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**(FOUO 12/79)**

**1 OF 1**

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JPRS L/8282

20 February 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE  
(FOUO 12/79)



WEST



EUROPE



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SECRET SUMMIT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

We Should Not Have Killed Moro

From PANORAMA in Italian 21 Nov 78 pp 44-47

[Article by Pino Buongiorno]

[Text] In a secret summit in Yugoslavia, whose actions are disclosed here by PANORAMA, the representatives of terrorism in nine countries, including the Red Brigades, have held a meeting for self-criticism. They came up with a new coordinated world strategy.

It began with a brief, moving tribute to the memory of "Comrade" Waddih Haddad, chief of "Special Operations" for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who died last March of cancer in an East Berlin hospital and is now regarded as the "brains" of international terrorism.

It concluded with warm embracing and a battle cry in unison, with clenched fists raised on high: "Onward in the struggle for the world's liberation from imperialism."

Between the invocation and the farewells there were 12 hours of uninterrupted discussion: profound analysis of the more spectacular revolutionary activities, first place being given to the Via Fani Massacre and the assassination of Aldo Moro, chairman of the Christian Democrats, by the Red Brigades; a coldblooded resume of the successes and failures of recent years, a critical review of a number of outmoded theories, and a mapping of the most incisive sort of revolutionary plans.

It was a summit of Terrorism International. A decisive meeting for revolutionary organizations all over the world, which, as secret theoretical statements have indicated from time to time, are faced with a new phase of "popular warfare" 10 years after the first revolutionary shots were fired.

PANORAMA is now in the position to disclose the entire agenda of this top secret summit, which could mark a turning point in the escalation of terrorism; these agenda are frequently harsh and inflammatory, as are the

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political and military decisions. This reconstruction is based on information gathered from informants of the Palestinian resistance in Beirut and Baghdad and a lengthy report (nine pages typewritten in Arabic) that one of the participants in the meeting wrote up in a form closely resembling minutes. PANORAMA has gained possession of this report, which is an exclusive for PANORAMA, the Palestinian ALQODS PRESS of Beirut and AL WATAN, a Kuwait daily.

First merely conjectured as a theory, then gradually confirmed by the report of various terrorists that had been taken prisoner, there is not only a theoretical but an operational collaboration (involving mutual support and joint action) between the various clandestine groups of international terrorists, for which the summit meeting provides incontestable proof.

Convened on 1 October in a small village of Yugoslavia, just a few miles from the Italian border (the name of the place is veiled in absolute secrecy), the summit meeting brought together nine representatives of well-known revolutionary organizations. In order to enter Yugoslavia quietly and avoid the surveillance of international security agencies, the nine revolutionaries touched down at ports and airports halfway around the world, taking long, tortuous routes. For example, the Palestinian who participated in the meeting left Beirut by auto, traveled to Algiers, took a plane to Paris. After a brief stopover in the French capitol, he took a train and motorcar to the secret location.

All of the delegates used code names and met in a small apartment rented in advance, carrying on most of the discussion in English with a considerable admixture of French and Spanish. In addition to the Palestinian, who belonged to an extremist group not affiliated with Yasser Arafat's PLO, there were representatives of the Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua, a Japanese representative of the Red Army, a German from the Red Army Faction, an Irish representative of the IRA, an Algerian, a Spaniard and an Argentine of unidentified affiliations--and of course a delegate of the Red Brigades. The latter's code name was Stefano, a tall, athletic, vivacious cultured person.

At the center of attention were the Red Brigades and their sensational project of last 16 March. As came out almost immediately, in one of the first discussions, the summit had importance as an occasion to analyze the Moro incident from both its political and its military aspects. One question that was put by the Argentine delegate, Rodolfo, was this: "To what extent does a guerilla activity such as that of the Red Brigades come close to a full-scale revolution?"

After very lively discussion of this, the final decision was highly critical of the Red Brigades and Italian terrorism in general. "When revolutionary organizations engage in activities such as the kidnaping and murder of Moro," noted the Algerian representative, Bakr, "then they are getting ahead of

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themselves and are in danger of blowing the whole thing. This is what happened in Uruguay with the Tupamaros, and that is what is happening in Italy with the Red Brigades."

Why? The response, which was freely admitted to be sensational, came from Stefano himself. "Italy," he said at a certain point, "is a republic of such an open nature that it is easy for us to hit anyone, when and where we wish. It frequently gives the impression of being shattered and on the brink of disaster. But this is only a surface impression. Even after Moro's execution the country gave evidence of real stability and self-control. The political consequences of the anti-Moro action were fully exploited by the Communists and the Christian Democrats in such a way that the regime was not weakened in any way."

When this type of self-criticism was applied to the situation in Nicaragua, the representative of the Sandinista Army joined in, adding that as far as his organization was concerned "there was inadequate reaction by the masses to the high military level of the army, so that the power of Dictator Anastasio Somoza remained for all purposes intact."

Both the action of the Red Brigades against Moro and that of "Commander Cero" who occupied the Nicaraguan Chamber of Deputies and held the legislators hostage, were regarded as "ahead of schedule." Commented Rodolfo, the Argentine, "It is this type of operation that confirms world opinion as to our being just terrorists."

Even though more than one person remembered the famous saying of the Brazilian commando, Carlos Marighella--"To be a terrorist in our day is something that brings honor to anyone fighting for what is good"--the nine commandoes declared agreement that a revolutionary movement must be created that is linked to the masses. "Terrorism is not our way, but that of imperialism, and we have nothing to do with terrorism," said Rodolfo. "We are not mercenaries or janissaries of the revolution. We are revolutionaries of a given country, seeking to inflict wounds on imperialism wherever we are. It is our job to ignite revolution and lead it on to victory. Igniting revolution is a profession, after all."

To keep from making mistakes at a time when the situation threatens to become bottled up, caused as much as anything by the "personalism of Carlos," that invincible hero of some of the most sensational terrorist activities in recent years, which, as has been claimed by the Palestinian Qassim, "could very well transform the revolutionary left into a cult of personality, almost another Che Guevera but lacking his theorizing talents and his capacity as a man of action," the moment has come, according to this council of international terrorism that met in Yugoslavia, to begin establishing some cardinal principles and to have two "control mechanisms" for commando activities. "Only thus," the various delegates stated, "will it be possible in the near future to decide who the true revolutionaries are, and who are merely simple terrorists."



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The first principle is that defined as the "double system." This calls upon the organizations to balance their technical preparation against their ability to control the results of their attacks on the state. "Otherwise," Rodolfo maintained, "we can introduce into the political arena certain forces that are extraneous to the revolutionary movement, such as the secret services or the reactionaries, such as has happened in Italy after Moro was killed. The action of the Brigades was perfected and highly advanced at the military level, while its political effects were to virtually turn people against the Red Brigades. Besides provoking a wave of arrests, the operation was not operative in the choice of occasions, in evaluation of the sociopolitical situation, or in the matter of managing its effects."

A second principle is that which might be called "the autonomous revolutionary capacity." According to the technical standards of the group of commandoes who met in Yugoslavia, every organization must have "a capacity to make autonomous political decisions and to put them into effect," to have "its own financial and military resources," to be "independent of other forces within and outside the country in which it is operating, but not to be independent of the masses." In this sense, the Red Army Faction man suggested, "It would be useful to continue the seizure of well-known politicians or rich businessmen in order to provide for a self-supporting organization. But these operations should not become an objective that is politically justified on the premise of confiscating money to give to an exploited and oppressed populace."

For participants at the terrorist summit there is one other risk that should not be run: that of thinking that "a second Vietnam" is possible. Said the representative of the Japanese Red Army, internationalizing any domestic revolution, as happened in Vietnam, is impossible, since today the world situation is characterized by a peaceful coexistence between the United States and the USSR. It is true that the Soviets give support for reinforcing revolutionary enterprises, but such assistance will arrive only when the internal warfare has already been decided, never as an impetus that influences the victory in question."

So what will happen in the coming months? The nine commandoes arrived at a unanimously approved decision. With respect to the summit meeting held in West Germany in 1975, which established "the unity of revolutionary forces against the united forces of imperialism" (in this sense, the kidnaping of OPEC conference participants at Vienna on 21 December 1975 was a practical application of this theory, with the direct participation of commandoes coming from a variety of countries but under the leadership of Carlos), the Yugoslav summit moved to adopt a new principle that might be defined as "simultaneous revolutionary effort." The idea is to strike at the same targets in several countries at the same time. This way, according to the nine terrorists, not only will the principal enemy of the "proletarian revolution" be made fully visible to everyone, bringing the hesitant and uncommitted into the conflict, but contact will be maintained with the

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masses. Furthermore it will be possible to make available "for the benefit of the revolution" the high military-technical capacity that "organizations such as the Red Brigades have already demonstrated to the entire world." Here is a development of unforeseeable consequences.

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Yugoslav Trail

Milan PANORAMA in Italian 28 Nov 78 p 60

[Article by Pino Buongiorno]

[Text] After PANORAMA's disclosures, all the counterespionage centers are on the alert.

Dozens of "operative agents" have been set loose in Europe. The most reliable "sources" have been "sensitized" in the Middle East. All of the counterespionage centers in Italy have been put in a state of alert, especially on the northeast frontier. The collaboration of friendly secret service organizations has been requested.

After last week's disclosures by PANORAMA on a summit of nine "delegates" of worldwide terrorist organizations, including the Red Brigades, a meeting held in early October in Yugoslavia, in a village thus far unidentified close to the Italian border, the two new espionage and counterespionage agencies, SISDE [Intelligence for Democratic Security] SISMI [Intelligence Service for Military Security] have gone to work on the case.

The agency heads have a dossier of evidence on their desks. This contains a tip-off supplied to them in mid-October by a Western European secret service agency. This report, while vague and defective, does indicate that "representatives of various terrorist organizations will meet in early October at the border between a socialist and a capitalist country." A quick investigation made at the time did not uncover anything to verify this "rumor," merely indicating that "the scope of the investigation is too extensive."

Now, in the light of new factors, better success is hoped for. "We have also requested the assistance of the Yugoslavs," an official of the secret services told PANORAMA. "Not only are we trying to find the place where the meeting was held, but also to identify who participated, especially the Italian representative of the Red Brigades."

The earliest reactions of the Yugoslav administration were negative, at times indignant. "Utter nonsense," was the reaction of Mirko Kalezic, official spokesman of the Belgrade government to the information gathered by PANORAMA from qualified and highly reliable sources in the Palestinian resistance movement in Beirut and Baghdad. Kalezic himself stated that

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"the terrorists have never held their meetings on Yugoslav territory and never will."

These statements were probably prompted by the fear of being involved with international terrorism, even though the minutes of the summit, written in Arabic, which fell into the hands of PANORAMA at Beirut, are quite clear in explicitly affirming "the meeting was held secretly and was of course unknown to the Yugoslav authorities."

But there are also denials that obviously contradict recent events in which Yugoslavia was a major participant. In May of this year, for example, an arrest was made at Zagabria, on a tip-off by the German police, of four young men accused of being RAF terrorists (who were suddenly set free on Friday, 17 November). On the occasion of the arrests the German authorities disclosed that "these four were setting up a secret conference on terrorism."

Furthermore, Italian Interior Minister Virginio Rognoni, on an official visit to Belgrade 3 and 4 November, confirmed the report that Yugoslavia is the preferred hiding place for terrorists. "One of the objectives of my trip," said Rognoni during an intermission in his meetings with his Yugoslav colleague Franjo Herljevic, "is to obtain data for putting together a kind of 'international map of terrorism,' which will take note of those countries where terrorism is most active and of those utilized as a staging area, support zone, or meeting place."

But in addition to the involvement of the Italian police, as well as other European police forces, in expeditiously blockading what is regarded as "one of the principal escape routes and thoroughfares taken by terrorists," the disclosure of the minutes of the Yugoslav summit permitted quite a number of scholars and military experts to get a clearer picture of connections between the various groups and to assemble new and very important data on the future plans of the terrorist movements. "First of all," says Luigi Bonanate, an international relations instructor at the University of Turin and editor of the forthcoming book, DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL TERRORISM, "on the basis of information reported by PANORAMA, the concept of the conspiratorial nature of international terrorism seems to fall into place. Actually, there would not seem to be any one center providing guidance for the various organizations in their respective countries, so much as there is a common ideology and a common enemy, imperialism, which acts as a cement for their coordination and unity."

According to other experts interviewed by PANORAMA, there is really nothing novel about the decisions made by the nine commando groups after they had established certain "control mechanisms" to guide future actions, when they adopted as a guiding principle that of "simultaneous revolution" (i.e., a coordination of simultaneous activities in several countries to achieve the same objectives), also identified in recent studies as "global terrorism." This is a strategy, it will be noted, which is almost inherent to the

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natural development of an armed struggle. The Red Brigades, for example, gave indications of this as early as 5 April, in a statement of its planning council dated February 1978, published together with Communique Number 4 on the kidnaping of Aldo Moro. The Red Brigades wrote at that time: "The Red Army faction in West Germany, the NAPAP in France, and those movements for autonomy which have social dimensions (the IRA and the ETA), by virtue of the fact that they occupy a common front and are attacking the respective national counterparts of the same enemy--the imperialist bourgeoisie--constitute undeniable reference points in our struggle, with respect to which it is necessary to develop, as much as is historically possible, a maximum of cooperation, mutual support and solidarity."

Having admitted that "this problem has been underestimated" thus far, the Red Brigades document concludes: "Political integration does not signify the internationalization of terrorism ... but signifies a constructive confrontation and a constant search for tactical and strategic plans on every terrain where the battle is taking place, thus strengthening the revolutionary efforts of European communist organizations."

The "brains" of the Red Brigades planning council were 9 months ahead of time in predicting what would happen at the Yugoslav summit in October--the common line to be adopted by international terrorism.

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FRANCE

PROFILES OF POTENTIAL POLITICAL LEADERS IN 1979

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 6-12 Jan 79 pp 47-49

[Article by Sylvie Pierre-Brossolette]

[Text] Behind the big leaders (Giscard, Chirac, Mitterrand, Marchais), behind the stars (Poniatowski, Lecanuet, Chaban, Mauroy, Rocard), 1979 will reveal some men with a future. Here L'EXPRESS presents four of them. The youngest is 32, the oldest 49.

Combret: Giscard's File

"That man at least will be a minister one day," Valery Giscard d'Estaing retorted sharply to a scoffer in 1974 who was making fun of the austere visage of Francois Ponge de Combret, one of Giscard's favored colleagues. 4 years later, on 30 November 1978, Combret became deputy secretary general of the Elysee Palace. All reports on internal policy matters must go through his turquoise-paneled office. The ministers have to get along with him. Now, at 37, he is one of the most powerful and one of the most played up to men in France.

"Instead of that, why not go to work for a while at the Rue de Rivoli?" suggested Lucien Paye, head of the Court of Accounts, to his first class official, Combret, who had come in to tell him of his intention to get out of government and go into private industry. The young ENA [National School of Administration] graduate hesitated, then agreed. The minister of finance at that time was no other than Giscard d'Estaing, whom Combret already admired. So, a little by chance, began a lengthy collaboration.

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Combret has every advantage to please his minister: from a good family, cultivated, reserved up to the point of being unobtrusive, his reliability and fidelity can meet any test. And his apparent lack of personal ambition was the best way of getting ahead with Giscard.

In May 1974, shut up in the heat of Paris, Combret slaved away, turning out miles and miles of speeches that his presidential candidate gave all throughout the four corners of France. When elected, Giscard brought Combret to the Elysee as a technical adviser. There, in a little, dark, and low-ceilinged office, he worked like a slave. With his face gray with fatigue, dark circles under his eyes which peered out from behind tortoise-shell glasses, Combret already reigned, but in the background, over a gigantic domain: industry, research, energy, commerce, artisans, agriculture, transportation, posts and telecommunications, territorial development. He didn't make just friends. Because he wanted to decide everything. And he can do it. His uncompromising nature led some industrial leaders to call him the "incompetent technocrat."

He has remained a technocrat. He could say, like the minister Pasquier, "I am a little like a file. The king opens me, consults me, and puts me back wherever I may be of use to him." He has become a politician. Every 2 weeks he takes part in the meeting of the Elysee, Matignon, and ministry of the interior top people. Every week, he directs the team of Elysee advisers, who have a vital role under Giscard. Every evening, at 1900, he goes over the situation with the chief of state, along with Jacques Wahl, secretary general of the Elysee.

The ministers are used to seeing the deputy secretary general arrive in the courtyard of the ministry on his blue and white bicycle. They know that from now on they will have to be dealing with this 1.86-meter tall athlete, a man who turns down all invitations to Paris dinners and on weekends plays soccer with the Elysee staff.

Lajoinie: Marchais's Peasant

On 10 September 1978, at 2000 hours, television viewers discovered a new face. The face of the communist Andre Lajoinie, who had just given the closing speech at the HUMANITE fete at La Courneuve. This is an altar at which the great men of the French Communist Party are consecrated.

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Andre Lajoinie

On 15 December 1978, facing Jean-Francois Poncet, the new minister of foreign affairs, appearing at the National Assembly for the first time, it was Lajoinie who, speaking for his group, denounced the Common Market expansion. On 29 December, it was again Lajoinie, along with Charles Fiterman, who represented the PCF at Boumediene's funeral, with whom the French communists had been on excellent terms. Already the rumor was circulating in party circles that this trusted adviser of Georges Marchais might reach the party secretariat, the communist holy of holies, by April. And that in June he might even lead the PCF slate for the European elections.

At the start of the career of this 49-year old Correze farmer was a bludgeoning and a firm friendship with Waldeck Rochet. The bludgeon attack came in July 1958, during a demonstration against the Algiers Public Safety Committee, and left him knocked out on the Brive pavement. After recovering from surgery, he decided to get more deeply involved in the party, of which he had already been an active member for 10 years.

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He first became party administrator, then federal secretary for Correze. There he was discovered by Waldeck Rochet who brought him with him to Paris in 1964. In 1972 he joined the Central Committee; 4 years later, at the 22nd Congress, he came into the Politburo, where he took charge of the agricultural sector. In 1978, the party offered him a "concrete district," the third district in the Allier. This seat let him become the real boss of the parliamentary group, while waiting to be president in title, replacing Robert Ballanger.

"To Live in the Country"

In the PC, people are now saying "Lajoinie is Waldeck." The same peasant origins, the same stubbornness, the same good-natured appearance, the same convictions: a marxism tempered with the salt of French popular culture.

Lajoinie borrowed from Provençal the saying "to live and work in the country," making it the byword of the party. He was the one who patiently moved the party away from agricultural collectivism to defend a policy of family run farms, guaranteeing small landholdings. Right before the legislative elections, he was one of the few communist leaders invited to a "capitalist" table: in this case, by Credit Agricole. For if the left had won, he stood good chances of being given the portfolio of agriculture.

If the PC one day decides to go back to the Union of the Left, Lajoinie will be one of those who will renew the ties with the socialists.

Toubon: Chirac's Hussard

"I'm going to resign. What do you plan to do?" "Stay with you." This scene took place in July 1976 at the Hotel Matignon. Jacques Toubon immediately decided to put an end to his administrative career in order to accompany Jacques Chirac in his crossing of the desert.

Today, Toubon is 37 years old and is still unknown to the general public, but he holds a key position in the RPR (Rally for the Republic). The deputy secretary general of the movement, responsible for elections, he has just been named head of the powerful Federation of Paris, with its 20,000 members, 17 deputies, and five senators.

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Why this new promotion? "Only Chirac himself can have authority over personalities who have been elected for 20 years and who are loaded with Gaullist credentials," explains Toubon. "But when I speak, everybody knows that in reality it is Chirac talking."

Toubon is the most faithful of the faithful. The head of the RPR has total confidence in him. And this has been so since 1970. Chirac was then looking, on behalf of the Claude Pompidou Foundation, of which he was treasurer, for an ENA-trained sub-prefect who would be willing to be president of the Foundation. Toubon was suggested. The young government secretary of state and the young sub-prefect haven't left each other's side since then.

Untiring, somewhat cynical, Toubon is ready to do anything so that the RPR president will one day be settled in at the Elysee. So he shows no mercy to those who drag their feet or create difficulties. "We no longer have the Elysee or Matignon, or the government," he says. "We just have to tighten the screws even harder."

Right after the campaign for the presidency of the National Assembly, in which the Chirac candidate, Edgar Faure, was defeated, Toubon pleaded unsuccessfully for the exclusion of Alain Peyrefitte, accused of having "ostensibly campaigned" for Chaban-Delmas. A bout to be continued later?

Toubon plays two vital roles in the RPR: heading the federations, the strike force of the movement; and preparing for elections, in close liaison with Pierre Juillet and Marie-France Garaud. In the most recent legislative elections, the RPR kept a gold-edged district for him in Lyons, the Louis Joxe district, but Chirac had to "offer" it to Raymond Barre. Toubon had to settle for being the substitute for Nicole de Hauteclocque in the 15th arrondissement in Paris. A seat that is being kept quite warm for him.

For the moment, Toubon is working on the 1979 elections -- the cantonal elections first of all. There are two important races: Calvados, where the Giscard party may take the presidency of the general council from the RPR; and Correze, Chirac's own fief, which is being threatened by the left.

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### The Fight

But he is mainly getting ready for the big clash in June, the European elections. Toubon expects to see in the majority forces an even harsher battle than the one fought for the mayoralty of Paris in 1977. That doesn't bother him. This time, he knows, the RPR may lose. So what!

"If we fail, we will start over again," he says. Jacques Toubon likes fighting. With Chirac, he gets his fill.

### Fabius: Mitterrand's Favorite

"Do you know who expresses my ideas best? Laurent Fabius!" Francois Mitterrand says. In a record time, this recent socialist convert has become, at the age of 32, the favorite adviser of the first secretary, his man of confidence, and one of the most often heeded spokesmen of the PS [Socialist Party].



Laurent Fabius

In mid-October the National Assembly was completing its discussion of the budget. The deputies were yawning, listening to the droning of the speakers. Michel Rocard was expected to speak for the PS. But it was Fabius who mounted to the podium.

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He spoke in measured tones, with politeness and self-confidence. The parliamentarians, though quite blase, perked up their ears to listen to this young man from a good family, speaking with the most perfect urbaneness, attack the government. They saw the slim figure of this newcomer, elegant and nonchalant, standing with a red folder that he didn't even bother to open. They were attracted by the clarity of his speech which, some say, recalls the clarity of the speeches of Giscard d'Estaing when he was minister of finance. And they were surprised by the severity of the charges leveled by this son of a leading Parisian antique dealer.

"I Feel Quite Ecumenical"

Fabius learned the art of handling figures and ideas in the best schools, at the ENS Advanced Teacher Training School and at the ENA. He could have had a university career. But he preferred the Council of State. In 1976, barely 2 years after he joined the Socialist Party, he became the head of Mitterrand's cabinet. And with Jacques Attali, his economic adviser. The first secretary valued his capacity for work, his gifts for synthesis. Who studied difficult reports for him? Fabius. Who accompanied him on his visit to the Elysee after the elections? Fabius once again.

Fabius, the man of reports, the office man, in March 1978 was given a position by the voters. He replaced a noted figure from Seine-Maritime in a sure district. There he stood, the well born technocrat, a bit of a fashion-plate, with the communist Roland Leroy, the deputy from the neighboring district, campaigning outside of factory gates. In short, the expert had become a politician.

Trained inside the Mitterrandist circle, he at first refused to take part in his party's internal quarrels. He spoke not a word in his statements against Michel Rocard or Pierre Mauroy. The socialists in the past had to pay the price of their divisions. They must, thinks Fabius, accept their diversity in order to preserve party unity. "I feel quite ecumenical," said Fabius with an innocent smile. But he added right away that his thoughts on the problem of trends within the party are basically the same as the first secretary's ideas. And along with other socialists of his generation, he signed an appeal for party unity, criticizing the ambitions of this or that person. An appeal whose conclusion leaves no room for

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ambiguity: Mitterrand is still the man who incarnates this unity. In the struggle for power, Fabius will be one of the first secretary's most active and most faithful supporters.

There is a great temptation for the first secretary to groom his successor himself, playing Fabius against Rocard. The former PSU [Unified Socialist Party] leader, now 48 years old, will seem quite "ancient" by 1988, people in the first secretary's entourage say with delight. For the time being, Fabius still refuses to take any part in these calculations. "The important things," he says, "have fallen to me by chance. But destiny is contained inside chance."

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FRANCE

MAUROY, ROCARD FORGE ANTI-MITERRAND POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 8 Jan 79 pp 28-29

[Article by Franz-Olivier Giesbert: "The Socialist Party, A Dislocated Team"]

[Text] Here he is alone, once more, on the fifth floor of the headquarters of the PS [Socialist Party], Place du Palais Bourbon [address], in his small office which looks out on the gardens of the French Ministry of Defense. Francois Mitterrand is getting ready for what will be one of the toughest fights of his political career. He knows that it is his control over the party which is at stake now. Mitterrand is going for broke.

With his taking stock over and over again, Francois Mitterrand retains a calm exterior for all that. "At the congress, CERES [Center for (Socialist) Studies, Research, and Education] will obtain 25 percent of the votes, Arthur Notebart 10 percent. It would be very surprising if I did not pull 16 percent." Figure it out: This adds up to a total of 51 percent. The deputy from Nievre Department [Mitterrand] concludes from this, scoffing, that Pierre Mauroy and Michel Rocard cannot bring together the majority of the party behind them. Why, then, grant concessions to them?

Francois Mitterrand was already making this projection when he believed that Pierre Mauroy, his number two man for the past 7 years, would end up willy-nilly coming back to his side. Mitterrand keeps him despite the "choice" of the Mayor of Lillie [Mauroy] who has decided to strike an agreement with Michel Rocard. It was last Wednesday [3 January 1979] at 1540 hours, when the third "conciliation" meeting of the PS executive began--this time in the absence of its first secretary--that things abruptly became clear.

"You were wrong in believing that I would go to sleep before you," Pierre Mauroy said right at the start to the followers of Francois Mitterrand. "Now tell us what is at the back of your minds. I note some deviations in your delcarations, a weakening in your position on Europe, for example. I still strongly advocate an accommodation with you, but I wonder whether you are not in the process of preparing an alliance with CERES. Frankly,

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for a few weeks now, because of the nationalist drawing back of the executive of the minority, because of its excessive dogmatism too, any understanding with it seems impossible to me."

A Twofold Logic

It was Lionel Jospin who spoke then in the name of the Mitterrand camp. He reiterated the formulas of the communique that he had before his eyes and that he read a few minutes later to the newsmen. Jospin said that it was necessary "to air" the discussion, that is, to open it up to the activists instead of "stifling" it. Most agreed. Then he added: "In the meantime what is a problem, Pierre Mauroy, are the positions of Michel Rocard, not those of CERES." A coincidence? On the same day LE MONDE published a very long statement by Jean-Pierre Chevenement [head of CERES] who, after treating Rocard as a "right winger" and many other things too, stretched out his hand to Francois Mitterrand. The Socialist Party has decidedly entered a period of great turbulence where all realignments have become possible.

How could the team which carried the "leading party of France" so far crack? Why this mess? Undoubtedly because, for the past few months, a twofold logic of rupture has been progressing among the Socialist. On one hand Francois Mitterrand, who is toying with the idea of running, if he has a chance, in the presidential election of 1981, unquestionably plans to retain control over the party apparatus and to lead its policy-making. On the other hand Michel Rocard, who nurses the same designs and who is underrepresented in the organs of the Socialist Party, wants to have greater influence in the future party leadership.

How about Pierre Mauroy? His heart has vacillated for a long time. On the economic plane he is close to Francois Mitterrand. An advocate of nationalization and planning, Mauroy is at times bothered by the "rigidity" of Rocard. Yes, but with Michel Rocard the Mayor of Lille has an old friendship going back 20 years and Mauroy shares the same convictions as Rocard on many other points. Both favor decentralization, are very pro-Europe, and they wish to see a great Socialist Party, less "electoral" but better ensconced among the working class and with closer ties to the labor unions.

Deliberately Messianic, Michel Rocard was determined to do everything in order to "adapt," as he calls it, the line of the Socialist Party. Pierre Mauroy, who is not ecumenical on his part, dreaded having a dispute with Francois Mitterrand. But when he grasped that Rocard would go all the way--even if he had to sacrifice his presidential ambitions by being in the minority, abruptly leaving his old friend alone with the Mitterrand men--well then the Mayor of Lille, who had acted as "arbiter," made up his mind.

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That is what underlay the other week the birth of the Mauroy-Rocard alliance. The two men decided, together with Gilles Martinet, Dominique Taddei, Françoise Gaspard, and others, to submit four working papers for the consideration of François Mitterrand and his allies. These were four papers supporting a pro-European position and advocating [industrial] self-management, which asked for a greater degree of "collegiality" in the Socialist Party. They were already beaten back by the Mitterrand camp on 20 December 1978.

Pierre Joxe said first: "What is significant in your papers is what is missing from them. For example, you mention not a word about United States imperialism. Regarding the nationalizations, you adopt a very restrictive position." Lionel Jospin then said: "When it is not banal what you say about our break with capitalism is in contradiction with our positions."

As for François Mitterrand he declared: "If you seek accommodation take good note that I do not want people to be able to write in the newspapers tomorrow that there is a Mitterrand position on one hand and a Mauroy-Rocard-Martinnet-Taddei position on the other. We are not at the same level." Everyone knew on that day that the outgoing majority of the PS executive would not agree on a position--at least initially.

Collection of Projects

What a proliferation now: Proposals are blooming all over, before the April 1979 party congress. On one hand the Mauroy-Rocard-Martinnet-Taddei bloc with the one and only paper advocating "unity, self-management, and Europe." Paradoxically on the other hand the Mitterrand faction is broken down into factions. First Louis Mermaz filed his draft in which he assumed the position of spokesman of Mitterrand-ist orthodoxy. On another level Lionel Jospin and Pierre Joxe presented a unity-oriented and pro-European paper, to be sure, but they were against an "alignement with a European Socialist Party." Jacques Delors in his paper stressed the overlaps among the factions rather than the divisions. The same goes for Charles-Emile Loo, who also called for accommodation. In short, there was a whole array of positions.

Is the outgoing majority of the PS dead for good? Not necessarily. While a rapprochement seems to be taking shape between François Mitterrand and CERES, it still remains possible that at the executive committee meeting of 11 February 1979 the first secretary might reach an understanding with Pierre Mauroy and Michel Rocard. At any rate, that is the wish of Gaston Defferre and of many followers of Mitterrand who do not envision without displeasure the prospect of being on the same team as Jean-Pierre Chevènement, even Arthur Notebart, the last orphan of the SFIO [French Section of the Workers International (French Socialist Party)].

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Finally, Pierre Mauroy is also on the same wavelength: "We do not have as many divergences with one another. The Epinay line? I am for it since I drafted it. The others seek only to mummify it. On my part I wish to adapt it. No, it will be necessary to continue the same majority around Francois Mitterrand. There is no other alternative." The congress will decide that.

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FRANCE

MITTERRAND PREPARING COUNTERATTACK AGAINST MAUROY, ROCARD

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 15 Jan 79 pp 22-23

[Article by Andre Lesueur]

[Text] Within the socialist party a style of iron handedness has replaced that of the bluff. Initially Messrs Francois Mitterrand, Pierre Mauroy and Michel Rocard had confined themselves to mutual intimidation. However as a result of a series of actions that have been taken by both sides the lines between the two camps have now been clearly drawn and a new stage has begun: a stage that is marked by the showing of force. There is a risk that this stage will last beyond the date of 12 February 1979 when a new meeting of the executive committee will record the receipt of "motions" for the Metz congress. (A "contribution" is a political statement preliminary to a congress and not submitted for a vote by the congress; "motions" on the other hand are voted on by the congress).

The two camps have adopted different tactics.

Messrs Pierre Mauroy and Michel Rocard, who are supported by the principal forces behind the "critical current" (Messrs Dominique Taddei, Gilles Martinet, Miss Francoise Gaspard), have chosen to unite behind a single contribution. On Wednesday a list was published of officials and members of parliament who have so far agreed to sign their position paper. The list contains 448 names including 39 deputies, 10 senators, 25 first secretaries of the federation, 55 members of the executive committee (out of 131), 11 members of the national secretariat and the executive office and 40 officials of other groups or sections in business.

The list is impressive by its length as well as by its representativeness. The signatures reflect support for their position from the majority of the large federations: the North, the Pas-de-Calais, all of the Brittany coalition, a good portion of the southwest, including Ariege, and the majority of the Paris region.

Messrs Mauroy and Rocard add that new support is appearing and that they will have more than 50 percent of the votes at the next congress.

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But on Thursday Mr Mitterrand's friends countered with an "appeal" for support for their first secretary. Published on Friday, it was signed by more than 500 officials. The list is just as impressive as the one offered by Messrs Mauroy and Rocard; it includes 38 deputies, 13 senators, 45 members of the executive committee, etc.

At the same time Mr Mitterrand was dispersing his forces behind a number of positions. This strategy appears to reflect the principle that the more teeth a comb has the more effective a job it can do.

Five contributions have emerged from Mr Mitterrand's actions:

The contribution submitted by Mr Lionel Jospin is supported by most of the faithful. It appears to express the personal views of the first secretary. The latter undoubtedly hopes that when the time comes it will be able to serve as a basis for a possible synthesis.

A second contribution was only signed by Mr Louis Mermez, an organization secretary and confidant of Mr Mitterrand. It is very much leftist oriented. Out of the experience of the Eastern countries, among others, Mr Mermez draws language that hardly differs from the "positive global balance" to which Mr Marchais frequently refers. This turn to the left, which has caused reactions even from Mr Mitterrand's entourage, is aimed at facilitating a possible future alliance between the latter group and the Ceres.

The contribution by Mr Gaston Defferre is an act of solidarity with the person of the first secretary (even though the name of the mayor of Marseille did not appear on the first appeal for support for Mr Mitterrand).

The contribution signed by Mr Jean-Paul Bachy, the national delegate for employment, along with 13 officials from the business sector, is an attempt to deny the Mauroy-Rocard bloc a monopoly over this sector. Mr Alain Rannou, the national official for this sector, is a close acquaintance of the deputy from Yvelines.

The last contribution, the principal signer of which is Mr Jaques Delors, does not emanate directly from Mr Mitterrand's circle. Taking the position that the present splits within the party are artificial, Mr Delors preaches, as he explains in an interview elsewhere in this issue of VALEURS ACTUELLES, a reconciliation for the majority of those who are leaving the socialist party.

Mr Delors' spontaneous step has not been disavowed by Mr Mitterrand. It is possible that the first secretary of the socialist party sees therein a means by which he can maintain a bridge between Mr Mauroy and himself.

The balance of forces between the two camps won't be firmly established until there is an end to the conflict that divides the Bouches-du-Rhone federation, the largest federation within the socialist party.

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The crux of the present situation is Marseille, according to one of Mr Pierre Mauroy's close associates.

The contribution signed by Mr Defferre has not led to unanimity in the Bouches-du-Rhone. Aside from the fact that they disapprove of Mr Mitterrand's shift to the left, a good many Marseille socialists are not ready to break their former solidarity with Mr Mauroy.

A group of people opposed to Mr Defferre has already clustered around a young lawyer by the name of Michel Pezet. Their numbers have even been strengthened by defections from the Marseille mayor's own camp. In fact Mr Charles-Emile Loo, a confidant of the mayor and national treasurer of the socialist party, felt it wise to issue a separate statement. In case of a test of strength there could be a joining of forces with those of Messrs Mauroy and Rocard.

But will this test of strength take place? Won't a solution be found at the Metz congress, or before, by which the three present leaders of the socialist party will emerge on the same team?

The contrary would be equivalent to collective suicide, remarks a national secretary.

The problem in the weeks ahead is thus to find out who will make the concessions. A commission of 12 members, under Mr Gerard Jaquet, has been formed to try to harmonize the positions. Mr Jaquet has no illusions about his chances for success unless some new element is injected into the problem.

Such a new element might be a concession by Mr Mitterrand to allow representation of minority currents within the new leadership. But to the extent that lobbying for votes is not yet over, such a move cannot be anticipated.

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FRANCE

PSP NATIONAL SECRETARY DELORS INTERVIEWED

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 15 Jan 79 p 23

[Interview with PSP national secretary Jacques Delors]

[Text] VALEURS ACTUELLES: Is the socialist party divided?

Jacques Delors: I don't believe so. In order for there to be a split with the majority a situation would have to exist in which fundamental differences surfaced regarding the social plan or political strategy. I don't feel that this is the case.

VALEURS ACTUELLES: Even insofar as Europe is concerned?

Jacques Delors: There is no deep division, just nuances of understanding of the risks inherent in one or another European proposal. Evidence of this can be seen in the approval given by the socialist party to the joint appeal to voters that was made last Friday by the socialist parties of the European community. Generally speaking I believe that it is a question of some individuals trying to harden their positions for reasons that have nothing to do with any fundamental problems.

VALEURS ACTUELLES: If there isn't any division, will there be a "synthesis"?

Jacques Delors: It is absolutely desirable that the socialist party continue on its dynamic course. Everyone agrees on this point. I myself claim that it [a synthesis] is quite possible between now and 12 February 1979 (the date on which the executive committee meets again). This is why I am clamoring for a meeting of the committee of 12 that has been created to develop a joint motion.

VALEURS ACTUELLES: The public has a poor understanding of just what is going on. This could lead to a loss of credibility for the socialist party....

Jacques Delors: It is true that there is a risk that our credibility will slip. This is why I am urging that we move quickly in our search for unity.

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But from this viewpoint the situation has straightened out somewhat in the last 2 weeks; the party leaders have tried hard to demonstrate how this democratic debate has been useful. If the debate continues to be conducted within the rules of decency and if it confines itself to basic problems, it can enrich the party.

VALEURS ACTUELLES: If there is no fundamental discord, as you claim, isn't the whole problem nothing more than personal rivalries?

Jacques Delors: I do not wish to deliver a moral judgement. But I note that there are two types of logic at work: that of division and passion and that of good sense and reason. The first type appears to prevail in view of the fact that people are more concerned with measuring their strength and counting their numbers than engaging in true political debate over fundamental issues. It is this brand of logic that must be broken.

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FRANCE

CALL FOR AN END TO 'ASPHYXIATION' OF RESEARCH

Paris PARADOXES in French Nov-Dec 78 pp 95-98

[Article by Jean-Francois Delpech]

[Text] Fundamental research is at the heart of the problems of growth and economic and political independence. For more than fifty years technical progress has been largely based on the accumulation and application of knowledge. Is there any doubt then that it will still take a long time to catch up with the increased costs of energy and raw materials, to adapt to the new ideas of international economics, to develop industries of high technology, to respond to social demands?

Radical Innovations

In fact, if it is true that certain aspects of industrial innovation are not directly linked to scientific development, it is not less true that the development and exploitation of new technologies such as transistors and integrated circuits, optical fibers, microprocessors and lasers are the direct results of scientific progress. Such discoveries constitute radical innovations. They all open areas of possibility, and they could only result from fundamental research of excellent quality. This, then, should play an important role in all policies of technological development. We must increase our scientific and technological capital as has been done in other developed countries. And France must keep her place in this effort. Beyond the direct economic interest, no one can deny that the brilliance of a nation is measured by, among other things, the quality of its men of science.

More than ever, it is necessary to develop scientific research to prepare for the future.

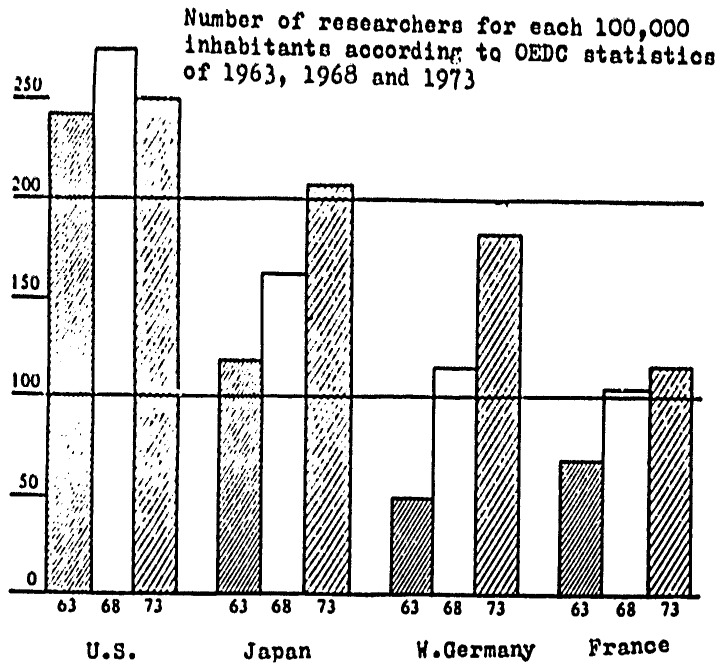
A Crushing Comparison

In several years, after a brilliant beginning, France has fallen to the bottom of the great industrial nations in research. The comparison of France with its principal competition is crushing.

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The simplest and least debatable indicator of the effort of a country in this field is the number of researchers and engineers employed in research and development, including both the public and private sectors. These statistics are kept by the OECD, which carefully maintains precise criteria allowing significant comparisons from country to country, year after year. The graph below shows the number of research workers, scientists and engineers for each 100,000 inhabitants in the United States, Japan, West Germany and France for three selected years.



The American effort continues to be preponderant, but Germany and Japan have made rapid progress in ten years and are now catching up with the U.S. On the other hand, after a good beginning, France has returned to a sort of stagnation since 1968. In 1973 French research activity was about 50 percent of that of its competitors. Detailed statistics are still not available for 1977, but all indications are that France's situation is still deplorable.

So a rapid increase in the resources devoted by France to scientific research appears to be essential; meanwhile she will not be self-sufficient.

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#### Two Distinct Functions

In fact, many factors have played a part in the stagnation of public investment in research in France during the past ten years. But here we have observed, doubtless more now than previously, a marked split between the fiscal authorities and scientific circles, and it is reasonable to expect that the resulting lack of communication has had an unfortunate effect.

The fact is that science fills two distinct functions in society, as Plato has already noted. Its object is the comprehension of the perceptible world, by observations and by the creation of ideas and concepts. But to this intellectual and cultural aspect has been added the operational effectiveness which comes with the knowledge of mechanisms, to the verification of phenomena, which makes research today occupy a central place in technological creation.

Reason and experience demonstrate that these two aspects are not in the least contradictory, they both concern the same thing. But it is easy to forget or lose sight of the fact that they are complementary. This is the error committed by many scientists, sensitive only to a favorable outcome of their work, and many fiscal authorities, caring only for the short term evolution of the activities over which they have control.

To avoid this double trap one must know how to abstain from all authoritarian temptation, in both senses. The objectives of research should be established at the outset by scientists, who understand the internal logic of their discipline, who only can foresee the possible developments and who know the irreplaceable role of spontaneous creation; and by society, which finances them and which should properly keep track of its own needs and policies, social and economic. It is not reasonable to believe that all scientific activity should have immediately employable results, no more than it is to completely ignore all usefulness in the short or long term. The only effective way is through a really open and democratic process which solves the inevitable conflicts; the examples of other countries demonstrate the truth of this.

On the other hand, the restimulation of research activity in France will have no chance of attaining its goal unless scientists and society have the courage to determine the objectives with mutual accord at the national level. In science as in other fields, it is impossible to do everything. The U.S. carries out more than 40 percent of the world's research effort. However, when one analyzes the American system one is forced to conclude that it falls short of covering without discrimination all the areas of science. America has decided to choose certain preferential areas of development on which research teams work, all across the country. They cooperate closely while competing with each other. This phenomenon is just as pronounced in Germany and Japan. France, whose contribution to the global effort in research hardly exceeds one-tenth of that of the U.S., should know how to do the same, given her particular situations and traditions.

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Necessary Awakening

A real national awakening is therefore necessary. Our country still has the chance to develop a base on which it is possible, at the price of a sustained effort, to launch effective scientific research. France, poor in energy and national resources, but rich in men and ideas, cannot resign herself to leaving to others the job of forging her future; she should hold her place in scientific and technological progress; it is her responsibility and it is in her interests.

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FRANCE

'ENERGY WAR' SEEN BEGINNING FOR FRANCE

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 8 Jan 79 pp 17-18

[Article by Francois Lebrette: "The Noose"]

[Text] Let's imagine the worst: The king of Saudi Arabia is removed from his throne by progressive elements. War breaks out with the desert tribes, who have remained faithful to their sovereign...the combat areas might be called Ghawar and Abqaiq, where the most important oil reserves in the Western world are located.... Socialist Iraq sides with the progressives. The Iranian army either cannot or will not reestablish order. In short, the Near East is in flames. The extraordinary chain-pump of oil tankers coming to supply America, Western Europe and Japan stops functioning.

What would happen in France?

Events in Iran set off this "absolute nightmare" imagined by a forty year old engineer who works for the EDF [French Electric Company], Mr Lionel Taccoen. In a book with the unequivocal title, "The Energy War Has Begun" (Flammarion), he surveys the world energy situation, from Nepal to the United States.

If the tap is closed, it will be necessary to try to avoid "the dislocation, not only of our economy, but of our society." Because without oil everything stops.

French energy consumption amounts to some 180 million tons in petroleum equivalent (tep), of which 60 percent for petroleum properly speaking (45 percent coming from the Near East).

These supplies are at the same time indispensable and ruinous. "Our country is like a man who has a noose around his neck. As soon as our economy starts up the consumption of raw materials, and particularly of energy, increases. We can no longer pay the bill. The economy is choking to death."

In other words, even in the absence of a world crisis our energy situation is, to say the least, uncomfortable. Increased competition on the international market will make our dependence more and more painful. Indeed,

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Mr Taccoen observes, "In 1977 the national production of energy covered 26.2 percent of our needs, as against 24.2 percent in 1974." But this is a misleading index: "Almost the entire increase is from the rain, which was abundant in 1977, and filled up the dams!"

Dependence is, thus, unchanged, while the structure of consumption continues to develop as if the crisis did not exist: The share of energy consumed for comforts grows at the expense of the share available for industry. The French people consumed, in 1977, 8 million tep more than they did in 1974 for their transportation, housing and services; and 2 million tep less for industry.

This reveals a climate which is not at all propitious for economy of energy. Mr Taccoen describes two stages of this process.

The first stage is painless: War against waste, subsidies to economical manufacturing techniques, improvements in insulation. This would make it possible to realize "an economy of 10 percent of the total consumption of the country."

To go beyond that it would be necessary to favor productive activities at the expense of private consumption. Are the French people ready for that? "No campaign of information on those subjects has ever been carried out," observed Mr Taccoen.

Within the present social context, a draconian redistribution of consumption thus remains in the realm of utopia. "It seems very improbable," he said, "that a rise in expansion can be obtained without an overall increase in the consumption of energy."

It will therefore be necessary to acquire more of it while the market is becoming more and more difficult. This implies a coherent strategy of diversification. To be dependent for 60 percent of one's petroleum, 45 percent of which comes from the Near East, is too dangerous.

To be sure, within the last five years one can see a few favorable signs: In our balance-sheet of energy resources, oil has decreased by 5 percent natural gas has increased by 2.5 percent. That is not enough. We should already have achieved a more notable diversification of our purchases abroad." Beyond that, we must increase the proportion of our national production in the balance-sheet of our energy resources. Our objective: To have increased it from 25 percent to 40 percent by 1985.

"France is a middle-sized country, not well provided by nature with sources of energy."

Coal? "Consumption has greatly increased in the electric power stations, to the detriment of oil, but other users reject it more and more." In any case, if its importance must increase in the future it will be due to imports. "Our collieries furnish 10 percent of our energy needs, and we will no longer go beyond that figure. It will, rather, go down."

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We cannot expect much from hydraulic power. The Rhone, the first French river almost completely equipped in this matter, furnishes only 3 million tep a year, that is to say 2 percent of our needs. Only a few plants remain to be constructed.

Natural gas? The Lacq deposits can satisfy 4 percent of French needs. It will begin to be exhausted in the eighties.

As for new sources of energy (solar, and, particularly, geothermal), they "will still play a minor role at the end of the century (from 2 to 5 percent?)" Mr Taccoen warns: "No miracle invention, no providential new source of energy will come to our rescue."

There remains nuclear power. The present program calls for, by 1985, a power, installed, of 40,000 megawatts, that is to say an annual production of from 50 to 60 million tep. In spite of protest demonstrations, technical difficulties and the excess of precautions (political and technical) imposed during the last few years, this program should not be subject to a significant delay: 1 or 2 years at most.

"One-fifth of our energy will then be of nuclear origin. Can one expect that it will then be nationalized?"

The question arises at three levels: supply, origin of the techniques used, and mastery of the nuclear cycle.

Nuclear fuel (uranium) enters only to a small extent in the final cost of a kilowatt. We have some in our soil, and we buy some from abroad. "It is possible, without too much difficulty, to constitute reserves corresponding to 6 years of consumption (as against 3 months for oil).

The reactors which are in the process of construction are licenced by the American Westinghouse Company. The licence agreement expires in 1982. The commissioner of atomic energy is confident that by then it will have acquired French citizenship.

Independence is also the faculty of disposing of one's own uranium without external constraint. Uranium must be enriched before utilization (just as oil has to be refined). This operation remains a monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union: The central reactor of Fessenheim was started up with fuel enriched by the Russians. But this very year the French enriching plant, Eurodif, in Tricastin in Drome /Department/, must be put into service. "It will furnish, this year, sufficient charges to initiate the reaction in six reactors of the Fessenheim type, or to maintain the energy-producing reaction of twenty others. Two years from now, Eurodif will produce enriched uranium sufficient to maintain, simulataneously, the energy-producing reaction of eighty reactors of the Fessenheim type. France has reserved for itself half of the production of that plant, which will be enough for our share in 1985.

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But what will happen to the share to which the Shar of Iran subscribed, which brought in one quarter of the capital of Eurodif?

The economic advantage of nuclear development is double: First it makes possible a reduction in imports, thus saving foreign currency; also nuclear power is a product which can be exported, which brings in foreign currency: "The sale of a single reactor is the equivalent of the sale of 200,000 cars."

"There will not be any physical shortage of energy," Mr Taccoen affirms. "On this point I am in total disagreement with the prophets of doom. We have scarcely skimmed the surface of available supplies of coal, natural gas, uranium and even oil. It is the extraction, the transportation and the distribution of these fuels which cause difficulties. The black gold of the Near East, cheap and easy to exploit, is a happy accident."

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FRANCE

BRIEFS

AWACS ANSWERS SOUGHT--National Assembly Deputy Raymond Maillat, in a questionnaire dated 13 January 1979 and addressed to the minister of defense [Yvon Bourges], requested that the following question be answered: 1) Exactly when was the decision reached to establish a national low-altitude detection system involving radar-equipped aircraft [equivalent to the U.S. AWACS]? 2) In what section of the defense budget would the funds for transforming the Breguet Atlantic aircraft into an airborne warning system be included and how much would such funding involve? 3) How many such aircraft would form the [French] AWACS? [Text] [Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 27 Jan 79 p 32]

MAUROY-ROCARD TWOSOME--Pierre Mauroy has said in private: "The Rocard-Mauroy twosome is finished; it's all washed up!" [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 9 Feb 79 p 65]

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WEST GERMANY

AID TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES DISCUSSED

Hamburg STERN in German 7 Dec 78 pp 244-246

[Article by Mario R. Dederichs: "Refugees: Marks Made. The First Vietnam Refugees Have Arrived in Lower Saxony--But Generous Aid Missions in Southeast Asia Would Be More Beneficial]

[Text] Mr. Sunshine shone even more than usual. It was with pleasure that Lower Saxony's Premier Erns Albrecht observed, in front of whirring film cameras last Saturday, the entry of "his Vietnamese" on the airfield of Hannover--163 refugees from the freighter "Hai Hong" blockaded off the coast of Malaysia had just been flown in by the federal Luftwaffe from Kuala Lumpur. For each of the small groups of Asians, shivering in spite of the brown woolen blankets, Mrs. Heidi Albrecht initiated a round of applause. More than 100 curious observed.

However, Albrecht's lightning action did not receive universal applause. His minister of the interior, Egbert Moecklinghoff, was presented with a particularly difficult situation. The latter had only recently attended a conference of provincial interior ministers in Bonn and had voted for the decision that the provinces, subject to further decisions of the federal cabinet, would accept a total of 500 refugees from Southeast Asia, distributing them according to existing quota systems.

When Albrecht's press spokesman Hilmar von Poser one hour later proclaimed the lonely decision of his chief, one of the participants of the Bonn meeting commented: "Moecklinghoff knew nothing of this, it just dumbfounded him." For the quota system devised by the federal council, according to which Lower Saxony in recent years had only accepted "its" 9.2 percent of some 80,000 Germans from the east, "suddenly no longer played any part." To be sure, Vietnamese refugees bring larger headlines than resettlers from Poland. Commented a Far East expert in Bonn's Foreign Office: "Apparently some people are trying to garner glory."

Albrecht is now counting on the charity of the Lower Saxons. But even though many offers for acceptance of the refugees have been received, a staff member of the Friedland refugee camp is skeptical: "When the people hear that

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a family of those people consists of 10 to 20 persons, charity ceases." And Guenter Hoelter, coordinator for Caritas of the transport of the Vietnamese, stresses: "The real problems will begin when the Vietnamese are no longer standing on center stage."

Because then the question will involve the integration of people with a completely different way of life, culture and language into the daily life of the Federal Republic and the acquisition of residences, jobs and educational opportunities. Albrecht's press spokesman in Bonn, Doberschuetz, admits "that they do not fit in with us." However, other federal provinces should be "made aware" through a generous humanitarian gesture.

Of course, Albrecht's signals are not meant for Germany alone. Some 50,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are waiting in Malaysia and 150,000 in Thailand, and tens of thousands are prepared to flee. "The whole thing is only made worse by the acceptance declaration," fears Juergen Kronenberger, catastrophe relief administrator of the German Red Cross. "More and more will follow."

Even though they "expressly did not wish to criticize" Ernst Albrecht, the Duesseldorf ministers Friedhelm Frathmann (SPD) and Burkhard Hirsch (FDP) meanwhile recommended that the federal government attempt to persuade "a country in the Southeast Asian cultural orbit" to accept the refugees--a proposal echoed by the UN refugee commissioner. Western countries can make financial contributions to support the building of refugee villages and the integration efforts in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand or the Philippines. The Malaysian education minister, Datuk Musa bin Hitam, told journalists in Paris that with the "apparently inhuman" quarantine of the "Hai Hong" and hundreds of boats from Vietnam his government is attempting to draw world attention to the problem. The developing country of 12 million inhabitants does not have enough resources to manage the problem of the exodus.

The 650 Vietnam refugees, transported last weekend in four flights of a Luftwaffe Boeing 707 from Malaysia, are to be followed within a few days by another 350 refugees from Thailand. However, it is not at all certain that Lower Saxony alone will have to secure the future of these 1,000 refugees. Prime Minister Albrecht, widely praised for his generous help, is aware that once the Vietnamese have acquired valid residence permits they are free to settle in any province of the Federal Republic.

The first recruiter from another province made a call to Friedland as early as Sunday. A gentleman from Hamburg's St. Pauli amusement district wanted to know: "Have you got a few cute orphan girls?"

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