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JPRS L/8541

26 June 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE
(FOUO 40/79)



WEST



EUROPE



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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

MITTERRAND INTERVIEWED ON EUROPEAN SOCIALISM, EEC

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 8 Jun 79 p 4 LD

[Interview with French Socialist Party First Secretary Francois Mitterrand by Italian Socialist Party International Bureau chief Carlo Ripa di Meana: "Third Way Between Communism and Capitalist"--date and place not specified]

[Text] On the eve of the 10 June elections, Italian Socialist Party International Bureau chief Carlo Ripa di Meana, European Parliamentary candidate for the north eastern constituency, interviewed French Socialist Party First Secretary Francois Mitterrand on the most topical political and cultural issues. This is the text of the interview:

Question: What are the effects of Eurosocialism's strength and values on the individual European socialist parties?

Answer: For the EEC socialist and social democratic parties as a whole, Europe is first and foremost a reality; the EEC was built 22 years ago and has created bonds which cannot easily be reversed. For the socialist parties Europe is a necessity, because our objective is to loosen the economic, political and cultural grip of the two superpowers. There must be a continental dimension in order to create, in a stable manner, on the one hand a different development model and, on the other, different relations with the Third World. Furthermore, for the French socialists and doubtless also for the socialists of the other EEC countries, the battle for Europe is inseparable from the battle they are waging in their respective countries. They are two aspects of the same strategy: Practicing a leftwing policy in Europe and pursuing a leftwing policy in our own countries also.

It is not a question of being for or against Europe but of knowing what kind of Europe we want. In this sense, the proposals made by the EEC socialists and social democrats, adopted jointly, coincide with and complement their national stances and are backed by the popular forces that they represent. This is the strength and the credibility of what you call "Eurosocialism": Precise and realistic demands and the full implementation of the treaty of Rome in the service of the workers and popular classes supported by the socialists, who are the EEC's most representative force.

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Question: How can European socialism find a third path between unchecked capitalism and authoritarian communism?

Answer: For 22 years Europe has been under the reign of the most unbridled capitalism: Only the Common Market aspects--the free circulation of goods and capital--have worked. But the Rome treaties envisaged in their clauses the realization of the "Europe of markets" through joint policies in the energy, industrial, regional and, above all, social fields--policies which have in fact hardly, if at all, been implemented.

The socialists observe that the Common Market has thus given free rein to the multinationals, which have created outright empires for themselves, organizing themselves into monopolies or outright cartels. Thus free competition, the fundamental principle of the treaties, has been distorted to the detriment of the workers and to the benefit of capital.

The socialists are proposing that the EEC be "rebalanced" in accordance with the principle of "the whole treaty of Rome, and nothing but the treaty of Rome." They are demanding that the joint policies be implemented, without any need to alter the EEC's powers, however. A 35-hour working week, pensions at 55, further proposals to combat the crucial problem of unemployment, bringing working conditions and social policies into line with those of the more fortunate countries, European planning, the control of the multinationals, a real policy to restore a regional balance and an environment charter: These are the proposals that constitute the originality and credibility of the socialist stance vis-a-vis Europe. In this way we are opposing our rightwing adversaries, advocates of a Europe of laissez-faire and of unbridled capitalism, and proposing for Europe--as for France--a plan for society directed against the policy pursued by the right for over 20 years and now represented by the approval granted by Barre to the list headed by Simone Veil.

As for authoritarian communism, fortunately it is not even on the agenda.

Question: How can Europe be a force for peace and balance in world tension?

Answer: Europe is undoubtedly a factor for peace and solidarity. Europe is not only the economic community of the nine. It is a historical reality, one of the vital centers of world history. First through the Franco-German reconciliation and then through the continuing dialog among the nations of this small continent (only a part of the geographical and historical Europe), the EEC has brought about the consolidation of concord among our peoples.

We must not limit ourselves to this small continent, however, especially since its ability to play an important role for the future is placed in doubt by transformations in the world balances. We must restore to Europe the possibility of working for peace and solidarity. That is, for a more just and more efficient international economic order. In this connection, we are keen to stress our satisfaction with the Lome agreement between the

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"nine" and several developing countries, which evinces a solidarity of interests and destinies. Of course this agreement is not perfect, but it is valuable as an example of solidarity: Suffice it to consider the applications for membership presented by other Third World countries.

Thus the EEC could be a network of agreements, which would contribute to the realization of a more balanced arrangement between north and south.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

PFC DELEGATE COMMENTS ON 15th PCI CONGRESS

Paris LA NOUVELLE CRITIQUE in French May 79 pp 45-49

[Assessment of 15th PCI congress in Rome (30 Mar - 3 Apr 79) by PCF delegate Pierre Laroche: "Italy: an Important Stake"]

[Excerpts] From the time of the PCI's entry into the "governmental area" in July 1977 until that of the second fall of the Andreotti government, a little less than two years has elapsed. And during this time, the assassination of Aldo Moro, the spread of terrorism, aimed this time at militant workers, the resistance of the Christian Democrats to the prospect of change, the attack led by PSI [Italian Socialist Party] leaders, especially Bettino Craxi, on the Communist Party, have noticeably modified the Italian political scene. Pierre Laroche, assistant master of Italian at Paris III, correspondent for the PFC's foreign policy section, has been following these changes closely, and relates them to the imperialist general counter-offensive, but also to their roots in events in Italy over the last 10 years. A member of the PCF delegation to the 15th PCI congress, he has added a post script on the congress to this article written in March.

Post Congress Post Script

Since the editorial staff of LA NOUVELLE CRITIQUE could not schedule this article until its May edition, I have had the opportunity to add a few brief initial comments, off the cuff, probably superficial, and perhaps approximate, on the 15th PCI congress that took place in Rome from 30 March to 3 April.

The congress coincided exactly with the introduction of the new Andreotti government, its failure, the dissolution of parliament declared by the president of the republic, recording the crisis in the majority constituted a

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little over a year ago by the parties in the constitutional range.

It is clear that the governmental crisis, in existence since 26 January, as well as its outcome, fits the logic of the counter offensive analyzed previously: their causes reside solely in the fact that, as Berlinguer stated in his conclusions, since the end of the center-left policy, "the Christian Democratic Party, and some other parties, either could not or would not take the step that had already been prepared, that is to say, solve the 'communist problem' in the most obvious and ordinary way, which meant and still means make up their minds to the inclusion of the Italian communist party in the government," and that, since about a year ago, this opposition has become a blockage.

The 15th PCI congress draws complex and contradictory lessons from the period experienced by Italy since 20 June 1976.

First, assessing the experience, it confirms that the strategy of national solidarity for which it has been working in order to bring solutions to the crisis was right and remains right. This policy made it possible to safeguard democratic institutions, take measures for the reorganization of public life, perform certain corrections in economic matters. The PCI has done all it could to help it develop in a concrete way. The present failure of this policy was not caused by the PCI but by other parties, the Christian Democratic party [DC] in the first place, but the PSI as well: the DC which, when it was no longer a question of reorganizing but of transforming, put the brakes on full, and, rather than taking the decisive step in the direction of a more effective unity of democratic forces represented by the constitution of a government with communist participation, preferred to return to the past, and set off the crisis. The PSI which by casting doubt upon the democratic legitimacy of the PCI furnished weapons to those who were afraid of seeing the communists coming into the government and bringing in the interests of the working class and the workers.

An additional lesson is related to critical reflection on party activity during that period. During the preparatory stage as well as during the congress itself, autocritical accents were not lacking, to such a point that Berlinguer had to make subtle distinctions in them, saying in his conclusions that essentially, the party has faced up to the complexity of the situation. Nevertheless it still remains that there has been difficulty in being both a party for struggle and a party for the government (the expression had been used for several years by the PCI), a tendency to let the battles be fought at the top, to weaken the autonomous initiative of the party toward the organizations in which unity had been achieved, toward the trade unions as well.

The Italian communists deduce from these lessons, not a different strategy, but a new position for the party in Italian political life. The PCI is in the opposition, but supports the prospect of "uniting all the forces, which are large, to save and restore the homeland" (these are the final words of Berlinguer's conclusions): it rejects the hypothesis of withdrawing behind its ramparts, as a large part of the press has tried to make people believe. But

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it is clear that this strategy will be pursued without illusions, regarding either partners or the possibility of a regular, linear process, free from struggles and tensions.

The Italian communists have also attached great importance to international issues. Their congress was not an electoral congress, despite what has frequently been said. The analysis they are making of their country is placed within a larger vision: "The stake, in Italy, and in Europe, is a change of ruling class, the conquest by the working class of a government function," affirms Napolitano, repeating the analysis he made over a year ago at the Naples workers' conference.*

This analysis takes as its point of departure the contradictory nature of the present world situation, with at the same time its multiform emancipatory tendencies and the persistence, the aggravation even, of danger to peace, problems of hunger and underdevelopment. The consequence is the necessity of seeking for a new international order founded on peace and cooperation for development. It is this prospect that for the PCI is the foundation of the new internationalism, which goes far beyond the communist movement.

This is the "third phase," the first being that of the socialist and social democratic parties, created in the 19th century, which aroused and organized workers for their emancipation; the second, inaugurated by October with Lenin's theoretical and practical works, and which constitutes a "parting of the waters in the history of mankind" (Berlinguer, opening report). This second phase is considered decisive by the PCI because of what it has brought to peoples that, despite serious errors and distortions, are building socialism, because it has also given impetus to contemporary movements as a whole, against all types of oppression and for emancipation in every domain.

That is to say that the "third way"*** -- this was already apparent in the draft proposal -- can only be, for the PCI, a middle way between social democracy and experiencing socialist countries, but a new stage in the historical process. According to the PCI, this is a field open to contacts with democratic and revolutionary forces, in Italy and elsewhere, to advance thought, development, and initiative.

In the constitution of the new international order, the PCI feels that the workers' movement in western Europe, developing democratic ways to socialism, for socialist societies and states founded on political democracy, has a special responsibility to give this region a new, original, and dynamic role, to contribute to the settling of the great problems of the world.

* Cf CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, May 1978

** This expression, incidentally, is only moderately satisfactory to Berlinguer, in that ways to socialism, though they are not infinite in number, are growing more numerous. Certainly more than three.

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Definitely, and whatever emphasis may have been placed on this aspect of the PCI's policy at one stage or another of the congress or its preparation, eurocommunism is not dead, and whether it is on the internal level or on the international level, it would certainly be a mistake to affirm that divergence between the positions of the French and Italian communists has occurred. I am tempted to believe that the contrary is true.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

MIRAGE 2000 SEEN 'VERY COMPETITIVE' COMBAT AIRCRAFT

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 19 May 79 p 32

[Article by Jean de Galard: "Mirage 2000 is a Very Competitive Combat Aircraft"]

[Text] The air defense mission assigned the French Air Force has been given number one priority and the Mirage 2000 was designed initially to prevent any penetration by enemy aircraft. This penetration may occur at very high altitude and several Mach, or at very low altitude and high speed, or at intermediate altitudes where the attackers' main characteristics are rapid maneuverability and high speeds.

The Mirage 2000 must have the capability of conducting these missions in all kinds of weather and in an electronic warfare environment. The Mirage 2000 is powered by a SNECMA M53 turbofan engine and has been optimized for air defense and air superiority missions. Executing these missions demands high performance levels in subsonic and supersonic dashes, in rate of climb and in speed at the aircraft's operational ceiling, as well as excellent maneuverability in air combat. It also demands an autonomous capability of detecting raids, particularly at low altitude.

Lastly, execution of these missions requires suitable weaponry. The Mirage 2000's standard air defense weapons include two 30-mm cannon, two Matra 550 Magie [dogfight] missiles, and two Matra Super 530 [air-to-air] missiles mounted under the wing or only one mounted under the fuselage.

Upon scrambling, the Mirage 2000 must be able to intercept and destroy a hostile aircraft flying at 75,000 feet and at Mach 2.5, 5 minutes after brake release.

Thomson-CSF has been assigned the task of developing and producing the Mirage 2000's pulse-Doppler radar with a range of approximately 100 kilometers in the look-up air-to-air mode, including at low altitude. It must also have a very great electronic counter-countermeasures capability.

The Mirage 2000 is equipped with anticollision lights and also with luminescent lights that greatly facilitate close-formation flying at night. The aircraft

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will have an air refueling capability. The Mirage 2000's pilot must have highly simplified flight gear which, nevertheless, protects him at high altitude should there be loss of pressurization in the cockpit.

Two-Seat Version

To enable it to train its Mirage 2000 pilots with maximum efficiency and safety, the air force has ordered a certain number of two-seat aircraft for delivery along with the initial single-seat version to be assigned to units. This two-seat version will have the maximum number of features in common with the single-seat version. Its flight characteristics and performance will have to greatly approximate those of the single-seater. It will be armed with the same weapon system as the single-seat version and be operationally flyable with only a single pilot on-board.

Other Probable Versions

In its first version, the Mirage 2000 is designed to be an air defense and air superiority fighter. Studies of other possible versions have been made. These include a reconnaissance version and a very low altitude, all-weather version for penetration missions. The latter version would be armed with either the ASMP (Medium-Range Air-to Surface) missile scheduled to be operational in the air force by 1985, or conventional weapons. The air force's Equipment Programming Office (BPM) in completing the master programming document for this latter version which must be capable of conducting missions in an extremely hostile environment.

Specially Adapted Program Structure

In comparison with previous programs, a special effort was made to adapt and strengthen the organizational structure of the Mirage 2000 program.

The Technical Directorate for Aeronautical Engineering (DTCA) appointed a program director (Senior armament engineer Tamagnini) and French Air Force headquarters a project officer (Colonel Fuillon of the BPM). A functional organization was created specifically for the Mirage 2000 within the DTCA, the agency directing the overall program. This organization includes a program management team and an evaluation team which establishes and supervises particularly the ground and flight test programs conducted on test-bed aircraft. The latter team is assisted by a weapon systems team.

Within the air force, the project officer coordinates the activities of BPM officer specialists and the Mont-de-Marsan CEAM [Military Air Test Center] evaluation team (team chief: Lieutenant Colonel Rougevin-Baville) responsible for the operational aspects of tactical employment, serviceability, and maintenance. This CEAM team is divided in two: some 12 specialists are stationed at Bretigny where they specifically attend to the weapon system, the components of which are tested on such test-bed aircraft as the Mystere 20 and Vautour; another 15 are stationed at Istres -- Lieutenant Colonel Eon,

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Mirage 2000 test pilot -- where they monitor flight and ground tests in coordination with the manufacturer -- Dassault-Breguet -- and the staff of the Istres CEV [Flight Test Center]. A simulator center has been established at Istres and a simulator test stand at Bretigny.

In addition, the program's principle manufacturers have formed a coordination team. Comparable to the aforementioned weapon systems team, it is led and directed by the airframe manufacturer. Designated the "general coordination team," its members include representatives of the companies involved in the program: Dassault-Breguet, Thomson-CSF, EMD [Marcel Dassault Electronics], Matra, SAGEM [Company for General Applications of Electricity and Mechanics], and SFENA [French Air Navigation Equipment Company]. This industrial team's area of responsibility covers mainly development of the operational weapon system.

Close cooperation in all matters is maintained among all members of these different teams and the Mirage 2000 program is being implemented in excellent fashion.

"On Condition" Maintenance

General application of the principle of "on condition" maintenance was sought in matters of servicability and maintenance. Preventive maintenance is employed only if the preceding method fails to provide sufficient guarantees. Field maintenance is based on the principle of detecting and isolating malfunctions by integral testing. Second-echelon maintenance is based on the principle of repairing LRU's (Line-Replaceable Units) by exchanging modules.

The CEAM evaluation team was able to perform a VAMOM (Serviceability and Maintenance Inspection) on the No 1 Mirage 2000 prototype last summer. Next summer, it will perform a VAMOM on the No 3 prototype representative of the production model. Requests for modifications based on the results of these inspections will be considered in the manufacture of production models.

Production Models in 1983

Three air force officers have currently flown the Mirage 2000. They stress, among other points, the excellent level of performance obtained in maneuverability and acceleration, the ease and precision with which the aircraft can be flown, particularly in phases of combat characterized by a large angle of attack and high acceleration, the aircraft's low approach speed, and lastly, the feeling of comfort and safety imparted by the high reliability of the different systems, and especially the electric flight controls.

From this list of excellent characteristics, the Mirage 2000 appears to be a highly competitive combat aircraft. Four production models are being procured under the 1979 budget. The coming [parliamentary] debate on the 1977-1982 programming law will provide more specific information as to when the first Mirage 2000's will enter operational service. These first aircraft will be issued to the 2d Fighter Wing based in Dijon. This same unit received the first Mirage 3's.

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

HARRISBURG ACCIDENT PROVOKES PCI NUCLEAR POLICY REVERSAL

Nuclear Construction Moratorium

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 26 Apr 79 p 9

[Article by Gianfranco Ballardini: "The 2,000-Megawatt Installation in the Maremma Laziale--Controversy on the PCI's Request to Block the Work on the Montalto di Castro Power Station"]

[Text] "On the eve of the elections, this about-face makes one suspicious," the Radical Bonino declares. Cossutta replies: "After Harrisburg, we have become aware that people are afraid of the atom. Therefore I have proposed to the party that we reexamine our position."

ROME--The PCI, which has always fought in favor of the Italian nuclear program, unleashing its own activists throughout Italy to convince the doubtful and the uncertain, now asks for suspension of the work on the nuclear power station of Montalto di Castro, the colossal 2,000-megawatt installation which is rising in the Maremma Laziale, on the border with Toscana. The Communist request, presented at a meeting held in Montalto by Armando Cossutta, of the PCI leadership, has already raised a wave of controversy. "It is a real about-face," says Emilio Bonino, of the Radical Party: "On the eve of the elections, this abrupt change cannot help but make one suspicious." Moreover, "a 3-month suspension would serve no purpose; in fact, we Socialists ask for a moratorium of 3 years," comments Nicola Caracciolo, who has always fought against the power plant.

Does the PCI's move truly represent an about-face? I asked this of Armando Cossutta, who replied animatedly: "After the Harrisburg accident, we are not afraid of losing votes, but we are afraid of men and machines. The dramatic episode of the Three Mile Island power station demonstrates, in fact, that even in these very sophisticated machines, breakdowns can occur which can have catastrophic consequences."

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But the most authoritative American reports have said for years that a big accident would create a very extensive "disaster area." Hadn't you read them? "I am not a technician," Cossutta replied, "I am not a specialist. I can only say that the Italian politicians did not know this subject thoroughly. Now, the Harrisburg incident is raising again in new terms the question of the safety of the nuclear power stations already built in Italy, or construction of which has started, and the question of protection of the population."

The Communists, Cossutta specifies, are not prejudicially opposed to nuclear energy, but request the setting-up of a broadly representative technical-scientific commission which within 3 months should present to the next Parliament a report on the safety of the nuclear power plants and on the validity of the energy program already approved by the Parliament. "It is a matter of deciding whether there should be more or fewer Italian nuclear power stations than what has already been decided by the Parliament, and whether there are other possibilities for coming with the energy requirements."

Several months before the Harrisburg incident, Cossutta had presented to Berlinguer a confidential document in which he proposed a reexamination of the position of the PCI, which up to that time had always defended the nuclear program, worked out by Donat Cattin. At the conference on the nuclear question held in Frattocchie last year, the PCI's leading experts had appeared divided as "hawks" and "doves": the former were in favor of the nuclear program, while the latter were in favor of "alternative" energy sources.

The "hawks" (led by Ippolito, Barca and Zorzoli) had prevailed at Frattocchie: the nuclear program must be carried forward, even if this position had to cost votes. "But with the passing of time," Cossutta now explains, "we became aware that people, rightly or wrongly, are afraid of the atom; and I, in my report, pointed out these fears to the party, proposing an overall reexamination of our position--a reexamination which, after Harrisburg, has become even more urgent."

Therefore, no about-face? "The Communists have not modified their position on the energy problems, nor do they intend to modify it, because of concerns relating to elections," says Cossutta. But Aldo Aniasi, of the PSI [Italian Socialist Party] leadership, retorts:

"I am happy that the Communists realize that the PSI's proposal for a nuclear moratorium is a wise thing." The Harrisburg accident has already had other repercussions: three regions (Lombardia, Piemonte and Molise) which, according to the decisions of the CIPE [Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning], were to have the next nuclear megastations installed in them, have left the field. And now the hardening of the PCI makes everything more difficult.

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National Energy Plan Reappraisal

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 24 Apr 79 p 7

[Article by Lodovico Maschiella: "Once Upon a Time There Was the Energy Plan; What Has Become of It?"]

[Text] As one might have imagined, even the very serious accident of the Harrisburg nuclear power station, after staying on the front pages for a few days, has disappeared from the newspapers. The same thing happened with the terrible blackout which hit New York a few years ago. They seem to be routine processes, just as the monotonous listing of the "measures" which the minister is said to intend taking to slow down energy consumption seem inevitable and routine, and as does also the repetition, by the president of ENEL, of the programs which the agency is said to have decided to carry out to accelerate the use of coal, geothermal energy and solar energy, and to recover all possible use of hydroelectric power, including the reuse of hundreds of power stations that have been closed for years. Thus, the energy problem seems to be entering into the chronicle of everyday life, in contact with the people, not for what it is--that is, as one of the technical and economic components fundamental to the life of human society--but only when it has dramatic content or aspects, such as the nuclear accident or the Vajont disaster, or is connected with dramatic political situations, like the Yom Kippur war, the Iranian crisis, etc.

The incident of the Harrisburg power station has given new life and strength to positions which by now seem well-rooted and irreconcilable: for or against nuclear energy, positions which, in these cases, come almost to lose all touch with reality, taking on mythical values and ideological and moral symbols. And yet the need for reflection on energy problems, rising to the necessity of overcoming all episodic considerations, has never been as urgent as it is now--reflection that covers the whole vast range of energy sources and problem areas, that starts from correct analysis of the present situations, of the questions as they are revealed by consumption and end uses. Reflection, therefore, which is not emotive but is deeply bound up with life--an effort at rationality.

The document on the energy questions prepared by the PCI leadership in January seems to us to respond to this requirement. And we say the same thing about what REPUBBLICA has written. The Communists, after the Harrisburg accident, have asked that a commission of experts of various leanings and coming from various agencies and institutes be created, with the task of acquiring, in a short time, a vast and well-documented body of information on the whole affair of that nuclear power station, and delivering it to the Parliament which will be elected in the coming elections, so that in the light of the American experience, this Parliament can conduct a reexamination of the Italian nuclear program, and especially of all that part of it which has to do with guarantees of safety and the defense or emergency systems.

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Asking this, after what has happened in Pennsylvania, means having understood that without a vast, clear and honest body of information, and without the certainty of possessing and mastering everything concerning the safety systems, no program can be set up, not only for nuclear energy but also for any energy system, and more generally, no program of industrial installations that involve risks for the workers, the population, and the environment.

The PCI has fought for the Italian national energy plan to make precise choices and work out practical programs for the saving and efficient use of energy; for accelerating all the programs for large-scale exploitation of the renewable sources, such as solar and geothermal energy; for recovery and revival of the traditional sources such as coal and hydroelectric power; for broadening and pressing on with the policy of exploration for and supplying of liquid hydrocarbons and diesel oil; and finally, entering in the most serious manner upon a program for construction of a limited and controlled number of nuclear power stations.

In addition, we Communists have, on this whole question, an undisputed merit: the merit of linearity, coherence and commitment. However, the events of recent years have demonstrated that neither the government nor the agencies nor any political party or movement has followed so coherent a line. In this regard, one need only think of the vicissitudes of the National Energy Plan, or of the way in which Minister Donat Cattin avoided, with the two CIPE resolutions, the conclusions of the parliamentary debate; it is sufficient to reflect on the fact that the government has delayed for months in presenting its draft bill on the uses of solar energy, thus preventing Parliament from being able to discuss the proposals put forward by the parties, among which, and first among which, is the PCI. It is enough to think of the delays, the conflicts, the omissions which have characterized the life and activities of the agencies such as ENEL, the CNEN [National Nuclear Energy Commission], and the ENI [National Hydrocarbons Agency], which work in this sector. The fact that the current president of ENEL, engineer Corbellini, now declares that he wants to revive the hydroelectric sector reveals good personal intentions, of course, but also reveals the agency's macroscopic delays in this sector.

From the Italian and European experience itself, in recent years, comes an indication which, it seems to us, conflicts profoundly with what F. Alberoni declares. The cause of the crisis-sunset of European civilization does not derive from the fact that technology and science have disappointed, because they have not given all they had promised, while all the rest (economy, politics, ideology) are supposed to have functioned very well. But can one imagine (for the energy sector too--indeed, especially for the energy sector) a neutral technology and science, or a technology and science not profoundly conditioned by the economic, political and ideological aspects, which exert a decisive influence on society?

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

SURVEY OF TECHNOLOGICALLY FEASIBLE HYDROELECTRIC POTENTIAL

ENEL Hydroelectric Resources Study

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 1 May 79 p 4

[Article: "The Residual National Hydroelectric Resources--An Investigation by ENEL--Study Comes Within ENEL's Programs for Use and Development of All National Energy Resources"]

[Text] Utilization of the primary national sources, and especially the renewable ones, constitutes the priority objective of the country's energy policy.

In this framework, ENEL [National Electric Power Agency] has developed a capillary and analytical study to pinpoint the hydroelectric resources which still appear technically useable, without regard to their suitability in economic terms, and also to evaluate the possible productivity increases achievable through recovery of old inactive power stations, with new stations, and with modernization of other small installations in service.

Taking into account also the uses being considered along the open-plain courses of the Po and Adige rivers--which, however, pose difficult problems of environmental alteration--and other installations which may result from continuation of ENEL's studies and from proposals by third parties, the technologically still useable national hydroelectric potential can increase from the 8.4 billion kwh [kilowatt-hours] per year indicated in the table below to 10-11 billion kwh per year. This maximum possible increase in hydroelectric productivity is of the same order of magnitude as the production increase achieved by ENEL to meet the country's greater electric power consumption in 1978 as compared with 1977.

As indicated below, about half of these installations prove to be feasible from the strictly economic point of view also, and therefore can play an additive role in covering the country's future electric power needs. Work on utilization of them is being carried on with the greatest commitment, so that they can make it possible to reduce oil imports, increase the contribution from renewable national resources and use resources from totally national firms and industries.

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New Hydroelectric Productivity Technologically Feasible

	<u>New Annual Natural Productivity (billions of kwh)</u>
1. Technologically feasible installations with productivity greater than 100 million kwh per year:	
Hydroelectric use only	4.2
Mixed use	1.1
Total	5.3
2. Technologically feasible installations with productivity less than 100 million kwh per year:	
Installations for which preliminary studies have been completed	0.5
Installations considered in a general way	2.0
Total	2.5
3. Possible recovery of inactive power stations and contribution from new power stations	0.3
4. Modernization of old power stations in service	0.3
Total of new contributions technologically possible	<u>8.4</u>

The total number of technically feasible hydroelectric installations with productivity greater than 100 million kwh per year--in other words, a significant energy contribution, as evidenced in section 1. of the table above--is 29, grouped in 20 hydroelectric systems, each composed of installations positioned along a given river axis, and located as follows: 15 in the Alpine arc; 4 along the Appenine ridge; and 1 in Sicily, in the Caronie Orientali.

Among these installations are schemes already studied in the past, even before nationalization of the electrical firms, but not carried out on account of difficulties of various kinds, especially of an environmental character. These schemes have been worked over by ENEL again to bring them up to modern electric power production requirements, on the one hand, and on the other, to the progress in construction technology and to the changed situations in the use and preservation of waters and land.

The abovementioned 29 installations are named, with the principal data of their characteristics, in Table 1.

Several of the proposed schemes are for mixed uses, with final uses--apart from the hydroelectric uses--for irrigation or aqueducts. Specifically, these installations are: Alto Tanaro and Bassa Dora Baltea, in the Alpine arc;

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Alto Aveto and Lima, in the central-northern Appenines; and Caronie Orientali in Sicily. In such installations, electric power production, which is conditioned by the other priority uses, can contribute only partially to the expenses for construction of the system, which must therefore find its economic balance in a proper distribution of the costs in relation to the benefits obtainable in the various sectors of use of the waters. This has proved, for example, to be the case with the Sila installations (now in the completion phase and the subject of an agreement with the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno) and for those of the lower Cellina: for these latter, inclusion in ENEL's latest operational program was possible after the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region arranged the financing of the Ravedis reservoir.

The possible new installations with production less than 100 million kwh per year are also the subject of a detailed study by ENEL, analogous to the preceding one and in an advanced stage of preparation.

It has emerged from an initial general study that more than 40 of these installations are technically feasible; for 14 of them, the preliminary studies were completed in 1978, and their principal characteristics are presented in Table 2.

In toto, the 43 technically feasible installations shown in Tables 1 and 2 have an annual natural productivity of 5.8 billion kwh; their cost (estimate at end of 1978) is more than 3,400 billion lire. In any case, apart from considerations of their economic advisability, construction of them could only be carried out within a time frame of about 5-10 years, taking account also of the time needed for obtaining the prescribed administrative authorizations.

In the abovementioned tables, the installations have been grouped by class, according to the unit cost of the energy produced by them:

--the first group is made up of installations with production costs comparable to those for thermoelectric production using coal or nuclear energy; this group includes 16 installations whose productivity is 3.5 billion kwh per year and whose cost is about 1,580 billion lire;

--the second group is made up of installations which have higher unit costs-- up to about double the present limit of competitiveness--and which could therefore be taken into consideration in the perspective of a longer period; this group includes 15 installations, whose productivity is 1.6 billion kwh per year and whose cost is about 1,100 billion lire;

--the third group includes installations with cost more than double the limit; there are 12 such installations, with productivity of 0.7 billion kwh and cost of 735 billion lire.

The aforesaid new contributions from installations with productivity less than 100 million kwh per year and still in the study phase could provide an increase of another 2 billion kwh per year; however, their position in the

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cost ranges indicated above can be defined only upon conclusion of the studies, even though it appears, from very general estimates, that a good number of them can be put into the second group, and a limited number in the first group.

As indicated, ENEL has also begun a systematic study for redevelopment of the small power stations (points 3. and 4. in the summary table), for the purpose of defining a small number of types of hydraulic machinery of simple design, suitable for many power stations, so that it can program assembly-line construction of them, and likewise for the alternators, for which a small number of standardized sizes is planned.

The adoption of these criteria, together with intensified automation, will make it possible to put back into service some of the power stations which have been closed because they were no longer materially serviceable, and the modernization of others which are still in service, in accordance with a plan on a suitable time schedule. New construction of some small power plants, using existing or to-be-built streamlines or oftakes, and serving other priority uses of the waters, could also result.

The recovery of new energy which can be considered obtainable from small hydraulic uses at nonprohibitive costs is on the order of several hundred million kwh per year, while modernization of the now obsolete power stations, whose production today is nearly 1.7 billion kwh per year, will not only make it possible to keep them in service, but also to increase their productivity by about 2 billion kwh per year. It should be noted in this regard that the power stations given up by ENEL--many of them also as a result of requests for water for municipal uses--had a total productivity of only 240 million kwh per year, which represents 1.4 thousandths of total Italian electric power production in 1978.

And it should also be pointed out that, precisely for the purpose of keeping in service the largest number of hydroelectric power stations, which otherwise would be uneconomical in service, ENEL has developed automation and remote control of them to the maximum: the percentage of automated and remote-controlled power stations, which was 12 percent in 1962, was raised to 68 percent in 1978 and will reach 70 percent at the end of this year.

To complete the picture of the utilization of the remaining national hydroelectric resources, it should also be kept in mind that ENEL presently has under construction eight hydroelectric installations, using natural flows and pumping, for a total effective power of more than 2.5 billion kilowatts and productivity of about 3.1 billion kwh (including 2.0 billion kwh from pumping), and is starting the construction of three other installations using pumping only, with a total effective power of 2.5 million kilowatts. In addition, another 12 installations with power of 1.3 million kilowatts and productivity of about 1.9 billion kwh (including 0.7 billion kwh from pumping) are included in ENEL's operating program. After deduction of the elec-

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tric power based on old installations and of the productivity from pumping, this group of installations will produce a total new energy contribution of 1.3 billion kwh per year.

To go deeper into the problems of utilization of the remaining hydroelectric resources and the other supplementary sources, as well as energy savings, ENEL has organized a conference which will be held in Siena on 27 and 28 June next.

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Table 1. Technologically Feasible Hydroelectric Installations (with annual productivity greater than 100 million kwh)

1. Saceri idrografici utilizzati e denominazione degli impianti	2. Provincia	3. Potenza installata (MW)	4. Producibilità naturale media annua (GWh)	5. Energia annua sottratta su vecchi impianti (GWh)	6. Costo totale al 31/12/78 (ML)	7. Note
8 1° gruppo						
ALTA DORA BALTEA	Aosta					
1 Champontaille-La Balme	Aosta					
2 La Balme-La Salle	Aosta	214	603		191.200	
9 Totale						
GRAN PARADISO						
3 Nivolet-Terré	Aosta					
4 Terré-Fenille	Aosta					
5 Fenille-Villeneuve	Aosta	610	764	206,9	368.400	
Totale						
ADDA SUBLACUALE						
6 Robbiate	Como-Milano	52	350,2	230,9	52.600	(1)
TORRENTE NOCE						
7 Cogolo-Malé	Trento	60	309		101.400	
ALTO FIUME ADIGE						
8 Acquaviva di Lana	Bolzano	170	504	398	121.300	
PASSIRIO						
9 Belprato	Bolzano					
10 Rilliano	Bolzano	354	810		244.600	
Totale						
TORRENTE AURINO E RIO RIVA						
11 Riva di Tures	Bolzano	280	427		211.500	
ALTO TANARO						
12 Isola-Ponti	Imperia-Genova	100	123,7		87.400	U.P. (2)
ALTO AVEYO						
13 Cabanne	Genova	154	252	20	130.700	U.P. (3)
10 Totali parziali		1.994	4.148,9	855,8	1.509.100	
11 2° gruppo						
DORA BALTEA INFERIORE						
14 Mazze-Villaraggia	Torino					
15 Villareggia-Depretis	Torino-Vercelli					
Totale						
STURA DI ALA E DI VALGRANDE						
16 Arnas-Pian della Mussa	Torino	19,9	118,4		37.600	U.P.
17 Pian della Mussa-Mondrone	Torino					
18 Mondrone-Ceres	Torino	210,2	324,8	41	259.000	
Totale						

[Chart continued on next page]

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VAL CANNOBINA									
19 Cannobio	Novara	56.1	141.5	---	---	---	---	---	99.000
BASSO FIUME ISARCO									
20 S. Giacomo in Auglia	Bolzano	25	150	---	---	---	---	---	74.300
BASSO FIUME RIENZA									
21 Rodengo	Bolzano	26	148	---	---	---	---	---	72.200
ALTO CELLINA									
22 Lesis-Arcola	Pordenone	32.5	163	---	---	---	---	---	79.100
TORRENTE LIMA E VERSANTE MERIDIONALE DELL'ABETONE									
23 Pianinatico-Ponte Dogno	Pistoia-Lucca								
24 Ponte Dogno-Borgo a Mozzano	Pistoia-Lucca								
Totale		218	511	121.6	---	---	---	---	317.000 U.P.
VOMANO									
25 Roseto	Teramo	54	122.5	---	---	---	---	---	112.300
Totale parziali		641.7	1679.2	162.6	---	---	---	---	1.050.500
12 gruppo									
VALSESIA									
26 Varallo	Vercelli	42	125	---	---	---	---	---	83.200
ALTO ARNO									
27 Montemignaio-Rufina	Firenze-Arezzo	68	191.5	18.4	---	---	---	---	198.700
CARONIE ORIENTALI									
28 Alcantara-Galati	Messina								
29 Galati-Torrenova	Messina								
Totale		138.5	183.2	---	---	---	---	---	231.400 U.P.
Totale parziali		248.5	483.300	---	---	---	---	---	483.300
13 TOTALI COMPLESSIVI		2.884.2	3.042.900	---	---	---	---	---	3.042.900
14 U.P.=Utilizzazione promiscua - (1) = Rifacimento di 3 impianti Montedison in scadenza (31-1-1981) - (2) e (3) = Costo al netto dei serbatoi per usi irrigui, rispettivamente sul versante piemontese e su quello emiliano.									
15 Classi di costo: 1 Gruppo: impianto aventi costi unitari di produzione comparabili con quelli di altre fonti competitive; 2 Gruppo: impianti aventi costi di produzione fino a circa il doppio di quelli d'altra fonte; 3 Gruppo: impianti aventi costi di produzione superiori al doppio di quelli d'altra fonte.									

Key:

1. Catchment basins used, and names of installations
 2. Province
 3. Installed power (megawatts)
 4. Mean annual natural productivity (gigawatt-hours)
 5. Annual power based on old installations (gigawatt hours)
- [Key continued on following page]

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6. Total cost at 31 Dec 78 (millions of lire)
7. Notes
8. First group
9. Total
10. Subtotals
11. Second group
12. Third Group
13. Grand totals
14. U.P. mixed use. (1)=Remodelling of 3 Montedison installations falling into disuse (31 Jan 1981). (2) and (3)= Cost after deduction of reservoirs for irrigation uses, on the Piemonte and Emilia slopes, respectively.
15. Cost classes: 1st group--installations with unit production costs comparable to those of other competitive sources; 2nd group--installations with production costs up to about double that of other sources; 3rd group--installations with production costs more than double those of other sources.

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Table 2. Technologically Feasible Hydroelectric Installations (with annual productivity less than 100 million kwh; data pertaining to 14 installations out of 45 previously pinpointed)

1 Denominazione degli impianti	2 Provincia	3 Bacino idrografico	4 Potenza installata (MW)	5 Produttività naturale media annua (GWh)	6 Energia annua sottesa su vecchi impianti (GWh)	7 Costo totale al 31/12/78 (ML)	8 Note
9 1° gruppo							
1 Anduins	Udine	Tagliamento (Arzino)	14,4	48	—	20.200	
2 Confiente	Piacenza	Trebbia	21,5	85	—	37.000	(1)
3 Castrola	Bologna	Reno	9,3	29,6	—	11.800	(1)
10 Totali parziali			45,2	162,6	—	69.000	
11 2° gruppo							
4 Cinquecerri	Reggio Emilia	Secchia	11	30,7	—	18.100	
5 Scontrone	L'Aquila	Alto Sangro	10,2	34,2	—	18.700	
6 Cantiniera	Cagliari	Tirso	19,6	43	—	12.900	(1)
Totali parziali			40,8	107,9	—	49.700	
12 3° gruppo							
7 Gerosa	Ascoli Piceno	Aso	1,4	4	—	2.200	
8 Ateleta	L'Aquila	Alto Sangro	9	41,3	—	34.000	
9 Filetino	Frosinone	Alto Aniene	1,4	7,2	—	5.400	
10 Ponte Renzo	Frosinone	Alto Aniene	0,7	2,7	—	3.600	
11 Sora	L'Aquila-Frosinone	Liri	5,9	32	—	33.200	
12 Isola Liri	Frosinone	Liri	17,3	95	56	34.400	
13 Ponte sul Calore	Benevento	Volturno (Tammaro)	33	66	—	76.000	
14 Castrocucco II	Potenza	Noce	24	60	—	60.700	
Totali parziali			92,7	368,2	56	251.500	
13 TOTALI COMPLESSIVI			178,7	578,7	56	370.200	

14 (1) Costi al netto degli oneri per la costruzione dei serbatoi (a carico di altre utilizzazioni).
 15 Classi di costo: 1° gruppo: impianti aventi costi unitari di produzione comparabili con quelli di altre fonti competitive; 2° gruppo: impianti aventi costi di produzione fino a circa il doppio di quelli d'altra fonte; 3° gruppo: impianti aventi costi di produzione superiori al doppio di quelli d'altra fonte.

Key:

1. Names of installations
 2. Province
 3. Catchment basin
 4. Installed power (megawatts)
 5. Mean annual natural productivity (gigawatt-hours)
 6. Annual power based on old installations (gigawatt-hours)
- [Key continued on following page]

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- 7. Total cost at 31 Dec 78 (millions of lire)
- 8. Notes
- 9. First group
- 10. Subtotals
- 11. Second group
- 12. Third group
- 13. Grand totals
- 14. (1) Costs after deduction of expenses for construction of reservoirs (charged to other uses)
- 15. Cost classes: 1st group--installations with unit production costs comparable to those of other competitive sources; 2nd group--installations with production costs up to about double that of other sources; 3rd group--installations with production costs more than double those of other sources.

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Insufficient for Future Demands

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 11 Apr 79 p 13

[Article by Demetrio De Stefano: "Corbellini (ENEL) Maintains that the Hydroelectric Resources Will Make a Modest Contribution--What to Do to Plug the Energy Leak"]

[Text] Rome--ENEL is thoroughly involved in its study of the residual hydroelectric resources, but the physical reality of the country is what it is, and it is not possible to go beyond specific limits of exploitation. This is the basic idea expressed yesterday by the president of the national electric power agency, Francesco Corbellini, in the course of a press conference. ENEL has prepared a document which examines in detail everything which can still be done in the hydroelectric field in Italy, from construction of new power stations to recovery and modernization of small existing installations.

The document is a working contribution intended for a "multitopic" conference on energy sources which ENEL will organize in Siena on 27 and 28 June next.

The result of this inventory "down to the last drop" (or almost: 95 percent of the possibilities must have been examined) is not contemptible, but does not inspire enthusiasm either: annual productivity increase of 8.4 billion kwh, raisable to 10-11 billion kwh if one considers the utilization of open-plain river courses such as the Po and the Adige, for which, Corbellini warned, "difficult problems of environmental alteration are raised, however."

The president of ENEL specified that 10-11 billion kwh, which in any case would be the result of a construction effort lasting about 12 years, is equivalent to only 1 year of increased electric power demand in Italy. And 10-11 billion kwh also corresponds to the annual production of only one of the "Montalto di Castro" type of atomic power stations which are the basis of ENEL's nuclear-origin electric power program.

It is thus obvious that the search for new hydroelectric sources "is a duty," Corbellini declared, "but totally insufficient to solve the problem of energy demand in the coming years." Therefore, ENEL's president stressed, "it remains certain that only a vast plan for coal-fired and especially nuclear power stations can cope with the country's requirements." And with regard to the problem of accidents in atomic power stations, Corbellini emphasized that in the most recent Italian nuclear installations, "the safety norms are planned on the basis of standards higher than the American ones."

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The ENEL study presented by Corbellini subdivides the possible new sources of hydroelectric power into four categories: installations with productivity greater than 100 million kwh per year (totalling 5.3 billion kwh); installations producing less than 100 million kwh (totalling 2.5 billion kwh); possible recovery of inactive power stations and contributions by new power stations (totalling 0.3 billion kwh); and modernization of old power stations presently in service (totalling 0.3 billion kwh). Altogether, as stated above, 8.4 billion kwh, which would rise to 10-11 billion with the problematic installations on the Po and on the Adige.

There is a total of 29 technically feasible installations with capacity greater than 100 million kwh, and 43 with capacity less than 100 million kwh. Then there is the question of economic advisability. ENEL has subdivided the installations into three groups on the basis of the unit cost of the energy produced. The first group (16 installations, 3.5 billion kwh, cost about 1,580 billion lire) has economic feasibility comparable to that of coal-fired and nuclear installations; the second group (15 installations, 1.6 billion kwh, 1,100 billion lire) has an economic cost up to double the present limits.

Yesterday, the president of ENEL also dwelt on the balance among the Italian regions as regards production and consumption of electric power (we present a significant table below). This problem will become a difficult one in the future, with reference to the difficulty in deciding where new power stations are to be located. Corbellini expressed the hope that incentives--including rate incentives, possibly--be studied for those regions which will accept construction of new power stations.

The Electric Power Deficit Region by Region

	Gigawatt-hours	%		Gigawatt-hours	%
Piemonte	5,110	30.2	Marche	1,725	71.0
Valle d'Aosta	--	--	Lazio	17	0.2
Lombardia	5,745	17.1	Abruzzi	351	15.3
Trentino-Alto Adige	--	--	Molise	309	64.2
Veneto	2,810	20.0	Campania	6,274	70.0
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	287	6.6	Puglia	--	--
Liguria	--	--	Basilicata	344	25.2
Emilia-Romagna	--	--	Calabria	--	--
Toscana	3,094	29.7	Sicily	--	--
Umbria	662	20.7	Sardinia	259	3.7
			Net Total for ITALY	2,777	1.7

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COUNTRY SECTION

SPAIN

RESURGENCE OF NEO-FASCIST GROUPS REPORTED

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 20 May 79 pp 18-25

[Unattributed article: "Kids Who Kill--Nazi Outbreak in Spain"]

[Text] Small bands of angry youths imbued with fascist and nazi ideologies have been proliferating throughout Spain in recent weeks. Armed with sticks, iron bars, chains, knives, and some firearms, they have caused panic among the militants of the left.

As if in response to a single command, the fascist and nazi youth have come out of their ghettos to provoke those who attend left-wing demonstrations.

Alarmed, the government reacted and on Friday, the 4th, took the initiative in the cabinet: Implacable prosecution of extreme right-wing bands through a series of measures that have so far not yet been spelled out.

Only two facts have so far emerged from confidential files and reports: Members of the General Police Corps, who are traditionally concerned with investigating these fascist bands, have received strict orders from their superiors to conduct a thorough investigation and to go all the way in exposing these extremist bands.

On the other hand, since Monday, 7 May, Madrid has had 3,000 new members of the National Police. Reliable sources assure us that they will be involved not only in law-and-order functions but they will also have to watch those areas in which the fascists believe that they are lord and master. The Salamanca district, for example, has been bothered recently by posters commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Hitler (30 [20] April 1889) and the 34th anniversary of his death (20 [30] April 1945).

The high point in this black terror strategy came on 29 April. A young communist by the name of Andres Garcia fell mortally wounded by two dagger thrusts. A week later, the police arrested Jose Luis Martinez Merino, 16 years old, as the presumed perpetrator of this knife murder.

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But a new aspect of the nazi rebirth in Spain materialized on top of the already traditional attacks on the left: For the first time, Spanish Jews tremble before the image of youth with the swastika who terrorize their families and burn their stores.

On the basis of police reports and interviews with the leaders of Spanish fascism, a team of reporters investigated the nazi rise. Antonio Ojeda wrote the report.

Jose Luis Martinez Merino, a 16-year old youth, walking on Goya Street in Madrid, a fierce extreme right-winger, on Sunday, 29 April, could no longer bear having Andres Garcia, an 18-year old communist militant, looking at him "with impudence."

Together with two other friends, one of whom wore the swastika on the arm, Jose Luis Martinez had struck and destroyed the briefcase of a coed who was walking around the area with a "Che" Guevara decal.

Andres Garcia and three of his friends had just seen a movie by Rocky Stallone--not "Seven Days in January" filmed by Bardem, on the killing in Atocha, as was believed earlier--and they witnessed the action of the young nazis in Goya Street. The "impudent look" cost Andrew his life because Jose Luis Martinez carried a sharp underwater fishing knife.

The extreme right-wing youth, arrested by the police a week later, was immediately tied in with the legal party, the Youth Front, a radical offshoot of the Youth Force (the youth branch of the New Force). As usual, the party leaders denied his membership in spite of the fact that some of them at first publicly admitted that Jose Luis Martinez "was one of ours."

However, although the communist youth's death seemed just one incident in the rebellion of the fascists after the city elections, government circles are sure that "the rebellion" has just begun. This is the meaning behind the death threat communicated by Triple A to Andres Garcia's attorney, Jose Maria Mohedano.

Absolutely reliable government sources told CAMBIO 16 that they are convinced that extreme right-wing circles now want to start an escalation of "black terror" whose coincidence with the end of the election process, with the victory of the left wing in the city elections and the growing strength of the Spanish democratic process is not accidental.

These sources pointed out that this conviction springs from the investigations that are now being carried out.

The magazine learned from certain sources close to the police that the latter just a month ago discovered a meeting held in a Madrid apartment, attended by some outstanding Spanish extreme right-wing leaders, leaders of fascist organizations from various regions, and "an Argentine or Chilean who acted as host and coordinator."

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of these commandos: "These are four nice little boys who are just having some fun--but there is no serious organization here."

The Military Intelligence Services in Andalucia have a similar opinion; some time ago, they published a voluminous report, "for official use only," called the "Curial Report," whose main conclusion was that the organization of the violent extreme right is rather slim and did not present any threats in terms of major action. According to the military report, there is little foreign support and these are instead "nostalgic people" who are not too numerous.

The conclusions in that report are still considered valid today, according to sources consulted by CAMBIO 16 in Andalucia, "in spite of the resurgence of violent actions carried out by groups of youngsters, especially in some rural areas."

Several priests in Archidona, in the district of Antequera, who made a study of rural youth, pointed out that the way the young people in rural Andalucia dress and behave in some cases is reminiscent of the Hitler Youth or the Mussolini Youth Organization [Balilla].

According to those priests, this phenomenon is taking place because "the left-wing parties do not offer the young people anything attractive while parties such as the New Force or the Spanish Anticomunist Front offer action, risks, and adventure."

Still, the recent fascist rebellion does not exclusively spring from the lack of incentives for youth; a person close to the Spanish Anticomunist Front in Malaga told CAMBIO 16 that "the strategy of the action commandos is being changed and they are being reorganized" since the Marxist victory in the municipal elections.

Occupation of Seville

The extreme right-wingers in Seville, who on Sunday, 22 April, occupied two mountain towns--Castilblanco de los Arroyos and Burguillos--seem very well organized.

At 1700 on that day, a bus full of New Force and Young Force (the youth branch), led by Jose Maria del Nido, their president, arrived in Castilblanco on that day where, at the foot of the Cross of the Fallen, they delivered speeches "even talking about pistols," according to the communist mayor of the town.

After threatening several local residents and beating up one of them, Santiago Iglesias, they continued their journey, which seems to be a "training exercise," according to eye witnesses, until they got to Burguillos.

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This information could not be checked out officially with more direct sources fundamentally because the magazine reporters in their investigations encountered considerable difficulty in overcoming the reluctance of official circles, who might know more about the situation, to comment on the topic since they did not wish to alarm anybody.

From police circles close to the investigations being conducted with respect to the extreme right-wing groups, CAMBIO 16 was able to obtain a rough indication of the current panorama of Spanish fascists which is still very confused.

One of the items checked out is this: The investigation conducted so far revealed that some of the extremist groups operating in Spain are getting their financing from old extreme right-wing leaders who apparently no longer have any connections with politics. These investigations even turned up the names of some personalities known during the days of Francoism who today appear to be disconnected from any specific political activities.

The investigators will now try to come up with decisive evidence that will make it possible to tie those names in with the activities of the ultra-fascist groups.

"The evidence is difficult to get," one of the investigators told this magazine, "since the financing system is made up of the simultaneous use of various 'channels,' with contacts and go-betweens who do not know each other."

The investigation on occasion becomes very complicated because the activities of the extreme right-wingers extend almost all over Spain. In this sense, political sources emphasized that the connections between the fascist in the various parts of Spain are still rather slim, at least in the organizational area, "although in recent weeks," they added, "we have been able to detect some attempts at coordination which can turn out to be very dangerous."

From Pamplona to Seville

Coordinated or not, the escalation of fascist aggression in recent days is developing from one end of the country to the other. While an extreme right-wing band in Madrid, apparently well organized, "broke up" the antinuclear demonstration on 26 April, armed groups appeared simultaneously as provocators during the 1 May celebrations in Zaragoza, Madrid, Seville, and other cities.

In Pamplona, the organization of "parties" in the old downtown section, attended by youth subscribing to "abertzale" (left-wing patriot) ideology, has worried some of the authorities who confidentially admit that "the perfect organization of extreme right-wingers during those clashes" is worth noting.

An inspector from the office of the police commissioner in the capital of Navarra however expressed his doubts to this magazine as to the organization

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In Burguillo they asked for directions to the Cross of the Fallen [veterans memorial], a monument which did not exist there; when they did not find it and when they ran into a local resident with the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] pin in his lapel, the order was given "fourth and fifth squads, beat him up," according to the socialist mayor Doroteo Blanco.

The president of the New Force however prefers a different story of this "excursion" trip and he maintains that the resident picked a fight with the group "and the boys could not control themselves."

In Barcelona, on the other hand, according to all appearances, the violent activities of the extreme right-wingers have declined considerably. Alejandro del Valle, the right-hand man to the chief of police, told Mercedes Rivas that "their activity has been practically insignificant in recent times. The truth is that they have nothing to do here. People say that a new little group has been created but that is just so much talk. There is no violent action here whatsoever."

On the other hand the violent extreme rightists in Lerida are less insignificant; there, walls are covered with painted slogans, especially on General Mola Street which has been declared a "national zone" in the area and night-time passersby are forced to sing "Facing Into the Sun" their arms raised in the [fascist] salute.

In spite of police opinion, the increase in fascist militants cannot be denied at the University of Barcelona and especially in its law school. Lluís Torte, the university official in charge of the PSO (Socialist Party) [of Catalonia], told CAMBIO 16 that "five years ago there were not that many of them. They began to come out in an organized manner starting on 15 June and most of them rallied around the Young Force."

Innocent New Force

At the Madrid headquarters of the party of Blas Pinar, the New Force, all of these opinions are firmly rejected. Secretary-general Ricardo Alba, 38, impeccable in a gray suit, blue shirt, and the ever-present party tie, received CAMBIO 16 to assure us that they had nothing to do with the violent actions they are constantly being blamed for.

"I believe," he said, "that these are sporadic reactions by minority groups that gather around a series of party initials. We are also worried about them because they come out at a very special time and they make us ask ourselves with what hidden strings those boys are being manipulated."

Seated under a signed photo of Franco and a portrait by Jose Antonio, Ricardo Alba thinks that he can see some strange relationships between the groups of provocators, enabling the government and the press to besmirch his party, "because New Force is now the biggest enemy of the government and the left."

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The extreme right-wing party secretary is trying to wipe out the violent image of his group and he assured us that they condemn violence for the sake of violence although he did point out: "Of course, in legitimate defense or in defense of something superior, such as God, fatherland, justice, and the flag, we cannot just stand by idle."

In this way, Ricardo Alba exculpates his party and its youth branch with respect to the escalation of extremist aggressions carried out in recent weeks although he does admit that "this is not a private company where you have a time clock to punch in and punch out; what some of our militants do in their private life is something that we cannot control, nor can we interfere with that."

While New Force and Youth Force claim to be innocent, Mariano Sanchez Covisa does so likewise; he is a 70-year old chemical engineer, known as the leader of the Guerrillas of Christ the King, although he maintained that he is only a plain militant.

"Those youngsters who are coming around here," he told this magazine, "with nazi insignia, committing violent actions, are being manipulated by an agency of government in order to discredit the extreme rightists, those of us who are loyal to the regime of 18 July."

Sanchez Covisa, who does not conceal his ideology, nor his sympathies, assured us that the Guerrillas of Christ the King "have been inactive for many months because we know that we need not do anything because the traitors will expose themselves."

The guerrilla of Christ the King, who loves popularity--"my friends greet me in the streets and my enemies start running"--quite frankly admits that in some cases violence may be necessary, "because, if not, we would be the slaves of the violent people. Violence is good when it is carried out in defense of justice."

Leocadio Jimenez Caravaca expressed the same opinion; he is another right-winger known especially because of his implication in the Atocha case, where five labor lawyers died. Leocadio Jimenez today at liberty, avoided making any statements "now that things are still very confused"; but he did not hesitate to assure us that all of the latest provocations are designed "to discredit us."

The fascist involved in the Atocha crime said that those extremist groups "that are now being formed and that have neither money, nor tactics, do not help us and do not produce any useful results for us."

Who, then, are the fascists, the neonazis who turn up so violently during a left-wing demonstration or who thrash somebody in a cafe? While the Guerrillas of Christ the King and New Force deny their links with these violent groups, the police have their own theory on that score.

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For the sources consulted by this magazine, who have profound knowledge on these groups, it is certain that the separation between the violent groups and the legal parties is not clear.

"We believe," said a police officer who investigated the subject, "that most of those groups are youngsters who very easily get together and then separate again. They are heavily intoxicated in their ideology by extreme right-wing speeches and at the same time they are attracted by the element of risk and adventure which they assume they can find here. That much is sure; but those groups also on certain occasions get some money; they find it easy to get weapons and, at least on some occasions, they move with a very specifically defined organization."

These characteristics made police investigators suspect that "the groups of angry youth" are being utilized by authentic right-wingers "who unleash actions during key moments." The sources consulted stated all kinds of reservations on the topic of extreme right-wing organizations "because this has not yet been sufficiently investigated."

Terrorist Hotbed

One thing is certain: The investigation among extreme right-wing groups does not seem to be too easy for the experts consulted. They pointed out that photographs available to the police made it possible to arrest the youngsters involved in the incidents that cost a communist militant his life.

One of the reliable sources contacted assured us that the police in Madrid have a rather complete mug file of extreme right-wing militant youth who are or are not connected to legal parties.

Regardless of whether or not they turn up in the files, one thing government circles do not doubt is that those extreme right-wing youth are the nursery which over the next several months will turn out "those who will organize armed bands and who will start what can turn into a real black terrorist escalation if the situation is not remedied first."

These government sources did not hesitate to express their worry to the highest levels of government so that a plan may be launched to prevent the fascist rebellion which, according to them, threatens the complete consolidation of Spanish democracy.

Many Groups

The panorama of Spanish extreme right-wing groups is full of names and abbreviations but it is devoid of content. At least 30 organizations or their names have become known in recent years by virtue of their fascist or neonazi ideology. Many of those organizations are just one-day wonders and only manage to paint some slogans on the walls or scatter some leaflets.

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Police experts consulted by CAMBIO 16 pointed out that the half-way organized extreme right-wing groups at this time number practically only five or six "and we cannot even be sure on that because there are very small groups that use several names at the same time."

This is true, for example, of the Adolf Hitler Action Commando and the Benito Mussolini Commando, among others, which, according to the experts, consist of groups of youths who meet occasionally for some action and use different names.

Other, somewhat larger organizations disappeared in recent years for various reasons although most of them did so due to rivalries among their members. This is true of the Iberic Cross under the direction of Alcazar de Velasco, or the Blue Legion, commanded by De la Sia Capa, which only did a little more than publish some bulletins. One major organization, which according to the police have practically disappeared, is ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] Antiterrorism (ATE) which, in the opinion of the experts, might have been reorganized in another form, under a different name.

Leader Royuela

A similar case involves the GAS (Trade Union Action Group) which preferably operates in Barcelona and whose most outstanding leader was Alberto Royuela. This organization has disappeared as such. The National Revolutionary Movement met a similar fate; it was founded by the Alemany brothers; here we also have the Association of Volunteer Crusaders and the National Action Party which assumed some status in 1976 and has suffered various excisions. Some of its members today are to be found in the National Union of Fernandez de la Mora.

According to police experts, the "active" extreme right-wing groups today might include the following:

Anticommunist Apostolic Alliance; still in existence but carries out few known actions.

PENS (Spanish National Socialist Party); it carried out numerous actions in Barcelona over the past 2 years and elsewhere along the Mediterranean Coast; it still exists but its operational capacity is unknown.

CEDADE (Spanish Friends of Europe Club); this is not an action group as such; it engages in considerable cultural activities "to disseminate national socialism" (see below).

Guerrillas of Christ the King; they have not done anything for several months now; their leader, Mariano Sanchez Covisa, says that they are not an organization but rather a group of friends who defend the fatherland.

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Front of Youth

Front of Youth; broke away from the youth branch of the New Force and was legalized in September 1978; most of its recent actions are connected with its militants; subscribes to national socialist ideology and is highly radical; they are organized along paramilitary lines and it is calculated that they have at least 400 militants in Madrid and as many in the rest of Spain.

Spanish Anticommunist Front; basically operating along Costa del Sol; many of its militants had been with New Force before; they carry out numerous actions.

The Spanish Jews--Memories of Adolf

Marcos Emergui is scared. Early in the morning on 25 April, as if in a nightmare, he, his wife, and his son watched a group of youths, displaying nazi symbols, burn his store which he has on Mostenses Square in Madrid.

Marcos Emergui is a Jew, a Spaniard and a Jew, like hundreds of other persons who make up the Jewish community in Spain. All of them are scared because posters on walls, slogans painted on the doors of their homes, and actions by youth with the swastika arm band brought back to them the bitter memory of Adolf Hitler.

"They have gone over to the attack," says Marcos Emergui. "They have been painting slogans in this part of town, where there are several Jewish shops, for 4 years now. About 2 months ago, they broke the glass in a store window and began to worry us. During the last week of April they burned my shop and that of another Jew. They are now on the attack."

Samuel Toledano, spokesman of the Jewish community in Spain, agrees: "The resurgence of nazism is clear. What is happening in Madrid, with painted slogans and posters of Hitler, is incitement to racial hatred, a provocation which the authorities should not permit."

Toledano, who has carried his complaints to the civilian governor of Madrid, wants to avoid the easy temptation of considering them just "small groups" and, remembering the past, he says: "Perhaps they are small groups numerically but this Hitler thing also began with small groups whom nobody took seriously."

Small or not, after burning the Menorah store of Marcos Egui, they came back there: "We, my brother and I," Marcos told us, "were in the shop at 1630, just two days after they had burned it. My wife and my two nephews were also there when 25 youths, wearing paramilitary uniforms, black boots, and swastika arm bands turned up. They broke the door down and came in to destroy what little was left after the fire." Terrorized, they were able to find refuge in a workshop in the rear and to emerge unharmed after the

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attack. Marcos' brother Simon is still scared all over when he says: "I had seen this sort of thing only in the movies."

He saw it in the movies but with a historical memory; like other Spanish Jews, Simon and Marcos could not avoid noting that "this happened in Germany and it can happen here. We keep running our business but we are scared."

The Nazi Motherland

The motherland for the new-style nazis is inevitably situated in Germany where the activities of neonazi and extreme right-wing groups have been growing in recent months in spite of the fact that they are quantitatively small, according to a report from Bonn by Jose Comas, of CAMBIO 16.

The effect of their actions and the links with other countries, including Spain, led to a move by social democrats and liberals in parliament which was answered affirmatively by interior minister Gerhart Baum.

According to minister Baum, a friendship pact was signed early in 1977 between the JN (National Youth Organization) of Rhineland-Palatinate and French and Spanish extreme right-wing organizations, in this case, Young Force, the youth branch of the New Force party.

The German JN are the youth organization of the neonazi NPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] and they shared the principal extreme right-wing actions in Germany with Viking Youth. The minister's report contains assurances to the effect that Viking Youth, founded in 1952, works with small similar groups in France, Spain, and Holland. This organization is getting military training and is organized like the Hitler Youth. In his response to the parliamentary inquiry, Baum declared that "copies of 'Mein Kampf,' by Adolf Hitler, printed in Spain" are turning up in the FRG.

Connections between Spanish and European fascists extend far beyond Germany. According to a report by the West German intelligence services, the Belgian organization Vlaamse Militanten Orde, directed by Albert Armand Eriksson, held a ceremony in honor of the "fallen," last year in the Flemish town of Diksmuide, attended by Spanish extreme rightists.

That same intelligence service also stated that the NPD neonazi party last year strengthened its contacts with foreign associations, "especially in France, Belgium, Spain, and Great Britain."

One of the items in the secret report relates to the attempt to hold the Third European National Congress in Barcelona in 1974, which was supposed to be attended by fascist organizations from all over Europe. The congress, which was not held, had been organized by CEDADE, a Spanish neonazi group.

Reports from intelligence services in the motherland of the nazis recorded 17 small groups with a total of 900 members. Only three groups had more

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than 100 members but police reports note "an intensification of their activities which are partly carried out in a conspiratorial form, with a tendency toward the use of violence."

The Catalan Hitler

A single, 21-year old lithographer who, until a short time ago, had been working in a grocery, is the top leader of CEDADE, an association which claims to be the most faithful and orthodox follower of national socialism in Spain. Pedro Varela, a printer who publishes his own magazines and pamphlets, presents the typical image of the enterprising youth who is sure of himself. Proud of his middle name, Geiss, which he connects with his Belgian-German ancestors, he talks with machine gun speed, citing statistics and names without checking any references. A last-ditch defender of Hitler, he admits that he is a racist and an antisemite, although he is rather bashful when it comes to raising his right arm for a photograph in the fascist salute because, without any special occasion, "it seems a little bit ridiculous to me."

CEDADE, which distributes little lapel flags with the Catalan colors on one side and the swastika on the other side, says through Varela that "we have gone beyond the concept of the nation. For us, Germany, Spain, or France have no reason for existence. Our nation now will be Europe, made up of all ethnic groups, Catalonia, Castile, Basque Country, Brittany."

This proregional policy clearly separates them from other parafascist groups which are very much against autonomy and which are the last-ditch defenders of "national unity." But its most outstanding feature perhaps is antisemitism, a topic which now and again comes up in the conversation which Julian Castello had with Hitler's pupil in Catalonia.

"Both the western democracies and the communist countries are run by Jews," he says. "Although he is not a Jew, Carter is their puppet. Khrushchev, Stalin, Lenin, and Marx himself were Jews, like Kissinger, and all of the key men in United States policy. Just imagine, their power is so great that General Brown one day said on American television that the United States cannot do anything because a race alien to the Americans was running the destiny of the nation. We are not anti-Jewish as such but only because they run the international press agencies. The TV moguls, 60 percent of Hollywood--they are all Jews. In Spain, the problem is not as big as in the United States or in Germany but we also have Jews who hold very important posts. Carl Levy, who runs Ford in Spain, or Mugica Herzog, in the PSOE, or Max Mazin, leader of the Jewish community in Spain, a man close to the UCD [Democratic Center Union], and vice president of Spanish entrepreneurs. And then you have enterprises such as Danone, Pegaso, Banco Vitalicio, a whole list which we have published. Not even the Catalan Bank is safe; it is not worthy of that name now because its biggest stockholder is a Jew and because he froze his accounts during the Six-Day War, anticipating the possibility of having to help Israel."

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Antisemitism is one of the causes which has persuaded CEDADE not to collaborate with the Pinar people of New Force. "Blas Pinar is anticommunist and this is what we have in common with him; but he is also antinazi and pro-Jew. Pinar attacked national socialism in Pamplona a couple of years ago when the European right--which now consists of Pinar, the Italian MIS [Italian Social Movement] people, and New Forces, of France--was being formed. This is the price which he had to pay to the Jews to be allowed to form the European right."

Elitism is another feature of CEDADE. According to Varela, out of 1,000 persons who pass through his premises per year, only 30 remain in the end as true militants. For the leaders the process is even tougher because "they must be suitable for any kind of activity, from climbing into the high mountains to delivering a speech or a lecture; they have to be like a Harrelson, but in political terms, we might say."

"We broke all contacts some time ago with FN [New Force]," he continued, "because it is a party that has neither an ideology, nor a program. It simply picks up those people who are against democracy and disorder but it does nothing except oppose those who fight them. Besides, they do not absolutely select their members and along with some very good people, who even sympathize with us, you can find some jerks, braggards, murderers, and thieves. With that kind of people you cannot get along because they always destroy everything they touch, they destroy you and your comrades and they give you a real bad reputation."

He thinks the same of violent actions and the armed struggle. "We are against violence," he says, "because so far it has given us a bad name and because it is ideologically contrary to national socialism. We would use it only in defense. The day they touch a hair on a comrade's head, we will attack with the same weapons because that is the only way you can get them to respect you. But never violence as a system as such. The communists one should not beat but rather convert. Beating them only makes them more hostile."

CEDADE now has delegations in almost all Spanish provinces, in France and Germany, in Argentina and it will soon have one in New Zealand. The little Catalan Hitler is proud of doing all that work with just 300 militants and he does not despair of seeing Spain under the "new national socialist order."

Prophet of Spanish Fascism

At the age of 80, Ernesto Gimenez Caballero, inventor of fascist theory in Spain, is an intellectual with tremendous cultural background, pleasant conversation, and surprising ideas, a man capable of blending Hitler and Spain to found the first surrealist empire in history.

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On the cover of the book there is a star of David, the Jewish symbol, with the face of Karl Marx in the center. Surrounding the star, like watchmen, like guardians on alert, are the pictures of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, Oliveira Salazar, Alfredo Stroessner, and Evita Peron. But at the same time, that Jewish star is supposed to be like a spider net that envelops its adversaries, that weakens them and, in the end, defeats them. Israel wins the last battle.

Although the symbol may look quite complicated, the cover of the book quite clearly expresses the author's thinking and the author is Ernesto Gimenez Caballero, the so-called "ideolog of Spanish fascism," the literary precursor of the Franco dictatorship, the vanguard writer, the movie director, the fellow with the genial and unexpected sense of humor. At the age of 80, Gimenez Caballero has survived three generations of politicians and literati and is today younger than before the war. In a new verbal pirouette, his last book, the one with the star of David on the front cover, is entitled "Memorias de un dictador."

Gimenez Caballero is a dictator. "Because I did dictate the book into a dictating machine," he says with dissimulated seriousness. But also because he considers himself to be a poet and prophet, "that is to say, a man's man in history, a fertilizer of politicians, a dictator among dictators." His memories, recently published by Planeta Publishers, are a delightful string of anecdotes, and political theories that can be read with the interest normally connected with a historical document and with the fascination arising from a science-fiction tale.

Gimenez Caballero is a real precursor. In 1927 he founded LA GACETA LITERARIA, a very important magazine in intellectual life at that time, with such contributors as Alberti, Garcia Lorca, Ramon Gomez de la Serna, and Juan Ramon Gimenez, among many others. He also founded the first motion picture club of Spain and turned out numerous movies, including "Esencia de verbena," which is still shown today on special occasions.

The first book by Gimenez Caballero was published 55 years ago.

Today, Ernesto Gimenez Caballero lives comfortably in a duplex apartment in the El Viso subdivision of Madrid. "This house," he says, "was built with the three materials that symbolized the genius of Spain: Brick, stones, and slate. Stones and slate are the genuine elements of Spanish imperial architecture, symbolized in El Escorial. And bricks are the Mudejar material prior to the Reconquest, in other words, the material of the poor people. I combined stone, brick, and slate to inspire monuments such as Ministry of the Air, in Madrid, or my own house."

Surrounded by those imperial symbols but also by books, pamphlets, and motion picture posters, Ernesto Gimenez Caballero received CAMBIO 16.

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The first thing which the ideolog of Spanish fascism said was: "I am rather astonished by this excessive appearance of swastikas in the streets of Spain. It seems a little artificial to me. Nazism, Hitlerism, racism do not fit in with this country. Fascism does because fascism was based on Roman, Catholic tradition which equates the individual and the massive, liberty, and authority. Hitler on the other hand had a concept of a divine race, the Aryan race, whose mission it was to destroy its antagonist, the Jewish race, apart from fighting against his neighbor, Soviet Marxism."

But, for Gimenez Caballero, there are some reasons that can explain the resurgence of extremist violence in Spain. "The first one," he says, "is that wars never end. As Sancho said to Don Quijote, today's loser can be tomorrow's winner. Another reason may be of a local nature: The ever clearer, determined, and aggressive eruption of communism and the proclamation that political consensus is over, which in turn might have brought out all of those signs, including some acts of aggression, to show that people are not defenseless in the face of the two forces that converge in the center."

"But there is also another reason," says Gimenez Caballero, "which in reality is the gist of my 'Memorias': The great mystery of Israel. This people is the creator of God, of monotheism, from which the other religions are derived. From Jehova sprang Christ, likewise a Jew, who extended the monotheistic concept to the broad masses already with a warlike purpose in mind. Christianity was imposed upon the Roman Empire which was the democracy, the Americans of those days. Later on, when Christianity shrank, with Catholicism, Protestantism, or Islam in the picture, another genial Jew and founder came out: Karl Marx."

For Gimenez Caballero, Marx was a prophet, a poet, but it was Lenin, the political executor of Marxism, who launched the invasion of Europe. "And of course, Europe defended itself," he says. "From Italy, a peninsula just like Europe, therefore with a yearning for liberty, came a Marxist in a red shirt and with the clenched fist, a fellow by the name of Benito Mussolini who then opened his hand and changed the color of his shirt to black, such as it was worn by the workers."

Fascist and Violence

The man who transplanted Mussolinian ideology to Spain does not believe that one cannot be a real fascist without being violent. "Because fascism is a reaction in the best sense of the word," he explained. "The word reactionary is as if cursed and blackened. However, it is very positive and saving. When you are sick, drained of blood, on the point of dying, the doctor gives you a medicine and says: 'Let us see if you react and if you can be saved.' This reaction is like a salvation. The same happens to persons and peoples under attack."

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"The world is full of violence," added Gimenez Caballero, "because violence is power and power is blood. It is wrong to think that the world is a pretty and happy place. Ever since Hobbes, man has been a wolf going after fellowman. The dilemma, both in man and in animal or plants is: Eat or be eaten. Nobody can get along with violence and the only ones who are against it are the Yogi, the Buddhist, or the Christian, who sublimate nonviolence and who hope for a reward in heaven, after death. But the struggle for power is the law of nature."

Although Gimenez Caballero preaches that attack is the best defense, he has never been violent, he never went out into the street wearing his blue shirt and carrying a pistol in his hand. "On the contrary," he exclaims. "My own coreligionists even wanted to kill me in Salamanca."

I Accuse Franco

Swept along by his own most brilliant verbal torment, Gimenez Caballero finds evidence of his influence during each stage of the formation of the Franco regime. "I was the architect of unification, I was the first of the JONS [Junta of National Trade Union Action] with Falange and then with the traditionalists. Each unification was heavily debated but if we wanted to win the war, there was no remedy but to accept Franco."

"It was the misfortune of our fascism that we did not have a fascist leader," adds Gimenez Caballero. "There were three successive leaders--Ledesma Ramos, Jose Antonio, and Franco--but the three of them operated along a spiral; none of them worked along a straight line. I would have wanted a leader who would be a socialist, such as Indalecio Prieto, but a national socialist, which is what Mussolini and Hitler were. But we only wound up with their followers: Jose Antonio, an aristocrat, and Franco, a military man."

According to Gimenez Caballero, Franco did not contribute any doctrine. "We got it ready-made," he says. "And Jose Antonio got his ideas also from my books entitled 'Genio de Espana' and 'La nueva catolicidad.' The Franco regime was called fascist precisely because of my contributions. I in reality was the dictator of the dictators. And I am not saying this to make myself look important. On the contrary, ever since St. John the Baptist, we prophets have had our heads cut off while the politicians get fame and monuments."

Gimenez Caballero is writing less and less in the traditional periodicals. It is however the young literary magazines, such as DIWAN and POESIA which want him for his byline and his genius. "I believe that they consider me a clean person," he observed. "A man who does not allow himself to be carried along by old glories."

This is why he says that the big accusation in his "Memorias de un dictador" is made against Franco. "That is odd," he says. "I worship and venerate

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Franco who accomplished his mission. But in the historical and in the broader sense of the word I accuse him because it was our ideology which gave him victory in the civil war, along with his undeniable military genius. Then, with his neutrality during the world war, Franco permitted the victory of the Allies and in fact accepted the democracies. This is precisely the same thing that Suarez is doing now. Suarez is the consequence of Franco; he invented absolutely nothing."

"What Vizcaino Casas says, to the effect that Suarez has changed his shirt, is not true," Gimenez Caballero added. "What he has done is to change his 'formal' shirt for a 'sport shirt.'"

Imperial Wedding

Gimenez Caballero is a very amusing man. There seem to be no limits to his imagination. And he began to talk about fantastic inventions with the greatest seriousness in the world. Perhaps the most harebrained of his schemes was "the marriage of Hitler." He wanted to marry the leader of the nazis off to Pilar Primo de Rivera, the sister of the founder of the Falange.

To do so, he even "got the blessings of the Vatican." What Gimenez was trying to do was "to found a new European Empire, by catechizing the Germanic barbarian through matrimony, as had happened so often during the Middle Ages." Although he did not talk to either of the parties to be involved, Gimenez Caballero did establish contact, on the one hand, with Saenz de Heredia, uncle of Pilar Primo de Rivera and, on the other hand, with the wife of nazi minister Goebbels.

It was she--"a wonderful woman who impressed me as I am today impressed by all of the beautiful women"--who shattered all of his illusions about this conjugal empire. Magda Goebbels revealed to him that Hitler, during World War I, "had received a bullet in one testicle, which made him impotent."

"That was a shame," he says, "because that matrimony would have resulted in a great Spanish-Austrian monarchy. And Hitler therefore was unable to get married. He was turned into a romantic hero with an unfinished history. His mission, like that of Philipp the Handsome, was to marry a Spanish woman."

His attempt failed but Gimenez Caballero did not come back empty-handed. Through Goebbels' wife, Hitler expressed an opinion which many Spanish antifascists will gladly share: "That fellow is a brilliant character."

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