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West Europe Report

(FOUO 2/80)



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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

FRANCE

GEORGES BUIS QUESTIONS VALUE OF U.S. NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 26 Nov-2 Dec 79 p 60

[Text] If the organizers of the international colloquium on the defense of Europe, which was held on Saturday, 17 November, are to be believed, Western Europe is facing such aggravation of the threat from the Warsaw Pact that the coming years for it are taking on the nature of a decade of "survival." That sentiment is strongly held by some--not all--of those in the chorus which surrounded the high priest, American Gen Alexander Haig, on the dais. The irony of one of them, however, became biting when he affirmed the capability of the USSR to produce whatever weapons it pleases in whatever quantities it pleases. This, according to him, is inherent in its character. Another declares that the blind will continue to see but very little in the coming years. Finally, a German general, who was the inspector-in-chief of the West German Army, proclaimed without blushing that "Europeans must place confidence in the Americans; but confidence is a two-way street and we must ask ourselves if we are giving the Americans sufficient reason to have confidence in the Europeans."

Just what does this man from Lorraine require? Indeed, are not 30 years of truckling under, still constantly to be observed, on the part of peoples such as those of Europe, to a great protector, enough for him? Here we are far from Machievelli, writing precisely the contrary to the Prince: "Your army has the right to find fault with you for having made of it a rough shape instead of a perfect figure."

It is in fact with this eternal truth that the great protector, represented by General Haig, is seized by the throat. And it is indeed upon this topic that the Welsh general, stating that the "outdated military system which has been imposed upon us"--upon us Europeans--"since 1949" has in a few words put the past and present strategies of NATO upon the grill.

It is from this system that the French have been able to extricate themselves and it is fortunate that a very large majority of the left have understood, in time, that despite the honor of Hiroshima the independence of France has been achieved through French nuclear deterrence.

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The American, Gen Alexander Haig presided over the colloquium. By virtue of his recent political past under Kissinger, Nixon, and Ford, the man is not unimportant. What is more important for Europeans--he comes with 5 years in the position, up to last June, of Supreme Interallied Commander in Europe, SACEUR in NATO jargon. If anyone is informed about the ratio of East-West forces in Europe, and thus of the "military" defense of the latter, it stands to reason he is the one.

Now, here for the first time in 30 years in discussions of this kind the great American chieftain did not dictate to his European suppletives. No longer did he scold them for not placing enough conventional forces at the disposition of the organization to which they so enthusiastically adhere not for not standardizing their weapons, that is to say, not buying all of them from the United States. He did not hold up, as has become the fashion, the 150 divisions and 40,000 combat tanks of the Warsaw Pact. First, because he knows that these figures, which are exacerbating an alarmist campaign, would mean nothing even if they were exact (they have to be "weighed"), and, moreover, they are wrong. For those who doubt it, and consider it their duty to be informed, let us recall that there is in existence the "Military Balance of Forces" in which the figures are precise, complete, and analyzed. Price: \$8.50. This is within the reach of all pocketbooks and it is appropriate to refer to it if one does not wish to engage in impassioned discussions which are beside the subject.

General Haig said that Europe is threatened and that is true--more so than ever it is strikingly true; and that Europe must no longer count too heavily upon the Americans--it has been 13 years since France has counted upon them--for total defense because the Americans are, and are going to be, more and more occupied elsewhere. We have at the moment enough spectacular examples of that. What he did not say, however, was that this would be a just twist of fate because it was they, and not the Soviets who, in their vainglory of the immediate post-war period, completely destabilized the world. Perhaps they were not wrong, but the fact remains.

Preoccupied with the worldwide problem, which is that of the United States as well as that of the politician which it seems he hopes to become, General Haig dismissed Europe by going straight to the essential point. He avoided mention of the Russian "steam roller" and placed direct stress upon the considerable success achieved in the East in the area of "intermediate range" nuclear weapons systems (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles). In point of fact, for 3 years we have seen the Soviets deploy, facing Europe, the "Backfire" aircraft and SS 20 Missile which bring within firing range (nuclear) Europe as well as the Mediterranean and to oppose which NATO, or rather the Americans in NATO, have nothing.

But whose fault is that? The Americans have always denied Europeans access to the atom. The various organizations which they have proposed to the Europeans--multilateral force, supreme nuclear committee, and so forth--were or are delusions. The reality is the countering of the threat--which has

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no meaning unless based upon display of possession of the nuclear device-- and sovereign possession of the key to the machine. The Americans have reserved both to themselves and have even pressed the NATO members (in company with the delighted Soviets) to sign the "non-proliferation" treaty, that is to say that they voluntarily renounce once and for all the only weapon which would discourage a possible adversary.

Today, faced with the anxiety of European governments, the Americans are proposing--if they agree--to install upon the territory of NATO members a weapon vaguely comparable to the SS 20 although of much inferior range, the Pershing II. This is what is delicately called "modernization." The operation would be carried out in 1985. Why in 1985? Because the Pershing II is yet to be manufactured. Intermediate range weapons are not part of the American parliopoly for the very good reason that they serve no purpose at all-- for the moment--in defense of the American sanctuary. One may then well wonder what is meant by the "American umbrella." It would seem that it is a delusion. It consists, in fact, of central weapons systems--which, by the way, surpass those of the Soviets--which were designed to protect the United States and not others, even if it be the well-beloved Europe, that Europe, we are told, which America would see die only with sickness at heart. That, it seems, is the kind of sickness most easily endured.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

REACTION TO 'ESPRIT' SPECIAL ISSUE ON LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 29 Oct-4 Nov 79 p 30

[Article by Claude Roy: "The Lullaby of Lies"]

[Text] ESPRIT devotes a special issue to inventorying the perplexities of the "intellectual" left, under the title-question "What to Think? What to Say? What to Imagine?"

If I had to answer ESPRIT's three questions, I would like to have a fourth question precede them: What is it? It seems to me that the vague longings, the fuzziness of ideas, the seasickness and the defective sense of direction of a large proportion of the "intellectuals of the left" have their origin in a prodigious indifference to reality, the habit of "thinking" first and then observing and verifying afterward. Whether the subject is the distant imaginary paradises that have constantly replaced one another as the El Dorados of the intelligentsia (USSR, China, Third World "socialisms," Cuba, Vietnam, etc), or the immediate realities of France, or whether the subject is the daily life of the real French people, one has gone from astonishment to stupor, and from stupor to hangover, because one has too often found before looking, responded before asking, and foreseen before having seen. Marx and Tocqueville formed their analyses on the spot, in Manchester or the United States. Althusser and the ideologues who produce systems every morning as the autumn rain produces mushrooms have made up their theories in their dens. Ignorance of reality and blindness are the two breasts of "modern" thought.

What to Think? The preliminary question is already a help for answering this one. The abundance of contemporary "thought production" is prodigious. It is a "thought" in which the sound of the words is often faster than the thinking, in which speech precedes reflection, in which supersonic theory goes faster than practice: one speaks before seeing, one believes before knowing, one concludes before deducing. The two cures that one would like to propose for the perplexed moroseness that presently prevails would be an inquiry cure --go see what is happening, next door or out in the world--and a silence cure --accept silence when you still do not know, and do not expound neatly packaged theories before examining carefully the concrete facts of a problem.

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What to Say? One is slightly ashamed to have to reply first of all with two banalities: that it would be best to say nothing when one does not know and is not thinking anything; and if one does speak, then to say what one thinks. A little key phrase from the memoirs of Andre Wurmser left me both musing and enlightened. He evokes the era in which we divided ourselves on the basis of fundamental questions, questions which are still on the order of the day (or of the twilight): Stalinism, the "socialist" character of the Soviet system, the problem of knowing whether "real socialism" has eliminated capitalist exploitation or has replaced it with exploitation of the workers by a state capitalism. I share Andre Wurmser's present opinion when he writes that it "involves a system, a monstrous logic, which, once set in motion, saps and destroys." But I cannot follow Wurmser when he writes, regarding the years 1956-1957: "One should not judge what we on one side or another thought at that time by what we said." I know very well the complex mechanisms that lead one to say something other than what one thinks--and often the contrary. It starts with "right feelings." They lead one to throw Noah's cloak over the shoulders of the Unworthy Father or of a somewhat bloody Party, to preserve the truth of the future by the lies of the present, to favor the essential (or what one believes to be such) over the accessory (designated at the outset as a "report attributed to," then some obvious faults, then some definite crimes, ending with the "monstrous logic" of a system). This leads to blatant cynicism about the bald lie: shouting an untruth so loudly that the other side is stunned into silence. But I find it very sad to have to recall that if one is not to "judge what one has thought by what one has said," absolutely nothing further is possible: no action, no communication, no thought, no reflection. Even if Marx had taught us that men do not always know what they are and do not always do what they say, I believed in 1956 that Andre Wurmser was thinking what he was saying. If I was naive, I would do the same if it happened again. But in that era I formed the naive idea of trying to say always what I think. It is very difficult, it is very uncomfortable, and it certainly does not give assurance of never deceiving oneself. But it greatly simplifies relations with one's fellow-men, and with oneself, and makes them healthier.

What to Imagine? I would be tempted to reply to the last question posed by ESPRIT that the most possible should be imagined, but never forgetting that huffing is not the same as playing, that imagining is not the same as doing, and that the violins of the imagination must not play faster than the brass of reality. I admire those learned persons who do not confuse a hypothesis, albeit a fertile one, with a law, not yet established. I admire those actors who act correctly because while acting, they do not forget that they are acting. I prefer those dreamers who while dreaming are aware that their dream is a dream to the schizophrenics who have lost contact with reality.

Man is the animal who needs projects in order to live and outdo himself. Project is a very fine word and a very fine thing. One is really ashamed that the term is used at this time by the disorderly clowns of the Socialist Project. Their succession of double hits, foul blows, and blows for no reason puts Utopia on the level of the worst sort of politician's politics and trans-

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forms the notion of "social project" into a Mac Sennett comedy projection, full of pie-throwing and miserable pratfalls.

At this point I hear my readers, who are not imaginary (as their letters testify): "All the same, one has to believe in something...; one cannot just say no all the time...; it's fine to criticize, but what do you propose instead? By refusing to play the game, one does nothing and leaves the enemy free to act."

Not at all. Who absolutely needs to believe? One needs only to know in order to be able to wish. Of course one cannot limit oneself to saying no. But the strength of our rejections is the measure of the firmness of our assertions: a yes must be founded on the courage of the noes. It is not necessary to "propose something other" than plague or lying--except for the health that makes it possible to act and the truth that makes it possible to think--in order to undertake to cure a mortal epidemic or to denounce the lies. What really amounts to refusing to play the game, effectively leaving the field in the hands of the right, the new right, the old foxes and the young wolves, is the warfare of words, the fallacious illusions, the real disaster of the "unreal socialisms," the lullaby of lies and the bitter awakening from ideological drunkenness. He who has too much blind hope will despair before the day has dawned.

ESPRIT, special issue, September-October 1979: "What to Think? What to Say? What to Imagine?": articles and interviews by Cornelius Castoriadis, Louis Dumont, Jacques Julliard, Claude Lefort, Pierre Rosanvallon, etc.

Andre Wurmser: "Fidelement Votre--Cinquante Ans de Vie Literaire et Politique" [Faithfully Yours--50 Years of Literary and Political Life] (Grasset).

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

NEW BOOK ANALYZES DISSIDENT INTELLECTUALS, DESTALINIZATION

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 26 Nov-2 Dec 79 p 27

[Review by Francois George of the book "Toward What Tomorrows" by Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch, Hachette]

[Text] On 21 December of this year, Iossif Vissarionovitch Djougatchvili, also called Stalin, would have been 100 years old. Francois George has read the latest book by Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch in order to celebrate, in his own way, this centennial...

Stalinism, which once held sway over the USSR, the "people's republics," and China too, as well as over all the countries where a powerful communist party looked to Moscow, has now shrunk back to the confines of little Albania. Albania, whose territory is smaller than Alsace-Lorraine, will celebrate this centennial alone; with its innumerable statutes of the founder of "socialism in one country." Under the leadership of Enver Hodja, this nation of two and a half million fearlessly defies the entire world, and particularly the traitors: revisionists, Titoists, Khrushchevians, and now the Chinese.

/"Thank God for having sent us communism,"/ (italics) an old Albanian peasant--forgetting that atheism had been decreed in 1967--once told Jean Bertolino, that sympathetic but vigilant* witness. The enigma of Albania becomes a bit clearer if we recall that this sterile land once nourished the Janizaries, who belonged to a dissident Moslem sect, close to the Shiites, called the "bektashi" order. The bektashi doctrine, beyond inculcating an indomitable courage to its adepts, contained an egalitarian and communal ideal. Moreover, the bektashi fought during World War II on the side of the Communists. There could only be room for one Grand Master in the tiny country of Albania, and Enver Hodja rid himself of his rival. But the Stalinist Sparta perhaps lives on the religious heritage of the Ottoman Empire.

* "Albania, Stalin's Sentinel," Seuil

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Could Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch be a bektashi? Adherence to such an oriental doctrine would suffice to explain her hostility to Eurocommunism. In any case, Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch is our own Albania. Indeed, whereas Enver Hodja's ideological Janizaries fight unyieldingly against "bourgeois and revisionist filth," Maurice Thorez's helpmate reproaches Stalin for several "personal faults." This is her only concession to opportunism: nobody is perfect. Yet she continues to defend the whole concept of communism that prevailed during the fifties, and to hold to an idealized image of the Soviet Union.

It is difficult not to be impressed with the solidarity of her certitude, that loyalty which facts cannot shake. One must read Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch to understand the Stalinist spirit, which Hegel anticipated in describing the "ethical world": in this world of the beginnings, the hero knows no doubt, he does not reflect on what he has to do. The individual personality is not yet disengaged from the collective substance; the firmness of character which impresses us is only the law of the community acting through the individual. The exemplary figure of this ethical world is, for Hegel, Antigone, who fulfilled, against the whole world, her sacred sisterly duty. Correspondingly, could one not see in Georges Marchais a Creon, preaching realistically of the need for unity at the base?

With destalinization, the Marxist-Leninist myth has lost its rigidity, but also its hieratic beauty. The faith has become flat, and a secular worker's movement has been substituted, so to speak, for the millenarian faith. Nevertheless, the Stalinist Antigone is not content just to render funerary honors to a shattered dream. In the manner of the realist-socialist artists, she depicts a marvelous Soviet Union where the productive forces progress unceasingly in the service of the people, whose rights flourish in the bosom of a large and vital democracy. Socialist justice pursues the all too famous "dissidents" because they commit offenses against socialist laws, and besides, despite obfuscation of the Eurocommunists, the future will no doubt unmask these agents of U.S. imperialism who dream of reestablishing private property and the exploitation of man by man.

Let us remember that Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch's point of view, which today may seem like a caricature, was in the past shared unanimously by communist intellectuals and "fellow travellers." What has changed? How did we get from blind adulation of the Soviet Union to the cult of dissidence?

Gilles Lapouge, in his book, "Utopia and Civilizations," remarks that between Plato's "Republic" and Huxley's "Brave New World," between Cabet's "Icarie" and Orwell's "1984," the only difference is in presentation. It is only our subjective attitude which makes the difference between paradise

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and nightmare. Utopia, like the imago of the psycho-analysts, is composed of positive and negative sides indissolubly bound together: thus it appears to us successively as white or black without itself changing.

There remains to ask oneself whether communism is historical in the sense in which Marx understood the term. It seems sometimes that this utopia, characterized by the identification of society with the state, calling in question the value of the individual and the family, the reabsorption of the private into the public, may be a permanent archetype which is realized from time to time, not only in the works of Plato or Campanella, but also for example in the Inca Empire, whose methods the Jesuits endeavored to copy in Paraguay, or indeed in that Ottoman Empire to which Stalinist Albania is perhaps a monument. And the Cambodia of Pol Pot was only an aborted utopia. Our thinkers would do well, instead of reviling Marx, to bring their indictment against Nimrod, the architect of Babel.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

FORMER GAULLIST MINISTER COMMENTS ON SAHARA VISIT, PLO TALKS

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 29 Oct-4 Nov 79 p 54

[Interview by Pierre-Marie Doutrelant with Jean Charbonnel, former minister:
"A Gaullist among the Sahrawis"]

[Text] Jean Charbonnel, former minister, has returned from Tindouf, where he met at length with the leaders of the Polisario Front. He is the first French politician to have visited the Sahrawi refugee camps.

[Question] Were you on an official mission?

[Answer] Not at all. I was there as president of the Federation of Republicans for Progress.

[Question] With the Quai d'Orsay's agreement, all the same.

[Answer] I had informed the ministry of this trip. It officially acknowledged it, while at the same time making it clear that the French position in the Saharan affair was known and that it would not change.

[Question] Why this visit, then?

[Answer] We have here a classic case of right to self-determination. This is what motivates the Gaullist that I am. But I wanted to assure myself on the spot of the representativeness of the leaders of the Polisario Front.

[Question] Morocco calls them "mercenaries in the pay of Algiers."

[Answer] I met authentic fighters. I saw the complete mobilization behind the Polisario Front of the the Sahrawi people, old people, women and children. I was also shown the results of the struggle: tons of weapons and materiel taken from the enemy. For example, rows of brand new American trucks--as if, by way of Moroccans as middlemen, the United States were equipping the resistance fighters.

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[Question] You already knew this to some extent.

[Answer] Yes; but what surprised me the most was the Sahrawi school with 1,200 children opened in the desert in liberated territory. They are being taught to read and write in Arabic, Spanish, French. That is not a job for mercenaries. The camps themselves are organized on the model of the Saharan provinces or wilayas, which will be created tomorrow. I saw competent young administrators everywhere. For example, I met the "future" prefect of Smara, a town still occupied by the Moroccans. Obviously, the Polisario Front is setting up the structures of a new state. This too proves its representativeness.

[Question] The French government continues to deny it.

[Answer] It is locked into its policy of support for Morocco. But during this time, the international community has been evolving: the Polisario Front is listened to in the UN, in the OAU [Organization of African Unity], among the nonaligned nations. Even Claude Cheysson, one of the commissioners of the EEC, has met with its leaders in Algiers.

[Question] It is curious that a Gaullist like you supports a Marxist liberation movement.

[Answer] The leaders of the Front all talked to me in a nationalistic way, and at no time in a Marxist way. Very brilliant young people! In Africa, you know, there are the Cubans whom we produce ourselves, by political blindness. In the Sahara affair, France should choose neutrality. The Polisario Front asks no more. Do you want to save the throne of Hassan II? Let us convince the king that he will keep it if he gets out of this war quickly.

[Question] Haven't the Sahrawis won already?

[Answer] I found their morale lifted very high by the signing of the peace treaty with Mauritania, and thoroughly determined to increase their military pressure on Morocco; but also prudent about the chances for an immediate settlement. They fear that the war will go on.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

COMMENTS, POLL REVEAL AFRICANS' JUDGMENT OF FRANCE

Changes in French Policy After Foccart

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 28 Nov 79 pp 77-78

[Article by Francois Soudan: "The Shadow of Jacques 'La Foque' Foccart"]

[Text] At the first glimmer of dawn, seven gray pickup trucks slip away from a side wing of the Elysee Palace. Paris is still deserted and the weather cool on this late April morning. Headlights glowing, the vehicles move onto the southern highway and then, 30 kilometers ahead, at Melun, take three different directions and vanish into the morning fog, never to be seen again. Five and one-half years ago, 20 April 1974, Jacques Foccart's secrets disappeared and a page had been turned in the history of French-African relations.

Secretary of state for African and Malagasy affairs for 14 years (1960-1974), "La Foque," as he was known in the Special Services, did not wait for Valery Giscard d'Estaing to be elected (May 1974) before resigning. He knew well that the first act of the future president, whoever he may be, would be to "thank him." Nor was he unaware that before he died, Georges Pompidou had already tried several times -- unsuccessfully -- to send him back to his business as a banana importer. Times were changing. So were France's "Africans." As was his wont, Foccart made the first move: He put his files and records in safe hiding.

Cooperation: Lighter Policy

Jacques Foccart is no longer in office and certain things have changed between France and Africa. The ministers of cooperation that would follow one another on Rue Monsieur (Pierre Abelin, Jean de Lipkowski and today, Robert Galley) would all follow the Giscardian policy, a policy that is remarkably well defined, with respect to economic affairs, by the 1975 Abelin Report: With the world economic crisis, French aid to Africa would have to be transformed: The "heavy, massive" cooperation of the Gaullist period would be replaced by cooperation on "projects," cooperation that would be more precisely defined, lighter, more integrated into world

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economic circuits. There would be a change in orientation entailing a change in men and institutions at all levels.

Technical Assistants

As a result, the Aid and Cooperation Fund (FAC), set up in 1959 on the basis of former colonial investment organizations, an enormous machine which under de Gaulle furnished nearly all the aid and cooperation credits to Black Africa, was dismantled beginning in 1975. Its budget was considerably reduced and its funds were sent instead to new institutions such as the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE). Many of its officials did not have their contracts renewed. This "clean sweep" responded to something more than a concern for efficiency. It was related to the rivalry between Gaullists and Giscardians in Africa. The FAC, "penetrated" by the Foccart connections, had actually become the stronghold of former members of the French colonial overseas administration, most of whom were close to the Gaullist circles. There was a like desire for a clean sweep of technical assistants -- for both economic and political reasons. The Gaulle-Foccart period had been marked by a steady increase in the number of teachers at the expense of the technicians (technical assistants). Maintaining French influence in the area of the intellectual training of upper-level African personnel was then deemed more important than its presence in the sectors of economic decision-making and planning. Here again, a radical change began in 1975. Many of the "missionary" teachers, often suspected of engaging in "Gaullist propaganda," were recalled to France and the number of effective, "apolitical" technical assistants rapidly increased, especially in new sectors such as industry and data processing, while clearly less in the traditional -- and less "profitable" -- sectors such as rural development.

Open Intervention

With respect to direct political intervention in Africa, there has been an equally profound change in men. De Gaulle, who distrusted the army ever since his Algerian disappointments, had always given priority to the role of the secret services, through Jacques Foccart. Closely associated, the SDECE [Foreign Intelligence and Counterintelligence Service] and the "Foque networks" had the task of intervening wherever and whenever it was necessary. Consequently, the army played a real role only once: in 1964 in Gabon, in order to save President Leon M'Ba from an attempted putsch. Beginning in 1974 and with the departure of Jacques Foccart, Valery Giscard d'Estaing would do everything to reduce the influence and means of action of these "nests of Gaullists" which the French Special Services had become in Africa. This resulted in a reduction in SDECE personnel (from 2,500 agents and contractors in 1975 to 1,800 in 1979) and drastic cuts in the operating budget. It has also resulted in profound disarray and considerable bitterness among the secret agents of the "Big House" and is undoubtedly the source of the current dissatisfaction reigning within the SDECE.

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Excluded from African operations under de Gaulle, the army has now been brought to the forefront by Giscard. Chad, Mauritania, Shaba and the Central African Empire: four theaters of operation of 5 years. Since 1976, a French Intervention Force has been set up (see JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 978). It will achieve full form and self-sufficiency in July 1980 with the addition of half an armored brigade. Furthermore, several operational assistance detachments (DAO) have been set up. These are shock groups with the task of pulling off discreet overseas coups. A large Transall carrier aircraft has gone into service to provide long-distance electronic equipment freeing the intervention troops from their dependency on American satellites for their communications with Paris. In 10 months, the Intervention Force will have 19,000 men. Finally, GEST (Scientific and Technical Studies Group), the army's information service, has in recent months seemed to gain in importance in the gathering of information in Africa (its role was decisive for the success of Operation Barracuda in the Central African Empire). Naturally, all this has taken place at the expense of the SDECE. Officials, technical assistants, secret agents: In less than 5 years, a major housecleaning has swept out and replaced France's "Africans." Nor has this whirlwind spared diplomatic personnel. Some 50 ambassadors, embassy secretaries, military attaches and special advisers in Africa have been transferred and replaced by cooperation "technicians" who are less political and therefore more Giscardian. It is a movement that seems to have concluded with the retirement of two of the most visible proconsuls: Jacques Raphael-Leygues, "the Ivorian," and Robert Delaunay, "the Gabonese."

There remains the Elysee Palace. Of course, Rene Journiac and the head of African affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, Guy Georgy, Valery Giscard d'Estaing's two "African" eminences, are new, but they are both said to be very close to Jacques Foccart, the old master and the old demon. Men and policies come and go, but "La Foque" cannot be buried all that easily....

Changing Role of White Man

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 28 Nov 79 pp 84-87

[Article by Sennen Andriamirado: "The 'Toubab' Is No Longer What He Once Was"]

[Text] They are still called "buanas" in Central Africa, "toubabs" in West Africa, "vazaha" in Madagascar or "z'oreilles" -- because their ears turn red -- on the other Indian Ocean islands, but the white man -- a label as pejorative as the word "black" in the mouth of a European -- has changed. What is more, the some 280,000 French people in Africa (including 117,000 in the Maghreb and 152,000 in French-speaking Black Africa) no longer make up the homogeneous community of colonial times or the early years of independence.

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Old and New

In the beginning came the settlers, strapping, sun-tanned or swarthy young men who drove through the coffee fields of southeastern Madagascar or the central region of the Ivory Coast in old, patched-up Land-Rovers. Two sheets of corrugated metal served as cover on the sides and a lengthened exhaust pipe bent upward made it an amphibious vehicle that could speed through the lowlands or scale the forested cliffs. The settlers spoke the language of the country and their French generally turned into Creole, the language of the local people. When single or a widower, a man would marry a young woman from the village. When married, he took a mistress. But the men who were then 50 years old are now 70. Some have remained, gradually assuming their status as "zanatany" (literally, "sons of the country" in Malagasy) and have even become rural mayors since independence. The others are scattered throughout France, often experiencing a difficult retirement: The clash of the emerging nationalisms was intolerable and many of the old settlers abandoned everything.

And yet, not all their descendents followed them into "exile." Some have even become so well adapted to independence that they have even been converted. From the plantations, they have gone into the import-export or restaurant business.

They have migrated from the villages to the cities and always own property. They have organized so well that the cleverest among them manage to live both in their native country and their adoptive land. For example, two brothers who are in the restaurant-hotel business on Place d'Antananarivo take turns every 6 months going to France and minding the establishment in Madagascar. This has been going on for 20 years.

The old people have seen the emergence of another generation of Europeans alongside them: that of the technical assistants of the first decade of independence. Some 25,000 technical assistants have now swarmed throughout Africa (out of 28,000 in the world): 11,000 in French-speaking Black Africa and 14,000 in North Africa.

Lost Soldiers of Cooperation

Between the two groups: settlers and technical assistants, relations are difficult, however. In Dakar or Bamako, they do not fraternize. Each "clan" has its own cafes. The old-timers are known as "old settlers," while the newcomers are "tenderfeet."

Among the technical assistants themselves, understanding is not always the rule. In 20 years, they have also changed. Those who came for the ostensible purpose of making some CFA francs (the franc of French-speaking Africa -- that is, to "make some bread") were joined by the idealists of the heroic years. Belonging to specialized French organizations such as the BDPA (Bureau for the Development of Agricultural Production),

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IRAT (Institute of Tropical Agronomic Research and Food Crops) or IRAM (Institute for Research and Applications of Methods of Development), they at one time tried to present an image other than the one left by the administrators of French overseas territories. But they were also changed. Some left the rural community development projects in Senegal or Niger. Others put down roots, pursuing their old dreams, cost what it may, or became privately employed. Still others -- and this is the fortunate part -- followed the evolution of their countries, staying in one place and remaining sufficiently at a distance to avoid getting involved in the conflicts that marked the end of the 1960's or the 1970's here and there.

Among those who adapted the best, the teachers definitely deserve the laurels. They saw the African youth assert themselves. They saw their discontent and their will for change grow. But without exception, they stayed aloof from the upheavals in Senegal in 1968, Madagascar in 1972 and Niger in 1974. The university professors even sometimes had to condemn a number of France's official policies. At the end of 1976, those in Madagascar who were affiliated with the SNESUP (French National Union of Advanced Education Teachers) sent their government a protest motion: At the time, a number of officials from the Ministry of Cooperation allegedly did their utmost to discourage technical assistant candidates for Madagascar.

It would actually have done them little good because in the meantime, the mentality of the technical assistants changed. At the beginning of the 1970's, in fact, the survivors of May 1968 swarmed into Africa. Idealistic, nostalgic for the Latin Quarter barricades, waivering between Fidel Castro's beard and the long hair of the hippies, they came, brandishing Mao's "Little Red Book" in one hand and their diploma in the other. A single country escaped their tirades: the Ivory Coast. The well policed Ivorian society did not tolerate -- and still does not tolerate -- long hair, sandals, faded blue jeans, even open collars, in official offices.

Moreover, these young technical assistants have been quite well integrated, to such an extent that some of them also have been won over by the thirst for easy profits. Enjoying a comfortable income compared with the nationals, partially paid in France, some of the former Parisian revolutionaries organized a fruitful traffic in foreign exchange. To their African colleagues or friends leaving for Europe, they proposed an exorbitant exchange rate: For 100,000 CFA francs (2,000 French francs) which they received locally, they would make out a check for 1,000 French francs (50,000 CFA francs), payable in France.

Others, less bent on profit, sank into individual decadence. In Africa, they discovered the delights of soft drugs, Indian hemp in particular, whose use is common in many countries. "But the white man does not know how to smoke," they say in Dakar. "He puffs on his joint frantically and uses five times more than a young Senegalese would."

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Colonizing the Economy

Has this race of lost soldiers of cooperation survived? It is actually disappearing because a new race has come into being: that of the dynamic young executives (JCD), good for export. It emerged in the mid 1970's, arriving in small groups in Abidjan or Antananarivo. White-shirted, attache case in hand, they run down the halls of the Hotel de l'Amitie in Bamako under the blank gaze of young (white) women whiling away their time at the bar or swimming pool. These new toubabs have nothing left in common with their ancestors. They are financial experts, data processing engineers, economists. They do not use the familiar form of address with bellboys or their subordinates. They show no sign of emotion: no nostalgia for the "good old colonial days," no (false) feeling of guilt for the first technical assistants, not even a spirit of (true) solidarity with the veterans of May 1968.

These toubabs are specialists. They did not come to colonize men, but things -- that is, the economy. They know only one rule: PERT (Program, Education and Review Technique), which they say enables them to solve everything by means of organization. They have but one ambition: efficiency. Highly trained, these dynamic young executives have been "leased" to French cooperation by organizations whose very names are synonymous with technocrat: SETEF [expansion unknown], SODETEG [Technical Studies and General Enterprises Company] or the Chamber of Commerce of Paris. They often come alone and may make several short trips during the year: 2 months in Abidjan, 2 months in Paris, 2 months in Abidjan. They have joined the ranks of the 50,000 highly-trained upper-level French personnel scattered throughout the Third World.

From the Settler to the Cold Technocrat

The new toubabs have officially been entrusted with the task of promoting French foreign trade. In their attache cases, they carry the plans for a textile plant or a hydroelectric dam whose equipment must be exclusively French. In their financing program, it is their mission to demonstrate that the French financial organizations are the best. Their contact with the French community in the African countries is reduced to one theme: Buy French; import French, even if the materials imported for the construction of low-cost housing is more suitable for Sarcelles (Parisian suburb) than for SICAP [expansion unknown] in Dakar.

These French are much more effective for France than the Lorraine miners in Shaba or the paratroopers in the Central African Empire. It was undoubtedly not any accident if it was not until the end of 1979 that there has been some thought in France about having French people living abroad represented in the National Assembly. Previously, only six senators had been their spokesmen. But the French Senate is more a council of wise men than an institution in which decisions are made. Allowed to have their own deputies, the toubabs will gain recognition of the fact that they are no longer second-class citizens. On the contrary, they are the bridgehead

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of the French presence abroad. That is why France has gone from the image of the bedraggled settler to the label of the cold technocrat, and this technocrat is far more dangerous to Africa than the settler or the technical assistant, who from now on are nothing more than part of folklore.

How Many Are There?

Out of the 987,531 French people officially registered with the consulates throughout the five continents, those in Africa account for over one-fourth: 279,155. But the consular statistics are definitely low. Like any other emigrant, the Frenchman does not systematically register with his consulate, especially in Africa, where the national administrations, quite lax with regard to the French, generally do not require that they keep their status current.

Nevertheless, the following table, based on a map published by our Parisian colleague L'EXPRESS and presenting the distribution of French people throughout the world, gives a correct idea of the French presence in Africa.

1. North Africa

Egypt	2,181
Libya	2,003
Tunisia	14,750
Algeria	42,570
Morocco	51,985
Mauritania	2,768
Total	116,257

2. West Africa

Mali	2,420
Senegal	14,478
Gambia	42
Guinea-Bissau	62
Guinea	656
Sierra Leone	105
Liberia	264
Ivory Coast	40,862
Upper Volta	3,436
Ghana	315
Togo	2,992
Benin	2,058
Niger	3,670
Nigeria	3,715
Equatorial Guinea	12
Total	75,087

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3. Central Africa

Chad	3,859
Cameroon	11,913
Central African Empire	2,967
Gabon	21,011
Congo	6,248
Zaire	5,271
Total	51,269

4. Southern Africa

Angola	118
Zambia	312
South Africa	5,338
Malawi	111
Mozambique	194
Tanzania	141
Total	6,214

5. Eastern Africa

Somalia	35
Sudan	316
Kenya	521
Uganda	107
Rwanda	473
Burundi	676
Madagascar	18,481
Djibouti	9,719
Total	30,328

Conjecture About Giscard's Successor

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 28 Nov 79 pp 91-93

[Article by Jean-Louis Buchet: "A President in the Mist"]

[Text] Will Francois Mitterrand, the eternal loser in French political life, get his revenge in 1981? He has twice failed in the presidential elections: in 1965 against de Gaulle, when he was beaten before he started; and in 1974 against Valery Giscard d'Estaing, when he came very close to winning.

Another chance was provided with the 1978 legislative elections. After the defeat of the opposition and the collapse of the Union of the Left, the

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press did not hesitate to write: "Mitterrand, you're done for!" While he kept his post, the first secretary of the Socialist Party appeared to be one of those "archaisms" in French political life condemned without further ado by Michel Rocard. Today, the young deputy from Yvelines is in a heated battle with him for the title of best socialist candidate for the 1981 presidential elections. But Mitterrand, the old fox, has not capitulated. At the Metz Congress in February, he regained control of the party apparatus. Since that time, he has worn down his adversaries. In the final analysis, his candidacy only depends on himself. One can rightfully ask, now at the end of 1979, if he could not well threaten Giscard!

Will Giscard Succeed Giscard?

And yet, only a few weeks ago, reelection of the president was not a matter of doubt for anyone. In the face of a divided opposition and confronted with the sterile guerrilla warfare of the Chirac supporters, Giscard seemed in the best position to succeed himself. It was a permanent fact of political life since March 1978. Since there were no adversaries, it was thought that only two factors could get in the way of Giscard d'Estaing: the impact of the crisis, at least part of whose effects could be blamed on the government; and the growing unpopularity of Prime Minister Raymond Barre and his policies, which might spill over on the president. Giscard's art consisted of presenting the crisis as a stroke of fate and keeping his distance from the head of the government, while covering him with flowers, which gave rise to all kinds of comments on the air and in the press.

The tactic enjoyed some success, as a SOFRES [French Opinion Polling Company]-L'EXPANSION poll published at the beginning of October showed: For a majority of the French people, neither the economic situation nor the action of Raymond Barre changed their voting intentions with respect to the presidential elections. Giscard would win over Mitterrand, Rocard or Marchais and with a larger margin than in 1974 (with 53, 52 and 64 percent of the votes, respectively).

Crisis Called Unemployment

What is the French people's opinion of the crisis? It means unemployment (72 percent) and inflation (52 percent) much more than oil (25 percent). It is perceived as lasting and oppressing. Whatever the result of the presidential elections, little change is expected (47 percent) and at any rate, it will continue (75 percent). As for Raymond Barre, while 42 percent of the French people believe that someone else could do better than he, 46 percent have no substitute, which in the final analysis lets the president off the hook: He really had no choice.

"Relatives and Diamonds"

Valery Giscard d'Estaing would therefore have been able to sleep peacefully if the wave of scandals had not taken place: diamonds from Bokassa, real

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estate deals, the death of Robert Boulin, all against the background of the Chirac-Giscard battle. It was no use to claim that the exchanging of gifts is commonplace in official circles, that there was nothing actually illegal in the real estate transactions dragged up and that any man who commits suicide takes secrets with him. Politicians are now discredited in the eyes of public opinion and the image of the president has suffered. For many French people, Pompidou's republic of "pals and rascals" has been succeeded by the Giscardian republic of "relatives and diamonds," to use the spiteful phrase of LE CANARD ENCHAINE.

In vain will Giscard search for the real France in his native Auvergne and then state that one must "let the dead bury the dead." He will never again appear as sovereign, detached and above the melee as he did in the past. The grace that seemed to have touched him in March 1978, the advantage he had built up over the months have forsaken him.

Since the Boulin affair, the Gaullists who rallied to Giscard have been particularly shaken. Their support and the possible choice of a prime minister from among their ranks were essential elements of the strategy for 1981. Inasmuch as Barre was perceived as a man of the UDF [French Democratic Union], the Giscardian Gaullists were to allow the president to retain the votes of the entire majority.

As for Chirac, he was counting on Giscard's faux pas to find his stance. Since the European elections in June, he had adopted a more detached and serene attitude. Nevertheless, according to the polls at the beginning of October, the leader of the RPR [Rally for the Republic] did not exceed the score of Chaban-Delmas in 1974, given the possibility of a first ballot opposite Giscard (15 percent). Can he do better between now and 1981? It is difficult to see how he could, after the rumors that brought Chirac's followers into question in the scandals, particularly the Boulin affair, especially since the Gaullists also have things for which they might be blamed.

At Mercy of New Affair

For the first time since 1978 and on the eve of a pre-election year, Valery Giscard d'Estaing is cornered. In mid 1980, would he like to exchange a politically wornout Raymond Barre -- as some said he had the intention of doing a short time ago -- in order to throw a little dirt in the eyes of the voters? Who would take his place? Not an Alain Peyrefitte, whose promotion would almost be a provocation after the accusations made against him by Robert Boulin on the eve of his suicide! Nor can Giscard get rid of his keeper of the seals: This would amount to proclaiming his guilt in the affair. Moreover, from whom could he separate himself in order to bring about a shakeup presented as a new departure? The fragility of the edifice is now such that it is difficult to touch any one of its elements without endangering the balance of the whole. Will he have to content himself with a discredited, unpopular team? And continue to play Giscard

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back home in Auvergne, as if nothing ever happened? The malaise is already deepseated, and if another well-placed indiscretion, another "affair," should occur, it would be a debacle.

This powerlessness of the government and the crisis of confidence in public opinion play into the hands of the socialists. They alone can derive an advantage from the current situation. Marchais realized this and flew to the help of the majority and attacked the press after the death of Minister Boulin. The welfare of the Communist Party depends on the rout of the Socialist Party and therefore, on keeping the right in power. Furthermore, despite widely held opinions, Mitterrand is more dangerous than Rocard for Marchais. According to the L'EXPANSION poll mentioned, Michel Rocard, unlike Mitterrand, would not be assured of outstripping the communist leader on the first ballot of the presidential elections. The fact is that the extreme left and the ecologists are in a battle with the deputy from Yvelines for a fringe of his electorate and Giscard the other. Moreover, Rocard has little attraction for the communist voters and for many socialists, he is too far to the center. Mitterrand, on the other hand, has the stature of a vote gatherer, despite his often criticized past and the wear and tear of time. Much better than Rocard, he can "pull them in" on the left. In addition, now rid of the support of the Communist Party, he can win votes from that group of French people mainly influenced by their fear of the "Reds." Then there are those who now think: "Why not the socialists? It couldn't be worse!" In other words, if he overcomes his internal opposition and if the government continues to hand him gifts on a silver platter, Francois Mitterrand would have a good chance against Valery Giscard d'Estaing.

New "Mr X" in Elysee Palace?

At any rate, the game is much more open than it was a few months ago. One even wonders whether, breaking through the monopoly of the four major parties, a man who has made gains in recent months could not take advantage of the crisis of confidence affecting the government and the politicians.

Could there be a new "Mr X," a man now (almost) unknown? With many "ifs," the operation no longer appears to be totally impossible.

Results of 'JEUNE AFRIQUE'-Harris Poll

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 28 Nov 79 pp 97-98, 100-101, 103, 105, 107-108

[Article by Jean-Louis Buchet: "JEUNE AFRIQUE-Louis Harris Poll"]

[Text] For Africans, France is an important, medium-size country which plays a corresponding role in the world. Its population is racist and France gives them a poor welcome. Cooperation is aimed more at defending the interests of France than those of Africa. As for military interventions, as in the Central African Republic, they are repudiated, and the Africans are asking for the withdrawal of French troops stationed in their countries.

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This is the lucid and critical image of African opinion that emerges from our exclusive JEUNE AFRIQUE-Louis Harris poll, the first of the "Africans Judge France" type.

Africans in the northern and southern Sahara, like those living in France, wrote to us in balanced proportions. We have analyzed and made an abstract of 800 of these responses. They constitute what one might call a representative sampling, if not of all African opinion, then at least of the Africans who read JEUNE AFRIQUE.

France is therefore "one of the front-ranking powers among the average powers" for 50 percent of the Africans (question 1). A slightly larger percentage (54 percent) believes that it plays a "rather important" role in the world (question 2). In the final analysis, this is quite close to the truth. However, a large majority (one-fifth of our readers) has a tendency to overrate France's role, viewing the nation as a "great power." It is an image which probably owes a great deal to the colonial past and to France's influence in Africa, which is stronger than elsewhere, according to our readers: Some 79 percent are "very or quite" interested in what happens there and another 71 percent deem the consequences to be "very important or quite important" to them (questions 5 and 6).

This also undoubtedly explains why opinions are divided as to retaining French as the "working or official language" (question 7). It is true that France remains for Africans the country of culture it ceased being long ago: Some 53 percent rank it among the leading countries in the world in this area (question 4), while 59 percent rank it "squarely average" with respect to its technical achievements (question 3).

Racism and Immigration

What about the attitude of the French concerning Africans? For 84 percent of our readers, the Africans who reside in France are "quite poorly" or "very poorly" received (question 8), and for 55 percent, those who reside there are less favored than those who live in their native country (question 9). Two elements might explain these responses: the French immigration policy, which is increasingly harsh, and the knowledge of the situation encountered by foreign workers, on the one hand, but on the other is the matter of racism: Some 82 percent of the Africans believe that the French are racist (question 10).

Only the English are on a par with them, while the Americans and Soviet would be less racist (question 11). Consequently, people do not forget the colonial days. The French and English have probably retained reflexes from the period that the others do not have.

Moving on to the matter of cooperation, compared with other countries (Western and socialist), there is recognition of France's effort (question 12), but the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have

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a better ranking than the Netherlands and Sweden (whose aid, compared with their GNP, is actually greater) or the USSR and China (whose aid is of a different nature). It is perhaps the image of countries that are economically more powerful and more effective that is decisive here.

Having said this much, France's aid is far from being disinterested (question 13). For 64 percent of the Africans, France uses cooperation in order to defend its economic interests: the looting of natural resources, markets for its products, exploitation, and so on. One correspondent sums up this opinion in the phrase: "In Africa, the people grow things; in France, they enjoy them." Some 34 percent of our readers refer quite simply to "neo-colonialism." Next come the maintenance of cultural influence, a search for strategic or military support, and so on. Only 6 percent of the Africans believe that French cooperation is based on generosity, humanism or a moral obligation.

Under such conditions, it may be surprising to see that 50 percent of our readers place education and health at the head of the areas affected by cooperation (question 14), undoubtedly because (along with security, which obtained 31 percent of the responses) it is the sector in which it is the most visible, because of the technical assistants. However, it is also because the Africans seem anxious to discern the purposes hidden behind the flattering speeches and the deceiving reality. Giving priority to the training of future elites may also be one way of finding markets and contracts for the future.

Some 53 percent of our readers have a poor opinion of the technical assistants and 57 percent believe that cooperation is more negative than positive for the country aided, although 42 percent believe the contrary (questions 17 and 18). But this does not prevent them from being critical: For 90 percent, cooperation serves France's interests first of all (question 19). This is a figure that can be compared with the 88 percent who believe that it favors certain countries, undoubtedly deemed to be more docile or dependent (question 16). Furthermore, it would appear that the image of cooperation has worsened with time: A total of 60 percent believe that it was de Gaulle who helped Africa the most, compared with 12 percent for Georges Pompidou and only 13 percent for Giscard, "the African" (question 15). It is true that the general's name remains associated with independence.

No to Military Adventures

That is the story for cooperation, which is only one of the aspects of France's African policy. That policy may also take a more spectacular form, with military interventions and other coups d'etat. Such actions are not any more appreciated; far from it, as seen by the fact that 77 percent of the Africans disapprove of France's position in the Central African affair and 81 percent are against keeping troops stationed in Africa. Without forcing things, one can deduce that our readers are not in agreement with

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the military adventures of Valery Giscard d'Estaing (questions 20 and 21). These responses should be compared with the opinions of the French, whom we polled in October (JEUNE AFRIQUE, 981): Some 63 percent thought that it was up to the Africans to organize their defense and 49 percent were against any new military intervention. Clearly, Giscard's policy on the matter is disapproved of by the French and the Africans.

On these latter questions, the opinion of the South Saharans and the Africans living in France is more categorical than that of the Maghrebians. It is true that the former had the "privilege" of seeing the French soldiers in action more frequently. As for the latter, one may reason that they are better informed. Throughout the questions in the poll, there were nuances between the three zones. Rarely do they express contradictory opinions. One noteworthy exception: Concerning French, the majority of Black Africa is in favor of keeping it. The Maghrebians are more likely to see France as a great power, but fewer are interested in what goes on there. Perhaps they believe that French influence is not as strong in their region as it is in Black Africa. They are the only ones who do not think that the Africans living in France are treated unfavorably. This may be explained by the amount of persons emigrating to the former mother country, which is much more common than in the southern Sahara. As for the Africans living in France, they are generally the most political and more critical than the others. However, without exception, they all disapprove of France's African policy and show that they are not taken in by the fine speeches they hear.

Giscard and Chirac

A logical consequence, the men of the opposition are judged more favorably than those in the government. Robert Galley (82 percent negative opinions!) pays dearly for his coy phrases about Bokassa. Chirac (46 percent positive opinions) wins out over Valery Giscard d'Estaing (41 percent), but the two majority leaders are "in the red." It is true that their quarrels have also touched Africa and that the Gaullists are associated with Foccart.... As for the French president, he might meditate about the spontaneity of the crowds that welcome him during his African tours, when he finds a "popularity" he does not enjoy in France. Only Raymond Barre receives more favorable than unfavorable votes (59 percent). But he is precisely the only "non-African" in the majority, which confirms the fact that the African policy is decisive for the opinion held of the French leaders.

It is interesting, at a time when Giscard's position in France appears to be less favorable than it was a few months ago, to note that the opposition leaders achieve scores that are more than honorable. The case of Michel Jobert (64 percent positive opinions) is undoubtedly special. Well-known in certain countries and to the readers of JEUNE AFRIQUE, the former minister of foreign affairs of Pompidou has the advantage of having remained aloof from public affairs recently. Francois Mitterrand receives 52 percent favorable opinions, despite a colonial past that is not the most brilliant.

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Georges Marchais does almost as well as the first secretary of the Socialist Party, although in many countries, anticommunist pressure is strong. While they may not yet have shown how France's African policy could be different, the opposition leaders at least have the merit, in the eyes of the Africans, of sometimes condemning the government's policy, even if too frequently, they do so only for reasons of domestic politics.

JEUNE AFRIQUE-Louis Harris Poll: The Africans Judge France

1. How would you classify France's place in the world today?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
One of the world's great powers	21	26	15	21
One of the leading medium-size powers	50	48	51	50
An average power among others	18	15	22	18
A small power	5	3	8	5
No opinion	6	8	4	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is in the Northern Sahara that one finds the largest percentage of responses classifying France among the great powers.

2. At the present time, how would you classify France's role in the world?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Very important	21	23	22	19
Quite important	54	54	57	54
Not very important	19	18	17	23
Not at all important	6	5	4	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

No noteworthy differences between the areas, but Africans living in France believe that it plays a slightly less important role.

3. With respect to its technical achievements, how do you view France's current position?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
One of the leading countries in the world	26	33	23	24
Squarely average	59	53	65	58

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[cont.]

Behind	10	9	9	15
No opinion	5	5	3	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Once again, it is North Africa which has a tendency to place France in the leading ranks, while 15 percent of the Africans living in France (10 percent overall believe that it is behind, technically speaking.

4. How would you rank it culturally?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
One of the leading coun- tries in the world	53	60	53	46
Squarely average	36	33	38	38
Behind	9	6	6	14
No opinion	2	1	3	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The same tendencies are seen in question 3, but France's image as a country of culture is strong in the three regions.

5. Personally speaking, are you very interested, quite interested, somewhat interested or not at all interested in what happens in France?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Very interested	33	28	34	39
Quite interested	46	53	41	43
Somewhat interested	17	16	21	13
Not at all interested	4	3	4	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Should one be surprised? Africans in France are more interested than others in what happens there (39 percent).

6. For you, are the effects of what happens in France:

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Very important	33	26	34	39
Quite important	38	42	37	34

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[cont.]

Not very important	21	21	21	20
Not at all important	8	11	8	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

No variations, but curiously enough, the Africans in the Northern Sahara feel less concern about the effects of events in France.

7. Are you in favor of retaining French as a working language or as the official language in your country, or would you like to replace it with another language?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Retain French	49	45	63	36
Replace it	49	55	35	60
No opinion	2	0	2	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

There was a clear majority in favor of retaining French in the Southern Sahara. Among the languages proposed were Arabic, in the North, different national languages and English, in Black Africa. Many Africans living in France would substitute a mixture of African languages for French.

8. In your opinion, are the Africans coming to France treated:

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Very well	3	2	4	3
Quite well	13	10	18	10
Quite poorly	47	48	47	47
Very poorly	37	40	31	40
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

There are no differences between the areas here either, but the Southern Saharans are a little less severe.

9. Are Africans living in France treated better or worse than those living in their native country?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Better	36	47	31	31
Worse	55	47	60	58

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[cont.]

No opinion	9	6	9	11
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is in North Africa that opinions are the most divided. The opinion of the South Saharans is more similar to that of those living in France.

10. Do you think that the French are racist?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Yes	82	80	84	84
No	12	14	12	9
No opinion	6	6	4	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The figure is slightly lower in the Northern Sahara, but it is still 80 percent. Overwhelmingly, the Africans say yes, the French are racist.

11. In your opinion, are the French more racist, equally racist or less racist than the:

	Overall				N. Sahara				S. Sahara				Africans in Fr.			
	M.	L.	Eq.	Total	M.	L.	Eq.	Total	M.	L.	Eq.	Total	M.	L.	Eq.	Total
Americans	40	28	32	100%	50	27	23	100%	33	35	32	100%	35	15	50	100%
Russians	46	25	29	100%	53	26	21	100%	33	34	33	100%	50	15	35	100%
English	31	25	44	100%	34	33	33	100%	22	25	53	100%	34	15	51	100%

This time, the South Saharans are a little more indulgent toward the French, at least compared with the Russians and the Americans.

12. Regarding cooperation, would you say that France helps Africa more, as much or less than:

	Overall				N. Sahara				S. Sahara				Africans in Fr.			
	M.	AM	L.	Total	M.	AM	L.	Total	M.	AM	L.	Total	M.	AM	L.	Total
United States	43	27	30	100%	51	20	29	100%	43	28	29	100%	30	30	39	100%
West Germany	43	30	27	100%	50	28	22	100%	40	34	26	100%	37	29	34	100%
Netherlands	65	17	13	100%	79	8	13	100%	64	18	18	100%	49	26	25	100%
Sweden	57	14	29	100%	72	11	17	100%	57	14	29	100%	40	19	41	100%
Soviet Union	54	24	22	100%	48	28	24	100%	65	20	15	100%	44	26	30	100%
China	60	19	21	100%	69	16	15	100%	18	64	18	100%	47	22	31	100%

France's generous image is much stronger in the Northern Sahara than in Black Africa. Africans residing in France are the most severe.

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13. In your opinion, what are the reasons for the French policy of cooperation and aid to Africa?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
To defend France's economic interests	64	55	62	76
Including:				
Control of raw materials	27	20	28	32
Markets for its products	12	10	14	12
Exploitation of Africa	25	25	20	32
Neocolonialism	34	25	46	30
Maintenance of cultural influence	13	11	14	14
Need for strategic support bases	11	11	10	13
Limiting socialist influence	4	4	3	5
Desire for power or political reasons	5	5	5	5
Jobs for French	5	3	11	2
Moral obligation, humanism, generosity	6	5	8	4
Other reasons	6	5	6	7
No opinion	2	2	2	1

(For questions with more than one answer, the total is higher than 100 percent.)

Defending France's economic interests easily wins. Africans residing in France are particularly sensitive to this. For 46 percent of the Southern Saharans, it is neocolonialism that motivates the French.

14. Of the following fields, to which ones would you say that French cooperation gives priority?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Education and health	50	67	58	48
Industrialization	8	8	6	7
Agricultural development	3	1	4	1
Major projects: roads, bridges, dams, ports	5	4	5	4
Army, police	31	19	24	38
No opinion	3	1	3	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Africans living in France are more sensitive than others to aid provided to security forces (38 percent).

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15. Which of these three French chiefs of state helped Africa the most?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Charles de Gaulle	60	52	64	62
Georges Pompidou	12	12	12	12
Valery Giscard d'Estaing	13	22	12	5
No opinion	15	14	12	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

De Gaulle is more popular in France and in the Southern Sahara than in North Africa. In France, Valery Giscard d'Estaing has the poorest rating.

16. Does French aid seem to be distributed nearly equally, in your opinion, or does it favor certain countries?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Distributed nearly equally	9	12	8	7
Favor certain countries	88	81	88	81
No opinion	3	7	4	12
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

More Southern Saharans believe that some countries receive favorable treatment.

17. What is your opinion of the French technical assistants working in Africa?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Very good	7	9	6	4
Quite good	39	42	45	28
Quite poor	32	26	33	36
Very poor	21	14	16	32
No opinion	1	9	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

On the whole, the technical assistant has a poor image, but Africans residing in France are the most critical.

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18. All things considered, does French cooperation seem to you to be positive or negative for the countries helped?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Positive	42	53	45	27
Negative	57	46	53	72
No opinion	1	1	2	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Cooperation seems to be slightly more positive than negative for the Northern Saharans. Once again, Africans living in France are harsher than the others.

19. In your opinion, does French cooperation in Africa serve Africa's interests first of all or the interests of France?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Africa's interests	10	10	9	5
France's interests	90	90	91	95
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Near unanimity. Trend reinforced by responses from France.

20. Are you personally in favor of or opposed to maintaining French troops in certain African countries?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
In favor of	17	28	13	10
Opposed to	77	63	81	86
No opinion	6	9	6	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Everyone disapproves: 63 percent of the Northern Saharans, undoubtedly less concerned; 81 percent of the Southern Saharans; and 86 percent of the Africans residing in France, who perhaps have broader information.

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21. Do you approve or disapprove of France's attitude in the Central African affair?

	Overall	Northern Sahara	Southern Sahara	Africans in France
Approve	17	28	13	8
Disapprove	81	66	86	90
No opinion	2	6	1	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Clearer responses (against) in the Southern Sahara, where troops were seen in action, and in France.

22. What is your opinion of the following personalities (good, poor):

	Overall			N. Sahara			S. Sahara			In France		
	G	P	Total	G	P	Total	G	P	Total	G	P	Total
Raymond Barre	59	41	100%	73	27	100%	51	49	100%	31	69	100%
Jacques Chirac	46	54	100%	53	47	100%	51	49	100%	34	66	100%
Robert Galley	18	82	100%	23	77	100%	15	85	100%	11	89	100%
V. Giscard d'Estaing	41	59	100%	63	37	100%	36	64	100%	24	76	100%
Michel Jobert	64	36	100%	79	21	100%	68	32	100%	60	40	100%
Georges Marchais	50	50	100%	32	68	100%	48	52	100%	67	33	100%
Francois Mitterrand	52	48	100%	37	63	100%	66	34	100%	51	49	100%

In North Africa, the people are "kinder" to the men in the majority. Government figures are particularly unpopular among the Africans in France, who put Georges Marchais ahead of Jobert.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

TITANIUM SHORTAGE SEEN THREATENING INDUSTRIES

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 19 Nov 79 pp 75-76

[Article by Frederic Barrault]

[Text] Supplies cut off, breaking into the stocks, the French aeronautical construction imperilled, the production of Airbus endangered...titanium penury is now causing panic.

The other week, in the administrations of the companies belonging to the Group of French Aeronautic and Space Industries (GIFAS), the same words were heard everywhere: "I would buy some at any cost, but it's not to be found any longer!"

Titanium is the material of tomorrow. Its density, half that of steel, its resistance to corrosion and high temperatures make of it the essential component of the most modern industries: nuclear power stations, sea water desalination plants, and of course, civil and military aeronautics.

Since the beginning of the year, it has become practically impossible to procure any on the world market.

Is there a shortage of ore? The reserves are estimated at 400 million tons. As regards abundance, titanium is the ninth element in the earth's crust. The world production amounts to 1 million tons a year.

What is lacking today is titanium in the form of "sponges." This is the stage through which one must pass to obtain industrial alloys.

Four countries of the world produce these sponges: the United States is the second largest producer in the world, with 25,000 tons a year, but still has to import it. Japan produces 13,000 tons, Great Britain, 6,000 tons a year, and especially the USSR, who with a production of 40,000 tons is practically the only country able to export some.

This access to titanium has been cut off. Moscow has stopped all its deliveries. Giving priority to its own needs, diplomatic and military blackmail

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(especially for the purpose of making the Germans give up the installation on their territory of Pershing II missiles), simple speculation to wait for the rates to rise (100 percent increase in 3 months), all the hypotheses have been suggested. The only certainty that the Soviets have rejected the requests to put an end to the non-reception policy, whether these applications come from the industrialists or the French Government.

Our present needs hardly exceed 1,000 tons. The aerospace industry itself consumes 60 percent of this. But in 1982, the needs for the aeronautical construction alone would reach 2,000 tons. Will the strategic stocks, set up hastily, and whose amount is kept secret, be sufficient?

This is what is asserted in the circles close to Mr Andre Giraud, minister of industry. Substitute materials can always be used. True, that would mean that the parts would be heavier. This is what has already just been done by Airbus Industrie when they replaced 200 kilograms of titanium in the fixing struts of the engines by 400 kilograms of steel.

However these are only momentary solutions. On two occasions, in the VALEURS ACTUELLES, Gen Jacques Mitterrand, chairman of the Aerospatiale and Mr Andre Turcat, former flight test director, drew attention to this problem. What did General Mitterrand say?

"All the builders are rushing to their suppliers at the same time. The latter are rare and are in a difficult position when it comes to satisfying the demands."

He added that:

"Efforts will have to be made in most of the large countries concerned."

In his turn, early this month, Mr Rene Ravaut, chairman of SNECMA, recommended the creation of a plant for the production of titanium sponges:

"It is a must", he said, "if we wish to satisfy the influx of orders for the Airbus and Mirage."

This factory existed 30 years ago. The "sponges" were produced at the factories of Les Clavaux (Ugine) and La Praz. The French market was then 100 tons per month.

Between 1960 and 1962, the Russians, and also the Japanese, attacked the French market proposing titanium sponge at a cost which left no room for competition: between 12 and 17 francs per kilogram, whereas the cost price in Europe at that time was about 30 francs per kg. Being unable to put up any opposition to this "dumping," French production was stopped in 1963.

It is now reported that a sponge production plant, the Societe Francaise d'Electrometallurgie, a 100 percent subsidiary of Pechiney-Ugine-Kuhlmann, is considering the installation of a factory in the Tarentaise valley. The investment would cost 150 million francs.

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Having burnt its fingers once, the Puk Group does not want to launch this venture on its own. Their main argument: and what if the Russians were to resume their deliveries tomorrow, at unbeatable prices? Everybody knows that for Moscow, any expense in roubles has no meaning; what is essential is to bring in foreign currency.

In other words, the Puk management would like the government to be an active participant in the business.

Mr Andre Giraud was to declare, on 8 November, that: "The government has no intention of giving state aid to Puk."

At the beginning of this month, Mr Armand Carlier, adviser to the minister for industry for raw materials, asked the following question:

"Is the maintenance of titanium psychosis intended to exert pressure on the government for the latter to involve taxpayers' money?"

As for Mrs Margaret Thatcher, she believes in the urgency of the problem. She has given the green light to the release of a 20 million pound credit to increase the British production of sponges.

Mr Giraud proposed to the British to launch a possible project in which the Germans would also be associated. A concrete way to provide for Europe. The minister of industry also asked COGEMA [General Raw Materials Company], a subsidiary of the French Atomic Energy Commission to "cough up" the titanium sponges.

Another operation may also be organized with SNECMA and SNIAS. But even if the decision were taken, it would take 2 more years for the plant to become operational.

For Mr Jean-Yves Eichenberger, chairman of the Federation of the Employers for Ores and Non-Ferrous Metals, this matter is revealing. It shows that the ultramodern industries, which are Europe's chances, are threatened by the weakness of the basic industries of the community. Yesterday, it was cobalt, as a result of the events in Zaire; tomorrow, it may well be molybdenum, whose rates are beating all records on stock markets.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

ADVANCED TECHNICAL MILITARY TRAINING REVIEWED

Paris ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI in French Oct 79 pp 70-71

[Article by Major Robert Bouchard]

[Text]"Culture is directly related to everything that man discovers, invents, conquers, and accomplishes or else it is nothing but a hoax.... In reality, fear of specialization is undoubtedly the clearest sign of lack of culture." --- Jean Lacroix

Every day scientific and technical progress penetrates a little more into the fields of study and action, transforming institutions into very complex systems. The army is not immune to this phenomenon; the strategic use of resources and the carrying out of operations require officials who are competent in as many diverse and complementary fields as there are systems to control.

The training of our upper echelon personnel thus requires continued and sustained attention. The EMSST [Advanced Scientific and Technical Military Instruction] is involved in this effort by accepting into its ranks those officers who want to acquire a serious and deeper understanding of their scientific field or learn modern management techniques.

The EMSST in Advanced Military Training

At the level of technical diploma this training prepares the student for the role of specialist or technician. As army engineers the graduates in "civil engineering," "electronic data processing," or "armament" will be utilized as researchers, writers, or as construction supervisors. Those certified in languages, human sciences, or physical education will either teach or serve on general staffs or in specialized organizations.

Their role is first of all that of an officer and their recruitment has been primarily due to their officer-like qualities.

Those officers who receive the technical certificate in advanced military studies have prepared for large commands or management positions, for

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holding responsible positions on the general staffs or for filling positions that require a high level of scientific or technical knowledge. Their role as responsible leaders also explains the fact that their admission to the EMSST is directly dependent on their prior success as officers, particularly as officers in charge of small units.

The EMSST Curriculum

The resumption of formal studies after an absence of several years usually presents serious difficulties. If they haven't been forgotten, ideas learned in the past have often grown obsolete and sometimes distorted by time. This is why candidates for the EMSST program routinely take correspondence courses in the year preceding their admission regardless of the course of study that will eventually be pursued.

Examinations are given at the end of February in the sciences, letters, and languages. Only those candidates who perform satisfactorily on those tests are considered by the committee on admissions.

Within the two training programs the students are distributed in similar proportions. More than 75 percent are in the engineering sciences with the remainder in human sciences, languages, and foreign studies.

The majority of candidates for certificates take their courses at various civilian schools: the various universities in Paris, the national school of the department of bridges and highways, the national school for metallurgy and mining at Nancy, the special architectural school, the school for advanced electricity, the national school for advanced data processing and applied mathematics, the national school for advanced telecommunications, the institute for business information, the Paris institute for political studies, and the national institute for oriental languages and civilizations. Some students in the certificate program also attend military schools: the Cherbourg school for military applications of atomic energy, the joint center for operations research, and the advanced missile course.

Those who are participating in the diploma program on the other hand generally pursue their studies at military schools: the school for advanced military engineering at Versailles, the school for advanced army electronics at Rennes, and the advanced armament course. Others pursue their courses either in university-level technological institutes in the provinces, or the UER for law, languages, physical education, or human sciences in Paris.

All of the courses of training offered by the EMSST are reputed to be among the best in their fields. For the certificate program most of the large engineering schools used are those to which graduates of the polytechnical school apply.

In spite of the years of interruption and the modest level of theoretical knowledge that the students possess at the time that they resume their

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studies, they are almost invariably successful and often achieve very high class rankings. The excellent nature of the preparatory courses, the powerful motivation of the officers, and the seriousness of their efforts combine to make them achieve results that reflect honorably on the entire officer corps.

The school directors, their deans of studies, and their professors often join in praise for the qualities of dynamism, tenacity, and organization in those students whom they view as catalysts in the excellent conduct of their courses.

Advanced Military Training

Balanced training for the BTEMS [Advanced Military Training Certificate] requires that the students acquire more than just a high level of competency in civilian subjects during their 2 or 3 years. The officers also pursue advanced military studies.

For this reason all of the certificate program students are combined with the officers admitted through ESG competition into a single class for 1 year. In the same fashion about half of them pursue an advanced inter-service course over a 5 month period. As a source of mutual enrichment, understanding, and reciprocal respect, this approach provides an element of unity in the training that is essential for those officers who will perform similar jobs.

An Original Approach Designed for Maximum Efficiency

Only a small percentage of the students are physically present at the EMSST facilities; only about 40 out of a total enrollment that in recent years has varied between 300 and 400 students. The actual direct instructional role for the EMSST is limited to preparatory training for technical candidates and two original courses: armament and rocketry.

Essentially a "matriculation structure," the EMSST plays its role at a distance. Its principal role is in the area of information and orientation, of organization and follow-up.

Information is systematic right from the time of orientation by the captains; the provision of documents and course conferences which frequently lead to individual visits to the "prospective orientation" section.

Applicants are evaluated closely since resources are never in exact correspondence with needs. It is necessary to draw out the best qualities in the candidates and adapt the course of study to each officer. During the course of studies students maintain regular contact with the "scholastics" office in a climate of mutual confidence and informality.

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Flexible and original in concept, this style of operating has been completely satisfactory since its inception. The graduating classes have been outstanding and there have been very few failures.

The reorganization of advanced military training will retain EMSST's mission of advanced training and its original methods of operation. The DEMSST [expansion unknown] will be responsible for overseeing the execution of the various contracts covering certificate studies.

The high level of instruction received in the major schools, institutes, and universities will more than ever remain the basis for advanced military training for army certificate candidates.

The same spirit that drove the founders and pioneers of the EMSST guides the activities of their successors: firm goals, availability of personnel, flexibility in organization, and personalized training. The efficiency of the "EMSST system" remains the distinguishing feature of its activities.

Major Robert Bouchard, a line officer, was a member of the Vercors class (1960-62). A BTEMS in "human sciences" he is currently deputy chief of the scholastics section at the Directorate of Advanced Scientific and Technical Military Training.

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

OIL REFINERIES THREATENED BY NORTH AFRICA, PERSIAN GULF

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 4 Dec 79 p 11

[Text] After the latest Arab-Israeli conflict (the Yom Kippur War), beginning in 1973, the Italian refining industry has seen its production shrink considerably. From the highest peak reached of 132 million tons of oil refined in 1973, there has been in fact a decline to 102 million tons in 1975. At best, we will have to wait until 1985 to see once again the national refining industry reach the production levels of 1973 and remain at that level for the rest of the 1980s.

That is what Ernesto Natham of Agip affirmed when he presented his report during the conference on "Refining in the Eighties," which FAST (the Federation of Scientific and Technological Associations) organized in Milan, in collaboration with Agip and Italian Esso, under the patronage of the Ministry of Industry.

It is proposed to examine a situation which is very complex, in which--as Natham kept emphasizing--the remarkable refining capacity developed in Italy before the latest Arab-Israeli conflict has all of a sudden become severely unbalanced with respect to domestic consumption and to export trends. It suffices to note that utilization of the plants fell from 78 percent in 1973 to 58 percent in 1975.

Nevertheless, the structural orientation of the demand for petroleum products anticipates, for the future, with respect to 1978, a generally constant demand for light distilled products; an increased demand for medium distilled products (diesel fuel) and a decrease in demand for fuel oil. During the 1980s, these variations will tend to become greater in the presence of, among other things, an expansion of the diesel fuel market, to say nothing of a progressive substitution of fuel oil by other sources of energy developed in the meantime.

On the other hand, there still remain many questions concerning the future of the Italian refining industry in the 1980s. First of all, we must consider the fact that the development of the demand for oil will be held down during the next few years. According to the various forecasts advanced up to now,

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in 1985 domestic demand will be held to between 106 and 108 million tons, which corresponds to an average annual increase of 1.5 to 2 percent compared to 1978. This means, among other things, that even the long-term prospects for improvement in the rate of utilization of the Italian refining plants are not positive.

But another fact will have noticeable repercussions over the next few years, especially in the Mediterranean area: considerable masses of semifinished and finished products will arrive from the oil-producing countries. Within a little more than a year there will be placed in operation in Skidka (Algeria) the first of the large refineries to be built for the export market, which will be followed by others in North Africa and on the Persian Gulf: it is estimated that the capacity for refining in these areas--according to what Emilio Grassili of Italian Esso stated in his report--will go from the current 200 million tons to 350 million in 1985.

The greater part of the product which will be produced at these refineries is to be sold in markets for local consumption, but a considerable share is also intended for export: it is estimated that in 1985 a volume on the order of 50 to 60 million tons of semifinished and finished products will be devoted to exports.

To overcome these characteristics of rigidity and vulnerability, one can single out--according to Grassili--a few lines of orientation: 1) an energy conservation policy must become a concrete fact at all levels; 2) the objective of substituting other energy sources for oil must be made concrete by suitable actions; in particular, the substitution of fuel oil by coal burned at ENEL [National Electric Power Company] power plants can make a contribution in the medium term, if the restrictions represented by the lack of infrastructures and by ecological problems are confronted and overcome quickly; 3) if the petroleum products used as fuel are gradually to be replaced by nonpetroleum energy (like coal or nuclear energy) the refining system must constantly orient itself toward plants for complex refining, plants, that is, capable of increasing the returns in valuable products.

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COUNTRY SECTION

SPAIN

BRIEFS

FAL GROWTH--Certain sectors do not hide the concern that they have over the growth of the Andalusian Liberation Front (FAL). This extreme left organization has maintained contacts with the practically disbanded GRAPO groups. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 23 Dec 79 p 5]

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