POLITICAL ANTICIPATION MAGAZINE



August September October November 2012

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In Memory of Franck Biancheri 1961 - 2012



### Franck Biancheri

(11.03.1961 - 30.10.2012)

The editorial board of the Magazine of Political Anticipation are sad to announce the death of Franck Biancheri, special advisor to the MAP editorial board, research director of the European Laboratory of Political Anticipation, founder of the AEGEE, one of ERASMUS' founding fathers, founder and president of Newropeans.

A great European, a political visionary, an extraordinary man

Our thoughts are with his family

In Memoriam : Visitors' book

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### **EDITO**

### The advent of a new world

by Michael Timmermans



The Mayas were always right! If one accepts the idea that they announced the end of the world for 2012<sup>1</sup>, they could even have been remarkably accurate. Even though the world as we know it since 1945 has been crumbling with increasing visibility since the beginning of the world systemic crisis, the descendants of pre-Columbian populations willingly moved forwards on a new path.

At the beginning of the 21st century this sub-continent, which is the object of such little media attention, increasingly resembles the new heir to the European ideals of independence, democracy and solidarity. Consequently, we thought

it essential to give it a significant spot in this latest MAP edition. Over the last ten years, political leaders have materialized who have put themselves at the service of their people rather than private or overseas interests.

The election of Hugo Chavez<sup>2</sup>, Lula da Silva, Rafael Correa, or even Evo Morales at the beginning of this century marked a turning point for South America. Since then this region, previously controlled by the United States through military interventions or Bretton Woods, institutions, has been resolutely breaking away from its dominating Northern neighbour. Following the world economic crisis, Anglo-Saxon domination is losing its force, even in North America.

At the end of each electoral period, the debates and challenges become a passion for South Americans, testifying to a democratic spark which makes one wonder. Whilst the European Union struggles to bring about to its democratic revolution and gives signs of a fallback into nationalism<sup>3</sup>, the Latin Americans have set up a strong model of citizen participation<sup>4</sup> and wealth redistribution.

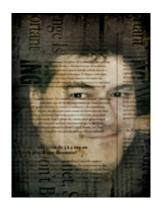
Of course, there's still a long way to go and the continent won't be saved from the numerous global challenges. But, whilst a new world is in the process of being born, South America manages to advance a project linking its traditions, its history and its belief in the future.

- 1. Phew! 2012 Doomsday date may be wrong, 20.10.12, ABC News
- 2. Elections whose transparence has been confirmed by all the international observers. Source: "Présidentielles au Venezuela : le risque de fraude est écarté", 06.10.12, Radio-Canada
- 3. Les poussées nationalistes en Europe : Ecosse, Catalogne et Flandre, 17.10.12, RTBF
- 4. La démocratie en Amérique latine résiste à la crise, 17.01.10, Le Figaro

### **ANTICIPATION**

## The inevitable takeover of the food markets by state organisations between now and 2020

by Jérôme Defaix (translation : Ian Shaw)



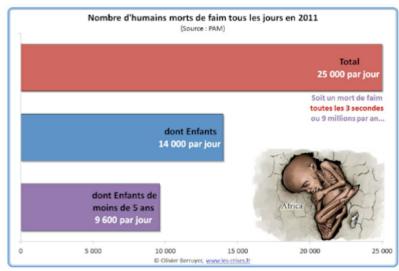
So many of the objectives of the World Food Summit (November 1996), as those of the "Millennium" (2000), haven't been met and won't be by the deadlines envisaged. After mixed progress however, from 1970 to 1997, the world famine situation has, again, deteriorated affecting more and more people, in number but also as a proportion of the world's population. In spring 2008, the wake-up for countries short of food was difficult. They thought themselves to be on the glorious path of food self-sufficiency. Famines were explained as residual situations or deliberately caused. Abundance had brought new illnesses, like obesity, but wasn't it preferable to hunger? And then everything spiralled out of control. Hunger riots broke out in Southern countries and one wondered why the FAO and WTO hadn't been able to prevent this malfunctioning of the world food system. After the rise in food prices between the 2006 and 2008 the number of starving in the world now amounts to one billion<sup>1</sup>.

To take stock of the food challenge, one must fully consider, much more than the agronomic variables (the ground, crop returns), their dynamics, and the already foreseeable tensions to which they will be subjected and all the economic, social and institutional factors at work in the world food system.

### Demography in sustained high growth

By 2050, around two billion more people will have to be fed. A study by the PRB (Population Reference Bureau) states that during this period the world population will continue to grow. The PRB report, an American research centre, notes that the majority of the planet's countries have a fertility rate higher than two children and a large number of women are of child-bearing age. China, currently the most heavily populated country in the world with 1.3 billion inhabitants, will be overtaken by 2050 by India which should then have a population of 1.6 billion, the study predicted. The United States should remain the third most populated country, whose population is likely to increase from 296 million to 420 million in 2050.

1. La faim dans le monde, 09.03.12, Les Crises



### The world population swing from country to urban dwellers

In 1950, 750 million people throughout the world lived in towns. The inhabitants of these great conurbations forsook food produced in the surrounding countryside, and turned to mass-produced food, bought on the worldwide markets.

Let's take China as a significant example. In 1990, there were 800 million rural dwellers and 500 million in the cities. In 2010 there are now 500 million people living in the country and 800 million in the cities. That's to say a new town of 15 million inhabitants was built each year for twenty years. Even if it's not politically pro-active path in the rest of the world, the migration from rural areas to the towns is commonplace.

### **Changing food habits**

In the middle of the 19th century, the growing of wheat, corn and rice was widespread throughout the world. In North America, the United States became the first global "bread basket" with the arrival of agricultural mechanization and, in Chicago in 1848, created the first exchange intended to regulate the cereals trade. Other "bread baskets" then followed in the so-called "new" countries, like Argentina or Australia, which themselves also offer the vast expanses available for agriculture.

One business that has an insatiable appetite for natural resources, agricultural products and space: is the meat industry<sup>2</sup>. Incidentally, the poultry sector is an example which gives a good illustration of the dysfunctions in the market. Poultry production - seen on the map showing the principal producer countries in 2009 - has considerably advanced over the last 50 years. First of

1Kg de viande céréales d'eau

all, it's a meat product which is not religiously banned, unlike pork or beef. Then, it's inexpensive to rear; the animals' small size and the speed of their growth guarantee high yields. It takes 40 days to produce a chicken, versus three years to produce beef.



With two billion people having too much to eat in 2011, we predict that by 2015 meat and fish will increasingly become luxury items, in the USA, Europe and Japan included. The rise in foodstuffs' prices will be dizzying for these underlying systemic reasons.

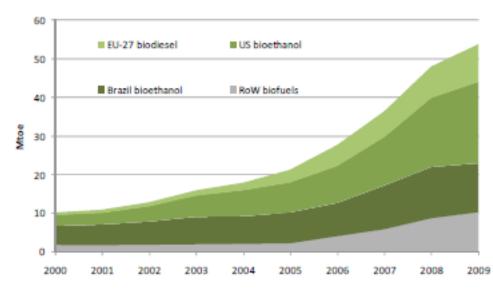
2. Quand l'industrie de la viande dévore la planète, 21.06.12, Le Monde Diplomatique

### Supply threats are becoming uneven

#### **Biofuels**

These ten last years have been marked by a strong development of agro-fuels. This was wanted by government authorities, in many parts of the world, including Europe. Agro-energy was thus regarded as a desirable diversification of agricultural supply. However, this approach poses a problem at the time of the challenges to food. The impact of the development of biofuels on food security takes effect through the crowding out it can exert on land use needs for food consumption.

At world level<sup>3</sup>, biofuel production is around 1% of world oil consumption for transportation. Booming, 90% is produced in the United States, Brazil and Germany, more than quintupling between 2000 and 2009.



In all the countries considered, the policies of supporting biofuel production were implemented by tax incentives. Biofuel development asks the basic question of its effect on food balances. The development of agricultural land for energy results in destroying, with current technology, around 10 to 11 million km2, that's to say the totality of the Amazon and Congo basins! Clearly, it's not reasonable.

We predict that by 2015, Brazil, the United States, and Europe, in continuing their generous subsidies for biofuels, will extend the crowding out effect on agro-food cultures starting world prices soaring, malnutrition and famines; not all directly in these countries but also in the countries to which they supply agro-alimentary food products such as North Africa, Asia and the Middle-East.

Source: AIE - RoW Rest of the World

### Hydraulic stress, the effect of the Industry on agricultural land

Let's take a look at the US example of 500,000 wells of shale gas drilling wells opened since 2006. The risks are particularly grave in Pennsylvania, which saw the number of wells growing strongly, from 36,000 in 2000 to around 71,000 today. The radioactivity level in the drilling water has increased reaching levels equivalent to

3. Le défi alimentaire à l'horizon 2050,18 avril 2012, Délégation de la prospective, Sénat

hundreds even thousands of times the maximum level authorized by federal drinking water standards.



Figure 1 - Source : Manière de voir, Le Monde Diplomatique

Using the hydrofracking technique, a well can produce up to around four million litres of waste water, often mixed with corrosive salts, carcinogenic products like benzene and radioactive elements such as radium. Whilst reports already highlight waste toxicity, the thousands of documents recovered by the New York Times4 from the EPA (American environmental protection agency), regulatory agencies and drilling companies, show that the dangers to our health and the environment are more significant than envisaged.

Another example, with pesticides in France, 96 % of the surface water monitoring stations<sup>5</sup> and 61 % of those underground<sup>6</sup> are contaminated by pesticides. 229 harmful substances have been detected in surface waters. Each day, we swallow, at least, between 20 and 30 pesticide residues. Is that without risk?

Concerning hydraulic stress, we can see man's footprint on aguifers at world level in figure 2. It shows that 20% of the world's aguifers are overexploited by a number of countries (India, the United States, China, Pakistan...). In three decades, India has almost tripled the volume of water it extracts.

- 4. Regulation Lax as Gas Wells' Tainted Water Hits Rivers, 27.02.11, The New-York Times
- 5. Contamination globale des cours d'eau par les pesticides, 12.2010, Ministère de l'écologie
- 6. Contamination globale des eaux souterraines par les pesticides, 12.2010, Ministère de l'écologie

In Asia, China, and especially in India we predict at least one incident of malnutrition in large coastal business regions affecting several hundred million people.

As regards the United States, three times as much agricultural land as that currently existing will be needed to satisfy its current way of life. The first, for agribusiness as a granary for the world's corn and soya. The second, for biofuels. The third, to isolate the first from pollution related to industrialization such as shale gas. With, in addition, food wastage costing 100 billion dollars, an additional fourth area is already needed. By 2015, it won't be famine but severe food restrictions which will occur.

#### **Waste**

Add to that that today, according to Stockholm International Water Institute (SIWI), the FAO and the International Water Management Institute (IWMI), 50 % of food produced is quite simply thrown in the waste bin. In the United States the equivalent, totalling 100 billion Dollars every year, is thrown away. In Great Britain, the food wastage costs 13 bil-

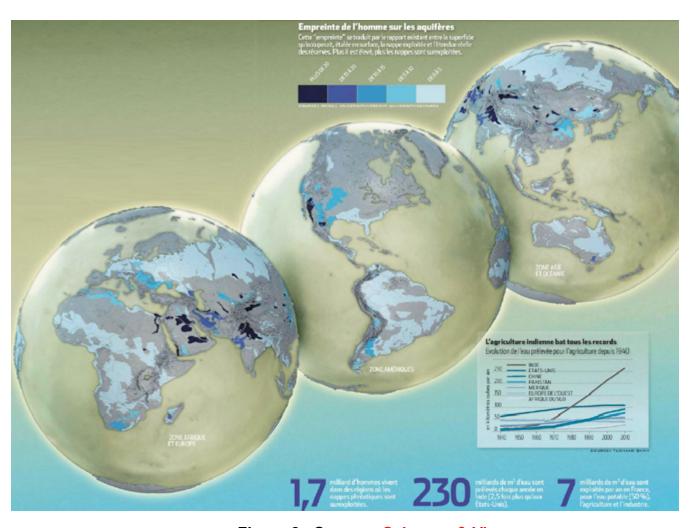


Figure 2 - Source : Sciences & Vie

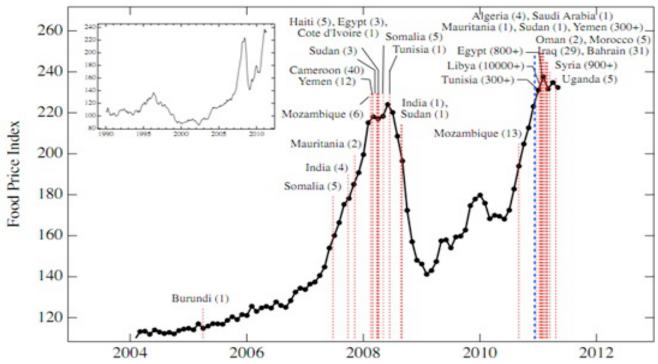
lion Euros. Finally, in France, according to a recent study by Ademe, food wastage is calculated at 10 billion Euros...

### Food prices, speculation and the resulting riots

In a 2011 document, the researchers at the Complex Systems Institute (CSI) presented a model which explains why the sequence of unrest which shook the world in 2008 and 2011 occurred at these points in time. The determining factor has been soaring foodstuffs prices. The model identified a precise threshold for world food prices which, if passed, would lead to unrest throughout the whole world.

The MIT Technology Review<sup>7</sup> explains how the CSI model functions: "The analysis links two sources. The first lies in the data collected by the United Nations Organization with the food price index of the Organization for Food and Agriculture of the United Nations. The second is the date of riots throughout the world, whatever their cause:

Political instability is also the source of food crises, particularly in Africa<sup>8</sup>.



Source : MIT Technology Review

We estimate that both points that we have just detailed will fuel a considerable and lasting rise in food prices with two major consequences:

- Deep-rooted malnutrition for several hundred million people in numerous parts of the world which will trigger off as many riots as there are starving people. (2013 to 2020)
- A change in the world management of food reserves, which will largely swing back from the private sector towards states, international institutions, and world power groups like the G20. (between 2015 and 2020)

- 7. The Cause Of Riots And The Price of Food,15.08.11, MIT Technology Review
- 8. The Food Crises and Political Instability in North Africa and the Middle East, 11.08.11, Cornell University Library

### Towards a rethinking of world governance

The architecture of the international institutions whose activities affect agriculture more or less directly is particularly complex and, classically, contradictory.

The Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF and the World Bank) carry out assignments which have a limited impact on agricultural development. Official support for agriculture hasn't been a priority for these institutions. The World Bank has been reactive as regards the 2008 food crisis, by creating a 1.2 billion USD response programme. In addition the World Bank is beefing up its medium and long term agricultural investments to 4.2 billion USD a year with investments in favour of the agricultural sector. The plan of action for agriculture in the 2010-2012 period envisages significant reinforcement of support for agriculture (in a range of 6.2 billion USD/year to 8.3 billion USD/year).

The UN institutions primarily consist of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization). It brings together exceptional technical skills and its culture leads it to be more attentive to questions of development. However, this philosophy doesn't always find the effective expansion that one could expect. With a budget limited to one billion Dollars, the organization's operational resources are not in proportion with what's needed, which is around 85 billion Dollars a year.

On this point, G8 and G20 type international coordination exerts an ambiguous role by ensuring the emergence of agreed initiatives but by also creating new needs for coordination between these initiatives that these assemblies and the activities of these permanent organizations' propose et publient.

We predict that a new style of governance with the financial means necessary for its mission, of around 100 billion Dollars a year,

9. Pas de stocks alimentaires stratégiques dans l'immédiat, 15.10.12, Le Nouvel Observateur ; INFOGRAPHIE - La FAO progresse doucement sur les instruments de régulation, 16.10.12, Le Figaro

which remains to established will be set up beginning 2015. It will be set up all the more easily as the next food crises and riots linked to them will be serious.

# FUTURHEBDO THE MAGAZINE OF OUR LIKELY FUTURE

### 26/11/2062: The Sirens' Song

by Olivier Parent (translation: Ian Shaw)



Without a doubt: Maya's Food has made itself well known. These last few months the media have obligingly spread a huge publicity campaign which presented an enticing concept: food, bookstore, florist and cyberbar. Maya's Food is just one place but with an abundance of services focused on the pleasure of the senses and communication (in the broad sense of the term...). But the services on offer don't just stop there...

In the spirit of a renewed hedonism, Maya's Food offers its customers personalized menus. By that, let it be understood it's a personalization unlike anything you have been offered: as soon as you take your seat, even before ordering any drinks, you are welcomed by a short questionnaire at your table. It finishes by the offer of a metabolic and phenotypic analysis.

Excuse me?

You read it correctly. What trade unions and other associations pursue in businesses to protect employees' right to anonymity (FuturHebdo: Industrio-private Espionage), these restaurants have made a selling point: "Let us see, deep inside you, who you are... And we will feed you the best possible way!"

That being so, it is in fact trying to say, in these times of chronic, diverse and varied health crises, that personalized and beneficial food (nutritious, purifying, stimulating, energising...) can't do any harm... What remains is a question to which the answer hasn't yet been found: what does Mayas Food do with all the data collected on the customers who frequent this now famous chain.

Mayas Food's IT director guarantees complete anonymity and non-correlation between a genetic profile and the customer's identity in the name of medical confidentiality: Mayas Food's system of analysis is controlled by an ethics committee consisting of, amongst others, several doctors. Should they be believed? The EDPS (the European successor to the French CNIL [the French Data Protection Agency], see FuturHebdo: Individual Protection) is studying this database's case which is considered to be critical. To date, it hasn't found anything of note. It remains true that it's a big temptation, for a government, an insurer... a market group... to lay its hands on such a treasure...

The temptation could quite simply be too much for Maya' Food: will it always be prevented from marketing its database of genetic profiles, correlated or not with the identities. At the time, businesses such as Facebook took the step without hesitating... It's true that data sold at the



beginning of the century by certain social networks could pass as harmless in comparison to the millions of human genetic profiles! Under the pretext of enjoyment, it would be a big danger to see individual freedom truncated a little more, initially for Maya's Food's customers...

Once again, it's the customer who has to act thanks to his purchasing power, which is becoming as sharp as a ballot paper!



#### **Editions Anticipolis**

### The big fall of Western Real Estate

by Sylvain Perifel and Philippe Schneider

ORDER ON-LINE

The crisis has demonstrated the fragility of Western real estate markets, raising many questions amongst the large audience that is interested in the residential real estate market, either as a buyer, seller, owner, tenant, business or private individual. It has also allowed everyone to become aware of the complex links between the different national real estate markets and international developments in the economy, finance, foreign exchange and interest rates. Finally, it makes sense to many that real estate markets have reached an historic turning point.

But this awareness is usually a victim of the shortage, even the lack of analysis, enabling the inclusion of a far-reaching and material era, a necessary condition of any credible attempt to forecast future real estate market developments in one's own country. And these forecasts are dependent on fundamental questions: when to sell? when to buy? should one rent?

With this book the two authors, Sylvain Perifel and Philippe Schneider, fill this gap in the Western world real estate market, for which they have indisputably discovered common trends. They successfully mix, with an easy style which is always easy to follow, accurate analysis, critical data, closely reasoned argument, forecasts with not only dates but numbers, and useful tips for the individual, the professional or the business, making this book a real decision-making tool.

### **ANTICIPATION**

# Germans and the people's referenda: Why the Germans will remain second class citizens

by Harald Greib (translation : Ian Shaw)



Regularly, both male and female politicians in Germany flatter their voters with the promise to perhaps eventually consider in the long run and in quite specific cases not to categorically refuse to add the possibility of referenda to the German constitution<sup>1</sup>. Thus, some time ago, at the time of the Euro crisis' climax, Guido Westerwelle (Foreign Minister), Rainer Brüderle (leader of the liberals parliamentary group, currently in power in a coalition with the right), and Wolfgang Schäuble (Minister of Finance) made a proposal to subject a possible transfer of additional sovereign authority to Brussels to a referendum in Germany<sup>2</sup>.

Democracy as government of the people exists in Germany in representative form only, i.e. that the power of the people is transferred by election to the representatives (of the people), then rendering the people powerless, until the time when the ritual is repeated four years later. However, the German constitution clearly stipulates that all power of the state

emanates from the people, exercised through elections and "Abstimmungen" (votes), a word which one finds in the German word for referenda which is "Volksabstimmungen", thus votes by the people. Consequently, nothing is more untrue than to say than the German constitution doesn't envisage referenda, even prohibit them<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, it's true to say that our male and female politicians don't want any. There you have the simple truth.

### The German "Sonderweg"

Given that referenda are the usual means of decision making regarding official acts in the political systems which want to be democracies, the German "Sonderweg" (special way) requires specific reasoning of course. And nothing is as expedient as a distilled argument of the Nazi period to cut short any discussion and render a political requirement illegitimate. Thus, the political class in Germany maintains that the Nazis would have exploited referenda during the Weimar Republic. In short, referenda endanger democracy. However, much historical research work has shown that this argument is

- 1. See the summary of the political parties' manifestos: Mehr Demokratie. It's curious, almost all are for, but nothing changes. The SPD is particularly ludicrous, which requires the introduction of referenda in its manifesto, yet its parliamentary group votes against it in the National Assembly (see the source above).
- 2. Deutscher Außenminister unterstützt Referendum zur EU-Verfassung, 11.08.12, IRIB; Brüderle bringt "Volksabstimmung über Europa" ins Gespräch, 10.08.12, Der Tagesspiegel; Schäuble erwartet baldiges Referendum für mehr Europa, 25.06.12, Die Presse
- 3. Die Zeit ist reif für Volksentscheide, 26.06.12, Süddeutsche

a lie<sup>4</sup>. None of the Nazis' attempts to push their political programme via the referendum route succeeded<sup>5</sup>. But to repeat this lie so much once until it practically passes into the German Republic's political DNA is the showpiece of our "democracy of the political parties" Parteiendemokratie - as opposed to a true people's democracy). Germany is a political system which wants to be democratic in which those who really hold power constantly warn against irrational people just waiting for the opportunity to indulge in their dangerous preferences<sup>6</sup> and that thus the elite is forced to make sure that the people are refused the right to take decisions on the really important matters<sup>7</sup>.

### Those who gave up power to Hitler act as the guards of the democratic temple post-war

One also readily quotes the first president of the new Federal Republic Theodor Heuss, who incidentally had voted full power to Hitler, with his speech "Cave canem", the dog which he warned against being the Germans in their totality, regardless of whether they were the innocent, the opportunists, members of the Nazi party or - the great exception - those who resisted. Similarly, former Nazis, SS officers, the Gestapo etc. once again started to take up senior posts at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the federal police, the restructured army, the secret services, in the justice system etc., many climbed up to the top of the ranks and became respectable again, to henceforth watch, as enthusiastic converts to the new democratic and libertarian order (freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung), that the people, the irrational people, didn't succumb to the attractions of communism or socialism and that no young communist wearing a schoolteacher's clothes fill, with his ideological poison, the heads of a youth aspiring to the delights of capitalism and the fledgling consumer society.

# The move from Bonn to Berlin: a missed opportunity to organize the first referendum in Germany

That referenda in Germany would be a danger to democracy is one of the German Federal Republic's founding myths. That German reunification was made possible by the people (of the GDR), who took the popular initiative to the squares and streets of East

- 4. See: Mehr Demokratie, and in particular the works of Otmar Jung in "Plebiszit und Diktatur: Die Volksabstimmungen der Nationalsozialisten: die Fälle"Austritt aus dem Völkerbund"(1933), "Staatsoberhaupt" (1934) und "Anschluß Österreichs" (1938).
- 5. If it were necessary to draw conclusions from the lessons of the Weimar Republic, it would have been more appropriate to bar the conservative political parties which had given Hitler full powers with the law "the fight against the misery of the people and the Reich" (Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich) of March 23rd, 1933. The people, on the other hand, never had, either by election or referendum, made Hitler either chancellor or dictator.
- 6. One wonders why as a result they don't long to reintroduce the poll-tax based vote or simply exclude whole sections of the population from the elections.
- 7. If the people had the right to decide on it, no German soldier would fight overseas; and as an anti-nuclear movement the Greens have succeeded in accessing the levers of government, elected en masse by the people. Who, therefore, would have taken the truly correct decisions "to protect the German people against danger" as the chancellor promises in the introductory speech to his functions? See: Der Preis der Freiheit und der Sicherheit, 16.10.07, Frankfurter Allgemeine.
- 8. "Cave canem, I warn against this proposal which would weigh heavy for the fledgling democracy. In an era of a loss of values, in a democracy on a grand scale, the referendum, the citizen's initiative is the bonus for any demagogue."



Germany and imposed it against the bodies of repression, hasn't changed our political and economic elite's opinion. The time immediately following reunification would, incidentally, have been a good opportunity to seek the people's decision relating to a keenly contested question within the political community, almost a test run for the referenda institution, at the time a decision which was entirely based on emotion and historical belief and not on a profound knowledge of technical details. Many arguments weigh for, many against, both possible results would have been good; it was a matter of the decision on the transfer of the National Assembly and the government from Bonn to Berlin. Before the final debate, everything seemed to indicate that the majority of the Members of Parliament was going to vote for keeping the bodies of state in Bonn.

### Schäuble, the demagogue

A very emotional speech by the Minister of the Interior at the time, Wolfgang Schäuble, tipped the scales in favour of Berlin.

Here is Schäuble's speech quoted word for word: "Germany, the Germans, we have won our unity, because Europe wanted to overcome its division. Consequently, a decision for Berlin is also a decision to be able to overcome Europe's division. I repeat, dear colleagues: today's decision doesn't relate to Bonn or Berlin, but our future, our future in a unified Germany, which must still find its domestic unity, and our future in a Europe which must still achieve its unity, if it wants to be up to its responsibility for peace, freedom and social justice." How bombastic, what pathos.

Today, twenty years after the decision<sup>10</sup>, nothing contradicts the assumption that the choice of Berlin hasn't been decisive, not for Germany and certainly not for Europe. Germany is finalizing its domestic unity slowly, too slowly; the landscapes (economic) in flower which the chancellor at the time, Helmut Kohl, had promised are still waiting and, instead of unified Europe, we have the Euro crisis which endangers a 60 year process of European integration, because a monetary union without a political one had been imposed for political reasons - all these developments completely uncoupled from the German government's seat and the Bundestag. After unification and accelerating since the transfer of government, the renaissance of German megalomania has already started, believing that the decisions of and for Europe should be taken or must be taken in Berlin.

Nothing would have prevented this decision being entrusted to all Germans, who could have taken it based on the same emotions as their

representatives. Thus the opportunity to secure political peace by a decision on the broadest possible basis was wasted. Because this is the great advantage of referenda: the people don't feel excluded, don't feel that a decision should be imposed on them, in respect of which nobody ever asked them for their opinion and that they will never accept to any great extent. If the Kohl government had organized a referendum on the question of the Euro's introduction, either it would never have been introduced (in the light of the current crisis, perhaps the best decision), or it would have been introduced

- 9. Rede von Wolfgang Schäuble zum Bonn-Berlin-Gesetz, 20.06.11, Der Tagesspiegel
- 10. The fact that the decision in favor of Berlin has been possible thanks to the votes of the PDS, the successor party of the SED party of the GDR, whose members were treated like lepers in Bonn by the other political parties, seems really like a farce in history.

and nobody would fantasize today on the return of the D Mark, like the French who had taken the decision by popular vote and thus bear the consequences.

### Why they won't change anything

In the short term, it's convenient to take decisions far from the people and to govern, to quote the former chancellor Gerhard Schröder, "thanks to the TV, Bild am Sonntag and Bild" (two very influential newspapers from a publisher on the right). Long term, democracy pays the very high price with citizens who don't identify themselves with their political system as it is the case in a democracy rich in elements of direct de-

11. voir : Mehr Demokratie

12. Wo bleibt das Prinzip Verantwortung ?, Zeit Online

mocracy<sup>11</sup>. Currently, Germans are constrained to live with a political generation which has brainwashed itself with their own lies and which, to only quote the former Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, is "drunk with power" will never take the step of granting the people true political participation. Any power emanates from the people - never to return there - for Germany, this cynical dictum is particularly apposite and no reform is on the horizon. Even if it should really be admitted that in the light of the impasse on future European integration, a specific referendum on an additional transfer of sovereignty must have a certain charm for our political class to rid itself of an issue which has become a catch 22 situation, it won't take the plunge. A referendum on the European question would be like opening a Pandora's box in their eyes - the people would exit never to return.

17 MAP November 2012 - A four-monthly publication by LEAP

### COMMENT

# Quebec elections, 2012 : A direct consequence of the liberal Anglo-Saxon model's collapse and the open door towards independence

by Frédéric Beaugeard First reaction of the 5th September 2012



The analysis of these last elections in Quebec is that this new situation is more favourable over the medium and long term to its independence. The Marois government's lasting grip on power and the advent of a true Quebecois right offer an even better context than that prevailing at the last referendum. There is now a true party on the right in Quebec, the Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ), (Coalition for the Future of Quebec), autonomous (soft, but present), as well as that of the centre-left, the Parti Québécois (PQ) (Quebec Party). Moreover, the emerging party of the extreme-Left, Québec Solidaire (QS) (Quebec Solidiarity), is likely to also support the PQ at the National Assembly. Not counting support from various small independent parties, Option Nationale (ON), and the Greens, un-elected, but very active, all pro-PQ in the event of referendum. This allows those seeking autonomy to occupy the whole of the political chessboard and thus collect a maximum of votes, exerting a stronger influence.

What should be known it is that the new party of the right, the CAQ, is made up of many ex- PQ members, who left at the time of the party's change of direction to the centre-left executed by Pauline Marois. They are thus, genetically, of an autonomous tendency. Their leader, François Legault, an "old hand" very motivated towards independence at the time, has said that he doesn't to want to give voting instructions in the event of a possible referendum on independence. They don't want to just now, so as not to frighten the Anglophones or those on the right, generally in favour of the status quo. Thus only 4-5/20 members of this party, + 1-2/2 QS party members are able to support this 57 seat PQ minority government (majority 63). Certain measures will be hard to get passed because the CAQ will try to be the official opposition (extension of law 101, change the way of "English style" voting which is completely outdated, secularity, proposals for fixed date elections, etc). But, being the opposition minority, it will not be able to approach the federalist Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ) (Quebec Liberal Party) too closely either. There is room for bargaining on many issues (taxes, help for business, social security, caribou migration, the Plan Nord "continuation" or natural resource nationalization, school fees, health care system reform, anti-corruption laws, ecology, claims at Ottawa, etc). The CAQ is

against a referendum for the moment but it's possible that the planned PQ law on popular initiative referenda passes; which would open the door to the triggering of a referendum on independence practically on the PQ's whim, perhaps around 2014-16 before the onset of new elections to avoid erosion of power. Especially as the various independence movements in Europe could then serve as an example to aspire to<sup>1</sup>, as well as the bringing of their Icelandic and Greenland immediate borders closer to the European Union, and the British Empire's continued disintegration (cf. Australia: constitutional monarchy or republic? stigmatization of tax

1. Independence of Flanders, independence of Scotland, independence of or the unification of Wallonia-Brussels with France, independence of Wales, unification of Northern Ireland and Ireland (cf. Catholic birth-rate), and to a certain extent those of Catalonia and the Spanish Basque country (greater autonomy?).

havens linked with the City,...). Canada's participation in a new United States war could also be the trigger, especially if Canada is still led by the current Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, seen in Quebec as a loathsome neoliberal servant of the Americans, lately even trying to update the outdated pomp of a despised British Empire. A year's "Scottish style" discussion, set up by the PQ, on the advantages of a "YES" vote would eventually be necessary. The business of the rigging of the last referendum for Quebec independence in 1995 would certainly resurface<sup>2</sup>.

The aim, now, is to marginalize the federal right PL to only Anglophones and substitute the CAQ autonomous right. This party of the right would take its place (natural) after independence - which should motivate its leaders' ambition. This development towards a multi-party representation would, moreover, offer a post-independence realistic vision, a story of taking "the big jump", the Quebecois thus finally being able to resolve their problems between themselves. A possibility will be to play on the corruption and collusion affairs, which have started to see the light of day, to continue to discredit the PL (cf. Charbonneau Commission, the Plan Nord). And criticize its extremism (the attack, by an Anglophone against Pauline Marois, is a reminder of the initial Orangemen provocations in Northern Ireland), as well as the historical duplicity of the Anglophones, and Canada, against the French-speaking people<sup>3</sup>.

A criticism of the neoliberal Anglo-Saxon model in deep crisis could be used as the argument with the new Quebecois issues of immigration, American-Indian nations and even of certain Anglophones (whose linguistic rights will be kept), Quebec's independence posing as another project on society in North America. In fact the CAQ of the right isn't the neoliberal inspiration. Like the Scottish independence project, close to the Scandinavian model, the Quebecois would get closer to the European general principle of social democracy. The CAQ is more represent-

ative of society as a whole than the PL, excessively Anglophile and wheeler-dealer. As the Quebecois themselves say of the Anglophones of British origin: "We think differently". Initially, the problem will be for the PL to find a new charismatic leader (or rather aggressive, but photogenic like the predecessor). It will be difficult to find a woman, especially after Jean Charest, in difficulty, used women like throw-away handkerchiefs. The CAQ present itself then as a clean, non-partisan (welcoming moderate Anglophones) and constructive opposition.

Nevertheless the Anglophones, the federalists of the right, Canada and England will not give up just like that. On the other hand, the United States could be interested, within the framework of a closer economic union,

- 2. Controversial 1995 Referendum. Source: Wikipedia
- 3. One example among many: "The Clearances", as practiced by the English elite, in various ways, from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution on the Scottish and Irish, the American-Indians, then the Africans and Boers in South Africa (cf. concentration camps, apartheid), and the Australian Aborigines.

History of the Franco-Americans and the exodus from Quebec of 1840-1930, during which a million French Canadians moved to the United States:

The French Canadians also moved to various regions of Canada, like Ontario and Manitoba. Many of these first male migrants worked in the timber industry in these two areas, as well as in the budding Great Lakes mining industry. After Louis Riel's hanging and the genocide of those of mixed race in the Canadian West, the Canadian government applied a policy of colonization in the Canadian west, while giving it subsidies and land. There was a vast promotion campaign in Europe. It is important to note that these privileges were not available to the Quebecois, who were short of farmland. This is what explains this migration to the United States, rather than towards the Canadian West.

Source: Wikipedia

through resources, especially water, with the rest of Canada (cf. the North American Union and President Clinton's positioning).

Indeed, the geopolitical implications of these elections are important. They create a reality and a new dynamic in this region, because it should be well understood that a PQ victory, autonomous and centre-left, seemed at first glance, facing two parties of the right, with fragmentation of its left, as well as the unprecedented control of the Anglo-Saxon capitalist ideology at world level (and from whence the PL's creditable results), more than unlikely.

One could thus even envisage, in the long run, a federation of the East Atlantic Canadian provinces and the Nunavut, with Quebec (an Anglophone minority remaining), to avoid a mutual boxing-in, which would support agreements with the American-Indian nations' claims within Quebec which won't fail to emerge at the time of its independence.

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### A Manual of Political Anticipation

by Marie-Hélène Caillol

ORDER ON-LINE

On many occasions during the last 25 years, the sphere of influence focused around the personage of Franck Biancheri has, de facto, provided fertile ground for the correct anticipation of major historic events: the fall of the Iron Curtain, the crisis of the European Commission, the collapse of the Dollar and the global systemic crisis... are some of the most striking predictions in the story (which is still unfolding) of this sphere of influence whose very diverse features (European context, network organisation, political objectives, independent state of mind...) allows one to suppose that they play some role, without doubt, in this "ability".

Indeed, if one's correct anticipation is the result of chance, the second can be good luck, but by a third, it becomes possible to hope that some rules and a rational approach are at play.

The work done within this sphere of influence, among which the most illustrative is that conducted by LEAP (Laboratoire Européen d'Anticipation Politique) through its monthly publication, the GEAB (GlobalEurope Anticipation Bulletin), has even forced the respect of academics, giving rise to a need for a contemporary approach, which is the purpose of this manual: What is political anticipation (and what it isn't)? What is its use? What are the tools, principles and rules which shape it? What are its limits?

These are the questions which this small manual will try and answer.

### **ANTICIPATION**

## South America 2012-2016:

### Still uncertainty over US domination and regional independence

by Héctor R. Sánchez (proof read : Ian Shaw)



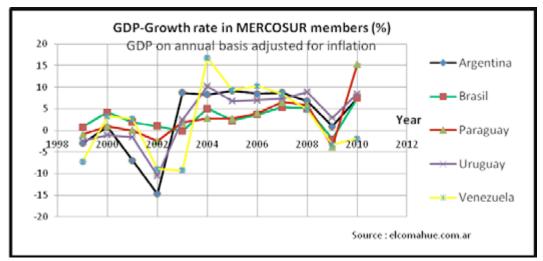
The failure of the Washington Consensus<sup>1</sup> policies marks a turning point in South American history, as it starts a trend to abandon northern hemisphere neoliberal policies and the development of regional integration outside North American hegemony<sup>2</sup>.

Both the regional and international scenarios present exceptional conditions for South America to fashion a sovereign geopolitical region<sup>3</sup>. The region's diverse people are clearly aware that the neoliberal experiment which attempted to shape society around business and the never-ending growth of consumerism<sup>4</sup> was jeopardizing the future.

The quest for a sovereign future has set in motion the implementation of policies aimed at regional interests, limiting the decision-making power of transnational enterprises in national affairs. As a result, inter-zonal commercial exchange<sup>5</sup> has increased in South America, resorting to local currencies<sup>6</sup> as a means of distancing themselves from the destructive effects of global recession, henceforth favoring political stability and strengthening its independence from the powers that had driven policies since colonial independence.

- 1. Which imposed the sale of infrastructure and services provided by the State, such as electricity and communications. The sale of State-owned national resources such as beaches, bays and frontier zones to foreign investors. Economic and environmental deregulation for mineral exploitation and even the concession of fresh water for drinking and irrigation to transnational companies. Financial liberalization and debt and the weakening of the State, had plunged the region into crisis by the end of the 1990's.
- 2. Which, by means of the Shock Doctrine (watch The Shock Doctrine instructive video) and occupation forces made up of local civil and military corps trained in the United States, dismantled every attempt at sovereign policies in the region.
- 3. South America United States: Towards a new regional order, Héctor R. Sánchez, 26.06.09, Europe 2020
- 4. Considered as an immutable and eternal constituent to the end of time.
- 5. Latin American inter-region trade soared 24.6% in 2010, 02.02.10, MercoPress
- 6. Trade in local currencies instead of US dollar, Mercosur proposal, 22.07.09, MercoPress and El Mercosur aprueba el uso de monedas locales para comercio, 25.08.09, Los Tiempos

The results of such policies, diverging from "Western", dictates, can be observed in the following chart:



### The new US strategy to reestablish its hegemony over South America

During the first decade of the current century, the United States<sup>8</sup> tried to secure its domination over the region by imposing the Free Trade Area of the Americas - FTAA (from Anchorage, Alaska, to Tierra del Fuego, Argentina). Such a measure by no means excluded its traditional political and armed interventions based on arguments such as "the strengthening of democratic institutions", "human rights defence", the "fight against money laundering", "war on drugs", "war on terrorism", etc.



Les pays d'Amérique latine avec ou sans Accord de Libre Echange (ALE) avec les Etats-Unis. (vert sombre: MERCOSUR; vert clair: pays qui forment l'ALBA avec le Vénézuela ; jaune: Paraguay, suspendu du MERCOSUR) Source: El Comahue

This attempt failed in 2005 during the 4th Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata, Argentina, and the United States shifted strategies regarding South American integration.

- 7. The United States and Europe as primary partners.
- 8. "...With current concerns about the Free Trade Area of the Americas and the strength of democratic regimes, along with the growing need for homeland—even hemispheric—security, it is most important that we seriously consider new ways to respond to our strategic situation..." Colonel Joseph R. Núñez. A 21st Century Security Architecture For The Americas: Multilateral Cooperation, Liberal Peace, And Soft Power. 08.2002, Strategic Institute **Studies**
- 9. Arguments which replaced the war on subversion and communism after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

- 10. Offering relatively small countries a rapid improvement in trade with participation in the North American market for their exports, imposing a subordinate relationship through a full commercial opening, low taxes and favourable legislation for multinationals, with the promise of quick investment and growth opportunities.
- 11. These free trade treaties do not contemplate compensating measures for productivity and competitiveness. Neither is the movement of manual labour between members incorporated in the agreement, or any labour or environmental issues; nor North American subsidies for its agriculture without which it would not be able to compete with Latin America. Signatory countries also cannot impose conditions on the presence of direct foreign investment or decide whether or not to produce certain products, whilst transnational companies are free to organize their own areas of business activity.
- 12. Demystification of the North American Free Trade Agreement as an instrument for social and economic development is an interesting analysis of a ten year period of the treaty between Mexico and the United States. Source: Equipo Pueblo
- 13. Pentagon Using Drug Wars as Excuse to Build Bases in Latin America, 05.06.11, truth-out.org
- 14. En el Medio Oriente el pretexto es la Guerra contra el terrorismo, War on Terror, Wikipedia
- 15. Afghanistan: Since the U.S. invasion, drug production increased 40 times, 04.04.11, Prensa Islamica
- 16. Allegations of CIA drug trafficking, Wikipedia
- 17. How a big US bank laundered billions from Mexico's murderous drug gangs, 03.04.11, The Guardian; Guns from U.S. equip drug cartels, 10.08.11, Los Angeles Times

It now fosters bilateral agreements<sup>10</sup> to transform countries into its satellites: Chile-2003, Peru-2009, Colombia-2012, Paraguay (after the recent institutional coup d'Etat that ended with a President allied to North American interests in office); and CAFTA in the Caribbean region (encompassing Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic), as well as the agreement with Panama in 2006.

Under the terms<sup>11</sup> of in the Caribbean region (encompassing Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic), as well as the agreement with the treaties involved, members without productive and financial resources for fair competition with the United States end up undergoing de-industrialization and increased unemployment, consequently deepening underdevelopment and social disintegration<sup>12</sup>.

The United States is building a web of aligned countries along the Pacific coastline, with only Ecuador and Nicaragua outside it, in order to position itself as the absolute owner of the Pacific region, creating a barrier that could complicate commercial relationships between Asia and Atlantic region countries.

# South America needs to get ready for possible North American military intervention

Given the evident reality of South America not being willing to enter the new era under North American control and under the War on Drugs umbrella, the United States, as a NATO member, is militarizing Latin American territory to strengthen its dominant position<sup>13</sup>.

The war on drugs has become, since the USSR collapse, the North American pretext<sup>14</sup> for manipulating Latin America according to its

own military and strategic ends. Despite the numerous reports proving that the military response to drug trafficking is ineffective<sup>15</sup>, the United States military presence further fuels human rights abuse<sup>16</sup> and official corruption<sup>17</sup>, the US military presence continues to grow.



In order to assess the consequences of such a militarization it's necessary to take into consideration, within the context of the present global systemic crisis, the parameters determining the United States' actions.

These parameters revolve around two historical facts and a third contemporary one. The first indicates that the world leaves the systemic crisis by means of a major war leading to the emergence of a new order. The second one shows that man has always employed the weapons he has developed. The third fact to consider is that a nuclear war would threaten to alter the conditions necessary for life on the planet.

The main question behind these facts is to know the extent to which the US is willing to let go its world domination without triggering a global armed conflict, and, if it does, will it use nuclear weapons?

History also teaches that the dominant classes, when faced with the possibility of keeping power by means of war or losing it without a fight, generally take the first way out. Growing North American militarization of the rest of the continent has to be interpreted in such a context<sup>18</sup>.

US military deployment in Latin America is vast and growing. Recent history has shown that United States-NATO military forces operate against regional interests.

There are more than 40 North American, British and French military bases in Latin America, all under NATO command<sup>19</sup>.

On the other hand, in the post-USSR era, NATO has accumulated a long record of "humanitarian operations" against various nations of the world in order to eliminate any position (ideological, military or commercial) against the interests of the United States or its allies. These operations, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, beginning with intervention in Kosovo<sup>20</sup> invoking humanitarian reasons and without a UN mandate, include the invasion of Iraq<sup>21</sup>, then the destruction of Libya<sup>22</sup>... There is also evidence of NATO's involvement in the promotion of terrorist action by supporting paramilitary groups and organizing terrorist operations<sup>23</sup>.

In Latin America, linked through NATO, the United States supported the United Kingdom in 1982during the Falklands War (Guerra de las Malvinas)<sup>24</sup>. The United States supplied the United Kingdom with military technical states are supplied to the United Kingdom with military technical states.

- 18. South America Towards regional integration or the next 'Middle East' ?, 24.04.10, Europe 2020
- 19. 47 bases extranjeras en Latinoamérica, 16.06.12, La Rosa Blindada
- 20. Despite Tales, the War in Kosovo Was Savage, but Wasn't Genocide, Daniel Pearl et Robert Blocks, 31.12.99, The Wall Street Journal
- 21. What Happened to Saddam's Weapons of Mass Destruction ?, 09.2003, Arms Control Today
- 22. Petroleum and Empire in North Africa. NATO Invasion of Libya Underway, 02.03.11, Global Research
- 23. Operation Gladio, Wikipedia. Las sombra de la Operación Gladio, 02.11.90, El País
- 24. Falklands War, Wikipedia

nology ranging from submarine radars to missiles. In response to a request by the Royal Navy, the US approved support from the amphibious assault ship USS Iwo Jima (LPH -2) in case the British lost an aircraft carrier. The US Navy developed a plan to help the British operate the Iwo Jima systems. France trained fighter pilots to combat the French planes used by Argentina. French and British intelligence were active in preventing Argentina from acquiring more Exocet missiles on the international market. Ascencion Island, a British territory with a landing strip leased to the United States, functioned as the base for Operation Black Buck, with bombers attacking Argentine positions in the Falklands (las Malvinas). The French base in Martinique served as a refueling stop during the war1 as well as during the United States invasion of Granada.

In 2008, the US reactivated its Fourth Fleet<sup>26</sup>, previously deactivated in 1950. The Fourth Fleet was similarly equipped as the Fifth, stationed in the Persian Gulf, and the Sixth Fleet, in the Mediterranean, comprising an aircraft carrier and several submarines. Its mission is to monitor ships, planes and submarines passing through the Caribbean, Central and South America, in order to operate, in conjunction with other countries, contingents and cooperation forces, as well as directly combat drug and human trafficking, terrorism and piracy threatening free trade in Caribbean and South American.

- 25. La Martinique : un enjeu stratégique, 23.04.12, Agencia Latinoamerica de Información
- 26. Navy Re-Establishes U.S. Fourth Fleet, 25.04.08, navyseals.com
- 27. Paraguayan Armed Forces Request 560 Million Dollars to Rearm, 30.08.12, prensa-latina.cu
- 28. The Observatorio de Medios de la Agencia Periodística del MERCOSUR (APM) analyse ce comportement dans une étude du 1er au 30 mai basée sur 6 journaux argentins, colombiens et mexicains. Par rapport à la militarisation de l'Amérique latine, il déclare : "Si nous prenons en compte l'importance stratégique du sujet et le peu d'intérêt simultané assez rare donné par ces 5 médias à la question, autant au niveau des points de vue et de la sémantique concernant les rares éléments à ce sujet, nous concluons que dans chaque cas nous sommes confrontés à des opérations de dissimulation en fonction de la stratégie promue par le gouvernement des Etats-Unis." Source : Militarization in Latin America, in graphic media of Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina, 2006, Observatorio de Medios de la Agencia Periodística del MERCOSUR (APM)
- 29. Pour connaître les méthodes des opérations, voir cet intéressant reportage : NATO's secret armies, Andreas Pichler, Youtube

At the same time, the Fourth Fleet comes under the control of the United States Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM). Its area of responsibility encompasses 32 countries (19 in Central and South America, 13 in the Caribbean) and 14 North American and European territories.

It is important to highlight that the successful institutional coup d'état in Paraguay imposing an allied government has consolidated North American military power at the heart of the UNASUR nations as the new Paraguayan government once again takes up hypothetical conflicts with neighbouring countries<sup>27</sup>, paving the way for "North American humanitarian operations" in the region.

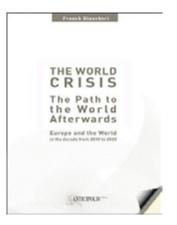
As NATO war chaos unfolds in the Middle East, so do the dangers of the United States continuing to attempt to recolonize the region through military action. A path that, so far, has only been promoted through its ownmedia<sup>28</sup>; or,economically, by free trade agreements and bilateral alliances aimed at breaking up UNASUR's uniting efforts; or further, politically, by fostering internal conflicts within countries<sup>29</sup> through its "politically independent ONGs ", "Embassies", the CIA...

### Time is on South America's side<sup>30</sup>

The disintegrating trends developed by the current systemic global crisis leads the US dominant classes, politically paralyzed and unable to stop such forces in their own country, to cut corners in search of rapid results and resort to their only remaining resource: force. They destroy without having the ability to reconstruct, like they did in Libya and Iraq to finish by seeking control over their backyard, South America.

In this context, South America must strengthen its integration and inter-bloc alliances in order to better resist destabilizing plans and the already classic "humanitarian operations", "war on drugs", "defence of democracy" and other euphemisms with which the United States covers up its actions for domination.

30. An example of time working in its favour have been the last elections in Venezuela, during which international observers witnessed not only massive popular participation, but also that the Bolivian Revolution won about 2.6 million more votes than in the last national election (2010: 5.423.324 votes, Voters: 11.329.068 (66,45%); 2012: 8.062.056 votes, Voters: 18 903 143(80,67)). Mainstream media will have to work hard to convince that it is a fraud and that the Venezuelan government is a dictatorship. Even if one says that it is not democracy as understood by the United States (see Morning Bell: Justice Department Blocks Voter ID at Every Turn et The CIA's Campaign Against Salvador Allende, 1976, Third World Traveler)



# World crisis The Path to the World Afterwards Europe and the World in the decade from 2010 to 2020

ORDER ON-LINE

by Franck Biancheri

In this uncompromising book, Franck Biancheri (born in 1961, Director of Studies at the Laboratoire Européen d'Anticipation Politique) attempts to address the lack of anticipation of European leaders and elites when it comes to the crisis and presents a concrete vision of the future in France, Europe and the world by 2020.

"Because this crisis we are experiencing is not only the end of the "world before", it is also an unprecedented opportunity to rebuild a "world after", provided not to be mistaken about the dangers, challenges and opportunities that lie ahead."

### **ESSAY**

### The citizen and the State, a tragic maelstrom of history

by S. Kourits and V. Vorobiev, MGIMO (translation : Ian Shaw)



The text appearing in this MAP comes from an introduction to the essay by S. Kourits, professor and doctor in theological science, and V. Vorobiev, professor and doctor in legal science entitled: "Diseases of the State. A diagnosis of the state management system's illnesses and constitutional law" (2nd edition, 2010). This work seeks to curb "history's vicious circle" by proposing a radically new treatment to match the aspirations of power and the people.

The social networks which have appeared these last few years make the rapid exchange of information on the quality of life possible, which push people into action to protest. Sometimes, the social networks help sections of the population to battle injustice. But protest leads to sacrifices and doesn't improve the quality of life in the long run. The exit points from history's vicious circle remain blurred.

To break this tragic circle one needs, using whatever means, including the social networks, to create a civil society in States. A civil society is a group of people, independent of the State but which benefits from its material and legal support. A civil society is able to understand the most important elements of the links of cause and effect which exist amongst the State's diseases and make its knowledge accessible to everyone. It's as an equal and responsible partner that civil society will be able to help the State solve the people's quality of life problems on its way towards the social legal State.

Without realising the inevitable consequences of the existence of history's vicious circle, especially at the time of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, we are doomed to resemble the troglodyte tribes, not understanding to this day, the part played by the man in the child's birth.

The citizen and the State - a tragic maelstrom of history, "Press release", Moscow, 2011



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Do not miss the next issue of the Political Anticipation Magazine (March 2013)

Register:

http://www.europe2020.org/spip.php?article42&lang=fr

Do not hesitate to send us your comments :

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