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4 August 1981

West Europe Report

(FOUO 36/81)



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POLITICAL

FRANCE

FAVORABLE ATTITUDES ON ELECTIONS, FUTURE POLICIES

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 4-10 Jul 81 pp 41-44

[SOFRES [French Opinion Polling Company] poll, 22-24 Jun 81; commentary by Jacques Julliard: "A Triumph Under the Microscope"]

[Text] The "heartbeat for the socialists that assured Francois Mitterrand's victory in the presidential election became a wave in the legislative elections, a wave to which the right could not react and concerning which analysts were left with no clear answers. Where did those new battalions of socialist voters swarming all over the country come from? For the first time, the poll which SOFRES made for LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR concerning the French people's reasons for voting the way they did on 14 and 21 June -- along with Jacques Julliard's comments -- gives a clearer idea of those who just launched the country on a new political era.

For the more than two months it had been swelling, we thought we understood it well, that famous socialist wave of spring 1981. And yet, in the latest postelection poll that we asked SOFRES to make on the occasion of the recent legislative elections, there are figures that take one's breath away, figures that astound us and lead us to the brink of incredulity. The wave crossed the most well established borders, flattened the oldest mountains, swept away the most characteristic features of our election geography: At a stroke, our landscape was wiped clean. When they try to put the socialist results on their graphs, will the statisticians have to change their scales once and for all, or will they be content to "iron down" the curve, as they customarily do for short-lived accidents? We shall only know later, when the socialists are judged by their actions. For the time being, let us be content to take the exact measure of the event.

First of all, one astounding observation: On 14 June, on the first ballot, the socialists won in all the socioprofessional categories of the French population. Farmers, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, upper- and intermediate-level management personnel, members of the liberal professions,¹ blue- and white-collar workers, retired persons: All put the PS at the top. Beating Chirac with the farmers, Giscard with retired persons and Marchais with the workers: That is the noteworthy performance accomplished by Francois Mitterrand in these legislative elections on the thrust of the presidential election. Subject to further research, one can state that this is the first time that such an event has happened since deputies have been elected in France. This provisionally closed a serious debate that pitted socialist theoreticians against one another. Should the expression "class front" --

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a formula which, in socialist jargon, designates the order of battle in the social field -- be understood as "front of the classes"? At least with respect to elections, the matter has been decided, for no party has ever enjoyed such an "interclassist" electorate as the Socialist Party now does.

Such a change is not without ambiguities and it will be very difficult for the Socialist Party to satisfy all the strata of its voters, but so what! One has to take a stand: In a democratic system, every gain in representativeness is made at the expense of clarity or, if one prefers, of the purity of positions, whence the need, alongside interclassist groupings such as parties, for more specific organizations of a class or social group, such as trade unions.

Bastion To Save

In the future, it will be difficult for the Communist Party to present itself, when competing with the Socialist Party, as the "working class party," inasmuch as it now attracts only 24 percent of the workers' votes, compared with 44 percent for the Socialist Party (nearly double) and 30 percent for the UNM -- that is, the coalition of rightists. On the first ballot of the presidential election (see our poll in LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR of 1 June 1981), Georges Marchais was almost equal with Francois Mitterrand among the workers (30 percent compared with 33 percent). Since that time, however, the hemorrhage has grown worse: Fewer than one-fourth of all French workers now vote communist! Behind this cruel figure is more than an election setback, more than the end of a symbol: There is a veritable theoretical rout. It explains why, by the evening of the first ballot of the legislative elections, the PCF felt that its very existence was threatened and why, abandoning all pride and coherence, it capitulated before the Socialist Party. In view of the coming municipal elections, was it not a question of preserving, thanks to a hasty agreement, this last great communist bastion: the mayors' offices in the Parisian suburbs and those in a number of larger cities? The time of arrogance, when the PCF quibbled over the subsidiaries of the nationalizable enterprises, when Georges Marchais, from the capital of the invaders, justified the invasion of Afghanistan, is long gone!

Let us not leave our table showing the distribution of votes by sex, age and profession, without emphasizing the second major trend that came about between the presidential election and the legislative elections: the voting behavior of the young. It will be recalled that on the first ballot of the presidential election, voters between the ages of 18 and 24, while massively choosing the left over the right (54 to 35 percent), distinguished themselves from their elders by preferring Marchais over Mitterrand (24 to 22 percent) and by giving the latter a percentage of votes that was lower than his average. Then there was the hair trigger on the evening of 10 May, when the young people appropriated a victory that was not particularly theirs. And to gain pardon for their previous skepticism, they literally measured the popularity of the Socialist Party by granting it, on 14 June, 44 percent of their votes compared with 18 percent for the Communist Party.

And yet another myth is deflated: In politics, at least, it is not always the young people who are in the avant-garde. The explanation seems to be the following: Until recently, young people were profoundly skeptical about politics and that skepticism was expressed, either by a high rate of abstention (two times higher than for the rest of the population) or by a vote in favor of the ecologists (11 percent for Brice Lalonde on 26 April, compared with 4 percent for voters as a whole). Since that

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time, adolescents and young people have flocked to the winners camp, but they have continued to abstain about twice the amount of the rest of the voters and their support, which is more massive than profound, will have to be tested by time.

One is tempted to say the same for women who, on the first ballot of the presidential election, manifested a certain reserve with respect to Francois Mitterrand. Only 24 percent voted for him (29 percent for men). They also changed because nearly as many women as men voted socialist on the first ballot of the legislative elections (38 percent compared with 39). Workers, women, young people: There is in these recent defections to the socialist banner a romantic, Lamartinian tone that will not displease the new president of the republic.

1978 Intuition

On the first ballot of the presidential election, Francois Mitterrand obtained 26 percent of the votes cast, a fine success that opened the doors to victory. Seven weeks later, on the first ballot of the legislative elections, the socialist candidates improved the performance of their leader by nearly 12 points, a fantastic surge that laid the way for the triumph on the following Sunday. That is why it was interesting to ask whether, in the meantime, the motivations of the voters changed or remained the same. The poll's answer is clear: By voting socialist, they first of all wanted to confirm the Mitterrand vote in favor of change. Neither the first social measures -- which were actually modest -- taken by the Mauroy government nor even the desire for institutional coherence seemed decisive. By an absolute majority (51 percent), it was thought that it was "change" that was wanted: change, a vague, vast, all-encompassing, magic word. But it was a verdict also, for the old majority, which never managed to get rid of the hair shirt of unemployment and inflation or persuade voters that it was capable of imagining anything else. Combined, these two complaints explain 63 percent of the failure of the French right, which, in order to be rejuvenated, needed the opposition cure just prescribed by the voters.

What does the future then look like? Not wishing to repeat what was said in the commentary on the postpresidential poll, we shall not dwell on the exceptionally high rate of satisfaction (59 percent) after the National Assembly election. Despite (or because of?) the distortional nature of the majority voting system, which increased the socialist victory by noteworthy proportions, turning the relative majority of votes into an absolute majority of seats, public opinion believes (75 percent to 17) that the Assembly just elected corresponds to the wishes of the French people: triple approval with the presidential, majority and socialist victory. By way of comparison, in April 1978 -- when, following the breakup of the Union of the Left by the communists, the voters gave the right a reprieve in which it had ceased believing a few months earlier -- only a one-point majority (46 percent compared with 45) thought that the newly elected Assembly truly corresponded to the desires of the French. Such an approval, mere lip service, would have caused one to reflect.

Basically, nothing new happened between 1978 and 1981. The lack of unity in the left, unemployment, were present 3 years ago. It is as if in their wisdom or their intuitive understanding of the constitutional mechanisms of the Fifth Republic, the voters in 1978 preferred putting off until the next presidential election a change they already viewed as indispensable. The election rule derived from the current institutions could therefore read as follows: on the presidential election, one chooses; in the legislative elections, one prepares.

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Impeccable Carryover

Let us now turn to the vanquished and, first of all, to the Communist Party, which, despite its entry into the government, the majority of the voters quite rightly refuse to place in the victory camp. Some 64 percent even believe that the Socialist Party's victory was won, not only over the right, but over the Communist Party as well. Naturally, only 26 percent of the communist voters believe this, but that 26 percent in an already weakened electorate deserves consideration. It must be brought together with the 21 percent of the communist voters who want Georges Marchais replaced at the head of the Communist Party. In January 1976, Marchais was deemed to be a good leader by 90 percent of the communist followers, compared with 4 percent who were against him. In April 1979, on the eve of the 23d Congress, he still had 84 percent compared with 9 against him. One can see how much ground he has lost.² There is only one point on which communist voters have not changed, unlike their leaders: their loyalty to the Union of the Left and republican discipline. Once again, their voter carryover was impeccable (Table 4), much better, as one can see, than that of the socialist voters.³ At any rate, we know that the defeat accentuates splits. The coming debates within the PCF will be interesting to observe, to the extent that we shall have that opportunity.

The same is true on the right. Neither Raymond Barre, whose popularity for the time being remains homeopathic, nor Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the big loser in this long series of ballots, has succeeded in rising from the defeat, as massive as it was sudden. Among followers of the UDF, the former president of the republic scarcely achieves an absolute majority (51 percent) when it is a matter of designating the best future challenger of the new majority. It is Jacques Chirac who emerges the winner -- on points -- of these special primaries. He now seems to have succeeded in the first phase of his program: eliminating all rivals within his own camp. But on the dawn of a socialist era, whose duration no one can measure, the most difficult tasks are ahead.

Sampling

This SOFRES poll was made for LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR from 22 to 24 June 1981, using a national sampling of 1,000 persons representative of the entire population 18 and over and a quota method (sex, age, profession of head of family) and employing a stratification by region and type of population center.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted that for SOFRES as well as for INSEE [National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies], "upper-level management personnel, liberal professions, manufacturers and large merchants" constitute a single and scarcely homogeneous socioprofessional category.
2. SOFRES poll, LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, No 756 of 7-13 May 1979.
3. The small number of districts in which the duel of the second ballot pitted a communist against a UNM did not make it possible, given the size of the sampling, to figure the carryover rate of socialists over communists with a satisfactory degree of reliability.

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For 51 percent, it was the desire for reform that explains the success of the socialists.

1. In your opinion, what reason best explains the success of the Socialist Party?

Desire of voters to confirm their vote in the presidential election for Mitterrand and avoid an institutional crisis	21
Desire to reduce influence of Communist Party in French political life	5
Desire to see reforms and changes promised by Mitterrand applied	51
First social measures taken by the Mauroy government	6
Wish to see socialist program to fight unemployment applied	12
No opinion	5
	<hr/>
	100%

For 32 percent, the defeat of the outgoing majority is due to its economic and social failure.

2. What reason best explains the defeat of the UDF [French Democratic Union] and the RPR [Rally for the Republic]?

With the single candidacies of the old majority, many voters did not have in their district a candidate who truly represented their ideas.	7
The UDF and the RPR criticized the Socialist Party too much and did not develop their program and proposals enough.	31
Giscard d'Estaing and Barre did not participate in the election campaign.	5
After its defeat in the presidential election, the old majority had no chance of winning the legislative elections.	15
The failure of the outgoing majority in the economic and social domain	32
No opinion	10
	<hr/>
	100%

It was young people, women, blue- and white-collar workers...and a party of the rich that ensured the victory of the Socialist Party.

3. Distribution of Votes on 14 June Within Each Category of the Population

	CP	PSU	PS, Rad.Left	Ecolo-	UDF	RPR	Misc.	Misc.Rt.	
		<u>Ext.Left</u>	<u>Misc. Left</u>	<u>gists</u>			<u>UNM</u>	<u>Ext.Rt.</u>	
Total	100%	16	1	39	1	19	21	1	2
Sex									
Men		17	2	39	1	20	20	-	1
Women		15	1	38	2	18	22	1	3
Age									
18 to 24		18	2	44	2	14	17	-	3
25 to 34		17	2	46	3	16	15	1	-
35 to 49		17	2	37	1	18	23	1	1
50 to 64		18	1	42	1	19	16	1	2
65 and over		10	1	27	-	27	30	-	5

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(3. cont.)

	CP	PSU <u>Ext.Left</u>	PS, Rad.Left <u>Misc. Left</u>	Ecolo- <u>gists</u>	UDF	RPR	Misc. <u>UNM</u>	Misc.Rt. <u>Ext.Rt.</u>
Socioprofessional Category of Head of Family								
Farmer, farm worker	6	2	32	-	28	32	-	-
Small merchant, artisan	10	-	35	-	19	31	-	5
Management, liberal professions, manufacturer, merchant	7	2	38	3	19	28	3	-
Intermediate-level management, white-collar workers	16	2	45	2	18	14	1	2
Blue-collar workers	24	1	44	1	15	14	1	-
Inactive, retired	16	1	29	-	23	26	1	4

On the second ballot, there were practically no "betrayals," except within the UDF.

4. Shifts of votes from first to second ballot, wherever there was a Socialist Party-UNM duel.

<u>Vote on First Ballot</u>	<u>Vote on Second Ballot</u>			
		<u>PS</u>	<u>UNM</u>	<u>Abstention, No Response</u>
Communist Party	100%	94	2	4
Socialist Party, radical leftists, misc. left	100%	97	2	1
UDF-UNM	100%	5	84	11
RPR-UNM	100%	-	96	4

Some 59 percent are rather satisfied with the result of the elections.

5. Are you more satisfied or disappointed with the result of the elections?

	<u>April 1978*</u>	<u>May 1981*</u>	<u>June 1981</u>
Rather satisfied	51	53	59
Rather disappointed	35	30	30
No opinion	14	17	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR-SOFRES postelection poll.

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In the results of the 21 June election, 64 percent see a victory by the Socialist Party over the Communist Party and the old majority as well.

6. Do you believe that the legislative elections are:

A joint victory of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party over the old majority (or)	29
A victory of the Socialist Party over the Communist Party and the old majority?	64
No opinion	7
	<hr/>
	100%

For 75 percent, the New Assembly truly corresponds to the wishes of the French.

7. Do you believe that the Assembly that has just been elected corresponds to what the French truly want?

	FNSP-[exp. unknown] SOFRES <u>Poll April 1978</u>	June <u>1981</u>
Yes, completely	11>46	29>75
Yes, fairly well	35	46
No, not very well	30>45	13>17
No, not at all	15	4
No opinion	9	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%

The new power of the Socialist Party is not deemed "dangerous" by 54 percent.

8. Some say that the Socialist Party now has all power (the presidency, the majority in the Assembly, the support of the trade unions, and so on) and that this might represent a danger for democracy. Do you agree completely, are you fairly much in agreement, do you not quite agree or not agree at all with this opinion?

Complete agreement	14>37
Fairly much in agreement	23
Not quite in agreement	23>54
Not at all in agreement	31
No opinion	9
	<hr/>
	100%

Some 40 percent hope that the socialists will strictly carry out the reforms they announced.

9. Do you hope that the Socialist Party:

Strictly carries out reforms and changes it announced during the campaign?	40
Does not go as far and gives up certain reforms?	35
Goes farther and makes more reforms and changes?	19
No opinion	6
	<hr/>
	100%

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Some 21 percent of the followers of the Communist Party hope that Georges Marchais will be replaced.

10. Do you want Georges Marchais to remain as secretary general of the Communist Party or would you prefer that he be replaced in the coming months at the head of the Communist Party?

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Out of 100 CP Followers</u>
Hope that Georges Marchais will remain as secretary general	27	71
Hope that Georges Marchais will be replaced	31	21
No opinion	42	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Who would be the best candidate for the right in the case of a new presidential election? Chirac is far ahead of Giscard.

11. If there were to be another presidential election in the next 2 or 3 years, in your opinion, who would be the best candidate to face the left: Raymond Barre, Jacques Chirac or Valery Giscard d'Estaing?

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Out of 100 UDF Followers</u>	<u>Out of 100 RPR Followers</u>
Raymond Barre	8	12	4
Jacques Chirac	40	29	81
Valery Giscard d'Estaing	25	51	12
No opinion	27	8	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Some 44 percent believe that the 21 June results will have favorable effects on their lives.

12. Do you believe that the results of the 21 June election will affect your daily life, your standard of living, in a way that will be:

	<u>May 1981*</u>	<u>June 1981</u>
Rather favorable	44	44
Rather unfavorable	15	17
Almost unnoticeable	27	32
No opinion	14	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR-SOFRES postelection poll.

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MILITARY

FRANCE

HERNU GOALS: CITIZEN SOLDIERS, COST REDUCTION, SANCTUARY

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 10-16 Jul 81 pp 55-57, 59

[Article by Jerome Dumoulin with Christian d'Epenoux and Jean-Francois Jacquier:
"The Army of the Year 1"]

[Text] Formerly pampered by Giscard, the military now have a minister who prefers gendarmes to paratroopers, infantrymen to tankers, GI's to generals. They are observing in silence.

The Army, listening in on the ministry [of Defense] on Rue Saint-Dominique, is watching between the lines of a good-natured speech for some partial secrets on the coming upheavals. When Charles Hernu presented his civil and military cabinet to the press, he devoted the main part of his statement to the gendarmerie. Several days later, while one of his assistants refused to authorize L'EXPRESS to conduct an inquiry among French Army units, he generously offered his assistance for an article devoted to the gendarmerie. As a good son, the new minister of Defense has not forgotten that his father was a gendarme at Quimper.

But the tribute is more than filial. A high official stated ironically: "In Hernu's opinion, the kepi and the red stripe are what counts. The gendarme is the Republic. While the paratrooper always smells a little of a putsch." A malicious remark, unfair perhaps, but one that contains its share of truth. Charles Hernu accuses General Jeannou Lacaze, Armed Forces chief of staff, former commander of the 11th paratrooper division and who will probably resign, frankly of being only "operational," one of those fighters that "Father" Bigeard liked.

"All the generals appointed by Giscard think only of war!" the minister of Defense exclaimed in front of an amazed officer. "We need different types." "What does he want? An army smelling of fried potatoes with boy scouts and campfires?" a captain who suspected the minister's hand in the 14 July parade sighed: starred on the Champs Elysees, foot troops and units of draftees. The Army of the Year 1. The chief of state, of whom Charles Hernu is a close friend, made it known that he wanted "the military ceremonies of the national holiday to express defense based on the people and to be an opportunity for a meeting between the people and their army.

In spite of appearances, nothing to reassure an Army to which Giscard--a tanker in his youth and nostalgic for the Army of [Marshal] Lattre [de Tassigny]--had restored de facto priority, material comfort, and, almost unexpectedly, a "bit of

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glory" at Kolwezi. The tribute paid to the troops on 14 July probably could not put professional Army personnel at ease concerning the future of the sacrosanct military service, because they now know Charles Hernu's great ideas on 6-month service or on extension of selective service to a civilian orientation, his cabinet's hostility to the "large battalions," regarded as inefficient and expensive, and, especially, the religion that Francois Mitterrand has created for himself on the matter. A religion of peace and worldwide brotherhood: "Do you not believe that assistance to the peoples of the Third World might offer vast prospects to our youth, in the form of expanded cooperation?" he stated to the newspaper LE MONDE.... "That can be conceived in various ways, especially in the framework of a renovated military service. I have spoken about it to the minister of Defense and to the prime minister." That is the outline of a real Kennedy-style Peace Corps.

Another cause for concern for the Army generals, in that parade: in spite of their new weapons (the FAMAS attack rifle, the AMX-10 "cannon wheels" or the front armored vehicle), the infantrymen and the GI's always evoke "papa's army," gaiter buttons and kit. Hard, when there is a weakness for the tank regiments of the eastern border and for that paratrooper division--the only one in Europe--that is getting bored somewhat between Toulouse and the Pyrenees.

One of the most influential socialist officers today within the government does not beat around the bush: "The attitude of mind of the paratroopers is disastrous. That is one thing. But the important thing is that the 11th Paratrooper Division, 8,000 men, our best soldiers with the soldiers of the Alpine Division, does not have enough aircraft to operate effectively overseas or enough weapons to fight on the European theater." This critical attitude created by political-moral suspicion with regard to the Army "elite" and by skepticism on the operations capability of the units, extending to the whole Army, is very revealing of the state of mind prevailing among socialists responsible for defense. Socialist critics, together with some Gaullists, answer the generals' arguments--"there are no large battalions; our five infantry divisions and our eight armored divisions are actually large brigades, each with about 7,000 men; it is impossible to do with less"--as follows: "Your army's total personnel amounts to 362,000 men, including 203,000 draftees. Your ratios are bad. The number of men in relation to the number of tanks, for example, is 47 in the Soviet Union, 88 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 176 in Great Britain and 396 in France. With regard to the mobilization system and to the 14 reserve divisions, that is a joke and waste."

According to the socialists around Charles Hernu, consistency would entail much more equipment or much fewer men in every echelon of the Army. It is easy to guess what solution will be imposed by the combination of the social expenditures--the Defense appropriations, with 123 billion francs in 1981, represent the first budget of the state--and the doctrinary inclinations of the PS.

When Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic, appeared in his capacity as commander in chief of the Armed Forces, his first military inspection, on 11 June, was for Taverny, the underground command post of the Strategic Nuclear Force. At his side was the man whom he has appointed as chief of his personal staff, General Jean Saulnier, up to then commander of the FAS, the Strategic Air Forces: the 18 missiles buried on the Albion Plateau and the 30 Mirage IV bombers. This double De Gaullian tribute to the bomb and its servants expresses well the "urgent priority"

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given, right at the start of his 7-year term, to the strategic nuclear force, to that "Striking Force" vilified for so long by the socialists and whose code Valery Giscard d'Estaing turned over to his successor during their 21 May private conversation in the Elysee Palace.

France Alone and Turned Into a Sanctuary

The entirely temporary suspension of nuclear tests in the Pacific also had only a symbolic function. The Apocalypse was changing masters. In the footsteps of the president, the prime minister, Pierre Mauroy, went on 2 July to Houilles, the FOST [Strategic Naval Force] command post. Messages go from there to the five missile-launching nuclear submarines (SNLE) or at least to the two that are on permanent patrol. It is practically taken for granted that France will build two more nuclear submarines in a period of time still to be specified.

Then there is the tactical nuclear weapon: the bombs onboard Mirage III and Jaguar aircraft and the Army's Pluton missiles. In the minds of the socialists, its possible utilization is conceivable only within the framework of the employment doctrine dear to the Gaullists: the "warning blow," last warning before unleashing the strategic nuclear force. No question for a Charles Hernu to imagine France participating in a limited nuclear conflict in Europe and thus to espouse the NATO doctrine: the doctrine of "flexible counterthrust."

Colonel Marc Geneste, one of the best French specialists on the neutron bomb,* that weapon that Soviet propaganda has succeeded in making "diabolical," is very critical of both doctrines. He has invited the Ministry of Defense to reopen the file with imagination. In Geneste's opinion, the neutron bomb, which makes any tank concentration very vulnerable, restores superiority to defense.

Its deployment would considerably reduce the risk of Soviet aggression by land in Europe. "I cannot see," he says, "how the multiplication of our tactical forces by 100 would harm our national independence. On the contrary. Our Armed Forces, equipped with modern ammunition, would make France an entirely different military animal and an entirely different political animal." And the way might perhaps be swept for a future European defense.

For now, we are seeing, rather, a return to the old nuclear orthodoxy shaping up: France alone and turned into a sanctuary. With regard to the idea of "popular deterrence," dear to Hernu--an idea with roots in the glorious memory of the Resistance but that also evokes the failure of nuclear deterrence, defeat and occupation--it would enable the socialist government to come back to something that may resemble the defunct DOT, Operational Defense of the Territory, in the name of a pure patriotism. Foot troops, precisely, not very expensive, because they are lightly armed. A kind of militia based on local recruiting, athletic training and great increase, in peace time, of BA, the civilian "good deeds" of the Boy Scout movement under the colors of France.

The number of personnel in the "battle corps" would be reduced and its heavy equipment concentrated. Modernization of the Army, already lagging behind the provisions

* Marc Geneste, Samuel Cohen: "Echec a la guerre - la bombe a neutrons" [The Neutron Bomb, A Check Against War], Editions Copernic, 1980.

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of the law on 1976-1982 military programing, will probably be continued without haste, because the prospects for participation in a conventional conflict in Europe or in large-scale overseas operations are held in high suspicion.

The military say that "it is necessary to wait and see." One thing is sure: the infantrymen are down in the dumps. General Jean-Yves Delaunay, Army chief of staff (the CEMAT, as they say on Boulevard Saint-Germain), assembled his top-level subordinates several times since 10 May and asked them urgently to say nothing and to hold back their feelings. "I am going to try to save our budget," he told them substantially, "therefore keep calm." With regard to the CEMAT and to all the Army officers, people fond of tradition and proud of it--"I am well aware that they did not vote for us in a mass," a member of Charles Hernu's cabinet remarked jokingly--the victory of the left and more so the admission of communists, whose close ties with Moscow no one, not even the socialists, doubts, are a blow to the heart. A great shock, overcome at times by a collective irony reaction, like in those regiments in which, on the evening of 10 May, everyone saluted with raised fist in the name of "comrade."

At Toul, mail is flowing into the home of one of the great old men, General Marcel Bigeard, hero of Dien Bien Phu. A former secretary of state for Defense under Giscard d'Estaing and a brilliant survivor of the former majority, he has just left the chairmanship of the Defense Committee in the National Assembly. "No doubt at all, we are entering another world," he says. "There is reason for the military to be concerned. The tie with the Communist Party. Believe me, the officers are more realistic, more open to world, than the socialist professors. The lads write to me, questioningly. Believe me, if I said 'go,' many would be ready to march." A jest. The republicanism and loyalism of an Army scalded by the events in Algeria are intact. "Why do you want the Army to move?" a colonel in the 11th Paratrooper Division asked. If things turn out bad, the French people are great enough to move themselves. With regard to the officers, he added, "if they believe that they can no longer perform their mission, they will leave. Without making any noise." General Bigeard fears that the Defense budget may be progressively "cropped," "that France's military power, respected in the world, will go into a decline." And that the Army will be the first to bear the cost.

Giscard was obsessed by the idea that the French Army should not suffer in comparison with the powerful Bundeswehr. He was promptly accused of not having really accepted the Gaullist heritage: withdrawal from the NATO military organization and possession of the atomic weapon. But as long as France does not want to offer its strategic nuclear umbrella to its neighbors and as long as its neighbors do not want to exchange it for the old American umbrellas, France's conventional forces and tactical nuclear forces are, in the eyes of its European partners, the true signs of its solidarity.

Of course, it is possible to remake the Army. A colonel states that "it is the only large body in the state that will let itself be reformed in depth, up to a certain point, without one word of protest." But the patriotism of the citizen soldier cannot by itself frighten our enemies and reassure our friends. Preparing for the Year 1 wars does not guarantee peace in the year 2000.

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MILITARY

FRANCE

MILITARY EQUIPMENT NEEDS VS COST, AVAILABILITY

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 10-16 Jul 81 p 58

[Article by J[erome] D[umoulin]: "Broad Scale or Metropolitan France?"]

[Text] The aviators, who fear a decrease in Title V of the Budget--the one on equipment--are looking fixedly at France's sky. "We shall fight tooth and nail for our 450 operational combat aircraft," one of the "bosses" of the Air Force states.

The major fear is a staggering of the programs and, therefore, maintenance of obsolete aircraft in service. There is also concern over the number of pilots. With 15 hours of flying time per pilot and per month, training is still excellent ("very superior to the Soviets' training," an expert points out), but, with some 600 pilots for 30 squadrons of 15 aircraft each, the French Air Force is cut "a bit close."

The socialists will have to make some decisions very soon. Especially, they have to choose air surveillance and detection equipment. The Barre government was getting ready to buy some Grumman Hawkeye aircraft in the United States, "small" flying radars, three times cheaper than the large Boeing AWACs. "We need Hawkeye aircraft for our missions in France, Europe and Africa, for example, where we have made do, up to now, with the Navy's Breguet Atlantic aircraft," an Air Force general stated. The Air Force is completing, at present, an evaluation operation of the Hawkeye. It estimates its long-term needs at about 20 aircraft. The initial contract might involve six aircraft. "We are well aware," the general continued, "that choice of the Hawkeye will depend on the defense policy of the president of the Republic."

He added: "The same will apply to choice of a strategic transport aircraft that we need desperately. We have asked the United States in vain for some C-141 aircraft. The need is still there."

A certain number of socialists are very much in favor of these developments. But what about Charles Hernu? And Francois Mitterrand?

The good fortune or the bad fortune of the Navy will also depend on them. Because, when Parliament reconvenes, they will have to confirm or invalidate the decision made by Valery Giscard d'Estaing, in September 1980, to build two nuclear aircraft carriers, in order to ensure replacement of the "Foch" and the "Clemenceau," at the beginning of the 1990's. A decision that crowned a long debate: should small light aircraft carriers, like the British ones, be built to ensure control only of the sea approaches, or, on the other hand, should true aircraft carriers, provided with

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attack capability toward land and a nuclear potential and with an ability to go to the antipodes on patrol or to operate to the benefit of friendly countries, often by their mere presence? The Navy and Giscard held out for aircraft carriers, "real" ones. Names had already been found for them: "Provence" and "Normandie." "If the socialist government should abandon them," an admiral remarked, "there would no longer be any in Europe and we would be still somewhat more at the mercy of the great powers." This is an argument that has something in it to seduce Charles Hernu, that Breton minister [of Defense] who is frightening the Navy by asking for two more strategic submarines. "We are in favor of building those additional submarines," an officer stated, "provided they are not demanded too quickly. Otherwise, goodbye aircraft carriers."

Paradoxically, the other great debate by the Navy pertains to an aircraft: the ANG [New Generation Atlantic], the new sea patrol aircraft, designated successor to the famous Breguet Atlantic. "It is often overlooked, but it is a vital instrument for us," an admiral remarked. "We have asked for 40 of them. That is an irreducible figure, determined in accordance with the immense expanses of sea over which we have to conduct surveillance." But he sighed: the ANG displayed by Dassault at Le Bourget is "horribly expensive." Will nationalization make prices come down?

Urgent decisions are to be made for the French Navy and the Air Force that will indicate choice of the broad scale and realistic ambition or choice of a fallback on metropolitan France.

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CITIZENS PRAGMATIC, OPTIMISTIC ON MILITARY POLICIES

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 10-16 Jul 81 p 65

[Public opinion poll by L'EXPRESS and Louis Harris on the French people and their Army, conducted by Louis Harris-France from 22 to 24 June 1981]

[Text] Louis Harris-France public opinion poll, conducted for L'EXPRESS from 22 to 24 June 1981, from a sampling of 1,000 persons representative (by the quota method) of the French population 18 years old and over.

[Question] Do you think that there are more dangers of war today than 10 years ago?

[Answer] Yes: 41 percent
No: 42 percent
No opinion: 7 percent

[Comment] While the USSR is still the main "theoretical enemy," little "alarmism" among Communist Party voters (71 percent "no") and even in the Socialist Party (63 percent "no").

[Question] Does the French Army seem to you to have the capability of defending France effectively?

[Answer] Yes: 53 percent
No: 25 percent
No opinion: 22 percent

[Comment] Very definite confidence in the capability of the French military tool.

[Question] Do you think that the present 12-month military selective service is too long, too short or satisfactory?

[Answer] Too long: 23 percent
Too short: 3 percent
Satisfactory: 68 percent
No opinion: 6 percent

[Comment] "Yes" strongly in the majority for 12-month service. Except among persons 18 to 24 years old.

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[Question] Do you favor or oppose establishment of soldiers unions?

[Answer] Favor: 28 percent
Oppose: 48 percent
No opinion: 24 percent

[Comment] Young draftees are in favor, 47 percent (compared with 32 percent opposed), and the Communist Party, 56 percent. The Socialist Party is divided (35 to 38) and the right is strongly opposed.

[Question] Do you want obligatory military service to be maintained or would you prefer a professional army?

[Answer] Want maintenance of military service: 59 percent
Would prefer a professional army: 32 percent
No opinion: 9 percent

[Comment] Only young persons are rather in favor, 49 percent (compared with 42 percent opposed), of a solution that would exempt them from service.

[Question] In your opinion, should France continue to be a member of the Atlantic Alliance?

[Answer] Yes: 74 percent
No: 4 percent
No opinion: 22 percent

[Comment] Overwhelming majority of "yes." Even among communist voters (only 12 percent "no").

[Question] Do you think that France should intervene militarily outside its borders when its interests are at stake?

[Answer] Yes: 57 percent
No: 27 percent
No opinion: 16 percent

[Comment] Intervention forces are 90 percent professional. Hence, undoubtedly, a majority "yes," especially among young persons.

[Question] In your opinion, should France continue to have a nuclear deterrence force?

[Answer] Yes: 72 percent
No: 15 percent
No opinion: 13 percent

[Comment] Agreement, even among those who vote communist (62 percent).

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[Question] With which of these two opinions are you more in agreement?

[Answer] France should stop selling arms abroad for ethical reasons: 32 percent
It is normal for France to continue selling arms, for foreign
trade and for employment of French workers in the armament
industry: 56 percent
No opinion: 12 percent

[Comment] Amazing consensus: first of all, employment, then ethics. With the ex-
ception of the Communist Party: only 41 percent of the communist voters believe
that employment and foreign trade are more important.

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PS ARMS' SALES THEORY VS COMMERCIAL, EMPLOYMENT FACTS

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 10-16 Jul 81 pp 62-66

[Article by Christian d'Epenoux with Jerome Dumoulin and Jean-Francois Jacquier:
"Arms Sales, the Price of Virtue"]

[Text] A test for the socialists: France has become the number three arms dealer in the world. With important consequences, especially on employment. The government is hesitating between ethics and realism.

"Track down the bomb." In the afternoon of 4 June, the MATRA [Aeronautical Equipment and Production] executives, were passing around the presidential watchword, half-jokingly, at the Le Bourget Exhibition. The chief of state had ordered the military aircraft to be presented to him unarmed. He refuses to be photographed on a background of attack aircraft loaded with rockets. General quarters: more especially because the president's emissaries have more zeal than asked of them. And because the exhibitors, affected by the grousing, did "a little too much" on their part, as the Elysee Palace insinuated, in order to minimize the incident. Nevertheless, because orders are orders, some facetious persons declaimed on the stands: "Hide those missiles for me that I cannot see," but they moved until night-fall everything that might offend the presidential eyes, "with the help of GI's and Army trucks."

On the next day, 5 June, Francois Mitterrand walked, fast and imperial, in front of the stark naked Mirage aircraft, displaying little interest in their performance and cutting the in-flight presentations short. No incident, but, on the stands, faces were glum and the silence was heavy. The press set aside an extensive news item for the symbolic gesture. Armament industrialists, upset, are already preparing to go into mourning for the end of an epoch.

France is third largest arms dealer in the world with 24 billion francs in exports in 1980. Still far behind the two great powers, but with a regular potential increase ensuring it, at present, of almost 10 percent of the world market. In 1980, in spite of several failures, sales were at their zenith, little annoyed by prohibitions for the last 15 years. After the 6-Day War, De Gaulle cut off Israel, in order to win over the Arab world. In 1970, Pompidou cut off Portugal whose colonial wars he condemned. In 1977, Giscard stopped selling to South Africa and became more particular with Chile. But, on the whole, the preceding Fifth Republic governments

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paid more attention to performance than to selection. The result was that the buyer, everywhere, had a feeling of confidence. The places won by sheer force praised the quality of the products and the faithfulness of the French commitments. France, the "third thief," spiked the guns of its competitors. Between 1974 and 1980, it almost quadrupled its sales. And it got a foothold in 61 countries, including 33 in the Third World. Some, like Uganda, were starving with hunger but bought guns. With regard to the Arabs, they became henceforth its best customers, since De Gaulle's veto against Israel. Between the Soviets and the Americans, who "mark" their protege too much, France became the ideal partner.

A "Turnkey" Navy

Starting in 1974, there was a real gold mine: the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Iraq. Between 1978 and 1980, King Khalid absorbed 20 percent of the exports. Last October, France signed a wonderful contract with him, the "Sawari contract," 14 and half billion francs for a "turnkey" navy. In a threatening environment, Arabia intends to enclose its sea frontiers with a "wall of fire." The seventh year of Giscard's term ended in a blaze of glory, on the arms market.

"France has become a nation of grocers," Giscard's disparagers deplored. "One single ethics: oil." It justifies the Mirage aircraft, the tanks, the missiles. By introducing itself in the heart of OPEC, France has a fantastic lever in exchange. In the more critical periods, it will never be short of anything.

War may indeed break out, as it did last autumn, between Iraq and Iran. Baghdad, France's second oil supplier, immediately reassured Paris on the word given. Without great merit or virtue, it is true. Iraq needs France. For its nuclear program, for its ambiguous aims. And also for its war. With regard to military deliveries, Paris has become a privileged partner in that Soviet game preserve. In Marseilles, therefore, freighters continued to load helicopters, spare parts, missiles, radar equipment. Last October, a French general assured us that "they will lack nothing." Better: thanks to France the Iraqi military machine was progressively filling its most glaring shortages. MATRA's Magic missiles, adapted under the Mig aircraft by French technicians, "do wonders" in aerial combat. The Super 530, used in the same way, will replace them. On 1 February, the first four Mirage F-1 aircraft of an order for 60 landed close to the front. The radar coverage "sieve," strengthened by the French, was contracting. A Thomson engineer pointed out that raids by Iranian fighter aircraft are becoming rarer and more costly. But, on 7 June, when the Israeli F 15 and F 16 aircraft attacked Tamuz, the Roland missiles deployed around the Iraqi atomic complex did not have time to be used. The radars did not detect, or detected too late, the Israeli raid. On 19 June, at the Satory Exhibition, an expert made this diagnosis: "Lack of experience and poor low-altitude detection. Oh, if they had listened to us." This deficiency should be made up shortly.

Is it possible that France might have taken part in the conflict through this exemplary case? At the end of June, three missile-launching patrol boats, ordered formerly by the Shah, were preparing at Cherbourg to go to Iranian waters. In September, at the outbreak of hostilities, Raymond Barre stated that "in matters of arms sale, we take lessons from no one." The Iraqi example illustrates perfectly the fragility of the doctrine, once it has run up against the obstinacy of reality. In Iraq, France continues to deliver arms openly to a country on the "battlefield."

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Difficult years, but prosperous years. In 10 years, exports of military equipment progressed twice as fast as French foreign trade. With the help, of course, of a few failures to keep faith, a few scruples sacrificed without too much difficulty on the altar of business turnover, a few selections of customers without being too particular. An attitude whose cynicism was denounced by the opposition whenever it could. Ready with ethical indignation, less imaginative on reasonable substitutions. At the time, Georges Marchais denounced "this mercantile policy." Mitterrand, Rocard and others took South Africa, Chile, Argentina as targets, in the name of human rights and freedoms. Curiously, Iraq and Libya seem to be less "shameful" customers. In 1978, Carles Hernu and Jean-Pierre Cot, at present minister of Defense and minister of Cooperation, respectively, proposed a new charter. It was a question of "counterbalancing the pressure of the military-industrial lobby." Arms sales would, therefore, be controlled by Parliament. Fascist and racist countries and countries at war would no longer be supplied.

"The vicious circle of arms sales may be broken by a socialist government," Jean-Francois Dubos (now in Charles Hernu's cabinet) confided, last April, to the newspaper L'UNITE. Some of his friends showed more prudence. Or more realism. "We must not conceal from ourselves the fact that an autonomous defense entails a policy on foreign arms trading," Didier Motchane, a member of the PS executive committee, wrote a month later. "We must remember the Popular Front and nonintervention in Spain."

On 10 May, nevertheless, the second round of the presidential election tolled the knell for the arms dealers. With the socialists, ethics came into office. Nothing, in principle, will any longer be "as it was before." "Not one weapon, not one bolt, not one military screwdriver to South Africa," Claude Cheysson, minister of Foreign Relations, proclaimed on 18 June. Selection, new style, was beginning. On 20 June, the Satory "arms fair" closed its doors in an atmosphere of a failed marriage.

The atmosphere was grumbling, but the stands were gay. Sweet music and wall-to-wall carpet, hortensia flowerbeds, charming hostesses and attentive salesmen, everything invited to a dreamy stroll in that surrealist exhibition, where devices of death were displayed as innocently as dishwashers. Instead of housewives, the customers were expert gentlemen who settle down at the controls of a tank just as in a commonplace four-door sedan or who handle ultrasophisticated radars with a delicate finger. At the Ruggieri exhibit, the type 241 blinding grenade, "used advantageously during commando-type operations," attracted a group of enlightened amateurs. In the hands of elite gendarmes, sent by France, it seems that the device did wonders in the final assault on the Grand Mosque in Mecca, in December 1979. MATRA exhibited its latest creation, the SATCP (very short range surface-to-air), a modern missile launcher easily transportable by two average vigorous infantrymen. At GIAT (Land Armament Industries Group), a wide range of armor-piercing antitank shells caught the attention of Saudi Arabian visitors. "No possible defense," the salesman stated. "At 5,000 meters, you pierce 300 millimeters of armor. The shock wave breaks the tank and neutralizes the crew." At Satory, an elegant modesty banished blunt words from the language. Death seems sweeter when it called "neutralization, secondary or primary effects, performance, effectiveness.

That, therefore, is arms sale: comparative merits of devices in technical, muffled terms, among congenial experts. This year, with an additional concern.

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It is true, that at the MATRA exhibit, the Army chief of staff, who was escorting the Prime Minister, on 16 June, confirmed great interest in the SATCP program and the discussion with Pierre Mauroy was "excellent." It is true that the remarks by the head of the government on respect for contracts in hand seemed to reassuring. It was also found that Mauroy made a real effort to inform himself and that his visit was "serious." But there are too many uncertainties in these aftermaths of 10 May.

One of the directors of MATRA (where a house variety of chauvinism is readily practiced) said that "ordinarily, foreign chiefs of staff are seen. This year, the deputies were seen primarily." Circumspect deputies, more inclined to contacts than to decisions. And then the staff of the chairman of the board, Jean-Luc Lagardere, is afraid to bear the costs of the new policy. MATRA is private, apt to be nationalized, well managed, in full expansion, in short, all the defects. "We are accused of keeping dancing girls," one executive complained. There already are some portending signs: the government has withdrawn manufacture of the FAMAS automatic rifle from its Manurhin subsidiary. To turn it over to Saint-Etienne, "where the machines were no longer running."

"We had made every arrangement for accelerated manufacture," a house engineer said. "The aim was a high rate of production. Therefore, equipment for the French Army. And, finally, export, where demand is strong. Now, they prefer to make welfare."

Responsibility and competitiveness are the key words put forth at MATRA and at Thomson, in contrast with the hazards of public service. "With our 14 activity branches," Emile Durand, head of the military sector, stated, "we attract to us the cream of the professional schools. Armament was the firm's top level. What will become of it tomorrow?"

Real concern or honest blackmail? It is a theme song heard a lot, it is true, at present. "The arms industry is a leading sector, ultrasensitive," a general armament engineer said. "Introduce a factor of instability, like a decline of exports, and everything risks toppling over." Here, there is alarm over the demands of the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], which is calling for "a rapid, complete nationalization of the armament industries." Moreover, "all that time lost with verbosity, exchanges of views, Theodule committees" is often feared. A director of the Dassault research department, already disgusted, has preferred to go back to company headquarters.

In the General Delegation for Armament (DGA), it is pointed out that it is, of course, necessary to differentiate between real threats and the "verbal exaggeration" of election argument. But, this time, the threat "must be taken seriously." "Because it will be difficult to displease the Socialist Party doctrinarians and the ultrasensitive fringe of voters, inflexible on problems like Chile or South Africa."

"You Are Dear, but You Have Quality"

Difficult times, according to the specialists, are probably expected for the French arms industry, if sales undergo "an appreciable shift."

In order to vie with international competition, this sector is compelled to retain a high degree of technology. It devotes 22 percent of its resources to research and development, or five to six times more than the average in civilian industry.

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Disenchantment would rapidly affect young engineers and employers who would desert for civilian industry.

American "headhunters" are beginning to approach the best qualified dynamic persons. Too many uncertainties on the future would cause a brain drain.

"You are dear," the South African Pik Botha confided one day to a French salesman, "but you have quality." That gun traveling-salesman says today that "this quality represents years of battles." One single example: before landing the Sawari contract with Riyadh, the French "missionaries" must have made not less than 22 trips. "The trouble is," their customers like to repeat, "that the Arabs detest change." Now, in 1980, 55 percent of French arms sales went to North Africa and to Persian Gulf countries.

The socialist victory and the pro-Israel positions of the new president made them frown. The admission of communists in the government made them scowl outright. Some investors in the Gulf withdrew their assets from French banks, but, so far, the contracts do not seem to be in jeopardy. It is feared that "they will at least drag on everything that is not signed."

There probably will not fail to be a pretender to succession. Neither the new ones--Brazil, Italy, the FRG--which have long teeth. Or Israel, outside the Arab markets. Neither the old ones, like the United States, which is watching, with the gigantic means and their "horror of a vacuum." The restriction imposed in 1976 by the virtuous Jimmy Carter is now only a memory. They had enabled France and others to occupy lost markets. Washington intends to work twice as fast as usual to rewin them. "There will no longer be any obstacles to arms exports," the under secretary of state, James Buckley, said recently. The Americans have already promised to increase appreciably their military credits to Africa and the Near East. "We must count on them to exploit the slightest faltering," a Thomson-CSF engineer said. They are already saying everywhere that Dassault is going to be nationalized."

That is not all. A suspicion also weighs on French engines manufactured by SNECMA [National Corporation for Aircraft Engine Design and Construction] in cooperation with General Electric. "Can the United States Air Force count without risk on the collaboration of a less reliable France?" the Pentagon wonders.

Less reliable? "France and its industrialists are and will always be reliable, faithful partners," Pierre Mauroy stated strongly, on 13 June, at Le Bourget, in order to try to dissipate skepticism and "false rumors." The cabinet of Charles Hernu is also doing its best to reassure. "The problem of arms sales will be examined on an overall basis," a high official said. "Overall," that is to say by taking all the consequences into account. And he added, for a deputy who is worried about unemployment in his region of Tarbes, when the shipyard is one of the centers of employment: "You can fully reassure your friends."

300,000 Jobs

The armament industry employs 300,000 wage earners, including 130,000 state employees.

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Some 6,000 enterprises are working with National Defense directly or as subcontractors.

One wage earner out of three in the armament industry works for export.

Arms sales represent about 5 percent of France's exports.

The fair play of Jean Martre, general delegate for armament, has, moreover, been especially appreciated. "He has played the game, opened the files completely and has completely informed." The result is that Jean Martre, a privileged contact of the industrialists, remains (for the present) in the DGA. But Gerard Hibon, director of International Affairs, leaves.

And what about the "Regis Debray effect" on the Latin American customers? "Mention to me one single decision made by Regis Debray," a person close to Claude Cheysson stated offended. Noted officially.

There are other positive signs. Jacques Mitterrand, president of SNIAS [National Industrial Aerospace Company], believes that "Le Bourget was a good exhibition all the same." Although he added, skeptical on the soundness of nationalizations: "In the 15th century, the Ottomans invaded the east. But there was discussion on the sex of the angels."

The Arab reactions, especially, are less bad than feared. Of course, the French have gone all out: convincing emissaries, including the president's own brother, were sent in a mad rush, after the 10 May election. King Khalid even has a personal letter from Mitterrand reassuring him on his intentions. And it is also said that, on occasion of the king's trip to Paris, the sovereign and the president, in addition to Prince Sultan, minister of Defense, and his French counterpart, Charles Hernu, "hit it off very well."

The result is there, which does not entirely commit the future, but at least spares the present. At the end of June, the Saudi were "amazed" at Taluk in the Arabian desert, by the performance of the Shahine (Desert Wind) surface-to-air system, financed by their capital. They are at least reassured from the technical point of view.

Formerly, arms dealers were honored. The Greek Bazil Zaharoff, the greatest supplier in the Edwardian era, was raised to the peerage by the king of England and was decorated by Clemenceau. Although the stakes are still large, those times now seem to be far off.

But, as Mao said, quoted by Pierre Francois, one of the directors of Dassault: "Things are never as serious or as good as we think." The new government would need much virtue, in order for them to become bad. And virtue, in these difficult times, would be almost heroic.

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TRANSPORTATION: DEPLOYMENT PLAN, POLICY SUBVERSION POTENTIAL

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 10-16 Jul 81 p 57

[Article by J[erome].D[umoulin]: "Transportation: A Sensitive Ministry"]

[Text] On 25 June, Claude Cheysson, minister of Foreign Relations, stated that "the Ministry of Transportation is not going to be concerned with Defense." Noted officially. Charles Fiterman, minister of Transportation, was ready to be taken in. But not his sword. On 2 July, "calm force" compelled. The minister appointed Pierre Begault, a 36-year-old high civil servant, to his cabinet for Defense and Security Affairs. Affairs that are neither insignificant, nor subaltern. The following are a few examples among others:

Constant updating of an ultrasecret document, the Initial Deployment Plan in France in the FRG, which gives detailed particulars on means of transportation and communication lines available in case of conflict.

Full authority over possible requisition of the air fleet of national companies.

Supervision of the French components of the Central European network of NATO oil pipelines.

De Facto collaboration by the ministry in French or interallied land and air maneuvers. For example, in Volt-Air confidential training exercises.

Participation in the operation of certain military organizations involved in the daily use of French land and air spaces, like the German Logistic Delegation in France (Fontainebleau).

Probable access, if not participation in, to the deployment plans for the future mobile nuclear missile that will probably replace the rockets on the Albion Plateau.

Even more than the sharing of certain secrets, what seems to be causing concern is the capability of acting against the vital interests of the country or of the alliance, in case of crisis or conflict. Before the formation of the second Mauroy government, Clause Cheysson had stated, before the Diplomatic Press Association, that he would have no objection to entrusting the Ministry of War Veterans and the Ministry of Youth and Sports to the Communist Party. For the communists, that would have been a way to touch on military matters. From a distance and without frightening.

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GENERAL

ITALY

MAKNO PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON EFFECTS OF P2 SCANDAL

Milan IL MONDO in Italian 26 Jun 81 pp 18-21

[Article by Donato Speroni]

[Text] The P2 Masonic Lodge scandal has left its scar. Almost 1 out of every 10 voters intends to change his or her voting habits as a result of this event. In particular, it has damaged the image of the PSI [Italian Socialist Party], the number of whose supporters had been steadily growing until 1 month ago. This has been the most striking result of the most recent IL MONDO-Makno Osservatorio, the periodic public opinion poll (see the preceding one in IL MONDO No. 5), based on a sampling of 3,000 persons representative of the Italian sociodemographic make-up. The poll's findings include other important indications, ranging from the confirmed faith of the Italians in the president of the Republic, Sandro Pertini (although less certainty as to the possibilities for the continued effectiveness of his administration), to the growing concern over inflation, which is now approaching terrorism in order of priority in the minds of the people.

P2 and the Parties

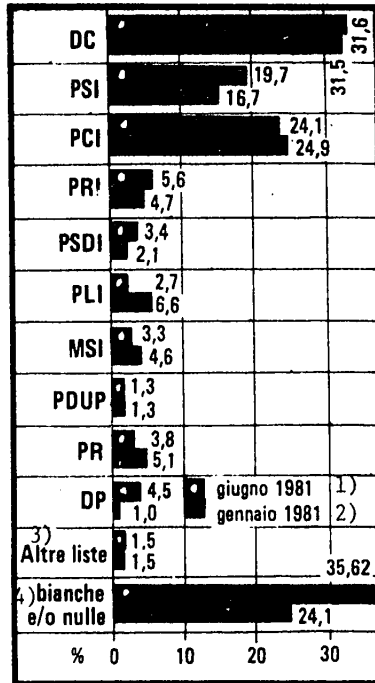
Makno had already completed a part of its survey when the P2 scandal exploded in all its fury. A comparison of its findings with those of previous polls shows a shattering of the trends that had been setting in among the voters prior to the P2 "earthquake."

The graph titled "Which Party Do You Consider Closest to Your Ideas?" shows a growing uncertainty (almost 36 percent blank responses versus 24 percent in the two preceding polls). But the poll showed a gradual, slow erosion of the communist PCI [Italian Communist Party] vote (24.1 percent versus 26.9 percent [as published] 1 year ago), a stable DC [Christian Democratic Party] (31.6 percent with less than a one-point change in 1 year), a rapidly growing PSI at 19.7 percent with almost a 3-percent gain in 6 months. Among the smaller parties, the most notable change is the PR's [Radical Party] drop from 5.1 percent to 3.8 percent, with a probable shift of voters to the DP [Proletarian Democratic Party] and the PDUP [Proletarian Unity Party] (totaling together 5.8 percent versus 2.3 percent 6 months ago). The PRI [Italian Republican Party] shows moderate growth (5.6 percent, with a gain of almost 1 point in 6 months), as does the PSDI [Italian Social

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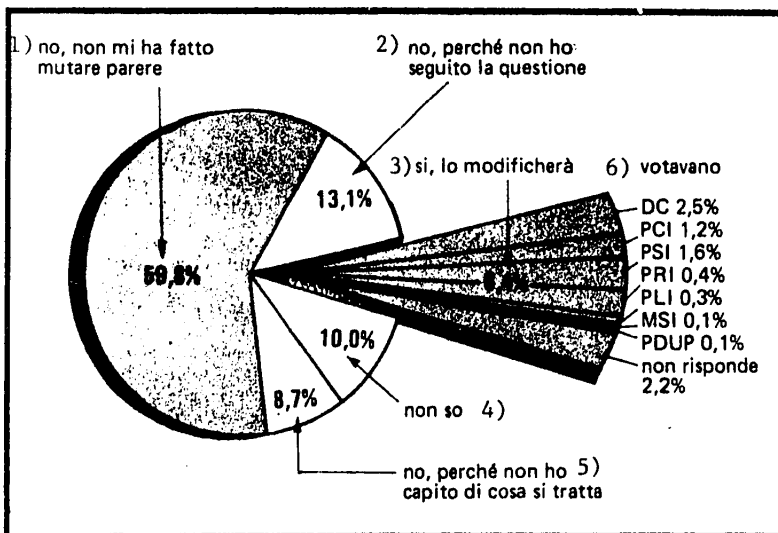
Which Party Do You Consider Closest To Your Views?



Key:

1. June 1981.
2. January 1981.
3. Other slates.
4. Blank or void.

Will the P2 Scandal Change Your Vote?



Key:

1. No, it has not changed my views.
2. No, because I have not followed the matter.
3. Yes, I will change it.
4. I do not know.
5. No, because I have not understood what it is about.
6. Were voting:
7. No response.

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Democratic Party] (from 2.1 percent to 3.4 percent) and the PLI [Italian Liberal Party] a sharp drop (from 6.6 percent to 2.7 percent), the latter showing virtually a total lack of support among the younger age group (actually 0 percent in age brackets below 20 years).

During the first week in June, on the heels of the P2 scandal, Makno again polled the Osservatorio sampling. The findings are summarized in the graph titled "Will the P2 Scandal Change Your Vote?": Of those polled, 59.8 percent stated they had not changed their views as a result of the scandal, but 8.4 percent responded that their voting intentions have been changed. Considering further that almost one-third of those polled did not respond either because they had not followed the matter or because they had not fully understood it, it is reasonable to assume that as the scandal develops the percentage of voters changing parties will continue to grow. To whose detriment? The graph shows the parties abandoned by the voters who have changed. If the percentage figures shown are converted to a 100-percent-scale base, 30 percent of the changed voters have left the DC, 14.4 percent the PCI, 19.2 percent the PSI, 4.8 percent the PRI, and 3.6 percent the PLI. An interesting point is that none of the voters intending to change party among those polled were members of the PSDI, which is actually the only party whose secretary, Pietro Longo, appears on the P2 lists.

The net effect of the voter migrations among the parties will to some extent be self-compensating. The probability, however, is that any net gain resulting from such migrations will accrue to the parties least in the limelight with respect to Licio Gelli's lists, hence the PCI (which in fact shows a rather low percentage of voter abandonments) and the extraparliamentary left. Among those hardest hit, on the other hand, is the PSI, which, based on these figures, should lose from 1 to 2 percentage points with respect to the levels it had attained in the immediately preceding months.

The distinction according to age groups is very significant. Voter preferences in the 15-19 age group show some similarities with those in the over-55 group, with the DC and the MSI [Italian Social Movement] above the national average. Characteristic of the very young, however, is a strong leaning toward the PR, which is preferred by 13 percent of those polled. But Marco Pannella's following drops sharply in the next age group, the 20-24 bracket, where the DP leads--17.2 percent--together with the PCI. In the next 10-year age sector (ages 25-34), the PSI holds the absolute lead with 26.9 percent versus the PCI's 25.4 percent and the DC's 24.6 percent. Disappointment toward Bettino Craxi's party, on the other hand, is shown by middle-aged men, 45-55. In this sector, the intermediate parties attain their greatest success, led by the PRI with 10.1 percent.

What has the P2 matter changed as regards age-group leanings? The most significant variation from the mean is found in the 20-24 year bracket, where the percentage of those intending to change party has actually doubled (16.7 percent).

The Government

In the opinion of the Italians, Arnaldo Forlani's government was in any case doomed even before it resigned. Whereas in the two preceding polls more than 18 percent of those polled stated they favored the government in office, positive

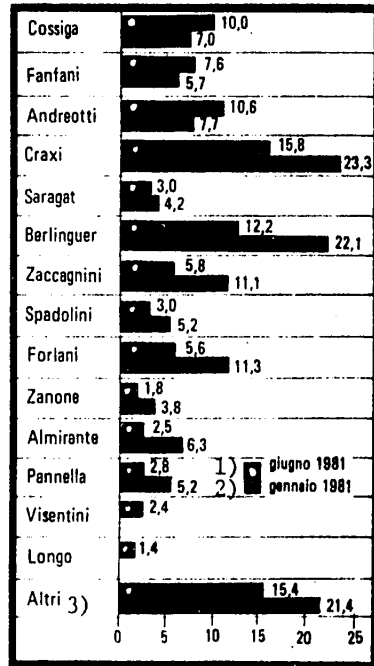
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1) Qual è la formula di governo più adatta?		
Governo di tecnici	2)	20,0
Governo senza la Dc	3)	18,7
Dc-Pci e altri partiti	4)	16,3
Dc-laici appoggiato dal Pci	5)	10,6
Monocolore Dc	6)	5,5
Dc-laici (senza Pci) con Psi	7)	5,3
Dc-Psi-Psi	8)	3,7
Non so	9)	20,0

Key:

1. What is the most suitable governing formula?
2. Government of technicians.
3. Government without the DC.
4. DC-PCI and other parties.
5. DC and [one or more] "laic parties" [PLI, PSI, PSDI, PRI], "with PCI backing.
6. DC single-party government.
7. DC and [one or more] "laic parties" (without PCI involvement) but including the PSI.
8. DC-PSI-PRI.
9. Do not know.

What Public Figure Is Best Suited to be President of the Nation?



Key:

1. June 1981.
2. January 1981.
3. Others.

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50 percent of the 35-55 age group judge him very favorably), but runs into dislike by some of his own age group (8.5 percent of the elderly over 55 years of age are against him). He is more liked in the North and the South than in Central Italy, where very favorable opinions toward him are only 28.6 percent and unfavorable opinions reach 10.7 percent. On the whole, the poll confirms the outstanding popularity of the head of state.

Obviously, however, while public opinion judges Pertini favorably as a person, it shows little faith that many favorable results for the well-being of the nation can be expected from the Quirinale.

The other significant indication that emerges from the query on institutions has to do with labor unions. Only 2.2 percent of those polled (compared with 14 percent of those polled in January) rate the unions among the nation's useful institutions. Even the RAI [Italian Radio and Television Company] rates higher, even though only slightly. The drop is a resounding one and is confirmed also by the results tabulated under the specific question on the function performed by the various labor organizations. Only 8.3 percent credits trade unionism with a positive function (16.8 percent 1 year ago and 11.8 percent in January), while 31.8 percent judges it negatively (18.2 percent 1 year ago, 25.8 percent in January). In sum, in 12 months the balance between positive and negative opinions has deteriorated in a ratio of 1 to 4 in favor of negative opinions. Broken out geographically, opinion in the industrial Northwest tends more toward moderation: a few positive responses (4.2 percent), a relatively few negative responses (25 percent), and almost 58 percent "don't know" and indefinite responses. In the South and the islands, however, opinions on the labor movement are sharply delineated. Here, positive opinions registered a record 10.9 percent, but negative opinions also did so (40 percent), confirming it as an area where the effects of the recent industrialization of some zones are contraposed to the attitudes of protest in the other zones abounding in unemployed and unprotected workers.

Important Issues

The slump in the image of the union movement can also be linked to the increased sensitivity of the Italians toward the problems of inflation. Those polled were asked to indicate up to four priority problems the government must address immediately. After terrorism, up from 63.9 percent to 67.0 percent, came price increases with an upward jump of all of 20 points. But also showing a strong uptrend were concerns over pensions (+7.2 percent), housing (+5.8 percent), unemployment (+7.5 percent) and drugs (+2 percent). The increased concern over these problems pushed all other issues into the background. Public health reform, for example, lost ground (-5.7 percent) as did reorganization of the school system (-2.8 percent). The attitude toward reconstruction of the South after the earthquake also lost ground, only 17.1 percent having considered it a priority matter and an even lower percentage (16.4 percent) having done so in Southern Italy.

Wide priority divergences emerge from a break-out of the figures according to age groups and geographical areas. Clearly, the elderly (over age 55) rank pensions first in the order of priority problems, with a 68.8-percent response in

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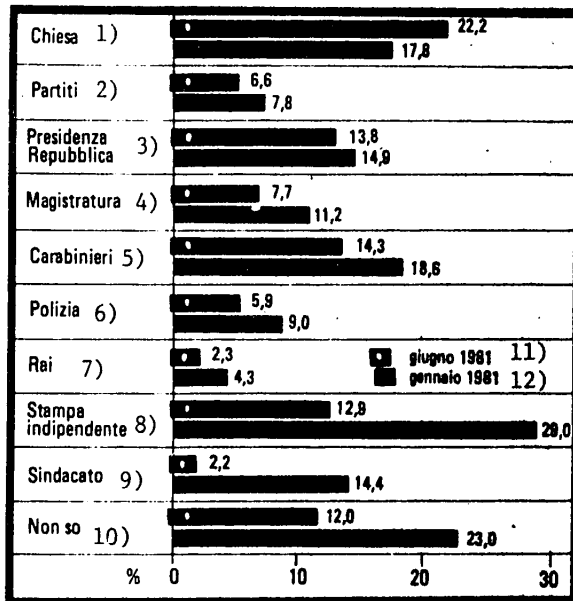
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1) Come giudica l'operato di Pertini?		
Molto favorevole	2)	45,6
Abbastanza favorevole	3)	39,9
Sfavorevole	4)	6,7
Non so	5)	7,8

Key:

1. How do you judge Pertini's performance?
2. Very favorable.
3. Rather favorable.
4. Unfavorable.
5. Do not know.

What Institution Contributes to the Nation's Well-Being?
(up to two responses)



Key:

1. Church.
2. Political parties.
3. Presidency of the Republic.
4. The courts.
5. Carabinieri.
6. Police.
7. RAI.
8. Independent press.
9. Trade unions.
10. Do not know.
11. June 1981.
12. January 1981.

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opinions of the last Forlani government in this poll dropped to 17.6 percent, while an absolute majority (51 percent) considered the now defunct government incapable of resolving the country's problems. The drop in popularity is concentrated in the areas carrying the greatest political weight throughout the country. In the industrial northwest, the drop is extremely sharp (from 16.8 percent to 11.3 percent) and becomes a crash among the younger and productive classes; among those polled between the ages of 25 and 34, the consensus drops from 20.1 percent in January to 7.7 percent today.

But what alternatives are preferred by the Italians? Responses are broadly divided, with a relative majority (20 percent) responding "I do not know" and a "government of technicians." A "government without the DC" follows closely (18.7 percent); and a strong preference continues for historic compromise formulas directly or indirectly involving the PCI in a government with the DC (26.8 percent overall). Preference for a government with a socialist presidency shows a slight decline as compared with the previous poll, while preference for a DC single-party government shows a slight gain.

These indications also tally with those as to relative popularity of political figures the Italians would like to see elected to the presidency. PSI Secretary Bettino Craxi still holds the lead he captured in January but loses 3.5 [as published] points. Enrico Berlinguer, in a sharp drop, loses all of 10 points. On the other hand, the Christian Democrats outside the government have gained: Giulio Andreotti (+2.9 percent), Amintore Fanfani (+1.9 percent) and Francesco Cossiga (+3 percent). Benigno Zaccagnini's popularity, however, has suffered [-5.5 percent] the effects of his long withdrawal from political activity.

In this classification, President-designate Giovanni Spadolini ranks a mere seventh and is down from 5.2 percent to 3.3 percent. It is probable, however, that a portion of PRI preferences have been diverted to Bruno Visentini, who with his proposed government of technicians has entered this classification for the first time, with 2.4 percent.

The Institutions

The Church, the Carabinieri and the Presidency of the Republic continue to be the nation's most respected and credible triad (see graph titled "What Institution Contributes to the Nation's Well-Being?"). This fact had already begun to emerge from the first survey 1 year ago but was drastically changed by the second survey, to make way for the independent press. The latter has now taken a plunge, however, from 29 percent to 12.9 percent, in the wake of all the events of the past several months.

The popularity of the Church has been growing, while that of the Presidency of the Republic has suffered a continuous erosion, having shrunk between June 1980 and January 1981 (-13 percent) and dropped further (-1.1 percent) in the last 6 months. These figures appear to contrast sharply with those in the accompanying table measuring the popularity of Sandro Pertini. All of 45.6 percent of those polled view his performance very favorably, and only 6.7 percent are against him. Pertini is popular mostly among women (46.5 percent), middle-aged persons (over

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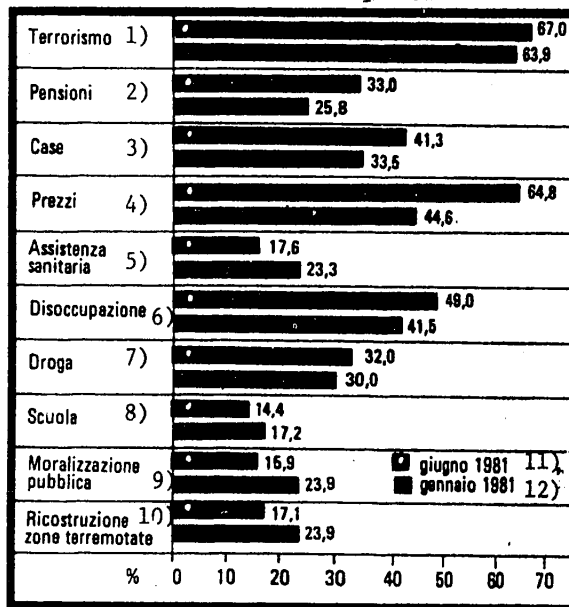
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Key:

Qual è la funzione svolta negli ultimi mesi da Cgil-Cisl-Uil?			
	2) giugno 1981	3) gennaio 1981	
Positiva 4)	8,3	11,8	
Negativa 5)	31,8	25,8	
Positiva e negativa 6)	33,0	33,0	
Irrelevante 7)	13,6	10,4	
Non so 8)	13,3	19,1	

1. What function has the CGIL-CISL-UIL performed during the past few months?
2. June 1981.
3. January 1981.
4. Positive.
5. Negative.
6. Positive and negative.
7. Irrelevant.
8. Do not know.

What Problems Must the Government Act Upon Immediately?
(up to four responses)



Key:

1. Terrorism.
2. Pensions.
3. Housing.
4. Prices.
5. Public health assistance.
6. Unemployment.
7. Drugs.
8. Schools.
9. Public morality.
10. Reconstruction of earthquake-stricken zones.
11. June 1981.
12. January 1981.

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this sense. What is rather surprising, however, is that terrorism is of marked concern to the very young and to persons over age 45, with indications in this sense among them totaling close to 75 percent, whereas it is of less concern to the intermediate categories, aged 20-44, where the problem is accorded priority by only 56 percent of the responses. Concern for prices increases with age levels, confirming the fact that inflation hurts above all those who are able to impart to their incomes only a minor dynamic. The housing shortage is felt foremost in the Northwest (48.2 percent) and in the 25-34 age group (51 percent). The very young are more concerned than the others over the drug problem (33.8 percent), schools (29.2 percent) and above all job openings (all of 75.4 percent).

Notable is the scant favor registered by the proposal to reintroduce the death penalty: only 6.1 percent of those polled includes it among their priorities, with a drop of 1 point in the last 6 months and wide geographical differences: from 9.2 percent in the South and the islands to 1 percent in the Northeast.

The Danger Factors

What are Italy's major danger factors? In responding to this question, those polled behaved in a manner substantially different from that of 6 months ago. At that time, corruption occupied first place with 70 percent of the responses, but numerous other responses had attained notable levels: terrorism, scant capability of the political class, waywardness of youth, continuation of the DC in government. This time, however, the responses were more drastic. Corruption remains in first place (50.5) percent, while all other issues gleaned less than 8 percent of the responses. It is reasonable to conclude from this that if only the political class could succeed in rooting out the poisonous weed of corruption, public opinion might even be induced to view the future with optimism.

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