Much the very last step. The end is not far away. What chance to take this opportunity to recall what has served as base for my political engagement: the years of resistance and the sixty-six years program developed by the National Council of Resistance! It was Jean Moulin that we owe, through this Council, the meeting of all parts of occupied France, movements, parties, trade unions, to proclaim their adherence of the Fighting France and the only leader that it is recognized: General de Gaulle. In London, where I had joined General de Gaulle in March 1941, I learned that this Council had developed a program, which was adopted in March, 1944 and which porposed to Liberated France a set of principles and values which supported the democracy of Our modern country. Of these principles and values, is that we need today more than ever. It behooves us all together to
ensure that our society is a society in which we are proud of: not of this society of undocumented papers, expulsions, suspicions against immigrants, not this society that challenges pensions, the achievements of Social Security, not this society where the media are in the hands of the moneyed classes, all things that we would have refused to endorse if we were the true heirs of the National Council of Resistance. From 1945, after a terrible tragedy, it was an ambitious resurrection which engaged the forces present in the Council of Resistance. Remember, then they created Social Security as the Resistance wished, as the program stated: “A comprehensive plan for Social Security, to ensure livelihoods for all citizens,

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in all cases or if they are unable to obtain them through work “,” a pension to the old workers to assure a dignified end of their days. “The energy sources, electricity and gas, coal, the major banks were nationalized. That’s what this program was still stating: “the return to the nation of the major means of production, produced by common sources of energy, wealth of the subsoil, insurance companies and large banks; ” the establishment of genuine economic and
social democracy involving the eviction of large feudal economic and financial that directed the economy. ” The public interest must prevail over the interest individual, the fair sharing of the wealth created by the world of work override the power of money. The Resistance said ” a rational organization of the economy to ensure the subordination of special individual interests to the public interest and free from the dictatorship introduced to the professional image of fascist states”. A real democracy needs a free press, and the Resistance knows this and states “The press freedom, its honor and independence against the power of the State, the power of money and foreign influences.” That is what turns further orders on the press in 1944. Yet that is what is now in danger. The Resistance was calling for “an effective opportunity for all French children to benefit from the most developed education”, without discrimination, yet the reforms proposed in 2008 go against this project. Young teachers, which actions I support, were up to refuse to apply them and they saw their wages cut as a punishment. They were outraged, have “disobeyed” and found these reforms too far from the ideal of the republican school, too much in the service of
the money society and not enough developing the creative and critical thinking. It is just the base of the social conquests of the Resistance which is now in question (2).

The reason of the Resistance was outrage.

We dare say that the State was no longer covering the costs of these civic action. But how can it lack today the money to maintain and extend these achievements while production of wealth has increased considerably since the Liberation period when Europe was ruined? If not because the power of money, so fought by the Resistance, has never been greater, insolent, selfish, with his own servants into the highest echelons of the State. Banks are now privatized and first show of their conscious dividends and high salaries of their leaders, not the general interest. The gap between the poorest and richest has never been so important, and the race for money, the competition has never been so encouraged. The basic pattern of resistance was indignation. We, veterans of resistance movements and fighting forces of Liberated France, we call the younger generations to stand up, to transmit the heritage of the Resistance and its ideals. We say take over, cry out! The political and economic responsible, the intellectuals and all society shall
not resign or be intimidated by the current international dictatorship of financial markets that threatens the peace and democracy. I wish you all, to each of you to have your design indignation. Is invaluable. When something get you outraged, as I was outraged by the Nazis, then you have to become an activist, strong and committed. We joined the stream of history and the mainstream of the history must continue through each. And this trend is towards more justice, more freedom but not this freedom of uncontrolled fox in the henhouse. These rights, including the Universal Declaration drafted the program in 1948,

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are universal. If you meet someone who doesn’t benefit of those, help him to conquer them.

Two visions of History

When I try to understand what caused fascism, what caused the invasion by it and by Vichy, I tell myself that the wealthy, with their selfishness, have been terribly afraid of the Bolshevik revolution. They have been guided by their fears. But if today as then, a vocal minority stands, this will suffice, we will leaven so that the dough rises. Admittedly,
the experience of a very old like me, born in 1917, differs from the experience of young people today. I often asks college teachers the opportunity to intervene to their students, and I tell them: you dont have the same obvious reasons for committing. For us, to resist, was not to accept the German occupation, the defeat. It was relatively simple. Simple as what followed, decolonization. Then the war of Algeria. It was that Algeria became independent, it was obvious. As for Stalin, we all applauded the victory of the Red Army against the Nazis in 1943. But even if we had knowledge of the great Stalinist trials of 1935, and even whether to keep an ear open counterbalance to communism for American capitalism, the need to oppose this intolerable form of totalitarianism was an obvious move. My long life has given me a succession of reasons to be indignant. These reasons are born less from an emotion and more from a conscious commitment. Being young and very marked by Sartre, a senior classmate. *Nausea, The Wall, Being and Nothingness* were very important in shaping my thinking. Sartre taught us to say: “You are responsible as individuals.” It was a libertarian message. The responsibility of man who can not rely on a power or a god. Instead, we must
engage on behalf of its responsibility as a human. When I went to the École normale, in 1939, I entered it as a fervent disciple of the Hegel, and I followed the Maurice Merleau-Ponty Seminar. His teaching explored concrete experience, that of the body and its relationship with the senses. But my natural optimism, which means that everything is desirable or possible, I was rather from Hegel. The Hegelianism interprets the long history of humanity as having a meaning: man’s freedom is progressing step by step. History is made of successive shocks. The history of society progresses, and then, man having reached its full freedom, has the democratic state for ideal form. There are of course other concepts of history. Progress made by freedom, competition, the race “of more”, this may be experienced as a destructive hurricane. Thus represents a friend of my father, the man who shared with him the task to translate into German *In Search of Lost Time* by Marcel Proust. He is the German philosopher Walter Benjamin. He pulled a pessimistic message out of Paul Klee’s *Angelus Novus* painiting where the figure of angel opens his arms as if to contain and repel a storm that he identified with progress. For Benjamin, who committed suicide in September 1940 to
escape Nazism, the sense of history is the irresistible path of disaster into disaster.

**Indifference: the worst attitude**

True, the reasons for outrage today may seem less net or the world too complex. Who controls, who decides? It is not always easy to distinguish between all the currents that govern us. We are no longer dealing with a small elite who’s actions we clearly understand. It’s s a vast world,

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we feel that it is interdependent. We live in an interconnectivity that has never existed. But in this world, some things are unbearable. To see this, we must look, search. I tell young people: Look for a bit, you’ll find. The worst attitude is indifference, saying “I can not do anything, I’m doing my job.” By having this, you lose one of the components which is essential in humans. One of the essential components: the faculty of outrage and its consequence – commitment. We can already identify two major challenges: 1. The huge gap between the very poor and very rich and which continues to grow. This is an innovation of the twentieth and twenty first century. The
very poor in the world today earn just two dollars per day. We can not let that gap widen further. This statement alone should generate commitment. 2. Human rights and the state of the planet. I had the chance after Liberation of being involved in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations, 10 December 1948 in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot. It’s under Chief Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General of the UN, and Secretary of the Commission on Human Rights That together with others we were to participate in the drafting of this declaration. I can not forget, in its development, the role of René Cassin, curator National Justice and Education, Government of Free France, in London in 1941, which was awarded the Nobel peace in 1968, nor that of Pierre Mendes France in the Economic and Social Council to whom the texts that we developed were subjected before being considered by the Third Committee of the ‘ General Assembly, responsible for matters Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee. The UN had fifty-four Member States at the time, and I assured the secretariat. René Cassin was the one whom we owe the term “universal rights
and not” international “as suggested by our Anglo-Saxon friends. For there is much at stake at the end of the War World: emancipate from the threats posed to humanity by Totalitarianism. To emancipate we must ensure that each Member State of United Nations undertakes to respect these universal rights. It is a way to defeat the argument of full sovereignty that a State may assert while engaging in crimes against humanity on its soil. This was the case of Hitler who considered himself his own master and allowed to cause genocide. The Universal Declaration owes much to the universal revulsion against Nazism, fascism, totalitarianism, and even, by our presence, the spirit of the Resistance. I can not resist the urge to quote Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “Everyone has the right to a nationality ” and Article 22:” Everyone, as a member of the society has the right to social security; and is entitled to the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for dignity and the free development of his personality, thanks to the national efforts and international cooperation, taking into account the organization and resources of each country.” And if this statement has a declarative scope, and not legal, it has nevertheless played a powerful role since 1948; we saw colonized people in their grasp struggle for independence,
and stocked their minds in battle for freedom. I note with pleasure that in recent decades have increased the number of non-governmental organizations, social movements as ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions

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), FIDH (International Federation of Human Rights) Amnesty … who are acting and performing. It is obvious that to be effective today, we must act in a network, take advantage of all means of modern communication. For young people, I say look around you, if you will find themes that justify your outrage – the treatment made to immigrants, undocumented migrants, Roma. You will find concrete situations that lead you to give play to strong citizen action. Seek and you shall find!

My indignation about Palestine

Today, my biggest outrage is for Palestine, Gaza, Cisjordania. This conflict is the source of indignation. You must read the report of September 2009 of Richard Goldstone on Gaza, in which the South African judge, Jewish, accuses Israel of committing “acts amounting to
war crimes and perhaps in some circumstances, crimes against ‘ humanity “during its operation” Cast Lead ” which lasted three weeks. I myself returned to Gaza in 2009, where I was able to enter with my wife through our diplomatic passports in order to ‘ study firsthand what the report said. The people who accompanied us have not been allowed into the Gaza Strip. There and in the Cisjordania.

We also visited the Palestinian refugee camps set up in 1948 by ‘ UN agency, UNRWA, where more than three million Palestinians hunted from their land by Israel are waiting for a Return that is increasingly problematic. As for Gaza, is a under the sky prison for a million and half Palestinians. A prison where they survive. More than the material destructions like the Red Cross hospital in Cast Lead, is the behavior of Gazans, their patriotism, their love of the sea and beaches, their constant concern for the welfare of their children,

countless, laughing, that haunt our memory. We were impressed by their clever way to deal with all shortages imposed on them. We saw them make the fault cement bricks to rebuild thousands of homes destroyed by tanks.
We confirmed that there had been one thousand and four hundred dead – women, children and old included, in the Palestinian camp – during this operation “Cast Lead” by Israeli army against only fifty wounded Israelis. I shared the findings with the South African judge. That Jews could commit themselves to war crimes, it is unbearable. Alas, history gives little examples of people who learn from their own history. I know that Hamas who won the recent parliamentary elections was unable to avoid being sent rockets on Israeli towns in response to the situation of isolation and blockade in which Gazans are. I obviously think that terrorism is unacceptable, but we must recognize that when you are busy with military means infinitely superior to yours, the popular reaction can not be non-violent. Is this what it’s for the Hammas to send rockets into the city Sderot? The answer is no. It does not help its cause, but we can explain this gesture by the exasperation of Gazans. In the concept of exasperation, one needs to understand violence as a regrettable conclusion to an unacceptable situation for those affected. So we can say that terrorism is a form of ‘exasperation. And that exasperation is a negative term. It should not be ex-asperation, it must be es-perer (hope). The exasperation is a denial of hope. It is understandable, I would almost say it is natural, but so far is
not acceptable. Because that it does not provide the results that may eventually produce hope.

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**Nonviolence, the path we must learn to follow.**

I am convinced that future belongs to non-violence, to the reconciliation of different cultures. This is the way that humanity must cross the next step. And, I agree with Sartre, we can not excuse terrorists who throw bombs, they can be understood. Sartre wrote in 1947: “I accept that violence manifested in any form is a failure. But it is an inevitable failure because we are in a world of violence. And it is true that the use of violence is violence that is likely to perpetuate, it is true that the only way is to stop.” What I would add is that non-violence is a safer way to stop it. We can not support terrorists as Sartre did on behalf of this principle during the Algeria war or during the attack on the Munich games in 1972, committed against Israeli athletes. This is not efficient and Sartre himself eventually wonder at the end of his life on the meaning of terrorism and questioned its reason. “Violence is not effective, “ is far more important than whether we should condemn or not those who deliver it. Terrorism is not effective. In the
concept of efficiency, I choose a non-violent hope. If there is a violent hope is in the poetry of Guillaume Apollinaire: “That hope is violent ” not politics. Sartre, in March 1980, three weeks before his death, said: “We must try explain why the world of today, which is horrible, is only one moment in a long historical development, that Hope has always been one of the dominant forces of revolutions and insurrections, and how I still feel that hope is my conception for the future. We must understand that violence turns his back on hope. And that he preferred hope, the hope of non-violence. This is the path we must learn to follow. From either side of the

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oppressors or of the oppressed, we must come to a negotiation to remove the oppression; it is thereby to no longer have terrorist violence. Therefore we must not let accumulate too much hate. The message of Mandela, of Martin Luther King finds its relevance in a world which has exceeded the comparison of ideologies and totalitarianism conqueror. This is a message of hope in modern societies’ capacity to overcome conflicts by mutual understanding and vigilant patience. If so, if based on rights, the violation of
them should provoke our indignation. There is not compromise on these rights.

For a peaceful uprising

I have noted – and I’m not the only – the Israeli government response to the fact that every Friday citizens of Bil‘id will come, without throwing stones without using force, to the wall in protest. The Israeli authorities have called the march of “non-violent terrorism.” Not bad … It was Israel to called the terrorist nonviolent. They were especially embarrassed by the efficiency of non-violence that is committed to ensuring it raises the support, understanding, support of all those who in the world are the enemies of oppression. Productivist thinking, driven by the West, led the world in a crisis that we must avoid a radical break with the headlong rush of “growing” in the financial field but also in science and technology. It is high time for the sake of ethics, justice, sustainable balance become prevalent. For the most serious risks we face. They can put an end to the human adventure on a planet that it can make it uninhabitable for man.
But it remains true that important progress has been made since 1948: decolonization, the end of apartheid, the destruction of the Soviet empire, the fall of the Berlin Wall. On the contrary, the first decade of the twenty first century was a period of decline. This fall, I explained it in part by the U.S. President George Bush, September 11, and disastrous consequences as ‘have drawn the United States in this military intervention in Iraq. We had this economic crisis, but we did not further initiated a new policy development. Similarly, the Copenhagen summit against global warming didn’t permitted to engage in a genuine policy for protecting the planet. We are at a threshold between the horrors of the first decade and opportunities in the following decades. But hopefully, there’s always hope. The previous decade, the 1990s, had been of great progress. The UN has been able to convene conferences like those of Rio on Environment in 1992, that of Beijing on Women in 1995 and in September 2000, at the ‘initiative of Secretary General United Nations, Kofi Annan, the 191 member countries adopted the statement on the “Eight Millennium Development Goals” by which they undertake to halve poverty in the world by 2015. My great regret, is that neither Obama nor the EU has so far been manifested with what should be their contribution to a constructive phase,
pressing the fundamental values. How to conclude the call to outrage? Recalling further that, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the National Programme Resistance, we said March 8, 2004, we veterans Resistance movements and fighting forces of Free France (1940-1945), although that “Nazism was defeated, thanks to the sacrifice of our brothers and sisters of the Resistance and the UN against Fascist barbarism

But this threats not disappeared totally and our anger against Injustice is still intact. No, this threat has not disappeared completely. Also, we call today to a real peaceful insurrection against the means of mass communication that do not offer a horison for our youth, mass consumption, the contempt for the weakest, and culture, generalized amnesia and excessive competition of all against all. ” To those who will make the twenty-first century, we say with our affection : “CREATE is to resist. RESIST IS TO CREATE. “