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22 June 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE
(FOUO 39/79)



WEST

EUROPE



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COUNTRY SECTION

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INVESTIGATION OF RED BRIGADES' INTERNATIONAL TIES CONTINUES

PCF Protests French Involvement

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 25 Apr 79 p 4

[Article by Michel Naudy: "Were the French Secret Services in Control of the Red Brigades and their Opposite Numbers in Paris?"]

[Text] On the evening of 23 April, in Paris, 1,500 "autonomous Communists" held a meeting in the Mutualite. With the greatest composure and with the explicit inspiration of the situation in Italy, a part of them announced their intention of reconsidering on 1 May the attempt to violently interfere with the march on Paris organized last 23 March by the CGT [General Federation of Labor]. On 24 April, the Italian paper CORRIERE DELLA SERA published revelations by an Italian secret agent according to whom the French and Italian autonomous groups are maintaining close relations with the French secret services and are controlled by them. Are all the elements of a new police provocation organized by Minister Bonnet already in place?

"Is 1 May better than 23 March?" This is considered, also whether Bauveau Square is better than the Mutualite and, with a great degree of harmony, that certain specialists in street action frequent the two places in equal numbers.

The Molotov cocktail, the iron club and the incendiary bottle, which served at the time of the march on Paris by the steelworkers, were at the center of the discussions concerning the coordination of the autonomous groups in Paris on Monday evening. There were no police. Or else they were very discreet, dressed in plain clothes or more likely in the garb of autonomous Communists.

It is that in recent times jeans and scarves are a uniform for the men of the Ministry of the Interior. The proof accumulated by the CGT on 24 April leaves hardly any doubt. On the pretext of gathering information and issuing summonses it was in fact in throwing stones and gasoline bottles that certain police officers engaged. On command, of course.

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The decision taken in the Council of Ministers to limit the demonstrations to the periphery of the crowds having been given ample time, 23 March not having been as "decisive" as might have been hoped, it was thought that they might do a better job during the Labor Day festivities.

The autonomous Communists made that statement. Or somebody had them make it. Monday however was even more disturbing: at the time of hearing the appeal of anarchists placed under preventive arrest during the demonstration of 23 April, the Attorney General uttered this threat: "Think that 1 May is coming soon. Think at the same time of what has happened in Italy," he urged the judges.

Chance seems to have had little opportunity here. This is borne out by the fact that yesterday it was learned from Italian sources that all this little group had been watched, documented, and classified for weeks.

In its edition for 24 April, the Milan daily in fact reported the confession of a member of the Italian secret services (SISDE [expansion unknown]), whose gist, if it were confirmed, would not fail to thicken the voluminous files on the penetration of terrorist groups through official educational organizations.

For about one year, and according to the newspaper REPUBBLICA, already at the time of Aldo Moro's kidnapping the leaders of the "Red Brigades" had probably met regularly in Paris. Thus, they had probably met several times in a brewery or in a language school, "a kind of institute for the promotion of culture."

The CORRIERE DELLA SERA explains specifically that "they discussed heatedly for hours. Then they remained in contact by telephone, speaking without precaution. They did not imagine that the French secret services were listening to them and were not losing a single one of their words."

Beyond the activities proper to the "Red Brigades," the Foreign Intelligence and Counterintelligence Service [FDECE] would have been busy with the relations between the French Red Brigades and their opposite numbers in Italy. Thus the FDECE would have collected many documents, "dozens and dozens of magnetic tapes," and transmitted the file to the Italian secret services.

The collaboration between the several secret services would have been so great that for several weeks Italian, Belgian and British agents operated on French soil and did so in close collaboration with the FDECE.

The French base of the terrorism and of "autonomy" would have been exploited for several months following the revelations of a former terrorist to a Padua magistrate. This information would have led to the arrest of political science professor Antonio Negri, a theoretician of the Italian ultra-left whose many trips to Paris in the course of recent years (he has taught in the Higher Normal School on Ulm Street and in several Paris universities)

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would have covered terrorist activities. If it is necessary to handle this bulk of reports with care, the most diverse rumors on this subject are circulating in the Italian capital. The control of the "autonomous Communists" by the French secret services would only confirm the strange manipulations in which Mr Bonnet's services are engaged. Documented, observed, even registered, those whose raise the breaking and entry of department stores and individual vengeance to the rank of intrinsically revolutionary acts seem less autonomous than ever.

There is furthermore more than a name in common between the little groups acting in several European countries. Between the assassination of militant workers in Italy and the slogans shouted on 23 March according to which it was necessary to "smash L'HUMANITE," there is a difference in degree, a difference in organization, but no difference in kind.

The goal is identical, the words are identical and the methods have a tendency to draw together: to weaken the workers' movement, to make the repressive arsenal of the state come down on it, to interdict change even in the name of change, to perpetuate capitalism and its regime. Mr Bonnet is in agreement with all of that and the Italian "model" has not failed, during recent years, to inspire in him some reflections on the art and the manner of bringing the old recipes for manipulating beliefs up to date.

The groups of the left have been passed by! The anarchist organizations are rancid! The old plans of the leftist doctrinary anti-Communism have been reformed! They work very well from time to time, but "autonomy," for the very reason of its radical marginalism, is much more comfortable.

The claimed absence of any kind of organization, praise for the spontaneous and individual act, the copying of fascist practices, all of this moving in a diffuse ideology of killing the revolutionary ideal, is a field of action blessed by Mr Bonnet's specialists.

It is not a question here of ordinary violence. It is a controlled action, decided on, applied where necessary and when necessary. It is a class violence which exchanges according to circumstances the helmet of the mobile guard for that of the marginal element, paid or not.

The responsibility of the minister of the interior who has, furthermore, not always given the lie to reports from the Italian press, is direct. He must resign. The Communists, while they demand his dismissal and also the constitution of a commission of inquiry and the punishment of the guilty people, are simply carrying out a task of cleansing. And it is not among them that it will be necessary to seek the smallest degree of satisfaction.

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Reputed Headquarters in Paris

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 24 Apr 79 p 1

[Article by Paolo Graldi: "According to the Secret Services, the Red Brigades' Headquarters Were in Paris"; a startling revelation about the judicial inquest into the antiterrorist 'blitz!"]

[Text] A man who used to be a worker, Red Brigadesman and PCI militant is said to have given Judge Calogero information revealing the international links of the "armed party." French agents are reported to have collaborated with Italian investigators by passing on information about the Strategy Board's frequent meetings in a Paris "brasserie" [cafe-restaurant]. Red Brigade and Front Line records may be in France. Toni Negri's third interrogation is today.

Rome--"In Paris they felt secure. They met in a "brasserie" like a group of old cronies, talking for hours on end. And they kept in touch by telephone. They felt safe in being able to talk as long as they wanted and did not imagine that French intelligence had spotted them all and was not missing a word of what they were saying." The SISDE [Intelligence Service for Democratic Security] man who committed this startling indiscretion gave the key to understanding what had happened during the months of the investigation into Toni Negri and the others accused with him of being the leaders of the Red Brigades.

The deliberately broken and incomplete account gives us to understand that the intelligence services, at least, believe the Strategy Board of the "armed party" met in Paris. Other fragments, which some say are authentic, give a general picture of the "international counterpart" of the trial in progress, though it is impossible to verify the details appropriately.

The origin of the investigation is Padua. This is the story. A man a little older than 30 who used to be a worker and PCI militant had been involved voluntarily in a series of Red Brigade actions. He says he was close to the "heart" and "brain" of the organization, and he decided to rid himself of a "great burden."

Pietro Calogero thought of taking down this "great unburdening. He is the same magistrate Professor Lorenzon confided in. Lorenzon was the brains behind the Piazza Fontana massacre. Calogero very diligently and somewhat sceptically took note of everything: facts, names, references, places, dates. He put together a file that would become the launching pad of his investigation, which was later transferred to Rome.

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The long story told by the person we shall call the "repentant brigadesman" was gone over with a fine-toothed comb. The information he furnished was carefully checked out. And then, after months and months of work in going over the story, the Paduan magistrate decided it was high time for the "blitz." But let us now return to Paris.

The plot, if plot there was, was consummated not only at a "brasserie" table but also in a convenient language school, a sort of cultural relations institute. Even here the Strategy Board met without realizing that French intelligence agents were walking around filling their notebooks with automobile license numbers and notes on the participants.

The collaboration of SDECE [Foreign Intelligence and Counterintelligence Service] was thorough, precise and invaluable. And that is not all. Within weeks, SISDE men were in the French capital to keep on top of the situation. A reduced presence of the investigative machinery is still operative. The agents of both services, in collaboration with Belgian and British agents, who were very active in the investigation, have been verifying a hypothesis that could fill in once and for all the entire picture in the investigation of terrorism in Italy.

The hypothesis is that the general archives of the Red Brigades, Front Line and, in a word, the "armed party." One fact is certain: dozens of tape recordings and hundreds of wiretaps in Paris provide proof that the connections between Italian and French citizens in that city were followed, recorded, checked, and inserted piece by piece into a huge mosaic. It is not known what part Toni Negri might have played in that. What is known, however, is the intentions of the Roman magistrates to be informed of the professor's frequent visits to Paris in the course of his activities as a visiting professor invited to lecture by the eminent Althusser. In any case, the "French capital," which is part of the Autonomy groups' and Red Brigades' international strategy, will also be central into the investigation of the Moro case.

In Rome, while Toni Negri is waiting to be questioned for the third time (the interrogation is scheduled for 0830 this morning), the questioning of the witnesses continues. The news has only recently leaked out that Examining Magistrate Ferdinando Imposimato heard Paola Alessandrini last Thursday; she is the widow of the assassinated judge. The subject was the "voice" of the Brigadesman who spoke with Norina Moro on the afternoon of 30 April to give her the awful ultimatum on which they were holding the DC [Christian Democratic Party] leader.

Emilio Alessandrini is said to have recognized Negri's voice when he heard a recording of the telephone message on television, and Judge Imposimato wanted to clear up the matter. It appears that Paola Alessandrini had confirmed the "suspicions" of her husband. In any event, it should be pointed out that information of this sort would be of value if Negri were

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a fugitive and no sample recording of his voice were available for comparison purposes.

That is not the case, as we know, and the professor has agreed to have a voice sample taken by experts. It is reported that the judges will ask him to read the text of the telephone message. The wife of Giuseppe Nicotri, Leopoldina Fortunati, was asked to answer Imposimato's questions yesterday morning. The testimony of the journalist's wife indicated that she had acted as a speaker for the Red Brigades, and it was characterized as being of particular interest, even though attributing to Nicotri the last message of 9 May 1978, the one that announced the "accomplished execution" of Aldo Moro, seems to become inconsistent as a result.

Attorney Achille Gallucci, who is presiding over the inquest into the Moro case, finally came out with a statement after days in which he could not be found. "As for the accused, Negri," he writes, "the examination of the evidence already acquired and that coming out of the copious secret testimony is in progress. In the next few days, the investigators working with the judicial authorities of Padua will be through with their work, and the accused prisoners will be transferred to the capital under armed escort. As soon as the general prosecutor has expressed his opinion on the further incarceration of the accused, the investigating office will make its own determination with all due solicitude."

Gallucci made a polemical point in his confrontation with the defense attorneys, who hold press conferences after every interrogation, as he wrote that he realized the necessity of informing the public of such serious facts: "in no way can we do less than meet our obligations of secrecy under the law prescribing correct investigative procedure." Gallucci then confirmed that Domenico Sica will stand beside Guido Guasco in representing the general prosecutor in the questioning set for today. Meanwhile, Sica is also supposed to receive a file prepared by the Finance auditors: a hundred pages listing the "movement of funds" through the bank attributable to Professor Negri and other accusees.

Relationship with 'Autonomy' Organizations

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 24 Apr 79 p 9

[Article by Antonio Ferrari: "'Five Hundred Tapes Full of Secrets in the File on the Autonomy Groups Leaders'; select counterespionage agents are collaborating in the Padua inquest"]

[Text] The tape recordings hold communications intercepted on the eve of the "blitz" that resulted in 15 arrests. Short confrontation between reporters and Public Minister Caloggero, who has not been seen since Easter. Question: "Is there an arrest warrant out for the writer Nanni Balestrini?" Answer:

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"Don't ask me for names."

Padua--They are few, but select. There are 5 or 6 of them. They are our best "007's," the cream of the counterespionage agents. They are in Padua to work with DIGOS [Directorate for General Investigations and Special Operations] under Public Minister Pietro Calogero, who opened the investigation into the ideologues of the Autonomy and the supposed leaders of the Red Brigades. The investigation can so far be summed up in the following figures: 22 arrest warrants, 15 arrests, and 7 fugitives. The "special" agents who have been assigned to the minister of Internal Affairs have been working day and night for some months. They have been shadowing people, checking movements, and tapping telephones. Yesterday morning at police headquarters, which is still a bastion impregnable to journalists, there were 500 tape recordings and excerpts of communications that had been intercepted since 6 April 1979, the eve of the "blitz."

Some 500 store-bought tapes have been billed indirectly to the Republic attorney's office. These 500 tapes should now be full of secrets. And the proof is that the inquest continues, despite its being formalized and split between Padua and Rome. What we journalists have called the "third inquest" could spill over into other regions and maybe other countries. Chief Prosecutor Aldo Fais admitted as much: "There are not one, two, or three inquests. The judicial investigation is a single one, and it is presently being headed by Dr Calogero."

There is also talk of a forthcoming trip abroad by the public minister. Has he perhaps already left? No, he is still in Padua. About 13 April he was in front of the prosecutor's office, where he was getting out of an armored car; he was flanked by two policemen, both of them carrying machine guns. Calogero flashed a smile and seemed more at ease than he had at the press conference on Easter Monday. He was wearing a blue coat, and he shook hands with about a dozen people until he was accosted by journalists. "Doctor, just one question: can you confirm whether or not an arrest warrant has been issued for the writer Nanni Balestrini?"

Perhaps this was to be the moment of explanation and clarification. But the hope remained unfulfilled. Calogero thought a moment then said in a low voice, "Don't ask me for names, you know I've never given any out." Then the questions came practically all at once: "But this name has been kicked around for four days now!" "Sir, didn't you issue 22 arrest warrants?" Calogero: "Yes, I did, but I won't name names." We insisted: "Is it possible that a wanted person can walk freely about the streets of Milan? Is Nanni Balestrini a fugitive?" The magistrate was approaching the elevator and said, "Ask the lawyers." And as the doors closed a few centimeters in front of one of the policemen's gun, the public minister said with a smile, "When there is news, you will be notified."

It is hard to decipher this answer, even though it does seem to imply that Nanni Balestrini is indeed wanted, despite Calogero's determined "blackout" on names. The reasons for this silence were obscure a week ago and still are.

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However, one thing seems sure: the inquest, which is now in full swing, must have produced immediate results in the blitz of 7 April because it could not be held back any longer. Why not? What was the hurry? As some have insinuated, the election was coming up. But the most plausible explanation is quite different. It might have been to prevent "something serious" from happening in Padua or elsewhere. Perhaps a bold attack?

Next Monday begin the interrogations of the accused who comprise the "Venetian branch" of the investigation. Yesterday, Judges Palombarini, Nunziante and Fabiani are said to have stayed at the police station for a couple of hours to listen to some recordings. Afterwards, journalists found it impossible to trace architect Manfredo Massironi, age 42, formerly of Workers' Power, to whom Professor Negri gave his records. The accusation says that incriminating evidence has been found in these records; according to the defense, they are only documents the professor was using in his studies on terrorism.

The last part of the day's activities was devoted to the telephone calls made in the dramatic days of the Moro case. Journalist Giuseppe Nicotri, of the *MATTINO DI PADOVA*, is suspected of being the voice of three of these calls: two to Vicar Don Mennini, and one to Professor Tritto. This last call, made at about 1200 hours on 9 May 1978, told that Moro's body would be left in Via Caetani; according to Roman investigators, this call is supposed to have been made from a phone booth in the capital. However, Nicotri's colleagues and the editor of the daily, Nino Berruti, have confirmed that Nicotri was in the newspaper's offices from 1400 hours on to work on a special edition on the Moro assassination. Only a few copies of this came out because of a breakdown in the machinery.

Details of Soviet Weapons

Milan *CORRIERE DELLA SERA* in Italian 5 May 79 p 2

[Article by Gianfranco Simone: "The Red Brigades Are Now Using Russian Weapons"]

[Text] According to the police, the ammunition used in the terrorist attack on the DC [Christian Democratic Party] headquarters in Rome included a dozen 7.62 caliber bullets that have been recovered. They are marked with the number 711 on the casing; this corresponds to the Soviet arms and ammunition factory in Tula. They are also marked 78, the year of production.

Western bullets are different, for they almost always carry letters corresponding to the initials of the manufacturer, e.g. PECA, for Pirotecnico Esercito Capua [Capua Firearms Group]; T, for Toledo o Thum (Switzerland); WRA, for Winchester Repeating Arms; RG, for Radway Green (Great Britain). Bullets from communist countries have numbers of one, two, three, or five digits: from 0, for Czechoslovakia, to 21215, for China; from 14, for Yugoslavia to 343, for Poland. Soviet arsenals go by about 20 code numbers, among which is 711.

The 7.62-caliber, 1943-model cartridge has a copper- or brass-covered steel casing 39 mm long and contains 1.6 grams of powder. The projectile's muzzle velocity is 710 meters per second. It comes in four types: PS [expansion unknown], an ordinary steel-jacketed shell weighing 8 grams; a T45 tracer, weighing 7.5 grams; a BZ [expansion unknown] armor-piercing incendiary bullet

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weighing 7.8 grams; a ZP [expansion unknown] incendiary and adaptable bullet. The cartridge weighs 16.5 grams in all and is 48 mm long; it was designed in 1943 and inspired by the 7.92 Mauser Kurz developed by the Germans for their Sturmgewehr Stg. 44 attack rifle, which derived from the old 7.92 Mauser.

The Germans had found out that a cartridge with a casing longer than 50 mm was useless either because modern powders give more thrust with half the volume or because it was discovered that a rifle carrying more than 1,300 meters was rarely used. Consequently, logistical advantages accrued from reducing the length of the casing to 33 mm.

A noncommissioned tank corps officer got an inspiration from the Sturmgewehr and was decorated with the Order of the Red Star. Mikhail Kalashnikov began to design weapons as he was convalescing from serious wounds inflicted in the battle of Briansk. His assault rifle, the AK-47 (Avtomat Kalashnikov, 1947), was adopted by the Soviet army in 1951. It weighs 5.127 kg with a full, 30-round, curved magazine. It has a barrel 41.4 cm long and a total length of 86.8 cm. The theoretical rate of fire is 600 rounds a minute; its effective range is 300 meters on automatic and 400 meters on semi-automatic.

A version with a folding metal stock (the AKM) was adopted in 1959 and has replaced the wooden-stock AK.

According to witnesses, this is the one used at the Piazza Nicosia the day before yesterday. This is credible, for it weighs 1.2 kg less and can be reduced to 70 cm in length.

The Kalashnikov is considered the best assault rifle in the world, so much so that even Americans in Vietnam used it in place of their M-16. The cartridge seems somewhat obsolescent, and the Russians are said to want to replace it with one of the smallest calibers (4.8), according to Western practice. This would create a lot of problems, because the 7.62 mm Kalashnikov has been produced by the tens of millions at least in the USSR, China, GDR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, North Korea, Yugoslavia and Finland (which exports them to America), and they are spread throughout Asia (including Israel), in the Arab states, and in some African nations, e.g. Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, and the former Portuguese colonies.

This is the first time that arms recently arrived from abroad have been used by the Red Brigades, except for the Hungarian Tokagypst pistols that had been reconditioned and given a new name (Firebird) in West Germany; these were found in the Alunni hideout in the Via Negroli. The Red Brigades had been arming themselves mostly with WWII weapons that were stolen from army posts, policemen, and armories and obtained with false documents.

One can only speculate about who supplied the Kalashnikovs, but the source is probably a non-European Mediterranean country.

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FRANCE

GENESIS OF 'NEW ARTILLERY' DISCUSSED

Paris ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI in French May 79 pp 74-75

[Article by Gen Andre Faverdin, commanding officer of the 1st Army Corps Artillery]

[Text] In the beginning, there was the programming law, with, at its side, the new organization of the army.

It was the intention of the law and the new organization for our major units to be mobile and multipurpose. While achieving a better balance of their means of combat, it was also necessary to avoid overloading them. These were the considerations that served as a basis for the new divisional charts and the creation, within the 1st Army Corps, of four armored divisions (DB) capable of waging vigorous battle for a certain length of time as part of the army corps.

Once the divisional model had been drawn up, it became necessary to make available to the army corps commander the organic elements enabling him, while carrying out the tactical maneuvers of the major interservice units, to concentrate his efforts and react rapidly in the face of an unexpected threat. Such organic army corps elements (EOCA) already existed, but the existence of new structures, on the one hand, and the disappearance of organic divisional elements, on the other hand, lead to a complete rethinking of their composition.

First Day

On the first day of creation, to speak only about the army artillery corps (ACA) and thereby keep to our subject, the units that were already part of it were reviewed.

Since decisions concerning their use were made at the highest level and since the coordination of their fire power was the task of the Army, it was not without some uneasiness that the Pluton Regiments were presented. Actually, set up to increase -- by virtue of their presence alongside the conventional forces -- their dissuasive significance and their ability to

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wage battle, they were quite at home in the army corps, the level of their application.

In the case of an engagement, the Hawk-Hip Regiment would also be the subject of coordination measures on the part of the Army, but it was the key to the army corps' surface-to-air defense, its deployment easily found a place in the rear zone of the corps and its reduced mobility fit in quite well with the speed of movement of that zone. It therefore continued to belong to the ACA.

Finally, the place of the objective achievement regiment (RAO) was confirmed. Equipped with R20 missiles having a range of 150 kilometers, its peculiar nature and broadness of outlook were in keeping with the army corps.

Second Day

The second day was devoted to an examination of the new candidacies: the Roland surface-to-air artillery regiments and conventional surface-to-surface artillery regiments.

The Roland regiments did not fail to emphasize that they had been preferred to other competitors not without merit precisely because they were capable of waging a surface-to-air defense at the maneuvering speed of the armored divisions. Moreover, the first tactical tests demonstrated their ability to defend the forward zone of the army corps. Should one then not go back over the divisional charts and include them? But the army corps also had its own needs: special defenses for sensitive zones and complementing the Hawk. Was one then to set up two types of divisional and army corps regiments that would necessarily have different structures? Such a solution would go against cuts recommended by law, particularly regarding personnel. The decision was therefore made to include the Roland regiments in the army corps artillery, a decision that preserved the maximum number of possibilities: centralization, adaptation, complementary nature and effort, while remaining within the budget.

Wednesday to Friday

The fate of the conventional surface-to-surface artillery was the subject of heated discussions lasting several days.

There were those who wanted more artillery in the divisions: two regiments instead of one and nothing in the army corps. Without saying so, they were limiting the role of the conventional artillery to direct support for interservice groupings, and the delay of the 155 AU F1 materiel temporarily fortified their arguments.

Others thought of using all the possibilities of the artillery in order to set up and lead a maneuver. They recalled the need for in-depth action, the effectiveness of massive, brutal concentrations and the artillery's ability to modify its point of application rapidly. They pleaded for a

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distribution of artillery formations between the two hierarchical levels: army corps and division. In this way, there would be means for direct support, more special means oriented toward in-depth action, and in addition, the ability to concentrate the maximum fire power whether belonging to either level, on the condition that the higher level be endowed with the proper means of command.

They were very aware of the fact that for several years to come, the principles of use should take into account the modest scope and power of the weapons of the army corps regiments, which reduced the possibilities of action of the artillery on the whole. Nevertheless, they wished to set up the structures for the future as soon as possible:

For the time being, they would make it possible, if need be, to bring in general reserve regiments and within the framework of the Alliance, gather up allied means.

For the near future, they would be ready to take in radar tracking devices and multiple rocket launcher (LRM) units.

Sixth Day

On the sixth day of creation, the existence of the army corps surface-to-surface artillery regiments was confirmed and a command squadron was set up making it possible to bring into play the nuclear and conventional surface-to-air and surface-to-surface firepower and means for the achievement of objectives. The army corps artillery had found its structures. In the 1st Army Corps, it included a command squadron forming a corps, strengthened by a (radar) battery for the achievement of objectives and an NBC [expansion unknown] battery, three Pluton nuclear regiments, a Hawk-Hip regiment, two Roland surface-to-air regiments, an R20 objective achievement regiment, and three conventional surface-to-surface regiments with 105's and 155's.

Sunday of Satisfaction

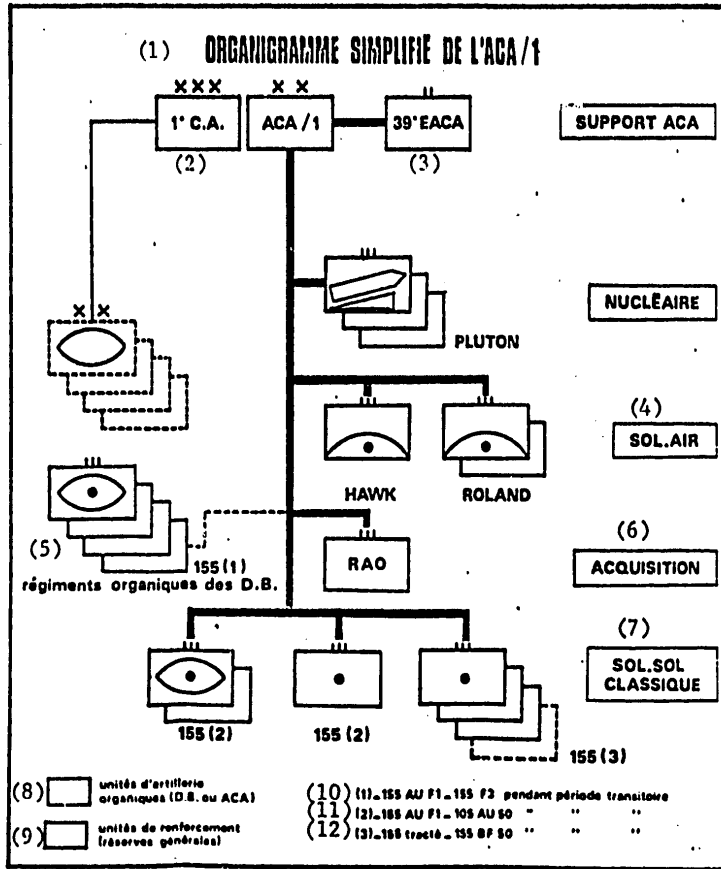
Bending over their work on the seventh day, the law and the new organization found that the demarcation between the divisions and organic elements was good and that the army corps had the elements it needed and they were satisfied.

While an unseasoned observer might view the army corps as a heavy collection of unconnected units, a more attentive examination shows that it is a coherent whole with the minimum means indispensable for the army's information and fire power needs.

My brother artillerymen, unity is in the mind. That is a great deal, but it would be insufficient if there were not unity in mission also. In the face of an enemy with air and ground power, the entire army corps artillery has the same goal: to destroy enemy means (particularly his fire power), prevent or hinder action and intervene effectively in maneuvers so as to

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break the balance locally to the benefit of the supported forces. This is the goal of all means for achieving objectives through fire power. Since maneuvers are coordinated, the army corps artillery also finds its unity in the application of tactical nuclear weapons, participating in the safety of their deployment and the discovery and followup of objectives, helping, when the use of nuclear fire power is decided upon, to maintain the coherence of the arrangement in the instants preceding the strike and to carry out action immediately following.



[Key on following page]

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Key:

1. Simplified Chart of the 1st Army Artillery Corps
2. 1st Army Corps
3. [? EOCA = organic army corps elements]
4. Surface-to-air
5. Organic regiments of the armored divisions (DB)
6. Achievement [of objectives]
7. Conventional surface-to-surface
8. Organic artillery units (DB or ACA)
9. Reinforcement units (general reserves)
10. 155 AU F1, 155 F3 for a transitional period
11. 155 AU F1, 105 AU 50 for a transitional period
12. Tractor-drawn 155, 155 BF 50 for a transitional period

Far from being too large of an ensemble -- one has but to note the volume of fire power of the most modern armies -- the army corps artillery provides the army with a better balance between the different forces, as the law intended.

Biographical Information

Gen Andre Faverdin spent a tour of duty in the Far East before serving as an instructor at the Artillery School. After attending the Staff School, he commanded a battery in Algeria, then obtained the technical diploma and was in the 79th class of the Armed Forces War College. He headed the 60th Artillery Regiment and then served as director of the Center of Tactical Studies and Artillery Testing. Assigned in 1973 to the General Secretariat of the Office of President of the Republic, he was promoted to the rank of general in 1976. Since that time, he has served as the commanding officer of the artillery of the 1st Army Corps in Metz.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

NAVY'S TECHNICAL INSPECTION PROCEDURES OUTLINED

Paris ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI in French May 79 pp 24-25

[Article by Vice Admiral Maurice Sabatier*: "Inspection of Naval Equipment"]

[Text] Within the Ministry of Defense inspections conducted by the high authorities (minister, chief of staff, DGA) represent means for control and reaction structures which intervene neither in decision-making or execution processes.

In all armies inspection functions operate on two levels: general inspection whose range of competence covers all activities of the armed forces, under the jurisdiction of the minister, and so-called technical inspections covering exclusively a well-defined part of the activities of said army, under the jurisdiction of its chief of staff. The naval equipment inspection belongs to the latter category.

The naval equipment inspector, a general officer in the technical branch of the naval officer corps is the direct heir of the inspector general mechanic, one of the five technical inspectors whose position had been created by the 1909 decree in connection with the administration of the navy, operating directly under the minister's orders. The 1927 reorganization of the navy retained the function but changed the holder's title to inspector general of machines. His direct subordination to the minister of the navy (at that time Georges Leygues) was confirmed.

The situation remained unchanged until 1961. That year the decree establishing the responsibilities of the inspector general of the navy placed under the orders of the latter, himself under the orders of the minister,

*Enrolled at the Marine Engineers' School in 1941, Vice Adm Maurice Sabatier is currently naval equipment inspector. Very early in his career he specialized in naval aeronautics. He saw service in many units at home and overseas. In 1958 he graduated from the Navy War College. His last positions were major general of the port of Toulon (1974-1975) and deputy chief of staff for logistics of Naval Headquarters (1976-1977).

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the four technical inspectors among whom we find our old inspector, this time with the title of technical inspector for machines, a title which was changed at the beginning of 1971 to technical inspector for navy equipment. It was also in 1971 that another change was made in the status of technical inspectors. In fact, the 10 December decree which established the duties of the chiefs of general staff in peacetime, subordinated these various inspectors to the chief of general staff of their respective service. Finally, the last mutation of this inspector we have followed over a period of 70 years was the following: by order dated 8 February 1977 on the subject of inspectors subordinated to the chief of general staff of the navy he received his current title of naval equipment inspector.

Duties and Tasks

However, there was a development which affected us most closely: the one which took place within the field of action of this inspector, concretized in 1971 by replacing in his title the word "machines" with the word "naval equipment." This was an important nuance for, henceforth, it was no longer in charge exclusively of equipment related to the propulsion of the vessels but of the overall equipment aboard the vessels, i.e., of installation of transmission, detection, or navigation facilities as well as facilities for the generation of energy or, specifically, propulsion.

Within this physically clearly demarcated domain, activities related to naval equipment inspection, defined as a body for inspection, study, and information, covers essentially the following areas:

Organization and functioning of the maintenance and operation of naval equipment; professional qualification and utilization of military technical personnel;

Adaptation of personnels and maintenance facilities for naval equipment to requirements.

Each year the chief of general staff of the navy establishes one or several study topics on which will be focused the inspections conducted by the inspecting admiral during that same year both in the ports of the home country as well as the bases or units located overseas. It has been equally stipulated that, with the approval of the navy chief of staff, the navy equipment inspector may be asked by the inspector general of the navy to conduct certain specific inspections.

Following are examples of some such studies conducted in recent years:

The "energy-propulsion" installations of the Suffren and Duquesne frigates;

General condition of the destroyer escorts Le Brestois and Le Lorrain (requested by the inspector general of the navy);

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- Improving the gathering of technical information supplied by the vessels;
- Organization of the support of the forces in Papeete and Mururoa;
- Condition of the fleet escort ships refitted for anti-submarine warfare, and providing an estimate of their foreseeable lifespan;
- Organization of logistic support of forces deployed in the zone of the Indian Ocean;
- Competence and training of the personnel in charge of boilers.

Inspections and Reports

In order to put together the necessary data for such studies, the admiral inspector with his staff consisting of two superior adjutants, one of whom is licensed as a nuclear scientist, visits the ports where he holds meetings in the course of which he has talks with the local authorities interested in the subject: major general, force commander, or commanders of ships or ground units (military shops, specifically), military school principals, arms engineers in charge of repairs, etc. He completes his information study by going aboardship or visiting the involved units where he talks to officers or petty officers in charge of the operation and maintenance of the materiel, as well as for purposes of seeing for himself the general status of the materiel. Finally, some documents may be requested from navy headquarters, such as technical descriptions, and of command reports, investigation reports, reports on maintenance costs, etc. The reports drafted as a result of such inspections are submitted to the navy chief of general staff with a copy to the inspector general of the navy for information purposes.

Inspection of Nuclear Safety Measures

Beginning with 1970 the minister of defense has assigned to the navy equipment inspector the task of checking, under the authority of the nuclear armaments inspector, the implementation of nuclear safety measures applied in naval nuclear installations: nuclear powered ships and ships capable of bearing atomic weapons, operational bases (jointly with the inspector from the General Armaments Commission for installations handled by the personnel of the Naval Construction Technical Directorate), military units in charge of nuclear safety in the ports, and military units operating ionizing radiation sources.

In order to carry out this assignment, the navy equipment inspector checks on-site the nuclear training of the operational and maintenance personnel, the strict observance of the operational rules formulated by the mixed army-AEC nuclear safety commission (general regulations, safety reports, guidelines, and lists of operations . . .), the updating of such documents, procedures of personnel radiological observation, and the execution of security exercises.

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The inspection reports are sent to the nuclear armaments inspector and reported to the navy chief of general staff for the necessary actions.

Additional Functions

In addition to the two main functions we have described, the navy equipment inspector plays a role in the very important area of the careers of officers in charge of handling the equipment he inspects; to this effect:

He is a member of the commission in charge of submitting suggestions for nominations for promotions and command positions;

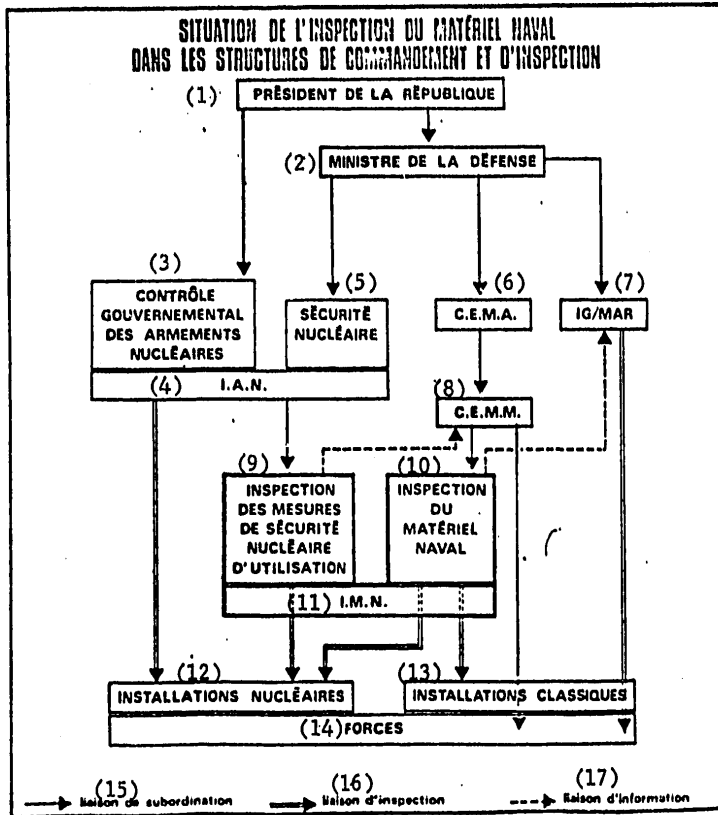
He is a member of the advancement council of the Navy School and the Training School for Lieutenants Junior Grade;

He may submit to the navy chief of general staff specific problems concerning the entire technical branch of the naval officers' corps (a branch consisting of the members of the former corps of marine engineers abolished in 1966).

Finally, over the past six years each of the three vice admirals who have held the position of navy equipment inspector has been appointed member of the Navy High Council. Such appointments specifically show the clear desire to intervene more directly in the major options regarding the navy, and the details related to the equipment and logistics of navy vessels.

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Place of Navy Equipment Inspection in the Command and Inspection Structures



Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. President of the Republic. | 9. Inspection of nuclear safety measures. |
| 2. Minister of Defense. | 10. Navy equipment inspection. |
| 3. Governmental control of nuclear armaments. | 11. Naval equipment inspector. |
| 4. Nuclear armaments inspector. | 12. Nuclear installations. |
| 5. Nuclear safety. | 13. Conventional installations. |
| 6. Chief of general staff of the army. | 14. Forces. |
| 7. Navy inspector general. | 15. Subordination links. |
| 8. Chief of general staff of the navy. | 16. Inspection link. |
| | 17. Information link. |

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

MEDITERRANEAN AIR DEFENSE FACTORS DISCUSSED

Paris ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI in French May 79 pp 28-29

[Article by Lt Col Francois Vallat*: "Air Defense in the Mediterranean"]

[Text] Far from being a "peace lake," the Mediterranean is presently one of the unstable areas in the world. The Sixth American Fleet and the Soviet Eskadra patrol it permanently. France has become aware of the fact that a conflict in that area would risk quickly to affect its vital interests.

Should a conflict break out in the Mediterranean one of the most dangerous threats which France would have to face would be that of hostile penetration by air crossing over the Gulf of Genoa or Lyons aimed at economic or military targets located in the southeastern part of our territory. In order to reduce the chances of detection, such raids would unquestionably attempt an approach at very low altitude, particularly at low altitude above the sea.

The Fifth Fighter Wing

Based in Orange, as an aerial defense combat unit, the 5th Fighter Wing is naturally facing the Mediterranean. Its principal mission is to block aggression from the air.

However, the detection and evaluation of the threat must be properly secured and the interception must take place before hostile airplanes have reached our coast.

*Lt Col Francois Vallat graduated from the Air Force School in 1958. He was certified as fighter pilot in 1961 and began his career with the 11th Fighter Wing stationed in Bremgarten (FRG). He became flight commander with the 11th Fighter Wing and, subsequently, commanding officer of the 2/13 Alpes squadron in Colmar. He was the commanding officer of the 5th Fighter Flight stationed in Orange before going back to the Air Force War College in September 1978.

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The implication is that the disposition facing our Mediterranean approaches must be complete: radars, terrain, transmissions, operational centers, computation and guidance facilities, and interceptors.

This facility exists and has proved its effectiveness in the course of a number of exercises. It would be of interest, therefore, to describe it as it is before showing the way it tested in the course of exercises which oppose it periodically to the 6th Fleet aircraft.

Means of Detection and Control

In the western Mediterranean detection is secured through radar installations located along our Mediterranean coast. The antennas have been directed in such a way that even at low altitude an incoming raid would be detected.

Information on the general aerial situation supplied by this radar is sent to STRIDA (System for the Processing and Submission of Aerial Defense Information) which processes them, i.e., which sifts and analyzes them and visualizes them in terms of real time.

Information on airplanes flying over the Mediterranean is always present on the radar screens of the control and operations centers: nationality, direction, altitude, speed, etc. These elements make it possible to evaluate the threat and to guide and engage interceptors should this be justified by the situation.

The STRIDA is connected with the detection centers of our two Mediterranean neighbors, Italy and Spain. Finally, if necessary, navy ships could strengthen detection should special requirements arise. Such ships are equipped with SENIT (System for the Navy Exploitation of Tactical Information) linked with the STRIDA.

Briefly stated, we have from Menton to Banyuls a reliable, effective, and coherent system for aerial surveillance, evaluation of the threat, and interception control.

The Terrain

Taking into consideration the range of contemporary air-to-ground missiles, the interception must take place before the arrival of the hostile raid on our coast and, therefore, most frequently, to re-deploy our interceptors on terrains close to the coast, Istres or Hyeres, for example.

The air force has proved its ability to re-deploy very rapidly substantial combat facilities over such areas.

In-flight alarm is used as well. It enables us to gain time between the initial detection and the interception. It is particularly enhanced by the

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capacity of the Orange Mirage F-1 to be refueled in flight. Thus the interceptions could take place far above the sea and make it possible to engage the enemy at the earliest possible time.

Thus, the combined use of coastal terrains and of the independence achieved through refueling in the air makes it possible to reduce even further the time needed for engaging our interceptors, taking into consideration the speed of the assault raids and the advanced radar warning.

The Mirage F-1

The interception must be successfully made. This is the role of the Mirage F-1 which has been the armament of the 5th Fighter Wing since 1974.

As a successor of the Mirage III, it enjoys a vastly superior freedom of action and a more advanced weaponry system which enables it to operate in both daylight and at night and in all weather. The performance of the board radar and the reliability of the automatic pilot enable it to carry out such delicate missions as interceptions at very low altitude over the sea.

The air-to-air armament of the Mirage F-1 consists of cannons and missiles. The latter, specifically the Matra 550 Magic make it very efficient particularly at low altitudes against opponents equipped with means for modern electronic warfare.

Development of Interception Missions

The STRIDA provides the elements of the aerial situation to the various aerial defense operations centers. The one in Lyons is in charge of engaging the interceptors in southwestern France. However, this responsibility may be assigned to the chief controllers of the coastal radar stations.

Each detection center is responsible for a part of the aerial space over the high seas. It is within this area that the main waiting lines or the contact points of the interceptors are located. The latter head toward them immediately after takeoff and the interception controller then directs them toward their targets.

The number of engaged interceptors is based on the level of the threat. The pilot is guided until he has made contact with the opponent with his board radar.

As of that moment he can himself assume the proper position for firing his cannons or air-to-air missiles. Should he have ammunition and fuel left after the interception, he goes back to his main line waiting for eventual new engagement.

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The Exercises

Periodically our aerial defense system in the Mediterranean is tested. Some exercises are particularly important because of the wealth of information they provide,

Such is the case with the Dasix or Lafayette exercises which pit the aerial defense against the 6th American Fleet. In effect, this is a high-quality opponent, for it is a question of the most modern airplanes of the U.S. Navy which make use of all the techniques and tactics of modern warfare. On the other hand, the aerial space above the sea offers a possibility of realistic exercises, organized and carried out without bothering the population.

In the course of the Dasix and Lafayette exercises the assault raids are carried out successively following the rhythm of the takeoffs from the decks of the American aircraft carriers. A-7 Corsair, A-6 Intruder, and F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers, accompanied by scrambler planes and escorted by aerial superiority airplanes such as the F-14 Tomcat try to come closer to our Mediterranean coast.

These aerial facilities receive their information and guidance from long-range detection and interceptor control airplanes such as the Hawkeye whose task, specifically, is to indicate to them the location of enemy interceptors.

Clearly, the role of the assailants is to pierce the defenses without being intercepted in order to simulate an attack on assigned ground targets on French territory. That is why they fly low and fast, scrambling control stations, board radar and communications, in an effort to keep for as long as possible the defense in a state of ignorance of the selected target.

The purpose of the escorts is to protect the fighter-bombers. Once the assailant has been detected, the protection airplanes engage the interceptors to enable the heavier and less maneuverable fighter-bombers to escape.

Conversely, the defense looks for a detection and, therefore, a long-range warning and tries to make the interception far ahead of the French coast, however great the difficulty caused by the opponent's electronic scrambling may be.

The results of each exercise are extensively studied by both parts and a great deal of technical, tactical, and operational information is obtained.

The realistic nature of the tactical situations thus created in the course of the exercises is further emphasized by the presence on the areas of the exercise of vessels of different nationalities specializing in the search of electromagnetic information, forcing the participants to operate with the greatest possible electronic discretion.

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Observers are exchanged for such exercises. Thus, French pilots are invited aboard the 6th Fleet aircraft carriers.

They can testify not only to the interest displayed by the U.S. Navy in such confrontations but also to the feeling of efficiency they get from our aerial defense in the Mediterranean. This reciprocal respect promotes a competition which inspires both to "play the big game."

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

REFLECTIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF SOVIET-STYLE SOCIALISM

Paris LA NOUVELLE CRITIQUE in French April 79 pp 3-4

[Article by Francis Cohen: "About the 23rd Congress; the Soviet Cannonball"]

[Text] Thinking about the question of socialism for France has led us to take a great step forward in our conception of socialism in general.

There is no such thing as an idealized picture of socialism. The latter is the concrete response to the concrete problems of society. There is no giant step which will admit us to a ready-made better world. There is rather a difficult process of progressive improvement. Within the sphere of socialism, there is a struggle for something more than socialism itself.

These discoveries are not the result of the steady progress of the mind but rather of a new condition of the world. Socialism has grown up. It is no longer a question of having one's back to the wall and fighting tooth and nail. We no longer think of socialism only in terms of being for or against it but also in terms of the "why" and "how" of socialism.

Wherever socialism exists, debates, conflicts and opposition are now essentially the regime. The contradictions to be resolved in order to progress are no longer necessarily the external contradictions between socialism and the other systems, as it was in the days when the most important issue was simply to survive, but the many internal contradictions of the socialist movement itself. The following is a political example of the latter point: In 1918, the Kronstadt sailors rose up "in favor of the noncommunist Soviets." In 1979, the malcontents are "in favor of good communists" as opposed to "bad ones."

All of man's great problems arise not only with regard to socialism, but also within the sphere of socialism itself. These are concerned with social relationships but also include problems of national scope and, as we have come to see, problems of war and peace. From this, we can conclude that socialism has not generated anything new, that man is still man and that capitalism is his eternal framework.

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This belief leads to a much broader and more comfortable view. We leave behind a dilemma where our opponent is trying to surround us and where we voluntarily surround ourselves and in which, it must be said, belief often still exists in socialist countries.

This dilemma is a simple one: We either have nothing but nice words for existing socialism, or we criticize it adversely, in which case we receive abuse.

We are no longer in this stage. Possessing a clear view which is critical in the full sense of the word with regard to present-day socialism as well as with regard to anything else does not imply that we are deviating nor that we are disunited. We are simply participating in a movement of increasingly richer integration of the most varied and complex elements of reality in the thought that nourishes communist action. We do not do this to improve our "corporate" image but rather to contribute to the advance of socialism.

As for the good words that we have for existing socialism, this is simply an observation of a most important truth. With regard to this, the resolution plan of the 23rd Congress, in a statement that is often contested but rarely quoted, deals with the superior ability of the new system to solve the great problems of society.

This is the decisive question. Is the socialist system superior or not? Those who add up the shortcomings to obtain a total value which they believe to be negative over all believe that socialism has not yet proved this superiority. They believe that, abstractly speaking, socialism is superior, but, since it actually is not perfect (far from it), the proof remains to be made. This type of reasoning, if pushed to its logical limit, leads one to wonder whether it would not have been better if the October revolution had not taken place.

The above is said only to stimulate thought. It is necessary to look at our world squarely in the face. It requires a good deal of work to measure it in detail, without fearing deficiencies nor concentrating on them either, considering contradictions to be natural, and without allowing advances to be masked by them. It is time to start studying the way in which people live materially, morally, culturally, politically and nationally in the socialist world as compared with the rest of the world, each one busy with his own development.

What would you say of a picture of the world where zones of contact and of contrast, such as the following, would be examined: Bulgaria-Greece, Azerbaijan-Turkey, Cuba-French Antilles, North Korea-South Korea, East Germany-West Germany, Finland-Estheronia, etc.?

The more we deal with France, the more we realize that nothing can be understood today without a worldwide view. The further into the future our responsibility stretches, the more it appears that nothing can be accomplished without a historical view.

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This view cannot fail to reveal that socialism is at the center of man's movement in the 20th century and that the Soviet Union continues to play the principal role in it. If this observation appears to be a shocking one, let us ask ourselves a question. Why is the USSR a cannonball?

Let us consider the recent shocking event. What is going on with China? Well, she has decided to become developed industrially, to modernize herself, and to arm herself. This leads to the possibility of enormous, colossal, unimaginable investments. However, if the imperialist powers (USA, Japan and others of less importance) grant appropriate credits, they cannot expect these to be generally profitable on a short-term nor even on a medium-term basis. This is not the normal way for capitalists to behave. Then, why should they do so?

Perhaps there exists some hope of bringing back this immense country at least partially to operations of a capitalist nature, although this is a risky business. This is a type of change for which no one would say that the Chinese are ready. Furthermore, this may be an element of the discussions and differences which are evidenced within the Chinese Communist Party.

However, there is more to this story than that. Once again, it is a report of the Trilateral (the three big-powers) which puts it crudely. The growth of Soviet influence is disturbing. We (the Trilateral) are not in a position to solve this problem. Then, why not yield our big-power position to China? This might reduce our sphere of influence but it would reduce that of the Soviet Union even more.

Therefore, the essential force that big capital has to face in combat is the USSR.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

CHIRAC INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMY'S FUTURE

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 17 May 79 pp 50-51

[Interview with Jacques Chirac, former prime minister and president of the RPR Rally for the Republic, by correspondent Roger Priouret; date and place not given]

[Text] Since the day after the parliamentary elections, Jacques Chirac had reservations about Raymond Barre's economic policy, announcing that he would judge it by its results. But since the end of 1978, he increased his criticisms and confirmed its failure. But what policy does he propose in its place? So far, he has been sparing of details about the matter. We asked him to abandon this reticence. But it was logical to ask him, first of all, a political question which everybody has on the tip of their tongue.

[Question] You are accused from all sides of wanting to promote a victory of the Left either by bringing about parliamentary elections ahead of time, or at the time of the presidential election in 1981. Since socialists and communists do not understand each other, such a general confusion and lack of authority would result from it, that the country would be on the verge of anarchy. Then you, Jacques Chirac, would appear as the savior capable of rallying the majority of the country.

[Answer] It is peculiar how political observers--and perhaps, especially the most outstanding of them--have a short memory.

As early as June 1977, they already said--and their remarks appeared in all the press--that I would observe this "strategy of the savior" for the parliamentary elections the following

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year. Now I tell you seriously that I will never conduct a policy, based on the worst possibility. In 1974, during the last presidential election, I took an uncomfortable position for myself. But it was for the sole purpose of defeating Francois Mitterrand, allied with the communists.

I guarantee you: in all subsequent situations, the position which I will take will be based solely on my wishes and my mission of preventing a collectivist candidate from taking office. And that is not for personal reasons, but because it would represent the advent, even in the confusion, of a society which the French do not like and is not in France's interest.

Question You favor genuine planning and not that which was announced with the Eighth Plan.

Answer First, let us explain what I mean by planning. Of course, not the fussy and bureaucratic system which I leave to the collectivists and which was implicitly prescribed in the "common program." My conception is both more ambitious and more unassuming. It is based on everything which was done previously, since the creation of the plan by General de Gaulle, up to the "enthusiastic obligation" which it evoked at the end. It involves, simply, determining in a united and democratic manner, with all the professional organizations, the goals which France must set for itself, the priorities which that involves and the means which must be used to attain them. That implies some choices. Consequently we are very far from the do-nothing policy of the present government and what is presented to us as the Eighth Plan, which is only a parody of a plan. That is one of the main points of our differences. For me, the plan is the expression of the national will and not a report or a well studied, well balanced speech.

In this conception, free enterprise remains intact.

Question Is this possible with the opening of frontiers?

Answer I remind you that General de Gaulle, at the same time that he was following the operation of successive plans, opened the frontiers of Europe, starting in 1959. On the contrary, what the "common program" proposed as planning led to the closing of frontiers.

Question And in this program, would you fix a rate of growth for the economy?

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Answer It is obvious that an ambitious rate of growth is necessary. We have lived a long time with a high rate of growth. The one today is low. Naturally it is due to the crisis. But not completely, it is also the reflection of people's desires. There is quite a school of thought, which has expressed itself since 1974 and which explains to us that we need "moderate growth" because of the standard of living and also to avoid certain new restrictions. The President of the Republic repeated this idea of "moderate growth" in his book.

But life is choosing between disadvantages. Now what do we see with this present growth reduced to 3 percent, which they tell us cannot be exceeded without destroying important balances? The answer is in all the works of the economic forecasters. We will have 100,000 to 150,000 more unemployed every year and we will reach 2 million in a few years. I say that this is unacceptable, that it is intolerable.

Question How can we obtain a higher growth, while limiting the risks which it involves?

Answer We must create at least 400,000 jobs a year and a growth of 5 percent is necessary for that! And it is a minimum!

Question Then, it is necessary to start up the economy again.

Answer You have come up with the right answer. When I say it, they cry: shame on the irresponsible, thoughtless person, who is going to put us all back on the road to inflation and deficit of foreign payments. This is not true.

I will take an example. In 1975 we had made a considerable advance. I would point out that it was begun on the request of the chief of state and "set to music" technically by the minister of economics and finance. What have we observed? According to INSEE National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, it meant the creation of 400,000 jobs which stopped the rise in employment cold. And during the period, still according to the same source, the rate of inflation dropped regularly a half a point per quarter.

Question In what directions can this advance start?

Answer It must be selective. The first direction, in my opinion, is the liberation of small and medium size businesses which still have considerable potential energy and which play

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a big role, which we do not recognize, in the more dynamic countries: the United States, Japan and Germany. Now, here in France, strength of soul and unusual character are necessary to overcome the restraints which constantly weigh down on them.

I speak about their liberation for that reason. They need special regulations; it is imperative to eliminate credit restrictions on them, which do not hurt the large firms, but which paralyze them. We must free prices completely, while eliminating the department which exercised the controls. We must give them a different tax rate on companies, which exists abroad. Our professional tax system, which is absurd, works against them and against growth. The budget must absorb the contributions for family allowances. The old age and sickness contributions must no longer be based on wages. They need a special system for dismissals, together with the creation of an inter-enterprise guarantee fund to protect the rights of the workers, so that they can preserve their mobility of employment. It is necessary to create trading companies which organize them for export purposes.

But the small and medium enterprises are not the only cards to play in the economic pickup. I am thinking also of construction and public works, which are in a crisis, while we have considerable needs for infrastructure and housing. And these two sectors do not involve imports. In addition, there are two directions for economic improvement. On one hand, an important country cannot let steel, shipyards and textiles decline completely. On the other hand, it must especially be involved in the advance sectors which represent the future. There is more and more of a need to develop research and also to regain the domestic market. In short, the state must provide massive assistance for investments which create jobs, and those which obtain or save foreign exchange.

I am ready to discuss it, but they refuse. The government's decisions are presented as the expression of "revealed truth" and everything else brought up inspires contempt. Is that the agreement which should exist in a majority? I have been sounding the alarm in the economic and social field for 2 years, and I am not happy that events prove me right.

I think sometimes that our position is like 1938. There were two policies then. One was to arm ourselves slowly and steadily, which is what we did, with the known results; others armed themselves ruthlessly. Today it is not a question of military

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conflict, but of economic war. Now investments, what else are they but economic weapons? Well, that is beginning again. We are arming ourselves leisurely. And thus I fear, we are anticipating a similar result to the one in 1940.

Question This policy implies a certain number of expenses. But, at the same time, you favor a reduction of the budgetary deficit.

Answer Yes, I believe we must aim at balance. But notice, with a growth of 5 percent, the rate of tax revenue would increase at least 20 percent for the present period. And we would save a considerable part of what unemployment costs. Then the state has excessively high administrative expenditures, which we must reduce.

Question The budget taking over family allowances is a very substantial expense.

Answer But the prime minister has said that unemployment, the specific policy of employment, costs 44 billion, that is much more. I add that too much money is spent to pay people, who ask for work, to do nothing and that not enough assistance is provided to create new jobs. What I say about the budgetary deficit applies also to social security. It is necessary to go much further than stop payments for relief measures.

Question In spite of everything, I see in your policy of economic improvement an acceleration of the rise of prices and a return to protectionism.

Answer We have stagnation plus the rise in prices; the connection is not absolute. A return to improved business, when there are production capacities available, will lead to a reduction of unit costs. Of course, I am opposed to protectionism.

But, notice, Europe as a whole must maintain a certain protection, which the Japanese and the United States are doing, on their part. We can only allow limited amounts of products to reach our markets, whose prices are low because labor does not have any social benefits.

And here let us return to Europe. What were the two assignments on which everyone agreed: it was on one hand, the common foreign customs tariff and, on the other hand, the common agricultural

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market. Well! the Brussels commission, made up of irresponsible people, has minimized the importance of the common foreign tariff, at the mercy of the negotiations it is conducting with everyone and which have finally transformed the frontiers of Europe into a sieve.

I am amazed that those who speak of Europe in idyllic terms disregard this first important factor.

World development in the next 20 to 25 years will lead to a considerable increase in the consumption of agricultural products, quite simply because of increased births. Now experience shows--and that of the Soviet Union especially--that it is possible to make great progress in the industrial and technological field and still be incapable of improving the soil's yield.

Consequently the countries, which have the good luck to possess a past and agricultural land, must get themselves in shape to produce to meet the world's needs. And there again, I condemn the spirit of the Brussels commission, which believes that every increase of agricultural production create surpluses, as I condemn the compensatory payments, which paralyze all French agricultural production and which are not about to disappear. Alas! on this last point, I still could be right.

Question A more and more accepted possibility among the remedies for unemployment is shortening the working week to 35 hours. And the purpose of that is to reduce unemployment.

Answer I agree that the 35-hour week is an objective to be reached in time. But we cannot do it alone. And we return to the European problem. That must be negotiated in a European framework, but then we must protect ourselves against the savage competition of countries with low wages, that is, reject free trade Europe and return to a true idea of the "Common Market": You see, at last, that I am more European than they say.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

BRIEFS

PLO TERRORISM IN FRANCE--The DST [(French) Internal Security Service] and the SDECE [(French) Foreign Intelligence and Counterintelligence Service] have partially figured out the TO of the Palestinian terrorists in France following the arrest, at Roissy [Charles de Gaulle Airport] 3 week ago, of a Jordanian who was transporting a large amount of plastic [explosive]. It is now a certainty that the PLO is recruiting pro-Khomeiny Iranian students who are residing in France, and that at least two Near East embassies are acting as relay points for the terrorist by allowing their diplomatic pouches to be used to transfer improved weapons for them. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 4 Jun 79 p 15 WA]

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

ARMED FORCES OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS DISCUSSED

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 16 May 79 p 9

[Article by Fabrizio Carte: "To Cope with the Operational Requirements-- Army and Navy Want More Airplanes"]

[Excerpts] After WW I, both for reasons of the prestige of the ascendant fascism and to check the open rivalry between the Army and the Navy, which were competing with one another to obtain more and better airplanes from the specialist firms, it was decided to take all of the Army's and the Navy's aircraft and men and put them into a single third armed force. The comprehensive Aeronautical Administration was born, comprising: (1) the Air Force Command; (2) Italian Army Aviation; (3) Italian Navy Aviation.

This arrangement enabled Moiro, Italo Balbo and Giuseppe Valle to give a decisive impulse to the new branch, which, thanks also to the easy and victorious air operations in the skies over Spain, Ethiopia and Albania, found itself on the eve of WW II with a strength of 9,000 airplanes, stationed at more than 100 airports.

In WW II, despite the courage, abnegation and spirit of sacrifice of the pilots of all units, including those assigned to cooperation with the ground and naval forces, limitations of an organizational and operational nature came to light.

The existence of these limitations emerges clearly from the fact that in all three armed forces--even though different and contrasting reasons apply to each of them--the poor use of aviation still stands out today as one of the causes of defeat or failure to achieve complete success in many war operations. The Navy complains of scarcity and the lack of specific training for aircraft intended for naval operations support; the Army pinpoints the lack of air-ground tactical cooperation as an inhibitor of many actions in the field. The Air Force, on the other hand, criticizes the fact that too many of its units have been taken away from primary air defense and strategic bombing duties and put into exhausting and wearying operations in support of the Navy and the Army.

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Who is right? Each of them, to be sure, seems to have valid reasons for considering itself to be in the right. It seems logical at this point to go back to the origins of the "Aeronautical Administration," described above, and recognize the fact that unification had left too many problems unsolved: dualism at the top military levels which, with the necessity of conferring continually, led inevitably to dangerous mutual interference, as well as deficiencies and delays, prime causes of the obtaining of inadequate results; inadequate training, inasmuch as the flying units were not in very close touch with the operational commands for whom they functioned, thus coming to lack that working harmony without which any effective cooperation is impossible; and inappropriate selection and assignment of aircraft--aspects that were governed by continual compromises and which in the last analysis fail to take account of the real qualitative and quantitative requirements in the individual theaters of operation.

Where do matters stand today, more than 30 years after the end of the last world conflict?

In practice, very little has changed, and so a future war would bring up the errors of the past again, in the same terms.

Today, in fact, except for a few light aircraft and helicopter groups of the Army and a few antisubmarine helicopter groups of the Navy, all military aircraft, including even those intended for support of ground and naval operations, are still assigned to Military Aeronautics. Today, the Army and the Navy still bemoan the inadequacy of the means at their disposal, as well as considerable difficulties in the use of what they have.

A particularly good example of this ambiguous state of affairs is the organization of the sea patrol aircraft, the Breguet-Atlantics, which come organically under Military Aeronautics and operationally under the Navy, and are flown by pilots of whom 50 percent belong to each of the two armed forces, with all the misunderstanding, rivalry and compromise that can be imagined.

Many other nations, such as the United States and the Soviet Union, for example, solved the problem long ago by establishing, within the compass of a single armed force, air components appropriately sized and specially trained to handle the specific tasks of air cooperation, and consequently assigning to the Air Force as such only the tasks of air defense, bombing, and strategic reconnaissance.

Is it advisable for Italy too to adopt an approach different from the present one, which in the past has produced rather disputable results?

The reply can only be in the affirmative, if it is desired to modernize our military machinery and make it more flexible and effective. Ruling out, to start with, the idea of modifying the present structure once again--that is, reconstituting three distinct air forces, as in the beginning--this can be achieved only by giving adequate and coherent replies to the following questions:

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1. Who is to decide on the percentage of the aeronautics budget to be distributed to the three components--Air Force, Army and Navy? Who establishes the priorities and keeps track of changed strategic situations? (It should be noted that today only a negligible part of this budget is spent to meet the needs of the Army and the Navy.)
2. Whose job is it to evaluate and choose the aircraft suitable for effective cooperation? (Today, the range, armament, and flying characteristics of the G-91 and F-104 are considered inadequate for the requirements of the Army and the Navy.)
3. Who is to assign the operational, training and use priorities for such aircraft?

These are all questions that require clear and prompt answers, resulting not from preconceived notions and partisan jealousies, but rather inspired by understanding of the fact that higher interests are at stake, such as defense of the country and wiser use of the available resources.

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COUNTRY SECTION

SPAIN

INDUSTRY MINISTER INTERVIEWED, BACKGROUND GIVEN

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 27 May 79 pp 40-42

[Report on interview with Carlos Bustelo, minister of industry; date and place not given]

[Text] Once a member of the democratic socialists who were fighting against Franco, now Carlos Bustelo, "much more mature and less an ideologue," is minister of industry in the first constitutional government. He has for the last month been fighting tooth and nail against the inertia of a past that has made this ministry a veritable crying towel.

A little more than 20 days at the head of the Ministry of Industry and Energy has given Carlos Bustelo enough experience to be able to say that "no businessman ever comes here to ask that the free market reign where he is concerned. The workers, officials, and all Spaniards are guilty of the same lack of solidarity, the same selfishness. They all want a monopoly in their field of activity. If it is guaranteed by the Official Gazette, so much the better. Francoism is still deeply rooted in the Spanish society and mentality."

"In other societies," he adds, "all those who are members of the society know that when they receive more than they put in, it is always at the expense of the rest. Here, a large part of the problem lies in the fact that the political parties as well as the unions are not doing anything."

The new minister of industry was born 42 years ago in Ribadeo (Lugo) almost by accident, he says. "In October of 1936, one was born wherever one could." Of his three children with Catalonian Tere Tortella, one was born in Paris, another in Madrid, and the third in Washington, D.C.

Rich Kid

His father, a highway engineer, was a bigwig in the Spanish chemical industry. "We lived in the El Viso section of Madrid, and we were among the first to have a car. We were very privileged."

But the university struggles against the Franco regime turned a liberal, upper-class family into a "nest of reds" as far as the police were concerned.

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The first arrest of his brother Paco, today a representative of the radical wing of the Spanish Workers Socialist Party (PSOE), was a real bomb. "I think it was Conesa who came to my house at 0500 hours. Ever since then, I have had brothers and brothers-in-law in jail for a long time. From outside, I know Carabanchel Prison better than anyone." He himself has been interrogated many times, but never arrested.

The Congress of Young Writers of 1953 marked the birth of his political life. There he met the communist, Tamames, the socialist Enrique Mugica--then a member of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE)--and Dionisio Ridruejo.

But it was when the Socialist University Group (ASU) was born in 1957 that he first joined the political struggle.

Carlos Bustelo smiles now when he remembers how his family's wealth allowed him to finance the ASU infrastructure.

The Bustelos supplied the cream-colored Renault 4-4, which appears in the picture of Jorge Semprun on the cover of his book "Autobiografia de Federico Sanchez" [Autobiography of Federico Sanchez]; it was the ASU socialists warning to the PCE. And the photocopier which was carried in the car, that "gave us a mobility that not even the Social Political Brigade had at that time," was also supplied by the family.

He takes on a serious note: "Those were bad times. You could easily get three years, as Ceron 'The Good' did (Jesus Ceron, brother of the man who years later would become minister of trade), or you could get a minimum of one year, as my brother Paco did."

He still remembers when the district attorney, in order to lend more force to the charge against his brother, stated during the trial that "he used the back side of the pamphlets to print the Declaration of the Rights of Mankind." Now, says Carlos, wishing to end an era, what those pamphlets were asking for is written in the Constitution.

Still the Same

Since his university years, nothing has changed, maintains the new minister. "I still say the same things I said in law school, when I got Luis Solana to join the ASU, and when Gregorio Peces Barba was one of the Catholic members. The only difference is that then I said it in pamphlets."

Throughout the conversation, Carlos Bustelo exudes calmness and confidence. He is not an economist, but he has a good grasp of the subject. "Of course, no thanks are due to the university. I didn't learn a thing there."

He confesses that what he does know about economics he learned mainly from Luis Angel Rojo, Enrique Fuentes Quintana and Tamames during the five years when he worked for the International Monetary Fund, and the three years when he was holed up in a small OECD office in Paris, analyzing the economies of Mediterranean countries, especially Spain.

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In Paris, he met Santiago Carrillo, and there he experienced the crisis of the PCE and the defection of Jorge Semprun and Fernando Claudin.

"Along with them, and in my position at the OECD, I learned that the analyses of the Spanish situation made by the PCE were completely wrong. I realized that not even Lopez Rodo could stop the Spanish economy. Meanwhile, the PCE economists continued to believe that even the freezes of the orange crop were promoting economic paralysis and the huge general strike."

When he returned to Spain, as a member of the social democratic movement he maintained strong ties with the PSOE. Shortly before the first Congress inside Spain, Carlos Bustelo participated in the task force which prepared the economic platform of the PSOE.

A year later, the economic ideas of Bustelo, Mariano Rubio and Juan Antonio Garcia Diez gave birth to what was to be the Democratic Center Union's (UCD) economic program.

Leftist UCD

During this period he says he has learned to respect private enterprise a great deal, and has traveled in more than 50 countries. Of those nations, the United States has had the greatest impact on his thinking. "It irritates me," he points out expressively, "that the Spanish bourgeoisie talks about this without knowing the United States."

Although he cooperated with the PSOE earlier, he feels absolutely no limitations within the UCD. He joined that party a month before its first Congress. "The UCD perfectly embodies the progressive democracy that I have always looked for. I think this party can engage in the most progressive politics possible at this time."

He also adds: "I think that I am in the most progressive wing of the UCD. Perhaps it is in the area of economics where the differences among the various factions are the least marked, but in the development of the Constitution these differences will be blown up to their true dimensions. I for one would like to see that development be as secular as possible, that is, without any religious influence."

"I Am Clearly In Favor Of Divorce"

He is an obvious supporter of divorce. With regard to abortion, Carlos Bustelo remembers the years when he lived in the United States: "There, abortion is no problem. We must give time time."

Until recently, he had not met Adolfo Suarez. He finally met him on the occasion of French President Giscard's visit to Spain. "Before then, I saw more of my PSOE friends."

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Later he had a chance to strengthen that relationship on the trips the two made together to Cuba and Venezuela. "In any case, I was not at all surprised to be named minister," he indicates, pointing to his efforts as undersecretary of trade.

The trips have been Bustelo's best bargaining chip. "I spoke with the King quite a bit on the trips to China, Iran and Iraq. In 15 days one reveals a lot about oneself."

It has been written that there is a Bustelo for every political option. Now it is the turn of the third of four siblings, Carlos Bustelo y Garcia del Real. All of them were political fighters during their university days, perhaps with the exception of the oldest, Jose Ramon, who is now the director general of trade.

Bustelo: One For Every Taste

These same struggles radicalized the positions of the brothers, leading up to the present confrontation, which became manifest after Franco's death.

"Now I only discuss concrete issues with my family."

Paco Bustelo, according to his brother, represents the hardest line in PSOE. That radical stance led him to resign from the party's executive committee. At the Congress of Suresnes (France) he could have been elected first secretary, taking Felipe Gonzalez' job away.

"Carlota, also from a radical socialist position, has now joined the feminists, and is fighting with the executive committee of the POSE. She says that this party has fewer women deputies than the UCD."

His current disaffection from the PSOE is obvious. "When I talk with my family and other PSOE members, I get the feeling that their positions are the same as those we had when we were university students."

The problem of this party, he adds, is that it has very few members who have worked or who have had some responsibility in private or public enterprise. Now, after the municipal elections, they will have to learn.

PSOE Should Learn English

For Carlos Bustelo, the voluntaristic joys of the leftist parties have had a high price. "There is always the consolation afterwards of saying that it was the CIA, but the CIA is not destabilizing Sweden. I would like to help this country become more like Sweden in the next 10 years, and take it further away from that South American nation that it resembled so closely five years ago."

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"It is no longer a problem of good or bad, of oligarchies and exploited masses, but one of seeking the best possible allocation of scarce resources. This is the political game of options."

"There are few people in the PSOE who understand this, and this of course makes dialog with them difficult. I also believe that it would be good for the PSOE economists to learn English and forget their French. Everything that is written in French is harmful," concludes the minister.

He says that now he has no time for reading, "not even 'La historia magica de Espana' [The Magic History of Spain] by my friend Sanchez Drago."

He is a great fan of English novels--"until a month ago I read a lot in English"--but that has given way to the flood of paperwork. However, he is very satisfied with his job as minister of industry.

"The truth," he adds, "is that I could be living the good life there. This country so far has allowed me to live better than other Spaniards my age. I feel indebted for that. I have been able to live thanks to Spaniards, and now I think I should pay them back."

Carlos Bustelo, 42, raises his eyes to a Casado de Alisal oil painting, called "La Tirana." "I don't know who that woman was, but her skeptical and mocking look is an obsession with me. It's as if she were constantly asking me, 'And you, what are you doing here?'"

"The whole country," he goes on, "seems to be ready to bring all its problems to this ministry, which is quite overwhelming. This is still a very Francoist country. The behavior and mental inertia of the last few years will take quite a while to conquer. I am optimistic for the long run, but I am aware of all we have ahead of us in the struggle to overcome the inertia of Francoism."

Inflation One Thing, Ayatollah Another

He looks out for a moment at the traffic of Serrano. The old, decrepit mansion into which the Ministry of Industry is jammed is constantly assaulted by the noise of an utterly debilitating traffic. Speaking of traffic, we are reminded of the issues of gasoline, oil, and energy.

"We must do something about energy, and we must do it now," he observes thoughtfully as he stares out the window.

[Question] However, your cabinet colleague, Minister of Economics Jose Luis Leal, has said that there is no reason to raise energy prices now. Are there really differences of opinion between you two? The press has said so. . .

[Answer] Jose Luis Leal and I are in agreement on the serious nature of the problem. The only differences we have revolve around when would be the best time to take the steps to solve the problem. Of course, it is absolutely inevitable that we must rationalize energy prices. Spaniards cannot think or

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hope that while the world is in turmoil, we Spaniards can continue to squander energy unthinkingly, like a chosen people. It would be suicidal for Spain to repeat Barrera de Irimo's ploy: the old nothing-is-going-on-here game that we are still regretting."

With regard to the timing of the price increase for energy products, among them gasoline, it seems that the minister of industry and energy has lost the battle, and there is nothing to do until July. The goal is still to reach the home stretch with semester prices under 6.5 percent in order to prevent the revision of collective bargaining agreements.

"What we will have to do," comments Carlos Bustelo, "is take energy out of the cost of living index, as is done in some countries. Inflation is one thing; the Ayatollah is another."

The issue of his relationship with Jose Luis Leal comes up again. . . "There is no difference between us," Carlos Bustelo hastens to point out, "as we showed in the conversations we always have. I have only known Jose Luis Leal for a short time, but from the beginning I realized that he is very similar to me. His education, his past, I daresay his style--all are like mine.

Cure Public Sector

Perhaps Carlos Bustelo would like to have named a new president of the National Institute for Industry. However, he could not. In any case, he prefers not to discuss the matter. "What I will do," he affirms, "is professionalize as much as possible the management of the Institute's firms. I have already begun cleaning up the chairmanships, and I will delve into that more in the coming weeks."

The errors of the public sector, he says, have cost the country tens of billions of pesetas in recent years, "and that must stop."

Concerning the policy that he will follow as head of the Ministry of Industry, Bustelo is clearly in favor of doing away with the Francoist practice of sectorial policies. "We must establish a common economic policy among all the ministries, and for my part, I intend to participate in all general economic policy decisions."

Regarding his ministry, Bustelo wants to put an end to interventionism as much as possible. Security, unity with Europe and environmental conservation are his main objectives. "We definitely do not have to invent great things. We have Europe right there, and we cannot afford to be different."

Yes On Nuclear Energy

Carlos Bustelo is an enthusiastic supporter of nuclear energy, although the final decision will be subject to the dictates of the political party representatives. As far as a referendum is concerned, he says it is a poor solution in a democratic regime. "Those are solutions for Franco or De Gaulle."

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Recently referendums were held on the nuclear issue in Austria, where the anti-nuclear forces won, and Switzerland, where the other side was victorious.

According to Bustelo, "this is a new and controversial [de punta] form of energy which has risks that must be reduced as much as possible, even at the cost of increasing the per-kilowatt price. Given the need for energy growth in this country, it cannot be ignored as a basic support for consumption."

Finally, warns the minister: "It would be a historic decision if we were to abandon the nuclear option; one which would involve abandoning any possibility of Spain becoming a part of the European Economic Community."

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COUNTRY SECTION

SPAIN

ECONOMY MINISTER'S BACKGROUND DISCUSSED

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Apr 79 pp 36, 37

[Text] He was a fellow student of Juan Carlos I of Spain in his undergraduate days, but that is a biographical fact that Jose Luis Leal in his discretion prefers to omit. Perhaps for the same reason, Television Spain decided to leave out the minutes of film in which the King, ceremoniously extending his hand to all the ministers assuming their posts, fell into a friendly embrace with the new minister of the economy.

Jose Luis Leal spent nearly 15 of his 39 years of life abroad. That was certainly not the future his father, the liberal--according to his son--Admiral Leal, dreamed of for him. There seemed to be no indication of it when the young man began studying law in Madrid.

The admiral had not calculated that university life would plunge his son into the world of the "Felipe" (Popular Liberation Front), and that later that activity would send him into exile.

"That was a very complicated era," he recalls in his office at Castellana 3. "We were in the university, and at the same time we were plotting." For him, as for many others, the main concern was personal safety. "The fear of torture, or, at best, 10 or 15 years in prison."

Like Penelope

Political activity forced a "sort of double life, which was very risky, and in which, likewise, very few of us took part."

Installed in the office that had been Laureano Lopez Rodo's--"Here, like Penelope, we work to unravel what has been woven earlier"--Jose Luis Leal tries to explain the meager response those young enthusiasts found. "The social climate of the times was hostile to debate. The strikes were re-sounding failures. We could not assemble anyone except ourselves. We always had pamphlets left over."

The reign of terror, perhaps? "More than that; I think that we were far away from the social reality of the country at that time; our theories were

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those of the third world. On the other hand, there was also the influence of the victorious Cuban revolution." The risk, seen from afar, seemed enormous. "We used to call a demonstration, and there were only us and 20,000 policemen."

Nevertheless, for Jose Luis Leal, the FLP experience had, and still has, an undeniable virtue: it was a truly autochthonous effort. "Although we were very far from the reality of the times, we were always closer than the opposition, which had its nucleus abroad, above all in Paris."

And not just that. On a more sentimental level, he also wants to recover the solid ties developed among the members of the group. "We were very strongly united."

In the world of secrecy, danger, "the double life," there nevertheless was room to write poetry, an inclination that Jose Luis Leal, with a shy smile, confesses that he keeps up to this day. Of course in those times of rebellion, the accent was on social problems, influence of "the Spanish equivalent of social realism." Time has colored the poetry of the present minister of the economy with greater sentimentalism.

His long stay abroad--"I have some difficulty using Spanish fluently"--serves as his alibi to explain the way he keeps his poetry production private.

For all those who live with danger, the time comes when they cross the line between action and prison. And that time, for Jose Luis Leal, came "around 1960 to 1962." First Geneva, where he took his degree in political science. Then Paris, which gave him the opportunity to get his doctorate in economy and also the diploma of the Higher Institute of Statistics.

May of 1968 finds him in Nanterre, teaching economics in the sociology department. Among the many students he had during the 5 years he taught in Nanterre, was Daniel Cohn Bendit, for whom Jose Luis Leal does not conceal his fellow feeling.

"He was very intelligent, an excellent debater, and admirable mobilizer, and likewise, he had an enormous capacity to poke fun at anything."

The memory of that May enlivens the placid features of the minister of economy which have a somewhat mature air, despite his youth. The enthusiasm changes the calm rhythm and the rather low tone of his voice. "The French university," he sums up, "was rather amazing up to that point. It was a very academic world."

The specific scene in which he happened to evolve was a sort of synthesis of that university world. "Nanterre was an island, in a suburb, on the outskirts of Paris." In his memory he relives the wandering of the students, who did not have even a nearby bar to go to between classes. "They sat in the corridors, because there was not even a meeting room. It all seemed rather unreal."

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The rebellion was almost unnoticed at the beginning. "Those kids were a little bit anarchistic and a little bit utopian. At first, everyone was against them." Perhaps because of his youth--he was then 28 years old--or because of his temperament, or a certain basic anarchism, Jose Luis Leal shared their feelings.

Reading Freud is Good

His admiration, he now speculates, perhaps was based on the fact that the rebellion used the weapon of sarcasm a great deal, "which French society liked very little." He delightedly followed the slow growth of the rebellious movement, witnessed how it gained support and left the university to reach to working sectors. "They always had to face the opposition of Maoists and communists. But when they reached that point, the Maoists produced a remarkable self-critique, in which they admitted that they were mistaken about the masses; that they were not outside, but were the student masses."

Going beyond the anecdote, Jose Luis Leal stresses the novel nature of the rebellious movement compared to the academic world and French society. "But it also questioned Marxist thought, the only kind considered valid among the intellectuals up to that time."

The effects of May 1968--"which continue to this day"--may have included allowing the penetration of other ideas in a society that was very stratified until then, and putting more ideas in circulation. "Freud is read more, for example, which seems very positive to me."

But while the rebellious movement gained ever more support among the student body, it was not so with the professors, who divided up into three tendencies. In the first place, there were those who radically opposed it. The present economy minister recalls with amusement "a certain very short professor who I saw jumping up to set fire to a poster with his lighter."

Other professors--"above all at the end"--took an active part in the rebellion. The third sector, which included Jose Luis Leal, watched the changes that were taking place with curiosity, interest, and sympathy.

"It was a very radical movement in its plans, but very soft in its forms." And almost with complicity. Jose Luis Leal ends, "It was also a lot of fun, very surprising. Every 'happening' was organized!"

To Choose in a Democracy

After his teaching experience in Nanterre, Jose Luis Leal entered the Department of Economic Affairs of the ODCE [expansion unknown], where he was concerned with the Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese economies. Still living in Paris, he went through all the proceedings to vote by mail on 15 June 1977--"a very difficult thing"--but when he had it all arranged, he decided to come to vote in person. "I wanted to see it with my own eyes."

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Before the election, on 14 June to be exact, he happened to meet Enrique Fuentes Quintana, minister of the economy, at a dinner. After the election, Fuentes Quintana offered him the position of Director of Economic Policy.

"I accepted because the temptation to have a small part in the restoration of democracy in this country was very great."

Months later, after the resignation of Fuentes Quintana, Jose Luis Leal is named Secretary of State, in March 1978.

Little by little, his own activity in government circles brings him closer to the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD), which he joins shortly before the first congress, in October of last year.

"With the constitution, I felt that the transition period was over. Democracy obliges people to make choices." Jose Luis Leal absolutely refuses to admit that method may be above the parties. "It ought to be subordinate to political power."

The minister of economy was faced with the need to make a choice, and "the alternative that seemed best to me was the UCD."

"On the other hand," he adds, "another reason for that choice was that I believe that some reforms must be made, and with a liberal spirit."

A Paradoxical Society

Scorning naivete, Jose Luis Leal maintains that "it is obvious that Spanish society still has an enormous amount of Francoist sediment." This after-taste may be translated into a certain rigidity, in still-stereotyped behavior. "It is a society in which it is still hard to dissent. They are all worried about being in agreement.

"But I think that, at the same time, it is a paradoxical society, since it accepts change relatively well, and is very open to innovation." Also surprising to him is the absence of a spirit of investigation, and not only in the scientific fields. "There is a complete lack of a spirit of criticism, in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word."

The danger, he points out, is that debate in Spain is understood to be "a lot of shouting, and not an exchange of ideas in which it is not absolutely indispensable to reach total agreement."

Then is it good that a consensus has been reached? "The consensus was necessary to end the transition period, and its result was the development of a really presentable constitution."

In his opinion this is the beginning of a period of constructive debate to reach a pluralist democracy.

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"Now," he guesses hopefully, "let's see if we are able to dissent and debate so that the country will feel that is truly represented by its politicians and directed by its discussions." The Anglo-Saxon model arises again: "I mean talks in Parliament, peacefully, calmly."

"I promise"--and not "I swear"--was the formula he chose to take his office, distinguishing himself from the other ministers. "Both formulas are perfectly constitutional," he explains. "I chose the lay form because I firmly believe that the church should be separated from the state."

Economy in Three Stages

The future of the economic policy, according to the man responsible for it, has more than one basis for optimism.

"We think that we must make our plans in three stages. On the one hand, the immediate stage, the pressing problems, such as strikes and inflation. We think we are doing everything possible to hold down the unemployment rate, with measures like reducing retirement age in some sectors, stimulating private initiative, which in the final instance is what creates employment. In any case, there is no single solution for this problem."

The second stage, the economy minister continues, is that of making medium-term forecasts, seeking a way out of the crisis for the next few years. It would be a matter of establishing priorities: investment, industrial reconversion, exports, professional training, and a long list of others which should be the object of careful study.

The third stage, the one Jose Luis Leal stresses the most, is what he calls "exploration": "Knowing where we are going. Really knowing ourselves. It seems unbelievable, but we do not even know exactly what our natural resources are, our reserves in oil and minerals. We must make long-term plans.

"The most important thing," he stresses, "is to be aware, because we have already shown that we are able to change."

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