

## **Speech Frejus September 12, 2021**

My dear friends,

We are at a crucial moment in our national history.

France is an act of civilization.

And this act of love and civilization is threatened to disappear.

I have said it many times.

But, as we are all aware here today, we have arrived at crossroads, where one path leads to the abyss and the other to the summit.

Two dates, April 10 and 24, will seal our country's fate, the destiny of this magnificent and powerful human adventure called France.

The choice is more than important, it is crucial, that is to say final; also in the literal sense of the word "cross-shaped", because we are at an intersection.

There will be only two alternatives, either the dilution of France by deconstruction and submersion, or the salutary awakening that will take France into the third millennium by respecting the concept of the nation.

As you can see, they are in the process of accepting everything, of dismantling everything, of liquidating everything to the point that the French people are realizing that entire sections of the national edifice are cracking, breaking apart and collapsing.

The heritage of our ancestors is being squandered, as are the wealth of our land, or the riches contained in the creativity and energy of our people.

With each passing day, the country seems to be spinning out of control.

As we know, "History is tragic".

It is tragic for individuals, as well as for those people who, due to fatigue, disillusionment, and guilt have lost the will to live.

In 2022, this presidential election will not only be a choice of society, as previous elections have been, it will be a choice of civilization, a choice for life and future for our children, a choice for security and power of our country, a choice for freedom or submission.

In April 2022, it will be more than a vote, it will be a choice of historic importance.

You can see, my friends, the eminent responsibility of our generation, French people of all ages, of all conditions, of all origins.

As in the moments of doubt that the country has gone through in the course of its history, and particularly at this moment when warning lights are flashing one after the other, the daughters and sons of France are called upon to rise to the occasion and to engage in the recovery of our country.

There will be no others to defend our dear country than you,  
There will be no reconquest of French sovereignty without  
you,

There will be no better guarantor of your security than a  
nation restored in its foundations and its collective  
aspirations, than a united and determined nation, than a  
nation that protects its children, than a nation that knows  
that it has so much to contribute to the world.

No one better than you, present here today, supporters of the  
national cause, dear elected officials and activists of the  
“Rassemblement National” from all over France and more  
broadly speaking, all French patriots who are listening to me,  
you who picked up the blue-white and red flag when indigent  
leaders had voluntarily let it lie in the gutter, you know that it  
is first and foremost up to you to make this rendezvous with  
France and, I believe, with history, possible.

There are battles that we cannot lose.

Dear fellow country men and women, the presidential  
election of 2022 is one of those.

And because we cannot lose this battle, we will win it.

We are preparing for this founding event with the humility  
required for great causes that go beyond our own existence,  
with the seriousness required by the task that we face, but

also, let no one doubt it, with the determination that our passion for France and for the future commands us.

And since it is up to us to call upon our compatriots to mobilize, cherishing the values that are essential to us, I would like to do so by quoting these words, both warlike and poetic, from the Marseillaise, for us our national anthem, and for the whole world a chant of emancipation:

"Freedom, Freedom ! –cherished Freedom  
Fight together with those who defend you".

France is, by her Christian roots and by the Enlightenment that followed, the daughter of freedom; she who recognizes the free individual, the expression by the individual vote, the consent to marriage or the liberation of slaves.

She is the one who transmitted to Europe and to the world this taste for freedom; from the soldiers defending the republic in 1793 and 1794, to those during the Great War, from La Fayette to the heroes of Bir Hakeim, from Delacroix's "Liberty" guiding the People to the imposing statue that stands proudly at the entrance to New York harbor.

Freedom, the fundamental pillar of France, is the first value of our civilization.

The counterpart of freedom in an ordered society is responsibility.

Freedom is not license for anarchy, it is not the freedom of the fox in the henhouse; it is not the freedom of the strongest to impose its laws on the weakest; it is neither laissez-faire nor laissez-passer.

Lacordaire put it this way "between the strong and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between the master and the servant, it is freedom that oppresses and the law that sets free."

There is no freedom without the State and the first condition of freedom is a judge of peace called the State and called the law.

This freedom, whose sacred letters we have chosen to engrave on the pediments of our public buildings, is never to be taken for granted.

It is a permanent struggle, every day, every moment, at and in all times.

How many French people have shed their blood on the battlefields, in the trenches or on the barricades so that we can enjoy it today?

Because many believed that freedom was a natural, obvious, unshakeable good, many have forgotten to cherish it.

However, if we dare lower our attention, there is always someone lurking, some contemporary feudal lord, some

powerful entity, some authoritarian forces, to attack it; and let's admit it, we all feel that it is threatened today: when censorship is in the air, when only certain clientelist votes are cast, when grandparents are deprived of the right to see their children and grandchildren or children are prevented from accompanying their parents in their last moments; when patients are refused entry to hospitals because they are not vaccinated; when adolescents are vaccinated in spite of their parents' opposition.

If Saturday after Saturday, hundreds of thousands of people take to the streets and chant "freedom", it is because there is social unrest that must be heard.

These great demonstrations that animate our streets since the pension reform or the Yellow Vests deserve better than condescension of those in power, governmental invectives or defamation by the state.

There is nothing more odious than contempt of those in power; and of course, if we all agree that the street does not rule the country, there is nothing more undemocratic than to ignore great popular movements.

Yet this is precisely what this arrogant government and president are doing.

Today, the government is imposing on all French adults and soon even on children a sanitary pass which, in reality, is a vaccination pass.

This is a disproportionate attack on freedom, and it is also an attack on the equality of the French people when some are subjected to a very real and unjustified social banishment.

We have always said it: we are against the sanitary pass and we have of course voted against it in the National Assembly.

Let us be clear, and this is perhaps what separates us from the more radical positions, we are not against vaccination but for freedom of vaccination.

Everyone must have the freedom to choose with their conscience and responsibility to be vaccinated or not.

Each person must be able to determine the benefit/risk balance through free and informed consent, as prescribed by the principles that have always prevailed in France and in human health systems.

And prior to this principle, every French person must have access to quality care.

This implies that our healthcare system should have the means to carry out its mission. With this in mind, we understand and share the anger of our compatriots residing in our overseas territories.

The freedom of the patient goes alongside the freedom of a doctor to prescribe, this freedom that ideological approaches or technocratic diktats of the ARS have called into question.

This is what freedom and responsibility are about.

And let's not forget the practical consequences of this sanitary pass and the emergence of a society of surveillance of all upon all, a society where suspicion of one's neighbor is encouraged and even reporting him.

Who would have thought this possible when Mr. Macron in 2017, all smiles, promised us kindness and goodwill?

This society of profiling and surveillance is not the society of freedom that we want.

As if there were not already enough fractures running through our society, the government has divided, by strategy or method, France in two; two sides that oppose each other in a climate that some are keen to exaggerate.

And as if Covid had to continue to raise the question of freedom because the sovereignty of States is to nations what freedom is to the individual, the European Union has taken advantage of the health crisis to usurp the competence in health matters to the detriment of the States.

With dramatic results, a total fiasco: opacity of contracts, unknown responsibility clauses, long delays, lies and manipulations.



There is a principle that has been imposed, especially after the war, which is the principle of "the right of peoples to self-determination".

Why should this principle be applied everywhere and be denied to the French people?

Well, in the name of freedom, in the name of respect for peoples, in the name of the efficiency that implies that one is never defended better as by oneself, we demand for the French people the inalienable right to self-determination.

This is why, elected President of the French Republic, in solidarity with the many countries within the EU who are partisans of sovereignty and who are finding it increasingly difficult to bow to the dictatorship of Brussels, we will give power back to the nations in the European institutions.

We will reinstate the principle of bilateral relations, meaning the relations between two states.

We are big enough not to need intermediaries to negotiate on our behalf.

We will recognize the right of each state to assert its national interest and its freedom of decision and the free choice for each one to participate or not in major European cooperation projects.

We will put an end to this insane technocratic dictatorship which imposes, threatens, normalizes, punishes and, in doing so, is programming and organizing the destruction of our nation states.

We will also refuse the diktats of international judges who want to impose their laws on nation states and their people against their will.

Nor will we accept the illegitimate injunctions of the NGOs that set themselves up as moral authorities and soon as the controlling authority of the nation states.

Why bicker about leaving such international bodies, such treaties, when it suffices, and this will be the case with the referendum on immigration that I will submit to the people as soon as I am elected, to reaffirm the superiority of our Constitution, and to engrave in our supreme text that no international or foreign decision can be imposed upon the French people when these measures are contrary to their sovereign will.

There is no need to deny our signatures; international decisions contrary to a constitutional principle will simply remain unapplied.

It is also by virtue of the right of the French people to control their own destiny that we will leave the integrated command of NATO, because this structure perpetuates the bellicose and anachronistic logic of the Cold War blocs.

We have little to do in a military organization with improbable allies, such as Erdogan's Islamist Turkey; in this disastrous political association, dishonorable compromises with the Taliban have led to the shameful collapse of Afghanistan.

Elected President of the Republic, France will freely decide on the wars or military interventions that it accepts to carry out based on its national interest.

No one can make us engage in wars that are contrary to the stability of the world.

No more French people will die in wars that are not ours!

We will finally put back in their rightful place these gigantic private monopolies that are the GAFAM who defy States by installing digital or economic powers that are supranational.

Imagine that Elon Musk, crushing everything with his power and his arrogance, believing that the world is his playground, now explains that competition concerns only the weak.

For a long time, it was believed that a dictatorial power could only emanate from a State, but we are gradually becoming aware that monopolistic capitalism bears the seeds of

totalitarian power, which could tomorrow control people and Nation States.

It is still time to act.

In addition to the right of people to self-determination, we intend to assert the right of the French people to remain themselves.

At a time when the European Union wants to take over the competence in matters of immigration, with the New Pact on Immigration and Asylum, to impose compulsory relocation of millions of migrants, to control the States in the processing of asylum cases, to impose new immigration channels or to prevent deportations, we must reaffirm the freedom of the French people, our freedom, to decide who enters and who stays in our country and under what conditions!

Elected President of the Republic, especially in matters of immigration, we will not let anyone decide for us and certainly not against us !

By means of a referendum that I have already announced, I will submit the complete draft bill directly to the French people so that they can finally decide on all the matters related to immigration policies!

From the criteria for entering and staying in France to the conditions for acquiring and losing nationality, from the conditions for granting or withdrawing granted social rights, it is you who will decide!

In addition, no one will be able to prevent the French Republic from reconquering neighborhoods that our adversaries have resigned themselves to considering "lost", these narco-cities or these Talibanized zones in France.

In France, there will be no other laws than those of the French!

But freedom, my friends, this beautiful principle, this "freedom which guides our steps" to take back the beautiful words of the patriotic song that we owe to the brother of the poet Chénier to glorify the courage of our soldiers on their way to the battle field, Freedom is only an void principle when it does not comprise all different aspects of Freedom ! That is why my friends, we are entering this campaign under the slogan where Freedom is used in plural sense in French "Libertés, Libertés cheries!" (Freedoms, cherished freedoms) More than a slogan, it is a real commitment.

People of France, with me, you will have a State that will cherish and protect your Freedoms.

I will be the president of French Freedom.

And believe me, this will change everything.

I will re-establish political freedom with the right for each French citizen, whatever his or her opinion, to be represented by means of a fair, pluralist and proportional electoral system, to be able to express themselves regularly by means of referendums that I will submit to them regarding major issues that will determine our future, to be able to take the initiative by means of a citizen's initiative referendum, in other words, to be once again totally involved in public decision-making.

And because the people of France will have used their freedom to decide, I will make it my duty to apply their decision.

The fraudulent cancellation of the 2005 referendum, this misuse of democracy, will never happen again.

The sovereignty of the people is not only their freedom to decide, but it is also the obligation to apply their decisions.

As far as trade unions are concerned, I will establish freedom by opening up free candidacies for professional elections.

I will strengthen the freedom of expression of ordinary citizens by encouraging the creation, on a European scale, of a free social network where, unlike the sometimes infamous Gafam, the principle will be freedom.

The control (of these social networks) will not be arbitrary, but judicial.

At the same time, I will reinforce the freedom of information by privatization of the public audiovisual, all whilst preserving of course the public audiovisual means for our overseas territories and to make France's voice heard in the world.

We will protect cultural creation and we will have at heart to support young creators, often deprived of support and networks, to revitalize French artistic creation.

In the same spirit, faced with the threats of new times, we will protect individual freedoms, particularly digital freedom, by guaranteeing the protection of personal data.

Hervé Juvin often reminds us of the well-known phrase "if it's free, it's because you're the product", and we don't want the French to be products for GAFAM without their consent or against their will.

Elected President, I will guarantee freedom of movement to all.

And the freedom to move around is obviously the freedom to do so at a reasonable price.

As such, the nationalization of highways will stop the inflation of toll prices.

In the same way, the massive increases of fuel prices must be halted.

Finally, for students and young workers, rail travel outside of rush hours shall be free.

Our students and young workers will thus see their purchasing power increase by travelling in seats that otherwise remain empty.

I will strengthen the freedom of enterprise by putting the State in the right place, that is to say, a State that frees companies from the constraints of absurd norms and regulations, from abusive positions, from unfair international competition, from unacceptable banking requirements or denials, from legal insecurity.

The strategic State, as we conceive it, must understand, accompany and help companies, not hinder them.

There is no State for the sake of the State, there is a State to serve the Nation and therefore to serve its vital forces.

And this State, which is above all the sovereign State, has as its first duty the security of all, because without security, there is no freedom.

Péguy wrote in 1905:

"order, and order alone, ultimately makes freedom.  
Disorder makes servitude".



This is why we will restore security.

The freedom to come and go, and we see this every day, depends on a return to public tranquility, will be guaranteed by a total revision of penal policy.

There will be no place in France where the law will not apply.

We will eradicate gangs, mafias and all those who, Islamists or not, want to impose rules and ways of life that are not ours, from neighborhoods.

In France, the people of France have the right to live the French way.

Delinquents will be put out of action: French delinquents will be put in prison, foreigners will be put on a plane.

We will put an end to the constraints of avoidance that the honest citizen has adopted, sometimes without even realizing it and today even without being scandalized by it, as if it were normal: travel in transport with eyes downcast, avoiding to meet anyone's eyes, sinking into their clothes so as not to be seen, isolating oneself with headphones to disappear from the list of targets, walking with haste in the corridors of a train or metro station to avoid being taken aside, going home by looking over one's shoulder, changing the sidewalk, avoiding certain streets.

The women who live these permanent avoidance strategies internalize either their revolt or have resigned to their fate.

We will re-establish the freedom of women and girls to move around without being bothered or threatened, in skirts or dresses if they wish, at any time of the day or night, in any neighborhood, in any café.

The freedom is not only physical, but also moral.

The freedom to move in the public space is effective only if it can be carried out in conditions of sufficient serenity and tranquility.

As far as women are concerned, this freedom is too often hindered by this insidious and unbearable form of violence, which is becoming endemic: street harassment with sexual connotations.

This must become a criminal offense, and no longer just a fine with aggravated circumstances if committed by a group.

This behavior is a warning signal to be taken very seriously.

This is why, under my presidency, persons convicted of these acts qualified as public sexual harassment by the Penal Code will be registered in the file of criminals and sexual offenders.

The same will be done for those who promote sexual crimes and offences.

Everyone must be able to live freely!  
To be free is to go wherever you want whenever you want!

This freedom, this every-day freedom, this essential freedom for us women, we will restore it.

To be free, implicates that all the young girls forcibly locked up in communitarianism or under the threat of honor crimes, have the right to be themselves and to live the French way.

The abominable ordeal of the young Shaina, 15 years old, raped, beaten for having gone to the police, then stabbed and burned by barbarians with a mentality of another aera, is not a just news item but an alarm signal for our national community.

This appalling case is proof of the pressure on young girls in some neighborhoods of our country today.  
"It's like in Afghanistan," said her mother.

**BUT, we are in France!!!**

Can you hear, my friends, the deafening silence of the so-called feminists?

These young girls, these women, we will free them from this revolting obscurantist yoke, and these Taliban from within, we will send them back home!

I say it in a very firm and serene way, those who wish to establish a state religion which would impose its diktat on society, they have not understood the heart of France.

We will not allow reverting back to criminalizing blasphemy.

With all due respect for all religions, they are, for a secular state like the French Republic, but an opinion.

As such, in France, religions must be able to suffer criticism.

Freedom of expression is indeed a French freedom and even a very French one.

The only freedom for those who contest this is to go and live elsewhere.

In schools, we must restore the freedom of teachers, the freedom to transmit knowledge, to teach our culture, our values and that critical mind which, throughout their lives, makes individuals capable of thoughtful reflection and choice.

It is this message of freedom, freedom of expression and intellectual freedom, that Samuel Paty wanted to teach his students.

The cowardice of his hierarchy and the cowardice of politicians lead to him paying for this with his life.

His martyrdom must not be in vain and calls us to react.

As long as it respects the principles of republican secularism, public order and the freedom of others, I will guarantee freedom of worship, I will severely punish attacks against processions like the one in Paris on May 29 and, in a relentless manner, the desecrations of places of worship, churches, temples, synagogues or mosques, which tend to be rising, just like the abject desecrations of cemeteries.

Freedom is also the freedom to live with dignity from one's work, to start a family or to be able to build up and pass on one's fruits of life's labor.

These concerns are part of my presidential project and will be part of my mandate.

The reduction of taxation of inheritance and donations will aim to allow the French to pass on their assets in a fair manner.

Transmission, an essential element of the link between generations, has been scorned for decades.

It comprises of course the transmission of our intangible heritage, but also of our material heritage.

This will be a priority of my five-year term, because the French people must maintain ownership of these heritages.

You know it dear friends, I will have the opportunity during the next months to develop my program resumed under the triptych protection, projection, transmission.

You understand with the examples I have just given you, how fragile freedom is, how demanding it is, and how much effort and sacrifice is required to regain it when it is altered, challenged, compromised.

Winston Churchill, who led his country against totalitarianism, often used this phrase, which can be a reminder for some of us today:

"We owe our freedom to men who do not bend, kneel, or yield."

Well my friends, believe me,  
As President of the Republic, faced with those who want to attack our freedoms, French freedoms, I shall not bend, I shall not kneel, I shall not yield.

This beautiful banner of freedom will be brandished throughout the campaign and beyond, throughout the five-year term.

I want to implement this strong ambition with all those who, like us, consider that there is no more noble and just cause

than the struggle for freedom, the freedom of one's country, of one's people, of humankind.

This is why I call on them to join us so that overcoming our individual susceptibilities, our origins, our backgrounds, we become the defenders of a free France and a free world.

In this way, we will reconnect with this eminently French passion that has forged who we are and will protect generations to come.

This fight must no longer be that of a party but of the country.

My approach, as you can understand, requires me today to leave partisan logic behind and to be able to address even more freely our compatriots, our loyal voters of course, whom I hold dear to my heart, but also all the French people who may have made different choices in the past, and others who may have drifted away from public affairs.

I wish to associate all French people with our project of national recovery.

This is why, as I announced at the Perpignan Congress, I have decided to leave the presidency of our movement.

During these past ten years, we have worked a lot, we have evolved a lot, we have progressed a lot and we have become a party of government.

The French people will see this and measure it by the quality of our proposals and the solidness of my project.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for your courage, your tenacity and the energetic intelligence you have shown over the years.

We can be proud of the work accomplished, even if, given the state of the country and the urgency, there is still so much to do.

We will continue together on this path until April, since you will do me the honor of supporting my candidacy.

I would like to warmly thank you in advance.

In accordance with our statutes, which provide that the first vice-chair shall assume the chairmanship, and following the will of our members who placed him at the top of the votes in our internal election, it is Jordan Bardella's turn to take over the leadership of the Rassemblement National.

I see this as a magnificent symbol for our movement, the mark of the confidence we have in the youth of France to engage in the recovery of the country, the testimony of our



confidence in the future, of our ability to bring out a new elite for the country.

The message we want to convey, as you have understood, is a call to hope because we have faith in the genius of our people and in the untamable energy of its children.

Because "Franc" means "free", and because France is, by essence, by temperament, by history, the Nation of free men, we will walk in the footsteps of those who have made it a great country, a country united by its values, proud to bear them, and determined to defend them.

In this world where the shadows of totalitarianism and obscurantism loom at large, may we fill the air with the powerful spirit of freedom.

for France, needing it so much  
for the subjugated Europe, awaiting it  
for the world, longing for it  
Long live Freedom!  
Long live the Republic!  
Long live France!