been trying to do so as for Iran. Do you propose a new way for the political and economic action other than this dominant liberal model?

I generally believe that sticking to the global liberal model of economics would cause trouble for the whole world and I am, absolutely, not thinking positively about this model. I believe, in the current situation, it would be better to keep to the «protective economy» policy in order to get out of the present crises; a policy for which both Sarkozy and Hollande have never striven. Liberalism is now on the verge of decline due to the idealist plans which are being carried out by the world powers. In my opinion, France needs a national and patriotic plan as it is not possible for the global ones to deal with the French problems in an efficient manner. I personally consider the very liberalism as the main cause of imminent demise of the French society.

■ There seems to be a very close association between liberalism and fundamentalism in today's world, and your country has heavily invested in upholding the

Takfiri Salafis. Some people in Iran, still, do not believe that France is cooperating with and upholding the terrorists...

I should say I am sorry for being the first and only person, in France, to object to hosting the extremist groups, and in addition to it, I have never had a good opinion of providing them with education and financial aid within our country. I was the only one to realize that the «Charlie Hebdo» incident was addressed directly to the extremist groups, then I considered «the French Government» to be the main culprit. I assume that Hollande is widely upholding these groups, particularly having invested in such groups in Libya and Syria. He is now being punished and penalized for what he did before; it is the very issue I had predicted in the private and public meetings with Hollande.

I definitely condemn Hollande's policies regarding these areas, that is, upholding the extremist groups, and also I do condemn Sarkozy's previous policies. Look! The extremist groups operating in various countries are supported by the prominent capitalists in Europe. In my opinion, this is a moral, political and historical mistake of our leaders, therefore it is better for Europe to understand the significance of Bashar Assad's holding the power in the current situation. Inevitably one should be preferred between bad and worse.

■ How far does the situation keep on? How do a series of mistakes that you mentioned have the opportunity and possibility to be repeated? Although the Lefts are now in the French government in the name of socialism, but we have been faced with the phenomenon of «American Left» and the spread of liberal capitalism in France which seems to coexist, now, with a sort of fundamentalism.

I think that France is making lots of mistakes. I predict that France will eventually keep to this situation up until 2025, so this year is the point which the economic and political programs for the country will show up. France will survive ten years with regard to such situations. As you know, the liberality in the economy of a country is not dependent upon the liquidity of the trades; it depends on the competition between the economic structures of a society, restrictions to enter the economic sphere, the liquidity and the share of the public sector in the economy and the government's economic participation. In most cases, in France, privatization has helped the economy to emerge a kind of unipolar economy, and consequently it has helped it to become a part belonging to the government that is in power. It is the very thing to dismantle the economy and for the military fundamentalism to maintain, by force, the liberal economic system. I can claim that these events have happened in France.

■ Once the National Front you led, in the first round of elections in France, became the prime party, the media including BBC were struggling to induce the public to believe that in your party Islamophobia replaces anti-Semitism since, in the current situation, this party has got a great influence over the public opinion. I want to get a clear answer. Have such propaganda designed to intimidate the Muslims into your party? Do you

oppose the real Islam which is a harbinger of kindness and generosity, or that you oppose the Wahhabi Islam and Daesh? Are you anti-Islam or anti-Daesh or anti-Semitism, or all of them?!

Yes, it is the approach that the media have deal with and they are trying to do it more. Let me answer your question this way. Once I was invited, by some officials, in France, to visit their mosques. You know that Islam is the second religion in France, and that is why I felt obliged, as an official, to accept it. Many people expressed in the media that my visit to the mosque is more like a joke, but I went there and the alleged officials presented a book about Islam to me. When I studied that book, I felt I was understanding it more. I paid a visit to the mosque again and got another book; after reading it, I was really impressed with the grandeur and beauty of Islam, however, talking about my own feelings with respect to



Islam persuades the media to reflect the reality the other way round. At any rate, the media require such circumstances.

I personally think that I do not take an anti-Islam or anti-Muslim approach at all. In one of my speeches I stated that I did not oppose any Muslim or Jew, but it was all greek to me the reason why they would not eat pork and what the Halal products meant. Again this speech was controversial in France, but I repeat once more that I do not oppose the Muslims any more. I win a great deal of votes from the Muslims in most of the elections I stand for; so this fact clearly shows the Islamic community's approach towards me. I personally believe the Jews, Muslims and Arabs should play a significant role in the French society. The French society is becoming a unipolar one, and the participation of these two groups would create a balance at last.

As for the names the Arabs and Muslims choose for their own children in the French society, of course I believe that it would be better to use the western names. I once stated the Arabs using the names like Rashid, Wafa and ... their children, definitely, would face problems due to the certain circumstances in the French society. I recommend them to name their children after the western and French models in

order for them to decrease the level of tensions. I once stated that eating pork is an appreciation of the French culture and traditions, and if they accept to do so, they can even participate actively in the National Party. This statement must not have backlashes against me. I just pointed to a cultural issue, but I was again criticized for it.

■ **According to the Islamic Law a Muslim cannot accept your proposal, unless s/he violates his own beliefs; you have mentioned this issue for the political participation in your party, though. The main question raised at the moment is that if you, someday, found a way to hold the position in the Elysee Palace, could the Muslims be sure that you maintain their basic rights or would they be concerned that party-based approaches dominate?**

Let me give you an example. I once stated that I opposed the extreme Islamists praying in the streets of France, and objected to it several times. Why? As it would deform and disfigure the society. We do have enough mosques for the Muslims in the French society in which they can pray, and such manners and intentions are just an extremist movement. Does it mean ignoring the basic rights of the Muslims? I have several times objected to the Muslim Brotherhood Members participation and activities in the French society. They have been doing secret activities in the European countries, particularly France, since the outburst of violence and breach in Egypt. They, I think, are the main source of an unlimited and extremist Islam that have defamed the Muslim community as well. I do object to such issues and will never take my word back.

If I were an anti-Muslim and ignored their rights, I would never let the huge wave of Syrian immigrants, who are mostly Muslims, to enter my country. However, I have always supported their taking shelter in France, realizing the fact that the ISIS terrorists benefit more from their presence in this country, so they are able to use this opportunity, but I am not president of the Republic; only Hollande can take control of some situations, not me. Anyhow I welcome, as a political figure in the French society, the Syrian and Muslim immigrants coming to my country.

■ **Which countries, in your opinion, are the major enemies of France?**

France must determine its exact policies in the international policies. It must determine its partners and enemies in the international diplomacy. I personally believe that its major enemies are the countries which go hand in hand with the extreme Islamists and are in close association with the supporters of the ISIS; the countries which support the racist Islamists, letting them engage in activities in their countries as well. These are the very major enemies of France with which, unfortunately, our country establishes relations. Any country that opposes activities of the Islamist terrorists and fights them is undoubtedly a friend of France, with which it should cooperate and conduct negotiations. But it is unfortunately vice versa as for France.

■ **How do you, as president of the National Front who**

was able to form a government in some periods of time, analyze and evaluate the Islamic Republic of Iran and its importance in having an impact on the present equations?

I surely consider Iran as a regional power. I believe that France must change its foreign policies, and if it tends to fight the real terrorist, it should take Iran and Russia as its main allies. After the recent event in France, I recommended several times to negotiate with Iran over the issue of terrorism. This country can certainly help us very much regarding this problem. Iran has considerable influence in the region and can deal with most of our problems. If I were Hollande, I would take Iran as one of my friends and allies. In my opinion, it would be better for France to conduct negotiations with Iran in lieu of the Saudi Arabia. I have, over and over again, claimed that the Saudi Arabia is spreading the «extreme Islam». Women in Iran have rather suitable conditions in comparison with women in the Saudi Arabia. The thoughts and presumptions we have of them is actually different from the reality. Woman's status in the Iranian society is so very different from what is in the Saudi Arabia which only boasts about the human rights. Iran can be a loyal friend for France in the international arena. I believe that the Iranian woman is even happier than any other woman in other the Middle East countries like Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.

As for the nuclear energy in spite of the French position, I have always wanted Iran to achieve the peaceful nuclear energy in order to move forward along with the global progresses. It is their right to be able to express themselves in this area in an international position, but I have never realized the reason why Hollande opposes this issue.

In my opinion, all the sanctions against Iran should be lifted at once as it has cooperated well with the international delegates, leaving no room for them to impose or keep sanctions. The only thing about which I have always been curious as for this country is the state of the prisons and prisoners, which I prefer not to talk about at this present moment, but I just want to say that I am not that much positive about the state of the prisoners in Iran.

■ **Your viewpoints about Islam is favorable and promising for the Iranians, but the media propaganda have not allowed some of the French people to have access to them. What is your direct response to those calling you a «fascist»?**

I do not really know what to say. Such claims came to prevail when, in a speech some years ago in Lyon, I stated that occupation was not necessarily done using armor and weapons. As we are speaking of religion and some followers of a religion (the Muslims), whom I think they are the extremist Muslims, march on the streets, close the roads and pray there, it means that they are occupying my country. I said that the Nazis were also using this method, so that is why they tended to call me a fascist. Even I was summoned to the court for it; I said that I did not have the intention of insulting Muslims. I just criticized and objected to what the extremists were doing, not Islam and Muslims. ■

Who Killed the French Marianne?

The terror which could end all Western democracies

Catherine Shakdam

As France is slowly coming to terms with the tragedy which befall its people; looking to make sense of the murderous irrationality of terrorism, it is not reason which officials have professed, but violence and social erosion.

And while ultimately France stands to further betray its future by playing directly into the hands of fascism, as it answers one radicalism with another - that of radical secularism, Western powers have remained stubbornly true to their agenda; spitting hatred and intolerance against those communities they seek to ostracise to better manifest their new paradigm of fear.

Islam once more was pinpointed as the axis upon which radicalism has risen itself to power.

But this terror the West is facing today, this evil which rejects the sanctity of life and wishes only to instill fear so that its hordes could better rule and enslave, is one which is devoid of any religious consciousness. This concept was best expressed by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in his second to the Western Youth, where he called on a unity against the universal evil of radicalism. ISIL's ideology is rooted not in Islam but in Wahhabism Charles Allen postulated in 2007 - a fascist devolution which was born from the mind of a pseudo-scholar: Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab, a tyrant whose sole purpose was to rise an empire of fear, right at the heart of Islam, to better draw from its religious legitimacy.

Wahhabism is nothing more than a cult, a heresy rooted in bloodletting, slavery, and violence - an abomination of the mind so revolting that it can only be compared in its madness to Nazism.

The Wahhabi tribe, extreme Islamist fundamentalists, set out at the turn of the 18th century to restore purity to their faith by declaring violent jihad on all who opposed them. And while their history has long been forgotten, their vicious brand of political ideology lives on. The Wahhabi deeply influenced not only the formation of modern Saudi Arabia, but Osama bin Laden and the Taliban said Allen in his research. "Their teachings educate orphan boys in Afghanistan and press rifles into their hands, for the sake of jihad. The parallels between this pivotal terrorist network and our post-9/11 political climate are staggering. Charles Allen sheds lights on the historical roots of modern terrorism and shows how this dangerous nineteenth-century theology lives on today," he commented in his writings.

Today this Wahhabist crusade has reached the shores of the Old Continent. But Islam had no part and no hand in this attack. And yet, voices have already risen calling for a witch-hunt against



those [Muslims] whose guilt has already been proclaimed on account their faith "does not belong."

Paris we were told was targeted for radicals hate the freedom Western capitals enjoy.

Paris we were told was earmarked for destruction and its people condemned to death, for their liberties are offensive to the fascism of ISIL. But that would imply for Democracy to be alive and well, and of course for such statements to ring true, it would imply that France stands a real democratic state.

Many questions have arisen since Paris attack - not the least the real state of Western democracy and academia's abilities to frame the new narrative of perpetual war within not a liberation movement but the rise of Liberal fundamentalism.

The Republic

Western powers have long presented themselves as the guardians of democracy, the custodian even of those republican values, we were told, are best expressed in western institutions; where such principles as personal freedom and political self-determination are inalienable rights under the constitution. From Washington to London, Paris and Berlin, heads of states have clamored their moral superiority, positioning themselves as models to be emulated, and emblems to be adored.

Only ground realities betray a very different truth indeed. Western democracies know of democracy only the moral facade it offers, while its substance, the freedom and liberties its promises, remain very much out of reach.

Our modern-day Western democracies are anything but democratic; rather, they are autocratic in nature, profoundly reactionary in practice and utterly violent in their political expressions.

And yet we have been told ad nauseam that it is in the West that Liberty's flame shines the brightest ... That of course is the grandest lie of all.

Francis Fukuyama, an American author and intellectual proposed

an interesting overview of what he refers to as the “political decay of democracy” in the West. He offers that for a democracy to be truly functional the state needs to realize popular legitimacy, separation of powers and democratic accountability.

Looking at France today, it appears the state has failed on all accounts: the state serves not its people but a corporate and political elite, all three branches of power (judicial, legislative and executive) have become patsies in the hands of lobbies and there is not democratic accountability to be had as the media have become the grand censors of the powerful elite.

France today resembles not the republican and democratic ideals the likes of Robespierre, Voltaire and Montesquieu once hoped would become institutional realities.

France it seems, has reached a terrible, and yet many will argue, inevitable crossroads as its republican state has been raided and defiled to make way to a new form of radicalization - a new nepotism which expression is found in the militarization of all state institutions.

France’s republican values one can argue, have withered away so completely that its people can hardly recognize those principles their forefathers so valiantly stood for and bled for. Would Voltaire and Montesquieu today look upon France’s institutions and applaud, or would they instead deplore the sad institutional devolution the Fifth Republic has become under the thumb of a capitalist oligarchy?

Once upon a time, freedom of religion and tolerance stood at the center of French philosophers’ political ideals. It was Voltaire (18th century) who argued that religious intolerance was against the law of nature and was worse than the “right of the tiger”.

Towards the end of his long life Voltaire took the courageous stand of defending a Protestant family against religious intolerance and legal persecution. Voltaire wrote: “Human law must in every case be based on natural law. All over the earth the great principle of both is: Do not unto others what you would that they do not unto you. Now, in virtue of this principle, one man cannot say to another: “Believe what I believe, and what thou canst not believe, or thou shalt perish.” Thus do men speak in Portugal, Spain, and Goa. In some other countries they are now content to say: “Believe, or I detest thee; believe, or I will do thee all the harm I can. Monster, thou sharest not my religion, and therefore hast no religion; thou shalt be a thing of horror to thy neighbours, thy city, and thy province.” ... The supposed right of intolerance is absurd and barbaric. It is the right of the tiger; nay, it is far worse, for tigers do but tear in order to have food, while we rend each other for paragraphs.”

France today no longer stands for such principles.

In early 2015, Pierre Cassen, founder of Riposte Laïque and Christine Tasin, President of Resistance Republicaine, both French far-right leaders offered to initiate a national movement against Muslims, calling for their expulsion and a ban on their religious rights. In effect they have lobbied for the criminalization of Islam in France, a trend which has found many supporters across Europe and the Americas. “We propose to initiate what should become a succession of rallies and patriotic demonstrations, a popular movement in the image of PEGIDA in Germany, a movement which rallies all individuals, associations, political parties... marking the refusal of the Islamisation of our country with all its consequences. We will demand that all Islamists be driven out of France,” they wrote in a common statement to the press.

With religious liberties standing to be obliterated in the name of secularism, France also stands to become a bona fide police state, devoid of all democratic characteristics as its legitimacy will be sat not on popular will, but popular repression.

Militarization within and without

It is often believe that a person’s true nature will be revealed at times of great hardship and duress, as one’s ability to self-censor and reason are impeded by passions.

At this particular juncture in its history France did not exactly put its best foot forward - or we should say, its leaders did not.

While Paris attack offered an opportunity for peace and social cohesion, in that France’s rejection of terror should have acted a universal rallying cry regardless of internal ethnic, religious, social and political divisions, politicians chose to play ISIL to the tune of their own prejudices.

The rise of the far right to the political stratospheres attest to French society’s new descent into the darkness of fascism, a repeat some intellectuals have argued of the Vichy government (1940-1944) when Marechal Philippe Petain paused the IV Republic to better collaborate with Nazi Germany.

“Will the Front National, a despicable party led by a nepotistic clique replete with ex-cons pining for the good old days of wedge politics, gain control of entire regions of the country? In the second round of regional elections, will France concede part of its territory to the heirs of the Vichy regime, to those nostalgic for “French Algeria” and the OAS, to perennial enemies of republican democracy?” asked Bernard-Henri Levy, a prominent French philosopher and author.

He continued: “Will we stand by fatalistically while smug, vulgar, ignorance makes France the laughing stock and the pity of Europe? Will we resign ourselves to the posthumous revenge of Charles Maurras, Robert Brasillach and Marshal Pétain, the revenge of a cabal that sought to assassinate Charles de Gaulle, of a party led by people who hate the best of France, who never stop trying to make France smaller, less influential, less glorious than she is? ... The millions who have said no to terrorism and to the black flag must now say no to those who would adulterate the spirit of our laws and usurp the French flag for partisan gain—we must say no to the one and only party whose leaders declined on January 11, the day after the killings at Charlie Hebdo and the kosher market, to join the river of humanity that flooded the streets of our cities to reject barbarity and proclaim its love for France.”

Where France government could have chosen to defy terror by flying democracy’s flag, President Francois Hollande called instead for a democratic pause. In November 19, France’s parliament extended the state of emergency proclaimed by President Hollande on the day of the attack by another three months, thus allowing for the police and all other security services to wield immense powers against all residents.

Such a decision gives the police powers including the ability to keep people in their homes without trial, searching the homes of people without a warrant from a judge, and the power to block any website that is deemed a problem.

French officials have rationalized the decision by arguing that in order to protect democracy, freedoms had to be taken away ... an interesting paradox indeed.

Undeniably France, and beyond, Europe have become increasingly militarised. On November 20, the Guardian spoke

of a new European border crackdown. The report read: “EU ministers are to hold emergency talks on Friday on tightening border checks after the killing of the alleged ringleader of the Paris attacks in an apartment in the French capital put European leaders under intense pressure to get a grip on Europe’s external and internal borders.”

And while such measures have been portrayed as legitimate measures against terror, they nevertheless betray those very values officials claim to want to protect.

And so the real question remains, which of the two terrors: wahhabism or secular radicalism killed the French Marianne?

The rise of secular radicalism

Today, it is not just Islam which stands in the line of fire - freedom of religion is under unprecedented attack by an elite, and vicious group of militant secularists in government, academia and the media who are determined to expunge God from every corner of public life. Their goal is to replace faith with religious syncretism and moral relativism as the new foundations of a new secular world order.

Such a wicked campaign to annul religion in the West has been carried out in the name of secularism, freedom, tolerance, pluralism, and the only too famous separation in between the religious and the state. Only they have misappropriated these terms and hijacked them, twisting and distorting their true meaning in order to advance their sinister anti-religious agenda.

Radical secularists have so thoroughly distorted the terms “secularism” and “secular” that they have become the equivalent of the term “non-religious.” But that is not the original meaning of the words or what nations have understood them to mean. The term “secular” was simply used to distinguish civil society or the state from religious bodies. Something that is distinct from something else is not necessarily the enemy of that other thing. Such were the ideas expressed by Montesquieu in France.

Yet that is what we have been trained to think in our modern age. Religion and society, faith and reason, faith and science, love and truth, public and private life, the spiritual and material worlds, are now commonly regarded as polar opposites, as inherently contradictory and opposing realms that must be hermetically sealed off from each other. Professor Tariq Ramadan, the prominent Swiss academic has long rejected such a binary way of thinking.

This great divorce between distinct realms that are in fact mutually compatible, complementary, and interdependent is a bitter fruit of the relativistic and materialistic philosophies that increasingly dominate our postmodern society and that provide a basis for the destructive totalitarian ideology of radical secularism. Relativism, of course, is the irrational idea that there is no such thing as absolute religious, moral or spiritual truth, whether accessible to human reason alone or divinely revealed. Rather than being gifts of God and paths to absolute truth that tend to unite mankind, faith, morality, spirituality, and reason are viewed as purely human attempts to impose order on a chaotic and meaningless cosmos. In this great sea of relativistic truth, it’s up to each individual to decide for himself or herself, in a hermetically sealed vacuum, what to believe (if anything) and what is morally right and wrong. The only absolute truth that can be known for certain by all humanity is what can be discovered about the material world through scientific research. And there we have just defined materialism—the even more

irrational idea that nothing exists beyond what we can see and hear and measure and quantify. Relativism pushes God out of the picture, while materialism denies his existence a priori.

These two unreasonable atheistic philosophies, which contradict human experience and common sense, form the backbone of the radically secularist ideology that is now infecting our world. This totalitarian ideology carries within itself the potential to destroy Society.

The new nationalism and religion as an ethnicity

Much can be said about society when it cries over a police dog more than its own on account of geography and ethnicity. How far has Democracy fallen when it no longer sees men, women and children but color, faiths and differences?

In the wake of the Paris attack, as police broke into homes and businesses, armed with the newly established state of emergency, a police dog was shot dead in a brawl. Decried as a national hero by his masters, yet another victim of Islamists’ irrational wrath, the world trended the loss on social media, carrying the hashtag #Jesuischien (I am dog) as new emblem for freedom lost.

Through grand displays of grief and international calls for solidarity, much of the world reached out to the French nation, joining in this global stand against terror, radicalization and bigotry - only solidarity and sorrow were reserved for a selected few, a chosen elite which we have been told is more worthy of our tears than the many “others”; those thousands and tens of thousands of souls which were lost to terror across the world, mainly Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

Blinded by their own sense of white colonial entitlement, this ingrained belief that the West knows better, does better and thinks better. France has unwittingly told the world what it is it has been hiding in its republican belly: that the Republic will only ever be White that its people have a greater right to life than those third world degenerates it has been at war against for well over a decade.

But how many innocent civilians were killed by drones over the past decade? How many lives were cut short under NATO intervention, in the name of democracy building? How many times have Western politicians owned up to their crimes and offered an apology? Never as it happens.

Here is one of France’s most interesting paradox: on the one hand officials can argue secularism and republicanism to defend their innate aversion of so-called “Islamic values” - essentially the headscarf; and on the other, those same officials have no qualms attending Church services to honor their martyrs.

Not only has France claimed monopoly on grief for its tragedy - never mind that only a few days before Paris attack Beirut burnt under the fire of ISIS, never mind Yemeni civilians dying under the advances of Wahhabism and never mind the Kurds, Yezidis, Alawites, Sunni and Shia Muslims drowning under the rubbles of their homes ... those losses are not as trendy as Parisians’ candle and flower displays; France chose to mourn a dog over that of human life.

So what does it say about Western society when the death of a dog trends more than that of thousands of Africans, Asians and Middle Easterners? Are those the values the world is supposed to get on board with and fawn over - or has Western society self-cannibalize its humanity to the point where it has become THE devolution to be opposed, right alongside ISIL? ■

Mort du marché, mort de la vie?

| Professeur Simon LANGLOIS

| L'institution familiale a perdu de son importance mais les relations entre les objets et les êtres humains sont en augmentation

| Des études sur le budget familial ont commencé au début du XX^{ème} siècle aux États-Unis

| Le mode de vie a une influence sur la définition du budget et des ressources de la famille



L'étude de la consommation des biens dans l'Histoire de la sociologie, a joué un rôle important. En fait, ce n'est pas la consommation qui a contribué à l'apparition de la sociologie mais au contraire, c'est la sociologie qui au début, a accordé une priorité aux études sur les raisons et les modalités de

la consommation.

L'apparition véritable mais tardive de la sociologie de la consommation venait de la contradiction qui existait depuis longtemps entre la consommation des biens et les besoins de la société, c'est à dire à l'époque où des savants comme Thorstein Veblen (1899), Georges Simmel (1908), et Edmond Goblot au début du XX^{ème} siècle, se sont intéressés à la consommation et à ses raisons, en tant que particularité des classes riches de la société.

Dans beaucoup d'études et dans les études de sociologues comme Thorstein Veblen, la consommation est le signe d'un goût du luxe, d'une tendance à l'ostentation et une façon de se distinguer des autres couches de la société. Quand les ouvriers dans des rassemblements réclamaient une augmentation de salaire, la consommation qui provenait d'une maigre augmentation des salaires, avait les mêmes raisons. Cette critique à l'époque, était à l'avant-garde dans le domaine scientifique et le regard critique, mais sa réelle importance a diminué en intensité. Nous sommes aujourd'hui, face à des recherches scientifiques qui expliquent et classifient les étapes de l'apparition de ce phénomène depuis les débuts de la sociologie. Bien entendu, il faut avouer que la sociologie de la consommation jusqu'à la fin du XX^{ème} siècle, n'était pas très compétente au niveau théorique, mais après cela, en Angleterre et ensuite aux États-Unis et en France, de nouvelles théories sont apparues. Aujourd'hui, la sociologie de la consommation est une science et une branche universitaire qui effectue des recherches précises dans ce domaine alors qu'avant cela, l'anthropologie rejetait toutes les théories générales sur la consommation, les échanges et les différents types de consommation.

Les études précédentes et la sociographie de la consommation

Beaucoup de sociologues ont rejeté l'idée d'une sociologie de la consommation. Le Play a étudié en détail, le budget et les revenus d'une famille ouvrière française, en 1850. Cette étude si elle reflète les conditions naturelles de la classe ouvrière, peut donner une vision précise de la classe ouvrière et des

conséquences néfastes de l'industrialisation sur cette couche de la population.

Parallèlement de nombreuses études ont été faites sur le budget et les revenus des familles belges, qui ont été présentées par Engel et ont contribué à la loi sur la baisse du budget des familles pour une augmentation des activités de production et une hausse des revenus.

Maurice Halbwachs avec deux études sur le budget en France, à vingt ans d'intervalle, a présenté le budget familial comme critère de besoins défini par la société ou l'appartenance à telle ou telle couche de la population.

Les sociologues de Chicago ont fait des études sur les familles de la ville et de la campagne, pour comprendre les influences de la vie citadine sur le mode de consommation. La première étude complète sur la consommation des familles et les conditions de vie, a été faite au Québec, en 1959. Cette étude de l'École de sociologie française du Québec, qui était une des anciennes écoles du Canada, a été conduite par Tremblay et Fortin. En fait, les études sur le budget furent les premières études étendues de sociologie dans plusieurs pays, dont nous pouvons avoir un aperçu, dans le livre « Sociologie de la consommation familiale » de Clio Presvelou (1968).

Les États-Unis ont commencé ces études au début du XX^{ème} siècle, et les pays membres de l'Association coopération et progrès, dans les années 60 et 70. Les études sur le budget familial ont commencé en France en 1979, et tous les organismes en relation avec le budget, avaient accès à des informations précises sur ce sujet qui fait partie dans le monde actuel, de la sociologie de la consommation.

La sociologie de la consommation et le mode de vie

Le niveau de consommation dans la société, est une référence importante pour le détection du niveau de consumérisme. En 1960, il était courant d'ajouter le critère de qualité et par exemple, Jean Baudrillard a ajouté à ses études, le terme de « société de consommation ». Aujourd'hui, le terme de qualité n'existe plus dans les recherches car ce qui importe est la motivation de consommation qui se présente sous différentes formes.

Deux courants très importants ont influencé le développement de la société de consommation, la publicité que Stuart Ewen en 1976, avait nommée « capitaine de l'information » dont le rôle est d'informer et de convaincre, et qui offre à la société une image acceptable de la consommation, et le crédit qui permet un accès rapide et étendu aux biens de consommation. ■

Comment soigner la fièvre de la consommation ?

Existe-t-il une solution pour sortir du consumérisme ?

| Edgar Morin

| Le progrès, la machine infernale de la production et la mort

| Les nécessités du progrès de la classe des nantis, sont devenues un jeu destructeur



« Changeons la vie » est le slogan du grand poète français Arthur Rimbaud, et l'espoir de la nouvelle génération de nos sociétés. Un espoir que nourrissent tous les gens de notre siècle.

La solution que je donnerai pour changer ce mode de vie fondé sur la consommation, est tout à fait différente de ce que fait notre monde aujourd'hui. En gros, le monde matérialiste avance vers un déclin qui confrontera l'humanité à des problèmes qui sont prévisibles. Seule une réforme historique peut nous sauver de cette crise économique, environnementale, politique et sociale qui menace même l'existence de nos civilisations unies.

Je n'ai pas à proprement parler, de programme politique pour changer le mode de vie, mais je proposerai une voie qui permettra l'élaboration de différentes voies pour lutter contre les crises que nous allons connaître. Ce programme politique de l'humanité est composé de révolutions économiques, politiques et éducatives dans la pensée politique, car les révolutions sociales ont besoin de changements dans la vie.

La machine infernale du progrès

Le progrès avec la machine infernale de la production, la consommation et le déclin qu'il entraîne, nous conduit indubitablement à des crises environnementales et économiques. Ce processus se développe parallèlement, au niveau de l'individu. Le progrès qui est une nécessité quantitative et qualitative des classes nantis, est en train de devenir le jeu destructeur de ceux qui sont toujours à la recherche de plus de profits. Le progrès pour les classes défavorisées qui vivent à côté de ces riches, a un sens dépassé du bien être et par conséquent, il faut dans une telle société, élever parallèlement le bien être au niveau de l'indépendance individuelle et de la participation aux affaires sociales.

A mon avis, il faut mieux tenir compte du temps pour pouvoir diminuer les effets dangereux de ces civilisations qui nous conduisent au nihilisme et à un bien être illusoire. Les sociétés occidentales, depuis longtemps, sont considérées comme des civilisations développées par rapport aux autres civilisations. Or la modernité occidentale est à l'origine d'une violence opposée à la raison, au profit et au progrès technologique, et qui en fin de compte,

a conduit à des préjugés sociaux, à l'indifférence et au manque de respect d'autrui. La société contemporaine espère des choses que nos anciens espéraient c'est-à-dire le progrès matériel et la sécurité. Malheureusement, ce qui a été dépensé pour le bien être matériel a conduit au sacrifice des valeurs humaines. Le stress, la rapidité des changements, les addictions et le sentiment d'un vide intérieur sont les résultats de ce phénomène social.

D'un autre côté, au niveau des critères humains, nous restons au même stade de violence et de vide existentiel. L'incompréhension d'autrui et de soi-même, se retrouve dans les rapports sociaux et les relations humaines, dans les familles et entre les époux qui optent souvent pour le divorce. Ces disputes dans la société ressemblent aux guerres et aux conflits fondés sur la haine et l'incompréhension de l'autre. Les autres qui sont aussi nombreux, se contentent de vivre à côté des autres sans plus.

Dans les associations et les organismes sociaux, existent des jalousies et une concurrence destructives qui se transforment parfois en haine et en préjugés vis-à-vis des autres, et qui a une influence sur la vie des victimes de cette haine et de ces préjugés. Avec le développement des moyens de communication, l'incompréhension est en train de se développer avec l'apparition de comportements violents dans ces sociétés « développées ». Les messages d'empathie et de fraternité, et les excuses des dirigeants et des personnalités politiques et religieuses, et des philosophes ne servent qu'à cacher la violence qui existe à l'intérieur. De plus en plus, dans cette société en déclin, apparaît l'espoir d'un nouvel art de vivre. C'est pour cela que nous devons être à la recherche d'une révolution dans notre mode de vie.

La théorie du nouvel art de vivre

La théorie du nouvel art de vivre est une ancienne théorie sur laquelle se sont penchées les philosophies de l'Inde, de Chine et de la Grèce antique. Aujourd'hui, avec l'industrialisation, l'urbanisme et le progrès, ce sens a changé et l'espoir de l'humanité contemporaine est d'arriver à un nouvel art de vivre, pour lutter contre l'hyper spécialisation, l'automatisme et la grande rapidité de la vie.

Les problèmes dus au progrès et aux exigences de bien-être ont conduit à la recherche d'un calme intérieur, de l'épanouissement individuel et social, et d'un mode de vie juste et équilibré. ■



Est-ce que le capitalisme peut être sauvé ?

| **Nina Georgescu**

- | **Les crises économiques font partie de l'économie capitaliste**
- | **865000 entreprises américaines au début des années 30, ont été confrontées à la faillite**
- | **Roosevelt pour sortir de la crise, a renforcé les bases du capitalisme gouvernemental**
- | **La crise du capitalisme et la chute de la Bourse aux États-Unis, ont créé une dépression générale**
- | **La deuxième crise du capitalisme a remis en question le mode de vie américain**



Il n'y a pas de doute que le monde capitaliste est confronté à une grave crise économique tout en essayant de protéger un pouvoir apparent. Il semble d'un autre côté, que les théoriciens du capitalisme sont en train de faire des recherches pour changer certains éléments de ce modèle économique et éviter sa chute.

L'Histoire du capitalisme contemporain a montré qu'ils ont réussi dans ce domaine. La question est de savoir s'ils réussiront une nouvelle fois, à sortir de la crise. Pour cela, nous allons examiner trois époques et trois grandes crises du capitalisme, et les mesures prises par les dirigeants anciens et actuels, pour sa survie.

Les crises économiques, petites ou grandes, ont toujours fait partie du capitalisme. Certaines crises ont été très graves et dévastatrices, et ont laissé des séquelles pendant de nombreuses années, comme par exemple, la crise qui a duré de 1929 à 1933, celle de 1970, et la crise de l'automne 2008 qui a duré jusqu'en 2011.

La première crise et une décision fondamentale

La première grande crise économique du capitalisme qui a duré de 1929 à 1933, fut causée par une surproduction qui a touché tous les pays capitalistes de cette époque. Les statistiques économiques du capitalisme de cette époque, montrent que la production industrielle a baissé de 44% et que plus de 30 millions de personnes se sont retrouvées au chômage. Entre 1930 et 1933, plus de 865000 entreprises ont fait faillite et en Allemagne, ce chiffre a atteint 489000 professions.

Pour le Président américain, le chômage des ouvriers était la préoccupation principale du New deal, car ce chômage risquait de créer une crise dans cette couche de la population, une famine et des pertes humaines qui entraîneraient une révolution qui menacerait les bases du système économique américain.

En janvier 1932, à Washington d'ailleurs, eurent lieu de grandes manifestations de chômeurs qui ont été réprimées sévèrement par l'armée sur l'ordre de Douglas Mac Arthur.

Roosevelt qui avait prévu cela, entreprit une grande réforme économique et sociale avec la construction de chemins de fer, de ponts, de routes, de turbines à vapeur et de grands bâtiments gouvernementaux, qui créa des millions d'emplois pour les personnes de plus de 18 ans, qui s'étaient retrouvées au chômage. En 1930, il réalisa son programme économique, sortit

les États-Unis de la crise et sauva le système capitaliste. Robert Harley, économiste et politicien anglais, estime que Roosevelt est une des figures importantes qui restera dans l'Histoire des États-Unis non parce qu'il a réussi à vaincre les nazis mais parce qu'il a sauvé le capitalisme aux États-Unis.

La seconde crise, le grand complot

Après la seconde guerre mondiale, la victoire de la révolution socialiste dans différents pays, a contribué à la formation d'un monde socialiste qui a limité le champ d'activités du capitalisme.

Dans les années 70, le socialisme dominait 26% de la planète avec 30% de la population et 40% de la production industrielle. A cette époque, la chute du colonialisme et les luttes pour l'indépendance ont privé les pays industriels des matières premières. A cette époque, l'armée de l'Urss était l'armée la plus forte et la plus grande du monde, et les socialistes avaient réussi à réunir une grande partie des adeptes du socialisme.

C'est à cette époque que le capitalisme connut sa seconde grande crise économique. Cette crise commença aux États-Unis, avec une chute de l'économie, les influences négatives de la guerre du Vietnam entre 1964 et 1973, et la crise du pétrole en 1973.

L'inflation qui sévissait plus largement dans l'économie des États-Unis, s'aggrava en 1959 avec la guerre du Vietnam, et la première chute du dollar en 1971, après le new deal.

La crise qui survint aux États-Unis, était bien plus grave que les crises précédentes, et s'étendit très vite aux autres pays capitalistes et industriels qui étaient les plus grands importateurs de pétrole.

L'instabilité sociale, le chômage, l'inflation, la pauvreté, la famine et les inégalités se répandirent dans tous les pays capitalistes.

Les révolutions des jeunes et des étudiants en 1964 et 1970 remirent en question le mode de vie à l'américaine. En 1970, 1971, 1973 et 1974, aux États-Unis et en Angleterre, se produisirent de grandes grèves qui aggravèrent encore la situation. En Angleterre, à la fin de 1973 et au début de 1974, les grèves mirent le pays dans une situation difficile. Aux États-Unis, les révolutions des minorités radicales, noires et hindoues, en 1968, 1969 et 1970, et la guerre du Vietnam provoquèrent de grandes critiques aux USA dans le domaine moral, vis-à-vis des USA et de leur politique, tant à l'intérieur qu'au niveau international. ■

Vers une dure laïcité

Entretien d'Asré Andishé avec
Nicolas Sarkozy
ancien Président de la République
française, sur l'avenir de la
«société en colère»

| Somayeh Ebrahim Khalili



- | Je suis un dur partisan de la laïcité en France
- | Des gens comme le Pen ont créé une crise en France
- | Notre société a besoin d'un choc pour faire revivre ses valeurs
- | Le modèle libéral américain est très profitable aux Français
- | Les gens ont peur qu'on change leur mode de vie
- | Les milieux religieux doivent s'accorder aux valeurs de la République
- | Le gouvernement laïc est le meilleur modèle de gouvernement

عصر اندیشه | Après l'attentat de Paris, la France a été confrontée à une crise et certains problèmes sociaux et culturels sont devenus plus visibles qu'avant. En tant que leader du parti politique le plus fort après les élections régionales, quel est votre solution pour traverser la crise qui sévit dans la société ?

Sarkozy : Le fait que nous ayons résisté au front national et n'avons pas fait marche arrière, est une victoire en soi dans le domaine social. Nous avons pu prouver aux citoyens que nous sommes capables d'affronter les pressions intérieures et extérieures, et de vaincre nos opposants. Beaucoup de problèmes peuvent être résolus grâce à mes concitoyens et je n'ai aucune inquiétude à ce sujet. Pour régler tous les problèmes, je demande aux républicains de ne pas reculer et de rester unis de toutes leurs forces, pour régler les problèmes ensemble. Nous devons seulement donner à tous les Français l'assurance que nous sommes là jusqu'au bout, et que nous ne reculerons devant aucune propagande surtout celle du front national.

■ Dans le domaine politique actuel, quelle chance a le renforcement du vrai bonapartisme ? Madame Le Pen dans une interview avec Asré Andishé, a déclaré que vous

avez mené la France à sa perte et qu'il ne reste plus rien du parti républicain. Êtes-vous d'accord et estimez-vous que la cinquième république est en plein déclin ?

Sarkozy : je suis un républicain et je le resterai jusqu'à la fin, je continuerai à défendre mes principes et ne prête aucune attention aux déclarations de mes opposant et même de mes ennemis dans la société française, en particulier celles du Front national. La crise pendant mon mandat, a été une crise imposée, que peut être aucun Président de la cinquième république n'avait connue. Je défendais mes principes mais des gens comme Le Pen ont suscité une crise dans la société. Vous voyez, qu'après plusieurs années d'absence politique, le sarkozysme existe encore et se rallumera à la première occasion. Les dernières élections en sont la preuve, j'ai de nombreuses mesures à présenter dans le domaine social et politique, pour le pays. Je n'ai rien à faire des partisans du Front national car à mon avis, ils sont comme des virus qui se développent dans toutes les sociétés. Notre société a besoin d'un choc pour faire revivre ses valeurs. Un "Schengen 2" serait peut-être une bonne solution pour mon pays. Pour régler les problèmes économiques, il faut créer un choc social dans le domaine du marché et de l'emploi, pour sortir la société de ce déclin. C'est le programme que j'envisage de suivre.

■ Certains politiciens français disent qu'aujourd'hui, la gauche est tombée à droite et que le libéralisme a causé la mort progressive de la France. En tant que leader du Parti républicain, pensez-vous que le libéralisme et le capitalisme profitent à la société française ou envisagez-vous une nouvelle voie ?

Sarkozy : Je me considère moi-même comme un libéral et je défends les valeurs du libéralisme. Je pense que le vrai libéralisme peut sortir la France de la crise et répondre aux besoins de la société surtout dans le domaine économique. J'estime que le modèle libéral, surtout le modèle américain, est très profitable pour la société française actuelle et peut régler de nombreux problèmes. J'ai toujours pensé que la société française devait évoluer pour que mon modèle économique puisse régler les problèmes que nous voyons actuellement dans tous les domaines politiques et sociaux. Je pense que les critiques contre moi actuellement, sont le résultat de la propagande du front national et de ses partisans. A mon avis, Marine Le Pen est pire que son père et sa présence sur la scène politique française a causé beaucoup de torts. Les crises intérieures sont toutes le résultat de la propagande que ce parti dans sa publicité et ses discours, tente de répandre bien que cela n'aie pas beaucoup de résultats comme l'ont prouvé les récentes élections. A mon avis, Marine Le Pen a trop profité du nom de son père en politique.

■ Après les élections régionales, vous avez parlé de « la grande colère des français », nous aimerions savoir votre avis sur la situation psychologique des Français aujourd'hui et de qui parlez-vous quand vous dites que comprendre leur colère est difficile ?

Sarkozy : Oui, à mon avis, il faut comprendre la profonde colère des gens qui provient des ingérences trop nombreuses des partis et des différents fronts, dans la vie politique. J'ai participé aux élections uniquement pour comprendre cette colère. Les gens veulent que la priorité soit donnée aux personnalités politiques républicaines de leur pays. Cette valeur a décliné à cause des déclarations du front national et a provoqué cette colère et la présence des Français au scrutin pour voter une nouvelle fois pour les idées républicaines et faire revivre ces valeurs dans leur société. Ces valeurs depuis plusieurs années, se sont perdues et surtout ces quatre dernières années, depuis l'élection de Hollande à la Présidence. A mon avis, la présence des gens aux bureaux de vote, a été la meilleure réponse aux dirigeants actuels et la manifestation de leur fatigue. C'est pour cela que j'ai répété à plusieurs reprises, que mon devoir et le devoir de mon parti étaient d'entendre et de comprendre cette colère, et de trouver des solutions. C'est la colère de gens qui travaillent beaucoup dans la société française et qui n'obtiennent pas les résultats désirés, la colère de gens qui travaillent mais ne sont pas vus, pour qui vivre dans la société française est devenu presque impossible, de gens qui tous les jours, ont peur de perdre leur travail, de voir leur identité insultée dans la société ou de voir des gens vouloir changer leur mode de vie. Je comprends tout cela et à mon avis, pour régler ces problèmes, les gens doivent faire confiance au parti républicain qui a un programme pour faire disparaître ces inquiétudes. ■

عصر اندیشه | Les attentats en France ont soulevé beaucoup de questions chez les observateurs politiques et les intellectuels, et nous sommes témoins d'une montée du militarisme en Europe de l'Ouest.

Dans le discours que François Hollande a prononcé devant le parlement, nous observons une tendance sensible pour un gouvernement policier et une sorte de pouvoir sécuritaire qui peut anéantir la démocratie. D'un autre côté, il est évident que la sécurité est un droit élémentaire pour toute société humaine, que les gouvernements doivent assurer. Mais est-il possible d'assurer la sécurité sans la mort de la République ?

Marine Le Pen : c'est une question intéressante, aujourd'hui, François Hollande annonce dans des situations différentes, l'état d'urgence, et déploie des forces dans plusieurs régions de la France. Quelle en est la raison à votre avis ? La raison est qu'il veut faire la démonstration du pouvoir militaire et policier, et privilégier ce pouvoir dans la société. La loi de 1955 donne de grands pouvoirs au Président français et aux services de sécurité, pour qu'en cas d'urgence, ils puissent prendre le contrôle de la société. Hollande ne cherche qu'à protéger son pouvoir mais actuellement en France, nous sommes constamment en situation d'urgence et la police est toujours prête à agir. La police dans ce contexte, peut très facilement et sans raison, arrêter les gens d'un petit rassemblement comme nous le voyons aujourd'hui. Il y a beaucoup de citoyens qui malgré l'opposition et les critiques des partis en France, ont été arrêtés et emprisonnés sous prétexte d'être peut-être, un danger pour la sécurité nationale. Hollande dans les réunions répète sans cesse qu'il s'agit d'une mesure de précaution face au danger que représentent les groupes terroristes et islamiques comme Daesh, et fait tout ce qu'il veut. Le parti socialiste a pris le pouvoir en France actuellement et fait tout ce qui lui plaît. Il est clair que la formation des groupes comme Daesh, est le résultat de l'aide militaire continue de l'Otan aux groupes islamiques dans différents pays. L'Otan pensait qu'en armant ces groupes, elle pourrait changer le régime en Syrie mais cela ne s'est pas produit jusqu'à présent. La situation de la France aujourd'hui, et les événements qui se sont produits ces derniers jours, sont le résultat de la dictature et du militarisme qui sévissent en France.

■ Madame Le Pen, avec votre victoire au premier tour des élections régionales en France avec 35% des voix, vous êtes devenue présidente du parti le plus fort de ce pays. A votre avis, quelle est l'issue de secours pour sortir de la crise actuelle ?

Marine Le Pen : Permettez-moi de commencer avec le sujet et les raisons de l'immigration dont nous sommes témoins aujourd'hui en France, et des vagues de réfugiés venus des pays en guerre comme la Syrie, en France et dans d'autres pays européens ? Je dois ici remercier Merkel qui en venant en France, a donné à son homologue français, le courage d'appliquer cette politique imbécile. Vraiment je lui suis très reconnaissante ! A mon avis aucun Président ne peut parler de repli identitaire car il est lui-même, le

La gauche a viré à droite

Le suicide français : la République est morte

Interview de « Asré Andishé » avec

Marine Le Pen

2^e présidente du Front national

- | Hollande accorde la priorité à la puissance militaire de l'armée pour protéger son pouvoir
- | Daesh a été créé grâce à l'aide militaire de l'Otan
- | Merkel a donné à son homologue français, le courage d'appliquer sa politique ridicule



garant des lois civiles dont la première loi est la défense de l'identité nationale. C'est vers cette identité nationale que nous devons revenir mais François Hollande ouvertement, parle de repli identitaire et viole la loi, ce que je regrette grandement. Hollande répète continuellement dans ses discours que la souveraineté nationale n'a aucune relation avec l'indépendance nationale ! La souveraineté nationale en Europe, peut donc décider de revenir au socialisme et d'abandonner l'extrémisme ou la démocratie. C'est vraiment ridicule !

■ **Pour quelles raisons, les tendances militaristes ont-elles augmenté en France qui était à une époque, le centre intellectuel de l'Europe ?**

Les spécialistes : Au sujet de la politique militariste de la France, je dois dire comme Madame Le Pen, que malheureusement, le Président français actuel est responsable de cette politique. Plus nous créons de conflits dans la région et en dehors, et plus nous nous impliquerons dans ces conflits, plus nous nous embourberons dans un bourbier qui en fin de compte, impliquera directement notre pays et nous portera de grands préjudices. Si cette politique continue, nous devons nous attendre à plus d'instabilité, de chaos et de conflits dans le pays. Nous ne devons pas oublier que depuis 40 ans, le Moyen orient est victime de conflits de plus en plus graves qui ont fait des millions de victimes. Nous avons peut-être oublié les victimes de la guerre entre l'Irak et l'Iran, de la guerre en Syrie et en Afghanistan mais la réalité est que cette région connaît la situation que nous avons vécue entre 1914 et 1945, et la participation et l'engagement dans les guerres et les conflits de cette région, ne sont peut-être qu'une erreur de la France. Depuis des années, nous poursuivons cette politique belliciste dans le monde, politique qui fait de nous la cible de nombreuses critiques. La France doit changer de stratégie au sujet de la Palestine, de la Syrie et de la paix dans la région, pour

restaurer la réputation qu'elle a perdue ces dernières années. Un dicton dit que si vous avez peur, le chien vous attaquera sûrement. C'est exactement ce qui se passe pour la France. La peur de la France des groupes terroristes et takfiristes, a fait d'elle une des premières victimes de ces groupes comme le prouvent les accidents survenus à Paris et dans d'autres villes françaises. Étant donné les évolutions dans le monde et spécialement au Moyen orient, et les changements au sein du groupe terroriste de Daesh, la France au lieu de recourir aux mesures diplomatiques, a choisi une position belliciste. Le ministre français de la défense, tous les jours, nous parle de la présence française et du soutien français en Syrie car il pense que c'est là que se trouvent la majorité des terroristes français et que c'est là où la France a beaucoup investi.

■ **C'est juste, mais quel raisonnement idéologique permet actuellement de parler d'un suicide de la France et de dire qu'un gouvernement autoritaire a remplacé le gouvernement démocratique ?**

Les spécialistes : Ce sont les cinq années de gouvernement néolibéral et néoconservateur de Sarkozy qui ont permis aux centres français de sécurité et de renseignement, de se renforcer. Après cela, la Présidence de François Hollande a conduit la France à opter pour une politique militariste qui a assombri son image dans le monde. Les politiciens français ont menti à tout le monde et les citoyens ont été les premières victimes de cette politique erronée. Vraiment je ne sais pas où va la France et jusqu'à quand elle va poursuivre cette politique sans objectif précis et sans aucune garantie.

■ **Certains pensent que pour sortir de la crise actuelle en France, il faut revenir au gaullisme et aux méthodes du général, et accuse la cinquième République de cette situation. Certains intellectuels iraniens soutiennent cette idée bien qu'elle porte en elle une possible stratégie de paix avec Daesh qui est à notre avis, une idée dangereuse qui encouragera un salafisme libéral. Bien entendu nous**

savons que lors des mouvements de mai 68, de Gaulle a échoué ainsi que son projet de réforme politique et qu'il a démissionné. Cependant, beaucoup considèrent Madame Le Pen comme une partisane du gaullisme et vous avez même une fois dit qu'elle était une gaulliste fanatique. Est-ce que le retour au Gaullisme peut être une solution pour la France pour un retour à la stabilité ?

Les spécialistes : Le gaullisme !? Dans mon parti, il y avait de tout et même des gaullistes mais je ne me considère pas comme faisant partie de ce mouvement. Il est exact que plusieurs fois, je me suis présenté comme un gaulliste pur et dur, mais ce n'est pas une raison. La raison de ceux qui me considèrent comme un adepte du gaullisme est que j'ai fait preuve de respect sur la tombe du général. Est-ce une raison pour dire que je suis gaulliste ?

De Gaulle représente une partie de l'Histoire de mon pays, il est vrai que beaucoup de jeunes qui adhèrent au front national se considèrent comme des gaullistes c'est leur affaire, ou sont entrés au parti à cause de son passé historique. Mais en aucune façon, cela ne veut dire que je suis gaulliste. Si le gaullisme peut sauver la démocratie, est une question intéressante. La démocratie dans le parti, vient des perspectives libérales que j'ai. Les libertés que j'ai définies dans ce parti, ont encouragé la démocratie parmi les membres du parti et cela n'a rien à voir avec le gaullisme.

Je loue aussi dans ce sens, Vladimir Poutine, qui comme moi, a utilisé les mêmes méthodes pour développer la démocratie. La définition des libertés n'existait peut-être pas dans la loi et même Hollande n'a pas pu malgré les soutiens qu'il avait, utiliser cette méthode. Il ne faut pas parler du passé et il faut dépasser le gaullisme. Personne en France c'est obligé d'être gaulliste et je répète que je ne suis pas un gaulliste. Je suis seulement un partisan du Maréchal de Gaulle car il représente ainsi que son action, une partie de l'Histoire de mon pays. Le mouvement du gaullisme est très apprécié en France et évoque l'indépendance et l'influence de la France dans le monde, la langue, les relations, la grandeur, la puissance et les valeurs traditionnelles françaises. Je pense que la France, dans ce contexte, ressemble beaucoup à l'ancienne Union soviétique, sauf que tout le monde est libre de faire ce qu'il veut. La démocratie dans notre société n'est qu'un jeu pour les politiciens pour faire tourner les choses à leur profit et défendre leurs intérêts.

■ Pensez-vous que le retour au gaullisme est une solution pour assurer l'indépendance nationale et augmenter l'hégémonie de la France ? Quelle leçon a le général de Gaulle à donner à la France d'aujourd'hui ?

Les spécialistes : Au premier abord, le gaullisme est un fait historique et un récit. En 2015, se considérer comme un gaulliste et un adepte du général de Gaulle signifie qu'on a encore confiance aux leçons morales et politiques de cette période de l'Histoire. Bien entendu, une de ces leçons éternelles que l'Histoire nous a léguée (mais qui a été oubliée avec le temps), est que l'Histoire a toujours été accompagnée de tragédies dont la politique représente une partie. La politique dans l'Histoire s'est développée avec

la puissance du non, dans l'Histoire, seuls les prisonniers et les esclaves ont dit oui. En tout cas, si le gaullisme a marqué l'Histoire avec la guerre, la liberté et la cinquième République, c'est parce que les événements et les méthodes de cette époque de l'Histoire, étaient différents de ce que l'on voit dans l'Histoire politique du monde, mais pouvons nous dire qu'il est possible d'être gaulliste au XXIème siècle ? Non, nous pouvons dire qu'il faut considérer ce mouvement comme une leçon qui a influencé le destin des différentes politiques et c'est peut-être ce que signifie être gaulliste à notre époque.

Le Gaullisme n'est pas une école ni une idéologie comme certains veulent le faire croire aujourd'hui. Bien entendu, ce n'était pas un mouvement ordinaire avec le rôle important de la France dans le monde et le fait de mettre le peuple au sommet des affaires. Ce n'était pas une façon de penser courante. L'important est de voir comment cette politique a été détournée de son sens initial. C'est à mon avis, de cela que la France aujourd'hui, a besoin et doit tirer des leçons.

■ Madame Le Pen, il est intéressant de voir que parfois, on vous considère comme proche des Bonapartistes, et la politique du front national comme une politique qui s'inscrit dans la direction des slogans de Napoléon Bonaparte. Si cela est vrai, et en cas de victoire de votre parti, n'assisterons-nous pas à l'établissement d'un gouvernement militariste et dictatorial ?

Marine Le Pen : Votre question semble chercher la querelle mais je dirai que le bonapartisme est apparu en France, à une époque marquée par des problèmes importants au niveau économique, politique et social. C'est pour cette raison que Marx a qualifié le bonapartisme de semi dictature qui donne aux classes moyennes l'occasion de se manifester dans les périodes de crise. Hollande n'est pas de mon avis et dit que bonapartisme est un courant opposé aux socialistes extrémistes. Encore une de ses déclarations ridicules ! Vous savez, ce qui est intéressant, c'est que certains me considèrent comme bonapartiste car dans les instances internationales, je ne veux pas être dépendante et obliger la France à suivre les autres pays. Je veux en politique, opter pour des méthodes différentes de celles des autres pays. Beaucoup me disent qu'au XXIème siècle, cela est un geste politique de ma part pour arriver au pouvoir. Nous vivons à une époque où l'économie internationale dicte la politique, très bien, dans de telles conditions, nous ne pouvons que choisir des voies nouvelles dans nos stratégies politiques. A mon avis, ce qui peut aujourd'hui, sauver la France, est de se distinguer des mouvements et des idéologies dont vous ne faites que parler et auxquelles vous voulez que je me rallie. La constitution d'un gouvernement qui peut sauver la France exige une stratégie. Napoléon avait une phrase célèbre qui disait : « je suis un napoléonien non un républicain ni un courtisan ». De Gaulle aussi répétait sans cesse : « Je suis français ni de droite ni de gauche ». Moi aussi je ne suis ni de droite ni de gauche, ce sont des leçons qui peuvent servir aujourd'hui.

■ Vous dites qu'aujourd'hui, il y a des facteurs économiques qui dirigent la politique et suivent en grande partie, le modèle libéral, et que les États-Unis

فرم اشتراک مجله

خواننده گرامی:

با یکی از روش های زیر می توانید مشترک ماهنامه «عصر اندیشه» شوید.

۱. پست الکترونیک: شما می توانید اطلاعات مندرج در فرم اشتراک را در قالب یک پست الکترونیکی به این آدرس ارسال کنید: info@asreandisheh.com

۲. تماس یا امور مشترکین: می توانید با تماس با شماره ۰۲۱۳۳۵۶۰۷۲۳، درخواست خود را اعلام نمایید.

۳. تکمیل فرم و ارسال آن از طریق تلفکس: شما می توانید فرم ذیل را تکمیل و آن را به همراه فیش واریزی، از طریق تلفکس به دفتر نشریه ارسال کنید.

خواهشمند است در هر یک از روش ها، پس از تکمیل فرم اشتراک مندرج در پایین برگ، فیش واریزی را به همراه کپی کارت دانشجویی (در صورت درخواست اشتراک ویژه) ارسال نمایید.

شماره حساب ۰۳۲۵۲۱۲۷۶۹۰۰۶ به شماره کارت ۶۰۳۷۶۹۱۵۵۵۴۵۸۴۱۳ نزد بانک صادرات ایران به نام مریم هوشمند قابل واریز در تمام شعب سراسر کشور

مبالغ اشتراک

۳ ماهه، ۱۵٪ تخفیف: ۱۵۰۰۰۰ ریال

۶ ماهه، ۲۰٪ تخفیف: ۲۸۵۰۰۰ ریال

۱ ساله، ۲۵٪ تخفیف: ۵۴۰۰۰۰ ریال

۳۰٪ تخفیف ویژه دانشجویان و پژوهشگران:

۳ ماهه: ۱۲۵۰۰۰ ریال

۶ ماهه: ۲۵۰۰۰۰ ریال

۱ ساله: ۵۰۰۰۰۰ ریال

cherchent à américaniser l'Europe comme ils voulaient le faire en Iran. Est-ce que vous avez un modèle à présenter pour réagir dans le domaine politique et économique, et sortir de ce modèle libéral imposé par les Usa ?

Marine Le Pen : Dans l'ensemble, je pense que suivre le modèle mondial d'économie libérale est une chose dangereuse et je ne suis pas du tout optimiste sur les résultats de ce modèle. A mon avis, dans le contexte actuel, il faut recourir à une économie de soutien pour sortir de la crise. Une chose que Sarkozy et Hollande n'ont pas faite. Aujourd'hui, le libéralisme avec ses projets idéalistes que les grandes puissances veulent réaliser, est en déclin. A mon avis, la France a besoin aujourd'hui, de projets nationaux et nationalistes, car les projets mondiaux ne peuvent pas répondre aux problèmes des Français. A mon avis, c'est le libéralisme qui est à l'origine de la mort progressive de la société française.

Il semble qu'il existe des liens étroits entre le libéralisme et les régimes rétrogrades dans le monde aujourd'hui, et votre pays a investi beaucoup dans l'aide aux Takfiristes et aux salafistes. Certains en Iran, n'arrivent pas à croire que la France a des relations avec les terroristes et les soutient

Marine Le Pen : Je dois dire que je regrette d'être la seule en France à critiquer la présence des groupes extrémistes et je n'ai jamais été d'accord avec l'aide financière à l'intérieur de la France, à ces groupes. J'ai été la seule à considérer l'attaque contre Charlie Hebdo comme un acte de ces groupes extrémistes et j'ai déclaré que le responsable principal était le gouvernement français. A mon avis, aujourd'hui, Hollande investit de façon très large, sur ces groupes spécialement en Libye et en Syrie. Il en subit actuellement les conséquences comme je le lui avais prédit dans des réunions publiques et privées. Je condamne violemment la politique de Hollande et son soutien aux groupes extrémistes, et la politique de Sarkozy avant lui. Ces groupes extrémistes qui sévissent aujourd'hui dans différents pays, sont soutenus par les grands capitalistes européens. A mon avis, c'est une erreur au niveau moral mais aussi politique et historique. La meilleure solution est que l'Europe comprenne que dans la situation actuelle, Bashar al Assad doit rester au pouvoir. Dans une telle situation il faut opter pour le moindre mal.

Madame Le Pen, jusqu'à quand cette situation peut-elle durer ? J'entends les erreurs répétées auxquelles vous avez fait allusion ? Aujourd'hui, la gauche dirige au nom du socialisme en France, mais nous sommes témoins depuis des années, d'une « gauche américaine » ou « d'un capitalisme libéral » en France qui convolent avec un conservatisme rétrograde.

Marine Le Pen : A mon avis, la France aujourd'hui, est en train de faire beaucoup d'erreurs, je prévois qu'il est possible de continuer au maximum jusqu'en 2025 qui sera l'année d'un retour à un programme économique et politique pour le pays. La France ne peut pas supporter ces conditions plus de dix ans. Aujourd'hui, nous pouvons affirmer que la France est sous la coupe de l'économie libérale. Comme vous le savez, le niveau de liberté dans l'économie d'un pays ne dépend pas des transactions monétaires mais de la concurrence entre les centres économiques, des obstacles aux activités économiques, des investissements privés dans l'économie et du niveau de participation du gouvernement. Dans beaucoup de cas, la privatisation de l'économie en France, a contribué à l'apparition d'une économie à pôle unique dont une partie dépend du gouvernement qui détient le pouvoir. Cela anéantit la liberté économique et permet aux conservateurs au pouvoir, de défendre par la force, le système économique libéral. C'est ce qui s'est passé en France. ■

نام و نام خانوادگی:

نام پدر:

شغل:

میزان تحصیلات:

نشانی پستی:

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کد پستی:

تلفن ثابت:

تلفن همراه:

شماره فیش بانکی:

نام و کد شعبه (کد رهگیری):

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