

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/08: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100030023-2

8

1 UP 1

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8320

8 March 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE  
(FOUO 15/79)



WEST



EUROPE



U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS L/ 8320	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																																	
4. Title and Subtitle  TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE, (FOUO 15/79)			5. Report Date 8 March 1979																																		
7. Author(s)			6.																																		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																																		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																																		
			11. Contract/Grant No.																																		
			13. Type of Report & Period Covered																																		
			14.																																		
15. Supplementary Notes																																					
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains political/economic information on West European energy, finance and trade policy matters as well as developments and trends in the doctrine, programs and problems of the major communist parties, including their relations with communist parties outside the West European area.																																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors																																					
<table style="width:100%; border:none;"> <tr> <td style="width:33%;">Political Science</td> <td style="width:33%;"><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td style="width:33%;"><input type="checkbox"/> Luxembourg</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sociology</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Austria</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Netherlands</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Propaganda</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Belgium</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Norway</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Economics</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Canada</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Portugal</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Energy</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Cyprus</td> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spain</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Industry</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Denmark</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Sweden</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Trade</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Finland</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Switzerland</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Finance</td> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> France</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Turkey</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Greece</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> United Kingdom</td> </tr> <tr> <td>17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Iceland</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/> West Germany</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Italy</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	<input type="checkbox"/> Luxembourg	Sociology	<input type="checkbox"/> Austria	<input type="checkbox"/> Netherlands	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Belgium	<input type="checkbox"/> Norway	Economics	<input type="checkbox"/> Canada	<input type="checkbox"/> Portugal	Energy	<input type="checkbox"/> Cyprus	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spain	Industry	<input type="checkbox"/> Denmark	<input type="checkbox"/> Sweden	Trade	<input type="checkbox"/> Finland	<input type="checkbox"/> Switzerland	Finance	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> France	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkey		<input type="checkbox"/> Greece	<input type="checkbox"/> United Kingdom	17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms	<input type="checkbox"/> Iceland	<input type="checkbox"/> West Germany		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Italy	
Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	<input type="checkbox"/> Luxembourg																																			
Sociology	<input type="checkbox"/> Austria	<input type="checkbox"/> Netherlands																																			
Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Belgium	<input type="checkbox"/> Norway																																			
Economics	<input type="checkbox"/> Canada	<input type="checkbox"/> Portugal																																			
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/> Cyprus	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spain																																			
Industry	<input type="checkbox"/> Denmark	<input type="checkbox"/> Sweden																																			
Trade	<input type="checkbox"/> Finland	<input type="checkbox"/> Switzerland																																			
Finance	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> France	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkey																																			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Greece	<input type="checkbox"/> United Kingdom																																			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms	<input type="checkbox"/> Iceland	<input type="checkbox"/> West Germany																																			
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Italy																																				
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5C, 5D, 10																																					
18. Availability Statement For Official Use Only. Limited Number of Copies Available From JPRS.			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 34																																	
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price																																	

FORM NTIS-35 (REV. 3-72)

THIS FORM MAY BE REPRODUCED

USCOMM-DC 14952-P72

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/8320

8 March 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE

(FOUO 15/79)

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Black International' Terrorist Spokesmen Discuss Plans (Roberto Chiodi; L'EUROPEO, 18 Jan 79).....	1
France Condemned for Sheltering ETA Terrorists (Juan Tomas de Salas; CAMBIO, 21 Jan 79).....	6
UNCTAD V and Changing World Economic Structure (Eberhard Rhein; EUROPA ARCHIV, 10 Jan 79).....	8

FRANCE

PS National Secretary Calls for 'Break With Stalinism' (Gilles Martinet; LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 22-28 Jan 79).	19
Combat Helicopters Equip Aircraft Carrier 'Foch' (AIR & COSMOS, 20 Jan 79).....	22
Modern Combat Topographical Measurement Discussed (Jean Aubier; ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI, Jan-Feb 79).....	24
Briefs	
Air Base Protection	30
Space Delegation to PRC	30

ITALY

PCI's Pajetta on China-Vietnam-Cambodia Imbroglia (Gian Carlo Pajetta Interview; LA STAMPA, 20 Feb 79)...	31
--	----

SPAIN

Briefs	
ETA's 'War Chest'	33

- a - [III - WE - 150 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BLACK INTERNATIONAL' TERRORIST SPOKESMEN DISCUSS PLANS

Milan L'EUROPEO in Italian 18 Jan 79 pp 14-17

[Article by Roberto Chiodi]

[Text]The fascist and Nazi groups throughout the world have joined with the left extremists to unleash a new wave of terror; now their tactics stretch from the far eastern countries all the way to Spain.

Barcelona, January--In a matter of days this topic will be the subject of conversation. As regards the "Black International," it seemed for a while that it had come apart at the seams. As a matter of fact it changed its style of operation and appears to be planning to function on a higher scale. The objective now is Europe, the inevitable battleground for the coming Third World War. The enemy is the U.S.-USSR axis. The ally, obviously, is giant China.

Day dreams? Old nazi broken-down illusions? It would be a relief if it were really so. Unfortunately, there are indications and confrontations which prove this strategy, which on paper resembles a plot for a fantasy-political novel. The extreme right is very much alive, has considerable funds, more than substantial support and branches everywhere.

It has set aside all those leaders who were burned in the "unnecessary bombing and terrorist attacks." It has tightened important contacts with the extreme left which is identified with the Maoist concept. It has chosen a battleground, Laos, to experiment with the possibility of a common action and begin to weave those bonds which before too long, it is believed, will also be decisive in Europe.

The representatives of the 480 rightist groups in the world, held a convention in Brazil last summer. Organizational problems were discussed and a general plan was set up to coordinate the efforts and initiatives of all. In the fall in Barcelona, the second appointment: agreements and contacts were perfected, decisions were made, mainly to intensify the collaboration with groups of the extreme left who have identified their points of view with the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

major part of the programs established by the "Black International." The next congress will be held in South Korea where joint results and expected offensives in the Indochinese peninsula will be discussed, always keeping in mind the European problems, since by unanimous convictions, it will still be only up to Europe, as usual, to decide the destinies of the world.

Last October, in Perpignan, a small French town on the slopes of the Pyrenees, closest to Spain, the royal government of free Laos was officially established. It is presided over by the former president of the national assembly, and includes some former ministers. The acknowledged leader is Wang Pao, but the control of this operation is in the hands of Giuliano Miotti Konisberg, about 40 years old, from Bassano del Grappa. At this point it is interesting to watch this comic-scenario behind the whole organization. But an indisputable reality exists: war; which is being fought on the banks of the Mekong, with half a score or more dead every day. And against the Khmer actually these are the men who are identified in the government in exile in Perpignan; they are the "Meos," thousands of guerrillas who are evidently being armed and supported by someone. The experts on Indochinese problems have no doubts regarding the military partner of the "Meos": it is China. And the Vietnamese offensive in Cambodia only accelerates the moment when this same China will not be able to withdraw or hide behind eventual phantom governments.

This general from Bassano del Grappa, who is planning the attacks while living in Perpignan, is not an unknown character on the Italian scene. When he was very young he traveled all over Europe after stealing the plans of a nuclear test. He was arrested in Italy and condemned on the charge of spying for East Germany. Another conviction placed him on the fringe of the trial for the massacre in Loggia Square in Brescia; he was accused of having involved some important neofascists in this affair; undoubtedly some of the names in question were revealed later.

In the past he had many eventful encounters and skirmishes with the police and no doubt he has been in contact with the head of neofascism. And it is probably thanks to his good services that the "Black International" was a godfather to the royal government in exile, guaranteeing assistance (France and Spain tolerate this warlike government without worrying) and conduits just for the supply of arms.

In all respects, the present alinement, at first glance, seems to be quite respectable. And the letters written to the right addresses are frightening: orders for thousands of antipersonnel mines, armored equipment, helicopters and armored cars. The companies which were approached (Valdec in Milan, Racoin in Via Clementina in Rome and English and Swiss traders) have shown great interest in these transactions. In addition, the viaticum furnished by the "International" was first rate; the moves made by half the world (from the United States to Norway, from Japan to South Africa) have supported the royal government of Laos and want to help the imperial guerrillas to drive back the Vietnamese invaders, openly supported by the Soviet Union.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

## FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

But, said Miotti, assistance does not come only from the right. "They are practically all with us, from Iran to Peking. Even the Vatican has decided to support us, and here is the name of the Monsignor who has been pointed out to us," and he leafs through the memorandum book which lists the top names of worldwide neonazism together with the names of the CIA agents in Europe. Among the others, the famous Gaston Guy Amaudruz, leader of the NOE (expansion unknown); Yves Guerin Serac, the Portuguese already involved in the investigation of the Piazza Fontana slaughter, and who, at this time uses only the name of Morgan, as a battle name; Manuel Sanchez, the founder of the "Guerrillas of Christ the King," the guiding Iberian extreme organization; Jose Tolo Blasco, a professor in Barcelona (who speaks in the name of the CEDADE (Spanish Circle of the Friends of Europe), of the New Force and the Franco old guard. And among the Italians, here are the cover names and addresses of Sandro Saccucci, the MSI (Italian Social Movement) parliamentarian, sought for shooting a young communist in Sezze (he wishes to be called Max and can be found at No 77 Pujada St in Barcelona); Stefano delle Chiaie, Jean Marc for those who still associate with him in Paris; Eliodoro Pomar, the Ispra engineer, tried for the Borghese explosion and accused of being one of the principals in the Occorsio crime.

Miotti (the orders are signed by Konisberg, his mother's name) has Lao citizenship and carries a Lao diplomatic passport. In the small villa in Canet-Plage, the provisional residence of the government in exile, there is always an M-16 submachine gun at his side with bullets in the magazine: "There have already been two attempts on my life and for this reason my assistant, Alberto Prai, he also is from Bassano, is always with me. Can he not shoot anyone? He has the rank of captain." Frai replaced another Italian, Flavio Moletta Contessa, who is in Brussels on a mission.

The ease with which Miotti can get an appointment in Barcelona with Tolo Blasco, a firmly convinced Nazi, proves that he is not a person who exaggerates [cacciaballe]. The meeting took place in a room in the Calle Ganduxer, a few steps from the place where the second congress of the "International" was being held. Says Blasco: "It is most important for the future to have an operational base in Asia. This with the view to an anticommunist worldwide struggle. But it must be immediately emphasized that we seek peace and not violence. This may be surprising to you, but I can say that the comrades and groups of the extreme left have been successful in reaching a common road. Basically we have the same ideas on many subjects.

"Today we are witnessing an extraordinary phenomenon in the world. We have become aware that Mao's concepts are not too far from Hitler's. A rapprochement between right and left today is inconceivable and incredible to the average population, and it will be difficult to convince them that right and left understand each other perfectly.

"One year ago I was in China. Perhaps I was the first white man to salute Mao's body with my arm held out. I said 'Heil Hitler' in a loud voice. And here I am, I came out alive, without any problems. This is because the concept is the same. Some small disagreements still exist, but they are not serious and can be limited if there is reciprocal goodwill. And today that willingness exists."



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

"Obviously there must have been some Italians among the extreme left representatives whom I met. Red Brigades? I cannot say. Then, let me say that I can insinuate it. The Red Brigades are divided, plainly speaking it can be affirmed that they head two currents, Russian thinking and Chinese thinking. I must explain that we have been in contact with the Chinese faction. For you, perhaps this will come as a revelation. But today many leaders of the Red Brigade are in Spain. They live here. There is considerable penetration of brigades from the Maoist side. And they are welcome. The extreme Spanish right will protect them. Besides, even among Spanish extremists this exchange exists. We are in contact with GRAPO (First of October Armed Revolutionary Group), their operational base is in Algiers, a woman is in command, she is a good friend of mine. Certainly they are antifascist, but it does not take away the fact that they have been there and that at this time there are positive contacts. And GRAPO naturally is in contact with those Italians belonging to the revolutionary left who are here.

"For example, regarding the Lao problem, the Red Brigades have the same idea we have, which is to fight against the invasion carried out by the North Vietnamese. Poor Europe does not understand that whatever happens in the east, she suffers the consequences. Our objective is to liberate this small territory, bring a little peace into being, have a small piece of land at our disposal where groups of the extreme right and the extreme left can meet.

"During the meetings in Brazil and here in Barcelona, we agreed that there should be only one organization entitled to give orders. Its authority will be decisive and all the groups will be expected to respect it. In Italy, as in France and Spain, it will be possible for the various rightist organisms to exist, but the orders of this worldwide organism will be effective for all. Also, to set an example, for the national advance guard and the new order. Certainly not for the MSI (Italian National Movement), the leaders of which should be scrutinized inasmuch as it includes some ambiguous individuals. Exponents of the MSI have obviously participated in the meetings, but they attended on a personal basis, in short, in an unofficial manner. They listened, then talked and expressed opinions. But do not think that any of the authorities came, they would not have been welcome. They have given way to the young. The world is for the young. All the dictators of the rightist groups have already been burnt too much. We do not accept them any more.

"We are trying in every way to understand these young people and advise them for the best. To make them understand that the right and the left are practically the same if they are set up on a tray. On the contrary there are many who are taking advantage of the movements who are fighting the adversary without knowing exactly what the banner of one color or another represents. The great error which has to be eliminated at any cost is the collective folly in which these young people live, fighting brutishly without knowing the reason. It is necessary to make them understand that right and left are looking for the same identical thing: peace and a piece of bread to eat. That is all. They have no ambition. For this reason it will not be difficult to reach

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

an agreement. Everyone with his own ideas, everyone at his post, we are all looking for happiness and tranquillity for man. Without getting hurt."

Disasters are bad enough on their own without looking for unnecessary dead. We must not kill, it is brutish. It is much better to save lives in every corner of the earth. Because we must live in this world. To destroy is easy and very convenient. Building costs more. Surely when any movement has reached power it will have made mistakes. To have all the people participate in the leadership of the country will perhaps be impossible at first, but we will succeed. I am an optimist because I believe that all Europeans are looking for the same thing: tranquillity. Aggressiveness, this residual of the second world war, is beginning to be set aside. This need for tranquillity must not be lost, nor the wish to do good. It is not important who is the leader, nor what is the political or party level, and those who are subservient to small things must be thrown out at all costs. The MSI? It is an Italian problem and I do not wish to comment on it: undoubtedly it is negative now, it may change.

"How can it be that in order to have peace a war must break out. All this is very serious, but perhaps there will be a real need for a third worldwide conflict. I believe it will happen around 1985. It could be a 15 minute war, but the number of dead will be extraordinary. Europe does not realize it, but it will still be the battlefield."

Is there someone who keeps track of the contacts between the extreme right and the Italian brigades? Tolo Blasco's answer is the name of someone who had been known for some time: Luis Garcia Rodriguez. It is he who after having guaranteed assistance to all the Italian political refugees (Sandro Saccucci is the most illustrious, he was working in an enterprise near the port, in the employ of Augusto Pinochet's brother) established relations with the Red Brigade refugees.

Rodriguez manages a company, ZEID, which manufactures remote control apparatus and condensers. But he will not say a word about his program. "It is too early. A couple of months must elapse. Then, everything will be very clear."

COPYRIGHT: 1979 Rizzoli Editore

7993

CSO: 3104

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRANCE CONDEMNED FOR SHELTERING ETA TERRORISTS

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 21 Jan 79 p 11

[Editorial by Juan Tomas de Salas: "Without Pretense"]

[Text] The recently established Spanish democracy still has not done all it should in the struggle against terrorism. Two or three dozen maniacs, who, indeed, enjoy the broadest support, are not going to destroy Spanish freedom so easily again. It is certain, and even President Suarez has said this, that the state apparatus inherited from the Franco regime was powerless and lacked the minimum means of ordinary self-defense in a modern state. But the failures of Francoism cannot continue to be used indefinitely as an excuse. The average citizen is beginning to get the impression that the democratic state is not capable of successfully confronting terrorism. This is serious for the government and for the future of democracy in this country, because if a state does not guarantee the security of its citizens, its legitimacy will soon collapse. It is not enough to keep saying that "we will not fall into the trap," if at the same time one is mired down in the bog of indecision or in the profusion of more or less spectacular measures which inconvenience the citizens without achieving efficient results. If it is true that GRAPO [First of October Armed Revolutionary Group] assassinated Judge Cruz Cuenca, how many lives does GRAPO have, since we have been told for the umpteenth time that it has been totally destroyed? But democracy must quickly acquire an efficient state. Instead of lashing out at the innocent and the guilty and at the carelessness of the police, our free state must do better.

For the present there is one thing: it is intolerable that France should continue to give asylum or protection to ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] guerrillas. It is intolerable that the "minister of extortion," Peixoto, should calmly negotiate in San Juan de Luz the revolutionary taxes which the Basques must pay him at gunpoint. Mr Peixoto negotiates, sets terms for, excuses people from and manages his extortions at working meals in public restaurants. This is intolerable.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The Spanish Government must present a very clear list of undesirables, to whom France cannot concede the right to maim and murder all over the Basque country. The Spanish Government must fix a very short period in which those persons must cease to do such things. If this is not done, if the French Government returns to its former tricks, such an attitude on the part of the French Government must reserve all its rights to resolve the problem, regardless of the cost. There can be no sanctuary across the border; France cannot afford the luxury of having in Paris an Ayatullah Khomeini, who is paralyzing Iran and breaking all the minimum rules of political asylum, while two dozen ETA "Ayatullahs" are paralyzing Spain with bombing attacks from their bases in France.

The Spanish Government, in addition, must apply the law in Spain without further ado. Those who preach murder must be jailed. Father Balenciaga and the elderly Telesforo Monzon cannot continue to preach with impunity that Argala was so good, so good--like Saint Rita de Cassia. Argala, privately could be as good as gold, but trying to make a saint of Argala is like sanctifying crime and apologizing to the criminal. Anyone who does such things in a free country can only hope to be thrown in jail. And that is not enough. Very conflicting news reports indicate that the newspaper EGIN is controlled by the ETA military. If this is true, if suspicions that the terrorist organization has a newspaper in the Basque country prove well-founded, it is natural for peaceful Basques to think the government is abandoning them.

Finally, the German Government has dealt efficiently with the Baader-Meinhof gang not only because it has an efficient police force, but also because it used one of the most efficient remedies of all time against banditry, abundant and absolutely discreet rewards. The government must mobilize the citizens against terror and let them know that it will reward anyone who denounces the assassins. Millions in rewards will open many closed eyes, and can put the terrorists up against the wall. Twenty million pesetas to get to the murderers can be one of the most efficient weapons for putting an end once and for all to the impunity of silence and complicity which is destroying peace in the Basque country and in the rest of Spain.

COPYRIGHT: 1978 INFORMACION Y PUBLICACIONES, S.A.

8735  
CSO: 3010

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNCTAD V AND CHANGING WORLD ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Bonn EUROPA ARCHIV in German 10 Jan 79 pp 9-18

[Article by Dr Eberhard Rhein: "Right and Wrong Ways Toward New World Economic Order"]

[Text] In May 1979, UNCTAD V, the Fifth United Nations Conference for Trade and Development, will meet in Manila. It is expected that three topics will be in the foreground:

- the realization of the so-called integrated raw material program and the creation of the joint raw material fund;
- the fight against protectionism;
- the increase of resource transfers as an instrument of worldwide growth and employment policy.

As is customary during such mammoth gatherings, there will be an impressive number of speeches and resolutions. In anticipation of the meeting, various groups of industrial and developing countries (EC, OECD, Latin American, Asian, African groups, Group 77) will spend months attempting to establish their "positions." Many national, supranational and international bureaucracies will make pilgrimages to Manila, some of them with the goal in mind of significantly advancing the new economic order, others will attempt to avoid unnecessary confrontations and make verbal concessions wherever necessary.

Whatever the results of the Manila conference may be, one thing seems certain: it will not make a significant contribution to the establishment of a new economic order. In that respect it does not differ from the Nairobi conference in 1976. The nature of the "dialog" which has been organized for years between developing and industrial nations does not permit this. Even UNCTAD V will not change the sterile character of the North-South dialog. It will remain the same as it has been for 10 years: an esoteric machinery for the production of resolutions and briefs, about which nobody seems to care enough to see it transformed into reality.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Nevertheless, a new world economic order is approaching. It is characterized by the growing role which is played in the world economy by developing countries--among them are particularly the oil nations on one hand, new industrial countries like Brazil, Taiwan or Korea on the other hand. The most important indication of the changing role of developing countries in the world economy is the increasing fear by industrial nations of competition from developing countries.

No Concrete Results in North-South Dialog

Since UNCTAD I in 1964, developing countries have united and formed the so-called Group 77, which today comprises more than 100 countries. At the beginning, the goal of this group was to establish a common position within UNCTAD; but, especially since the Sixth UN Special General Assembly in spring 1974, by using organized political pressure, the developing countries were hoping to be able to force extensive changes in the world economy which would be in their favor. After all, did not OPEC establish an example of how to extort economic advantages from industrial nations? Consequently, was it not obvious that also other advantages--a more substantial transfer of resources by increasing aid, cancellations of debts or the raising of raw material prices--could be forced?

Already in 1974, critical observers noticed that the example of petroleum prices increases could not arbitrarily be transferred to other areas. They proved to be right. In reality, to date essential items among the demands made by developing countries during the last 4 years are still unfulfilled.

There has been no reorganization of the international currency system, in accordance with the demands by developing countries for a tie-in between special borrowing privileges (SZR), the proportion of which--when compared to the world currency reserves--has decreased in recent years, and developmental aid.

No significant results have been achieved in the area of raw material policies. Indexing of raw material prices to prices of industrial products has not come about. There has been no breakthrough with regard to raw material agreements. Since 1974, there has been no raw material agreement for a single new product. Prospects for an agreement in the near future are warranted only for one product: rubber. There have also been no effective producer cartels, patterned after OPEC. Unions of copper and bauxite producers were not able to prevent price decreases. The united raw material fund--a central steering mechanism of raw material markets--is still a wishful dream of ideologists and a few developing countries.

The demand for an improvement in the--preferential--marketability of industrial products from developing countries fell on deaf ears in view of the economic difficulties in industrial nations. On the contrary, because of strong domestic pressure, Europe and the United States felt the need to restrict imports from developing countries.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Grants of public developmental aid rose only nominally; since 1970, its proportion of the gross national product of OECD nations has been stagnating at approximately 0.3 percent. In 1977 it was 0.31 percent and almost at the lowest level for the past 15 years (0.30 percent in 1973).

There have been no comprehensive debt cancellations, as was demanded by some countries. The FRG and several other countries merely declared that they were willing to cancel the debts of the least developed countries. Nevertheless, this gesture which gives the appearance of generosity applies to less than 2 percent of all the public and private debts of all developing countries.

Considering the intellectual, financial and physical effort which was invested during the past 4 years in the North-South dialog,<sup>1</sup> it is indeed a pitiful balance. To be sure, the phase of confrontation between industrial and developing nations which existed at the beginning of 1974 has been replaced by a greater degree of mutual understanding, a more cooperative basic attitude. But, does this alone justify the constant recurrence of international squabbles, the creation of ever-new international committees, institutions, funds and bureaucracies? Almost all that has been discussed for years in countless sessions within the framework of the North-South dialog has hardly any genuine relevance for the people in Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is intellectual humbug, empty words without the political commitment which is necessary to transform ideas into action.

The absence of concrete results from the North-South dialog can be traced to three main causes.

First, problems of developing countries are not primarily a question of international economic relations. To blame the "injustice" of the present world trade structure or the international currency system for hunger, unemployment, poverty and disease in developing countries indicates a disregard for the real onset of economic development--improvement in education, increase in productive investments, modernization of agriculture, promotion of private enterprise.

Naturally, fluctuations in raw material prices and foreign currency proceeds are complicating the creation of a sensible developmental policy. Only a few farsighted developing countries have been better able than others to cope with these problems, perhaps by accumulating foreign currency reserves in good years, perhaps by early diversification of their production and export.

Whatever measures may be implemented in international development, they can only make modest or marginal contributions to the economic development of the Third World. The essential effort must be made by the respective governments, the leadership and the population of the individual developing countries. Not even a high amount of developmental aid, opening up of markets, stabilization of proceeds or a massive transfer of technology can cover up this fact. Economic development is not possible without the firm desire for progress, without hard work, without savings and investments. International resolutions are no substitute for an inferior development policy or the lack of one and an insufficient mobilization of the population.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Secondly, the political will in industrial nations has been paralyzed with regard to substantial aid for developing countries if sacrifices are required. This applies to public financial assistance as well as to one-sided trade policies and concessions. On the contrary, many developing countries are increasingly looked upon as competitors, at best as partners. There is no willingness to put in any effort if it is at the expense of their own advantages.

Thirdly, the group of developing countries is characterized by growing heterogeneity. At the present time, it includes such countries as Kuwait, with the highest percapita income in the world, or Brazil, which is in ninth place among "industrial nations" after Italy, on one hand, and numerous very poor countries, like Bangladesh, Upper Volta or Haiti, on the other hand, countries which are leading a marginal existence.

The percapita income of the richest developing nation is 100 times as high as that of the poorest ones. The structure of agricultural, industrial and mining production varies just as much as their exports do.

Consequently, it is practically impossible to find a sensible common denominator for the diverging interests of more than 100 developing countries in their dialog with industrial nations. Agreement exists only in one area: demands on industrial nations must be formulated in such a manner that in the process each developing country somehow benefits from it. With this motto, however, developing countries are undermining their own credibility.

In an effort not to abandon the unity of the group in spite of internal differences, industrial nations are frequently presented with demands only because they meet the condition of consensus within the group. When these demands, which are frequently unacceptable or practically unrealistic, are rejected by industrial nations, the solidarity of the group is simultaneously reenforced. That may also explain why in recent years developing countries repeatedly insisted on certain demands, although it is certainly doubtful that they could derive any economic benefit from them.

This applies also to the integrated raw material program and the joint funds. Both are considered the test of the new world economic order, although in 1977 agricultural products and mineral raw materials amounted to less than 60 percent of nonpetroleum exports by developing countries, compared with 90 percent in 1955 and 80 percent in 1967. This indicates that they are still using the same arguments they used during the 1950's and 1960's, and they are obstinately clinging to them although, considering the mere number of--mostly tiny--countries, the dependence on raw material exports is overrepresented.

In view of such a political constellation, demands by the group of developing countries should not be taken seriously. Likewise, the institutionalized North-South dialog--at least in its present form--should not be allotted a prominent position in our foreign relations structure. Who remembers today, barely 2 years later, anything about the Conference for International Economic



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Cooperation or the results of this conference, for instance the "special action" of \$1 billion, which was celebrated as a great success, particularly for the EC; but, in the end, it was nothing more than a bookkeeping transaction in the budget of a number of developing countries?

It is possible that industrial and developing nations will celebrate a victory if, as should be assumed, during UNCTAD V a compromise can be made with regard to the joint fund. But it, too, is only a palliative. The joint fund contributes practically nothing to the solution of the great, really disturbing developmental problems during the coming years--malnutrition, population growth, underemployment, illiteracy, disease and migration from rural to urban areas.

Developing Countries Important Factor in World Economy

The world economy is changing its direction toward a new order independent of the international conference palaver in UNCTAD and the United Nations. This change is taking place quietly, without fanfares. Nevertheless, every attentive observer cannot help but notice that a small group of developing countries is steadily moving into the limelight of the world economy and claiming a corresponding role in world politics. The changes that are occurring in front of our eyes are certainly not the new world economic order, the approach of which was feared during the last 4 years by critical observers. The world market as a regulator has not been abolished. There is no world planning authority for the production of raw materials or for investments. The international capital market is playing a larger role than it ever did before. Private direct investments in developing countries by industrial nations have not stopped, although the volume is stagnating.

The new world economic order, which will come about during the 1970's and 1980's has, above all, two distinct characteristics:

--a growing share by developing countries (including oil countries) in world trade,<sup>2</sup> gross world product and industrial world production;

--far-reaching control by developing countries over their own mineral resources and other resources or, to put it more generally, greater economic autonomy and more rights of participation in discussions concerning international economic relations than these countries had ever before.

It is true, the weight of developing countries in the world economy has increased. In spite of it, in 1975 their share in the gross world product was no more than 21 percent (compared to barely 18 percent in 1960). The American economy with its 215 million people still produces more in goods and services than all the developing countries combined with approximately 2 billion people.

The decisive factor, however, is the different trend: in comparison to industrial nations, the economic growth in developing countries has accelerated. Whereas during the first half of the 1960's, the increase in the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

gross product of developing countries was barely more than in industrial nations and between 1966 and 1972 it rose by more than 40 percent faster, since 1973 the rate of growth has been more than three times higher than in industrial nations (6.5 percent annually in comparison with only 2.15 percent annually for industrial nations).

There are, above all, three reasons why the rapid growth in developing countries is expected to continue during the coming years<sup>3</sup>:

--the slowdown in the population growth will be negligible. It will have to contribute the strongest impulses for growth, if mass unemployment and hunger is to be avoided;

--aside from the very poor countries, developing countries succeeded in increasing the proportion of savings and investments in the gross product to a level which is comparable to industrial nations (approximately 20 percent). With this a major restraint was removed;

--finally, most of the developing countries could develop certain resources, for instance mineral resources, agricultural or industrial products, in such a manner that continued economic growth can be built upon it.

Increased weight in the world economy by developing countries is not synonymous with a decrease in the gap of living standards between North and South. During the last quarter century the percapita income in developing countries rose at best as quickly as it did in industrial nations, approximately 3 percent annually. It is not expected that it will change substantially during the coming decades.

Formation of Regional Developmental Poles

In this connection, it is only decisive that today--in contrast to 25 years ago--the developing countries represent an important factor in the world economy and that this weight will be steadily increasing. This process will coincide with an increasing economic and political differentiation among developing countries. It will further weaken the cohesiveness of the Group of 77. The split of the Afro-Asiatic group is an indication of this. At the same time, however, the question must be asked what do countries like Korea, Singapore, Iran or Taiwan, on one hand, and Afganistan, Nepal, or Burma, on the other hand, have in common economically. Consequently, it is not without cause that lately the question has been asked whether sooner or later certain Latin American and Asian countries, for instance Argentina, Brazil or Korea, should join the OECD.

With regard to the future structure of the economy, this signifies the formation of regional developmental poles, in contrast to the so-called unity among developing countries, which will move to the background. Tomorrow's world economy will be determined through a multipolar net of developmental focal points in which--in contrast to 10 or 20 years ago--a number of developing

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

countries will play an indispensable role. In Latin America, thanks to its potential in human resources, space and natural resources, Brazil is the most important developmental pole. Smaller Latin American countries are more and more pulled into this current. It is only a question of time when Brazil will surpass the production capacity of national European economies. In Black Africa, Nigeria, at least since 1973, deserves the undisputed role as a regional developmental pole. With vigor and self-assurance it is striving to become the first industrial and economic power in Africa. Just as irresistibly, the neighboring countries, with which it forms the West African Economic Community, are attracted by its magnetism.

In the Middle East, Iran is the only country with the necessary resources and people to rise and become a regional economic power and, simultaneously--parallel to the Gulf countries--become an island with relative prosperity among developing countries. In contrast to Nigeria, however, Iran combines a powerful economic potential with a high percapita income. In Asia, China will proliferate more and more as the dominating economic factor during the next two decades. Besides the colossus of China, the group of the five ASEAN countries will of necessity develop into an antipole, unless it wants to unilaterally become dependent upon China. Korea will reach the stage of development of an industrial nation no later than 15 years from now.

New International Division of Labor

What is the significance of such a multipolar developmental scheme for the world economy, for industrial nations and for Europe?

With regard to the world economy, it offers greater stability and resistance against economic fluctuations. If countries like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Brazil or Benzeuela had not continued their developmental projects from 1974 to 1977 and, in part, contracted enormous debts on the international capital market, the economic recession in industrial nations, particularly in Europe, would have been much more severe. It would have struck, above all, capital-goods industries, two-thirds of the products of which are destined for developing countries.

Similar to the 1960's, when the dominating role of the United States in the world economy was weakened by the European and Japanese economic powers which were gaining in strength, since the middle of the 1970's a new shift in strength has taken place in favor of new industrial nations. The vitality of the world economy no longer depends only on the trilateral net of United States--EEC--Japan; rather, to a gradually increasing extent, their economic situation also depends on decisions about prices, production, investments etc in new developmental poles in the world economy.

This is shown by the significance which industrial nations attach to increases in oil prices. The oil price, however, is only one world economic factor, although it is the most visible and delicate one, which today is autonomously determined by developing countries and which can be used by them to wield a considerable influence on economic, technological and even political developments in industrial nations.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

At least as far-reaching with regard to consequences is the enormous number of decisions which governments and enterprises in new industrial nations have to make about industrial investments. In the industrial structure of the world, they affect changes whose significance cannot be fully anticipated. Modern industrial plants are put up quickly in countries without any or with only brief industrial experience, for instance, in Iran, Mexico or Venezuela, not to mention Korea, Singapore, Taiwan or Brazil. These plants do not only make products in typical, labor-intensive sectors, such as clothing, shoes, optics. Increasingly, industrialization in developing countries is also spreading to areas which even a few years ago definitely were the domain of the industrial nations, such as steel, shipbuilding, petrochemistry, aluminum, machine construction and fertilizers.

In several sectors, new capacities were established almost exclusively in developing countries. Industrial nations are satisfied with improving existing production facilities or, under pressure from developing countries, they are forced to shut down capacities. This is the case with regard to shipbuilding, textile, clothing, shoe and leather industries, petroleum refineries and steel. Traditional industrial nations are establishing new production capacities only for technological products of high quality, for which the demand is increasing in industrial nations and also in developing countries. Examples are the building of nuclear power plants and airplanes and engineering capabilities in general.

As a consequence, a new international division of labor between industrial and developing nations is taking place--and since the beginning of the 1970's the tempo has increased sharply. The industrial nations are specializing even more than in the past on the development of new products, new procedures and production methods. The developing countries are abandoning their traditional position as exporters of raw materials and agricultural products. Their share in world exports of raw materials and agricultural products has been decreasing steadily for 20 years, whereas their share in world exports of finished goods is increasing (5.7 percent in 1963, 8.3 percent in 1976).

In this process, the countries of the Far East and Latin America have an indisputable lead. At the present time, they produce approximately four-fifths of the finished-goods exports of developing countries. According to estimates by the World Bank, the next few years will see no substantial changes in this dominating position by the Far East and Latin America, although the countries of the Middle East will push their way into the world market with their energy-intensive products.<sup>4</sup>

Industrial nations reacted with considerable panic to this challenge of a changed international division of labor, which is an essential component of the new world economic order. Their ability to restructure their industries seemed limited. Employers and employees pressured their governments to avoid or at least slow down releases which were caused by the developing countries in several sectors. As a consequence, more or less effective

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

protective measures were introduced everywhere against imports from developing countries; they were most effective in the area of textiles and clothing.

More than all UNCTAD declarations, trade policies have thus become the real test of the will of the industrial nations to realize a world economic order in which developing countries do not only want to produce and export complementary goods (like coffee, tea, tropical wood) but also those which during the last 50 years were the reserve of industrial nations: industrial consumer and capital goods.

The desire of developing countries, contained in the famous declaration of Lima,<sup>5</sup> is understandable; by the year 2000 they want to increase their share in the industrial production of the world to 25 percent: through voluntary reshuffling of capacities. The sceptical, yes, even negative attitude of the industrial nations concerning this declaration is politically also understandable. It is understandable that the industrial nations accuse the developing countries of wage dumping, accusing multinational companies of job exports. It is understandable that protectionism, traditionally a domain of agriculture, is suddenly spreading to industrial products and is, above all, directed against the new industrial nations.

Nevertheless, the worldwide restructuring process is inevitable. Japan, perhaps because of its extremely high dependence on foreign trade, understood this sooner than Europe. It does not hesitate to "sacrifice old" areas, such as textiles or shipbuilding, in favor of future sectors, such as electronics, machine and equipment construction.

Structures in Europe appear more hardened; there is less willingness for accommodation. Fixated, they are staring at increasing imports of textiles, steel or shoes, and they are forgetting that they are--still--produced with European, Japanese or American machines, that Korean or Brazilian industrial workers are simultaneously becoming buyers of high-quality industrial products from industrial nations. Finally, even today industrial nations are still exporting four times as many industrial goods to developing countries as they are buying from them.

The decisive question of the world economic order is not whether industrial production will be restructured worldwide but how this process can be accomplished as smoothly as possible.

Outlook

Criticism of the institutionalized North-South dialog should not be misinterpreted as a rejection of a--sensible--developmental policy.

On the contrary, Europe can only survive in a symbiosis with the countries of the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. It is not just an accident that in recent years foreign policy activities of the EC turned especially toward these countries: the Lome agreement, the Euro-Arabian

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

dialog and the EC-ASEAN foreign ministers conference are the three most important indicators of this policy.

Also during the next two decades, Third World nations will remain among the priorities of European foreign policy. Nevertheless, more attention than to date will be paid to greater differentiation and accommodation of mutual interests and political affinities.

New industrial nations will increasingly be accepted as equal partners, cooperating with them on an equal basis. They no longer need any public financial aid; however, they do need open markets on a reciprocal basis and, above all, a liberal supply of investments and technical know-how.

Most of the countries in Black Africa and South Asia will remain the real problem during the next two decades. They still need massive public assistance and support during the race between population growth and food production. The main concern in these countries is still the satisfaction of basic needs, such as food, housing, water. Within the framework of the Lome convention, the EC is contributing considerably to the increase in agricultural production in these countries.

Because of the extent to which Europe contributed to developmental policies in a concrete and exemplary manner, and by treating developing countries as partners, Europe can afford not to react positively to every demand of the developmental bureaucracy during the institutionalized North-South dialog.

The bodies of the North-South dialog cannot produce much more than declamations, at best it can come up with political alibi actions, such as the joint raw material fund or the Conference for International Economic Cooperation Special Action. They certainly will not create the new world economic order.

FOOTNOTES

1. The following meetings were the most important ones within the framework of the worldwide North-South dialog: Sixth UN Special General Assembly, New York, April 1974 (cf. EA 13/1974, p D 277 ff); Seventh UN Special General Assembly, New York, September 1975 (cf. EA 21/1975, p D 579 ff); Second UNIDO Conference, Lima, 1975 (cf. EA 14/1975, p D 373 ff); Conference for International Economic Cooperation (KIWZ), Paris, 1975-77 (cf. EA 5/1976 p D 126 ff); UNCTAD IV, Nairobi, May 1976 (cf. EA 16/1976, p D 401 f); Negotiation Conference for Joint Funds, 1977 and 1978; UN Plenary Committee, 1977-78; Conference for code of conduct for multinational enterprises and technological transfers, 1978.
2. 18 percent in 1968, 25 percent in 1976.
3. The World Bank expects the following average increases in the rate of growth: industrial nations 4.2 percent annually, developing countries 5.7 percent.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

4. Prospects for developing countries 1978-85, Washington, 1977.
5. cf. EA 14/1975, p D 373 ff.

COPYRIGHT: 1979 Verlag fuer Internationale Politik GmbH, Bonn

8991  
CSO: 3103

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRANCE

PS NATIONAL SECRETARY CALLS FOR 'BREAK WITH STALINISM'

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 22-28 Jan 79 p 40

[Article by Gilles Martinet, National Secretary of the Socialist Party:  
"Breaking with Stalinism"]

[Text] Is it possible on the one hand to come out in favor of pluralism, [political] give and take, self-management, and on the other hand declare oneself to be fully in support of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union].

That is the issue which the French Communists can less and less evade. The time has passed when one though slow, gradual but continuing liberalization of Soviet society was likely. The hopes born of the 20th Congress, of the denouncing of Stalin's crimes and the liberation of thousands of prisoners are way behind us. We have rather soon seen the limits to possible changes. Budapest, the elimination of Khrushchev, Prague, the new freeze under Brezhnev.... Here and there the system could accept to a small dose of liberalism (e.g., the Yugoslavia at the end of the 1969's or present day Hungary), but it has remained allergic to any form of democracy. The Communist Party's hegemony must not ever be brought back into question. Anyone who allows some pluralism or other to be established is immediately turned over to the secular arm, that is, to the Soviet Army's general staff.

After believing the Khrushchevism, people wanted to believe in Eurocommunism. Since the USSR and its satellites were not changing fundamentally, the Western communists for their part were going to change. Hadn't they protested against military intervention in Czechoslovakia? Didn't they condemn the arbitrary arrests and the interning in psychiatric institutions? Shouldn't one patiently wait for the Western communists to loosen one after the other the bonds still tying them to the Soviet world? However, the fact is that this evolution has itself come up against a stumbling block. While building up a discourse, which superficially at least is becoming further and further removed from Brezhnev-style reality, those parties--mainly the French one--are firmly maintaining their adherence to the communist "camp" and in the majority of cases are aligning themselves with the USSR's international policy. They are not denying that there are "regrettable practices"

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

("flaws" according to Georges Marchais), but they still hew to the absurd assertion (and a profoundly anti-Marxist one) according to which those practices are grafted onto a "genuinely socialist" base.

All communists, of course, do not reason in that way. Those who bring back into question the "the antimodel" are relatively numerous. But let us see what their status is within the organization. Not so long ago they considered themselves the visible part of a powerful liberal tendency. Today, they have to acknowledge that the leaders on whom they counted are displaying a peculiar prudence. The dialectics of "liberals-dissidents" which developed in the USSR and which Alexander Zinoviev so well described is showing up again within the French Communist Party. The "liberals" are capitulating and the "dissidents" withdrawing. It is true that the apparatus was obliged to modify its methods somewhat but at bottom it remains faithful to its logic. It is difficult for a Stalinist party to cease being so.

One must not only note that 25 years after Stalin's death the system has still not become democratic. It is important to ferret out the reasons for this. Yes, why has it been possible in Spain to move from Francoism to parliamentary democracy and why isn't initiating a process that would lead from Stalinism to democratic socialism successful in the USSR?

As for Spain, the explanation is simple. There was an antifascist opposition and there was also and above all a bourgeoisie which had become modernized and which no longer needed the old Franco-style apparatus. Real social power has rid itself of a burdensome political power. In the USSR and in societies of the same sort, nothing like that can occur. There does indeed exist a social power but it is merged with the power of the state. The bureaucracy does not only occupy a hegemonic political position in it: It also dominates the whole economic apparatus and the entire cultural life.

Neither the workers nor the peasants nor the intellectuals have the right to organize themselves freely. And if the technical cadres, the "specialists," are materially well treated, it is because they form the most dreaded social stratum. The bureaucracy's attitude towards them recalls that of the French monarchy towards the rising bourgeoisie. It needs them, it seeks to integrate them but with a deep distrust of them for it is from that direction (and from that of the army) that one can see relief approaching, at least in an initial phase: People capable of governing instead of those who hold the power today.

"Specialists" at first glance are not champions of democracy. Nevertheless, the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia showed that they could be persuaded to ally themselves with the traditional intelligentsia and with the working class and that the foundation of that alliance was precisely the overthrow of the bureaucracy's power. Of course it was a matter of exceptional circumstances marked by a powerful popular movement. But how can one imagine decisive changes in the countries of Eastern Europe outside of exceptional

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

circumstances, outbursts of greater or lesser scope? In the meanwhile, "dissidence" is attempting to create the embryos of future civilian society (clandestine publications, parallel teaching, a renaissance of national cultures, support for the initiatives to organize labor, etc.). In that it shows up more as a rupture than as a revision. And it is that rupture which the Western communist parties (which simply, and often timidly, want to be revisionists) have the greatest difficulty in accepting.

Everything appears to them as though the establishment of "socialisms of a totalitarian nature: in one-third of the planet stems only from special historic circumstances, different national situations and errors committed by the leaders of the parties involved. A socialism "flying the French colors" will naturally avoid those errors, but its final objective is very much the same: The establishment of a classless society without any contradictions in which each individual will be the master of his own destiny and will receive according to his needs. This is why the old 19th century myths picked up by Marx (this is the weakest part of his work) serve to conceal the huge gulf separating French promises from Soviet truth.

To one wanting Union of the Left again to become a reality, the ambiguity could not be maintained indefinitely. One thing to hope for is the development of peaceful relations with the USSR and with the countries of Eastern Europe. Another is to consider that the leaders of those countries have the same goals as we do. Not only are the goals not identical but rather they are totally contradictory. The French communists will definitely have to make a choice.

COPYRIGHT: 1978 "le Nouvel Observateur"

8094  
CSO: 3100

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRANCE

COMBAT HELICOPTERS EQUIP AIRCRAFT CARRIER 'FOCH'

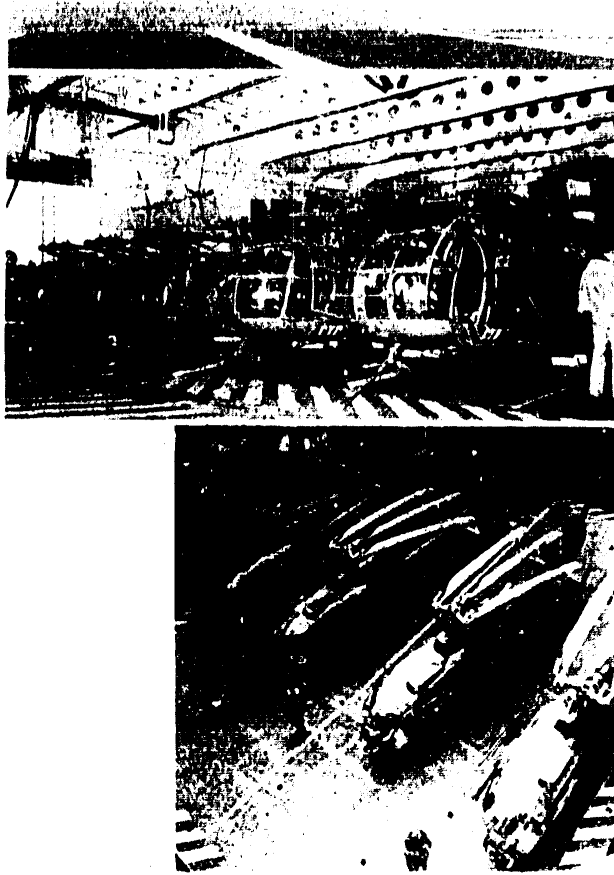
Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 20 Jan 79 p 27

[Text] A combined exercise opened off the coast of Toulon early this week, in a routine maneuver of part of the Mediterranean fleet, involving the aircraft carrier "Foch," together with helicopters and crews of the 1st and 5th Combat Helicopter Regiments (RHC) of the ALAT [Ground Forces Tactical Support], which are based in Phalsbourg and Pau respectively. Over a period of 3 days, three Pumas, three Alouette III's, and four Gazelles of the 5th RHC, plus three Pumas and three Alouette III's of the 1st RHC, operationally manned by a total of some 100 officers and noncommissioned officers of ALAT (including some 30 ground technicians) under the orders of the 5th RHC commander, have executed a series of deck-landings and lift-offs (about 50 per pilot), as well as "touch and go" sequences on the flight deck of the aircraft carrier "Foch." The object of these operations is to acquaint train and familiarize the pilots of these units (and especially the 5th RHC, assigned for this purpose to the commanding general of the 11th Paratroop Division) with tactical assault helitransport operations from a mobile naval platform.

The accompanying photographs taken by Michel Isaac are representative of this large scale participation by ALAT helicopters in a naval exercise. Also aboard the "Foch" for this exercise were the first three anti-surface warfare and Lynx ASM [Anti-submarine warfare] helicopters delivered officially to Flotilla 31F based in Saint-Mandrier. We will analyze this exercise more in detail in our next issue, in which we will also discuss the coming of the Lynx to our navy.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY



Upper Photo: Alouette III in hangar.

Below: Four folding-blade type Gazelles.

COPYRIGHT: Air & Cosmos, Paris, 1979

9399

CSO: 3100

23

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRANCE

MODERN COMBAT TOPOGRAPHICAL MEASUREMENT DISCUSSED

Paris ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI in French Jan-Feb 79 pp 66-67, 79

[Article by Gen Jean Aubier\* in the column "Military Problems": "Modern Topography in the Artillery"]

[Text] On the battlefield of the future, the fluctuation of combat, the rapid evolution of situations, the extension of our forces and the mobility of our units will necessitate great speed, indeed instantaneousness, in the execution of the topographic work required for the positioning of our guns and target-acquisition equipment.

Because of these contingencies, the topographical linking up of units and teams is practically ruled out, and it becomes necessary to take direct action to place equipment in relation to the basic geographic grid.

Concept of Modern Topography

Consequently, each basic team--a forward observer, an RATA [expansion unknown], a reconnaissance officer, an artillery officer--must have the necessary means to be able to determine instantly its position and that of the targets, and a fire direction.

Moreover, to be able to begin firing effectively from the outset, that is, without prior adjustment or control, due to the enemy's mobility and thus the fleeting nature of the targets, these means must permit the topographic positioning of the various teams and the locating of targets with the precision required for the initial firing.

---

\*The author, Gen Jean Aubier, was a native affairs officer in Morocco from 1951 to 1956. After a period of service in Indochina and Algeria, he performed various instructional duties at the Artillery School. He was commander of the 17th Army Regiment and then the 11th Army Regiment. He is presently deputy commander of the Antiair Ground Forces of the Air Defense Command.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The coordinates of positions and targets must be known precisely within 20 meters, and the fire directions must be obtained within 1 mil for the guns and within 2 mils for the target-acquisition equipment.

Such precision implicitly ensures the topographic cohesion of all of a regiment's teams.

In the near future, the following modern topographic instruments will permit a regiment to obtain such instantaneousness and precision: the laser telemeter, the land navigator, the second-generation gyrotheodolite, the pocket electronic calculator and the helicodist.

At the same time, the Military Topographic Support Network (RATM) will provide valuable aid in helping teams determine their coordinates.

The Laser Telemeter

The forward observer will be equipped with a laser telemeter, which will profoundly alter the accomplishment of his mission. In fact, it will permit him to locate any fixed or moving target instantly and without error, without needing a map. When we recall that an experienced observer, currently equipped with his field glasses, compass and map, and having 3 minutes in which to locate an unexpected target on an average terrain, commits an error of over 100 m, we realize the remarkable progress that the laser telemeter brings to gunfire. It measures distances of from 100 to 20,000 m with a precision within 2 meters. Due to an incorporated fire-direction system based on a magnetic compass, it measures bearings with a precision of within 2 mils. Lastly, it gives the elevation with a precision of within 0.5 mil.

Thus the laser telemeter gives the observer, instantly and with the requisite precision, the polar coordinates of any target: distance, bearing and elevation. It can easily be seen why the adjusting types of firing become useless under these conditions, all the more so because the ballistic and aerologic data will be known with the same precision, due to the Miradop radar that measures initial velocities and to the Sirocco meteorologic radar.

But it also locates--and in the same way--bursts on graze and High-burst shots. It therefore offers the possibility--when needed and particularly when all the initial firing conditions are not interlinked--of positioning the firing instantly and with great precision by means of a single series of two or four shots. One then proceeds to shift the burst center once the telemeter has located the bursts.

Lastly, the apparatus permits the rapid and precise execution of many ballistic or topographic operations, as follows:

Monitoring an auxiliary ground or air target (high-burst shots), to determine residual or total corrections;

Firing on moving targets, by extrapolation;

Ballistic or topographic linking of observation posts with batteries when firing without a map;

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

All kinds of topographic operations, including beaming, bearing, trilateration and intersection. On this basis, it can be used in the rear area for the topography of the firing positions.

The laser telemeter can be operated easily and rapidly, and does not require any adjustment. It can be employed on the ground by a single operator or on a future type of artillery observation vehicle, for which the designation AMX-10 has been selected.

The Land Navigator

To be able to start the initial firing, the forward observer must also know his position and a reference direction instantly and with the same precision. These two elements will be supplied to him by the land navigator.

This instrument, mounted on a wheeled or tracked vehicle, consists of a "north-finder/direction-retention" gyroscope assembly, a system to measure the distance covered, and a computer.

Once the vehicle comes to a stop, the instrument displays the cartesian coordinates of the position, as well as a reference direction.

Its operating principle is as follows:

When the vehicle is started, the apparatus is given an initial setting, with the precise coordinates of the point of departure and an initial direction being fed into the computer, by using either the north-finder or a gyro-theodolite for that purpose;

While the vehicle is in motion, the gyroscope detects the changes in direction and feeds them to the computer, the odometer supplies the computer with the distance covered in each direction, and the computer continually computes the coordinates on the basis of the data it receives.

The precision obtained is within 1.2 mile for the initial north-finding operation, within 0.5 mil per hour for direction retention and within 15 meters in planimetry after 10 km have been covered.

While the vehicle is underway, the precision is improved in planimetry through a resetting of the land navigator by stopping when coming to positions whose coordinates are precisely known, as for example, positions of the Military Topographic Support Network. That operation is completed in about 10 seconds.

The land navigator will also be part of the equipment on the vehicle of the officer in charge of an RATA team, especially the vehicle of the battery range officer.

For the range officer, it will be specially valuable when bringing a battery into position suddenly, with the battery already in motion. In fact, as soon

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

as the "tank alert" firing order is received, he immediately has precise topographic data: the coordinates of the place where he will bring the battery into position, and a reference direction, to start the initial firing. Moreover, one goniometric operation of the land navigator permits placing the battery guns in a precise direction.

This capability to start the initial firing in case of a "sudden" positioning of a battery by day or by night is all the more interesting because of the fact that in a future conflict the accelerated pace of the maneuver will require the batteries to change position much more frequently than in the past.

#### The Military Topographic Support Network (RATM)

We have undertaken to equip the territory of France with a network of topographic points determined with a precision of within 5-10 m, designated as the Military Topographic Support Network. These points are readily identifiable, easily accessible and certain to be maintained. They are closely related to [main] routes, as they consist of intersections, bridges, etc.

Their average density is one point per 2 square kilometers, which corresponds to an average distance of about 1,500 m between points.

All of the maps with a scale of 1:50,000 published by the IGN [National Geographic Institute] show the RATM as far as the network has been completed. They contain, on the front side, an overprint in violet representing all the numbered points of the RATM, and on the back a listing of the coordinates of those points to the nearest meter, with a sketch that permits them to be identified.

All the regiment's teams can thus determine the coordinates of their position very easily and with great precision, most of the time through a single beaming. Moreover, the RATM permits the operator of the land navigator to do re-settings in planimetry as often as needed.

#### The Second-Generation Gyrotheodolite

At the present time, the reconnaissance teams of our batteries are using the Wild Gak-1 first-generation gyrotheodolite to bring their guns into position. This apparatus is very precise (within 0.2 mil), but requires a relatively large amount of time, 20-30 minutes, to operate. That amount of time is not compatible with the speed that future operations require.

Now second-generation gyrotheodolites have just been developed which, thanks to automation, provide the same precision in less than 3 minutes.

Instead of oscillating freely around the north direction, their gyroscope no longer oscillates, and [instead] there is a measurement of the directional force produced by the earth's speed of rotation on the gyroscope's axis of rotation. This force, measured by a small incorporated computer, is a function of the deviation existing between the direction of the gyroscope's axis of rotation and the north direction, and a measurement is taken of the value of the return torque toward the north.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY



FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

These new automatic gyrotheodolites are perfectly suited to the requirements of modern topography and should replace the present ones when the right time comes.

The Pocket Electronic Calculator

The pocket electronic calculators carry out very rapidly (in a few seconds) all the numeric calculations that once required considerable time.

Our reconnaissance teams are now equipped with the HP-35 calculator, which permits the following operations:

Arithmetic calculations (the four types of operations);

Logarithmic or exponential calculations;

Trigonometric calculations (direct and inverse circular functions).

Besides doing routine calculations, it permits all kinds of problems of topography to be solved in seconds. Each procedure for determining points or direction is described on a separate calculation program card.

The Helicodist

The helicodist is employed at the level of the army corps artillery that has two sections.

Intended to provide the standard ground-to-ground artillery rapidly with the precise coordinates of a large number of points in a very broad zone, the system uses a helicopter-borne tellurometer and several tellurometers on the ground.

The tellurometer (MRB-201) measures the distance between the helicopter-borne set and the responding sets stationed on the ground.

The measurement of the distance between a point P whose coordinates are desired and two known points A and B permits the triangle PAB to be resolved by trilateration, using a pocket electronic calculator.

The system has a range of 50 km. The precision of the distance measurements is approximately within 0.5 m and that of the coordinates supplied is within 3 m.

The artillery section includes a command team, a helicopter team, four teams on the ground and two calculating teams. It receives the following missions:

As a complement to the network: this mission consists of supplying a number of topographic points based on the needs indicated by the artillery; this kind of action that permits the operators to complement their topographic equipment is the section's normal mode of action;

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Providing points for routes: this mission consists of providing certain routes with topographic points needed to reset the land navigators;

Establishment of a network: this operation, which is characterized by a large number of points to be determined, requires considerable periods of time for the selection of points, the topographic work to be done and the dissemination of the results.

An artillery section equipped with a helicopter-borne set and three or four tellurometers on the ground can determine in 2 hours around ten points within a zone 30 km wide at the front end and 20 km deep.

The artillery regiment, when thus equipped with modern means of topography including the laser telemeter, the land navigator, the gyrotheodolite and the electronic calculator, supported by the helicodist of the army corps artillery, and benefiting from the Military Topographic Support Network, will in the near future be perfectly capable of executing all the topographic work entailed in positioning and directing the firing and target-acquisition equipment, as well as the locating of targets, with the speed and precision required for effective initial firing, which will be the rule in a future conflict.

COPYRIGHT: 1979 Revue des forces armees francaises, "armees d'aujourd'hui"

5346  
CSO: 3100

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRANCE

## BRIEFS

AIR BASE PROTECTION--The Air Force has taken charge of the mission to protect its air bases and of using ground-to-air defense material ("Crotale" weapons, 20-mm double-barreled cannons). The implication is that this will give rise to a reorganization of the protection units and an increase in their total strength. At first, without increasing total strength in spite of the new changes, personnel will be found three ways: disbanding a battalion of the Engineer Air Corps; taking away 5 percent of the strength of the GERMAS [Maintenance and Repair Groups for Specialized Aviation Equipment]; progressively withdrawing the inducted men from the feeder organizations. In the second place, with the arrival of the material, a budget increase of 1,000 positions spread out over a 3-year period is currently under study. [Text] [Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 13 Jan 79 p 30] 9374

SPACE DELEGATION TO PRC--A French delegation composed of a representative from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, some industrialists, and the director of CNES [National Center for Space Studies] Yves Sillard, will go to China in very early February to discuss prospects of long term space cooperation in the realms of science, industry, and commerce. This visit is the result of the agreement reached on 6 December 78 in Peking by Mr J. P. Capron who represented the French Industrial Ministry and Mr Ye, director of the National Commission for Science and Technology for the Peoples Republic of China. This agreement provides for the study of possible exchanges between the two countries, including economic and commercial, so that China can master space technology. It concerns telecommunications satellites and direct television, earth observation satellites, and rockets, especially the possible use of the "Ariane" launch vehicle. Since China has already chosen the United States to develop its system of space telecommunications, France hopes to interest China in other projects, especially direct satellite television. This has already held the attention of the delegation from Chinese Radio-TV that visited CNES 4-11 Sep 78. [Text] [Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 13 Jan 79 p 37] 9374

CSO: 3100

30

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

ITALY

PCI'S PAJETTA ON CHINA-VIETNAM-CAMBODIA IMBROGLIO

Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 20 Feb 79 pp 1, 2 LD

[Interview with Gian Carlo Pajetta, PCI "foreign minister," by Lamberto Furno in Rome on 19 February: "'We Call for Beijing To Withdraw as a Premise to Negotiations'"]

[Text] Mr Gian Carlo Pajetta, you received the Vietnamese ambassador to Italy Sunday. What is the PCI's position and what initiative is it taking to facilitate a solution to the bloody crisis between China and Vietnam, two socialist countries?

The PCI "foreign minister," whose time is taken up with continual summit meetings with Chiaromonte and Luca Pavolini and telephone conversations with Segre [all PCI officials], his "deputy" who is in Paris, weighed his answer before replying: "As we have already done, and as I believe we will do tomorrow, Tuesday, with an official directorate document, I must express our clear opinion. It is dangerous for world peace, and in patent contradiction to ideological references and internationalist traditions, for differences among socialist countries, even when they are serious, to be dealt with in ways other than negotiation and respect for mutual independence. We will call for the withdrawal of Chinese troops as a premise to negotiations," Pajetta continued. "This is the significance of our approval of Hanoi's appeal to the United Nations and also its request to the Italian Government to make a useful contribution in that forum."

[Question] One gets the distinct feeling that the Chinese invasion of Vietnam took the PCI by surprise. However, let us pursue the point: Why did the PCI not censure Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia the way it is now condemning this attack by China? Is this perhaps a result of your link with the USSR in the context of workers internationalism? [question ends]

"We saw the events in Cambodia as a tragedy," Gian Carlo Pajetta replied, being careful with nuances. "We have already said explicitly that the rebuilding of this country and the healing of the wounds inflicted on it by a painful experience and by the conflict which followed must take place

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

without any restrictions on its sovereignty. It is up to the Cambodians, within their country's full independence, to rebuild it, decide on its regime and administer it. In other days, we in no way made our solidarity with Vietnam in its struggle against America dependent on links with Moscow. We behaved similarly in Hanoi when, only a few weeks ago, our delegation recalled the points of the PCI's theories referring to non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, the principles of peaceful cooperation and the principles of internationalism with full respect for each country's sovereignty."

[Question] Pajetta, the real fact remains that this sovereignty is strictly limited in the socialist world: first in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, now in Cambodia and Vietnam. There is a new war between two socialist countries. The myth of socialist revolutions which avert wars and solve all problems no longer holds water. [question ends]

Pajetta made a gesture of bitterness. He replied: "Reality is harsher than myths. For this reason we have chosen the way of knowledge, of calling things by their right name and tackling them with the necessary realism and courage."

[Question] To recapitulate, Pajetta: The PCI calls for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam. How does the PCI view the problem of Cambodia, which has been invaded by the Vietnamese with Soviet support and which has undeniable similarities with the Chinese invasion of Vietnam?

[Answer] Our position is as follows: That no one should look on Cambodia as a zone of influence and no one should use it as a theme of instrumental propaganda. These countries, and I am speaking of Vietnam, too, need help, economic relations and technical cooperation. For this reason it is a commitment which does not concern Italian communists alone but also Italy and other states. [answer ends]

While we were winding up the meeting Senator Chiaromonte, the PCI No 2, burst into Pajetta's office: "Hanoi announces victory," he said breathlessly. "The Chinese are withdrawing. But there is no confirmation as yet." Despite the official equidistance, the PCI's choice among China, Vietnam, Cambodia and the USSR seems obvious.

COPYRIGHT: 1979 Editr. LA STAMPA S.p.A.

CSO: 3104

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SPAIN

BRIEFS

ETA'S 'WAR CHEST'--The ETA has a war chest that enables it to deposit as much as 5,000 pesetas per day to the account of its imprisoned members. Obtained by means of holdups and "revolutionary taxes" from businesses, the money has been deposited in numbered Swiss accounts. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 12 Feb 79 p 33]

CSO: 3100

END

33

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY