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1 OF 1

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JPRS L/9151

19 June 1980

# West Europe Report

(FOUO 27/80)

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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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### CONTENTS

#### THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

##### FRANCE

Status of Strategic Naval Force Noted (Jean de Geelard; AIR & COSMOS, 10 May 80) .....	1
Navy Begins Crotale Missile Use (Pierre Langereux; AIR & COSMOS, 19 Apr 80).....	5
General Forget Reviews FATAC's Mission, Readiness (Jean de Galard; AIR & COSMOS, 19 Apr 80) .....	7
FATAC Airbase at Istres Soon To Be Operational (Jean de Galard; AIR & COSMOS, 26 Apr 80) .....	10
'TONNANT' Sub, S-3 Missile Put Into Service (Pierre Langereux; AIR & COSMOS, 26 Apr 80) .....	12
Briefs Neutron Bomb Decision	14

#### COUNTRY SECTION

##### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Intelligence Activities of Border Guards To Be Restricted (Heiner Bremer; STERN, 24 Apr 80) .....	15
--	----

##### FRANCE

Popularity of PCF's Marchais Seen Declining (Jacques Roure; L'EXPRESS, 3 May 80) .....	18
---	----

- a -

[III - WE - 150 FOUO]

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'Graduated' Defense of Human Rights in Foreign Policy (Various sources, various dates) .....	21
Proposal by Jean-Pierre Cot Criticism, Analysis of Proposal, by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie	
Arianespace Participants, Directors Named (Pierre Langereux; AIR & COSMOS, 29 Mar 80) .....	32
Mirage 2000's Interception Capabilities Described (Jacques Morisset; AIR & COSMOS, 29 Mar 80) .....	36
AS-30 Laser Missile Test-Fired at Landes Test Center (AIR & COSMOS, 3 May 80) .....	39
Economic Collaboration With Mexico Outlined (LA LETTRE DE L'EXPANSION, 12 May 80) .....	40
Briefs	
Naval, Customs Operations	41
Strategic Raw Materials Stockpile	41
ITALY	
Decline in Shoe Industry Predicted for 1980 (Luciano Mondini; CORRIERE DELLA SERA, 26 Apr 80) .	42
SPAIN	
Briefs	
Border Controls	45
SWEDEN	
Economy Minister Bohman: No Consumption Increase for 5 Years (Lars Eklund; VECKANS AFFARER, 17 Apr 80) .....	46
SWITZERLAND	
'Seaguard' Naval Antimissile System Presented (AIR & COSMOS, 3 May 80) .....	51

- b -

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THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

FRANCE

STATUS OF STRATEGIC NAVAL FORCE NOTED

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 10 May 80 pp 32-33

[Article by Jean de Geelard; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] With Admiral Tannuzel, chief of staff of the French navy, Vice-Admiral Bigault de Cazanove, port commander and commander in chief of the Atlantic squadron, Vice-admiral Pieri, commander of the Strategic Ocean Force, high civilian and military authorities, and superior officers who have commanded missile launching nuclear submarines during past patrols, in attendance, Yvon Bourges, Minister of Defense, presided over the ceremony of commissioning the entry into active services of the "Tonnant," the fifth SNLE [missile launching nuclear submarine], at Ile-Tongue on Saturday, 3 May.

This event provided the occasion for the Minister of Defense to deliver an important speech on the future of the strategic deterrent force, of which virtually the full text will be given further on. Three main conclusions must be drawn from it:

- (1) the entry of the "Tonnant" into service enables the FOST [Strategic Ocean Force] to count on three SNLE on continuous patrol most of the time, but only with the entry into service of a sixth SNLE in 1985 will the French deterrent force be able to assure sea patrol by three, indeed four, SNLE;
- (2) the Strategic Ocean Force in 1990 will have at least five, if not six, SNLE equipped with the M4 weapons system (greater destructive capability with a large number of objectives); and
- (3) elementary prudence should lead us to maintaining several components in our nuclear arsenal and to seek new systems.

Next 23 May, at the 1st Strategic Missile Group (GMS), installed upon the Albion Plateau, there will take place the entry into operational service

1

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of the first nine SSBS-S3 strategic ballistic missiles exploited by the Air Force. This will also be for the Minister of Defense, who will be present, still another opportunity to confirm the directions being taken without, for all that, having already exercised certain options.

The Minister's Speech

"With the entry into service of the 'Tonnant' the construction of the Strategic Ocean Force, such as it had been decided by General de Gaulle in March 1968, has been achieved.

"It was in September 1972 that construction of the fifth SNLE of the first generation began. It is taking its place within the SNLE fleet 30 months after its predecessor, the 'Indomptable.'"

In order to strengthen the capability of our deterrent force it was decided in December 1970 to replace the M2 automatic weapons of our first SNEE units with the M20 thermonuclear weapon of 1 megaton power, and to improve the capabilities of the carrier rockets. To permit keeping four SNLE so armed in the operational cycle it was decided in January 1977 to construct a fourth batch of rockets and M20 weapons. It is this fourth batch which is arming the 'Tonnant.' Along with her, the four SNLE suitable for patrol are all equipped with M20 weapons. The reminder of these facts underlines the remarkable continuity of the defense policy, particularly in realization of the Strategic Ocean Force. It illustrates the logical progression and complementary nature of the major decisions which have come about under the authority of three consecutive presidents of the Fifth Republic.

"The departure of the 'Tonnant' for its first missions marks a new stage. From that very moment not only are two SNLE on continuous patrol at sea--such has been the case since January 1977--but most of the time they will be joined by a third, thanks to the presence of four operational SNLE at Ile Longue.

"The Strategic Ocean Force has thus attained a higher threshold of capability: its firepower has been increased more than three times and the number of objectives by one and a half since 1974. This bespeaks the reality of the deterrence that our nuclear weapons represent. That is no doubt why all the groups of various opinions support a military policy which assures the nation's independence.

"... As the President of the Republic recalled several weeks ago, it is important that our deterrence remain an actual deterrent; which presupposes an effort both qualitative and quantitative.

"First of all, we must have available weapons whose destructive capabilities are combined with the capability of surmounting enemy defenses. In this respect the primary, and urgent, necessity is to construct

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"miniaturized thermonuclear weapons so that several can be carried by a single rocket, placed at intervals in time and distributed in space. That is the threshold that must be crossed for a strategic nuclear armament at the technical level of those of the other nuclear powers.

"That is why the government adopted this objective in December 1974. In December 1974 the corresponding M4 program was decided upon, for entry into service in 1985. Since then every effort has been devoted to it. We now know that this objective can be achieved, thanks to the competence of our scientists, engineers, technicians, and workers.

"Above all, there must be achieved, as quickly as possible, the capability of attacking the greatest number of objectives with the best weapons possible, for it is the magnitude of the damage which we can inflict upon an aggressor which makes deterrence credible. The government has thus chosen that solution which enables the greatest number of weapons to be placed into operation in the shortest time. After having suspended construction of a sixth SNLE M20 in December 1975 it decided, in September 1978, to construct an SNLE of a new generation with the M4 weapons system which will be operational in 1985. Following entry of the 'Inflexible' into service, the previous SNLE will successively be equipped with M4 systems and weapons, taking into consideration the schedule for ultimate strengthening of the SNLE fleet. If it is realized that a single submarine of the class carries more weapons than the five present SNLE, the full interest in this program can be measured. Moreover, it is the solution--the only solution--that makes possible the greatest and quickest augmentation of the Strategic Ocean Force. That is why the government made this choice. Its realization will occupy the present decade. The French deterrent force will then be able to provide sea patrols by three SNLE, or even four, depending upon circumstances.

"To maintain deterrence, as the chief of state desires, from now on the established program must be surpassed and preparations made for the third generation of SNLE. Despite progress which can occur in detection, the submarine will for a long time remain the most favorable means for response to an aggression even though simple prudence should lead us to maintain several components in our nuclear arsenal and to seek new systems. At the request of the President of the Republic studies to establish the nature and level of various forces, in particular, the composition of the Strategic Ocean Force, are continuing. Decisions will be made in due course. Here, under these circumstances, I am anxious to say to all submariners that our submarine fleet...is assured to remaining a large and favored element of the French navy and of our armed forces. Future decisions related to them will clearly confirm that. However, there can be no question of sacrificing, to it, the combat, protection, and support facilities of the surface fleet...."

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More Than 74 Patrols

Let us be reminded of the present status of the five SNLE of the FOST: commissioned into active service on 1 December 1971 and henceforth equipped with M20 missiles, the "Redoutable," now at the end of a major overhaul (duration one year) at Brest, has performed 23 patrols. The "Terrible," commissioned into active service on 1 January 1973, and equipped with M20 missiles, is now at The Tongue for a substantial overhaul (duration four to five weeks) after its 22nd patrol; it had already undergone a major overhaul. The "Foudroyant," commissioned into active service on 6 June 1974 is on patrol at sea; equipped with M20 missiles after having undergone a major overhaul, it is on its 16th patrol; it is to return soon; it will replace the "Redoutable" in drydock; the latter is again going to become operational. The "Tonnant," commissioned into active service on 3 April 1980, will have just begun its patrol at sea when this article is published.

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THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

FRANCE

NAVY BEGINS CROTALE MISSILE USE

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 19 Apr 80 pp 35, 48

[Article by Pierre Langereux]

[Text] The low altitude, all weather ship to air missile system, the Naval Crotale, has just been placed in active service on board the corvette Georges Leygues and the frigate Duguay-Trouin; these are the first two French Navy ships to be armed with this new weapon system produced by Thomson-CSF with Matra's aid for the missile development; the booster was developed by Thomson-Brandt with an SNPE [National Propellants and Explosives Company] propellant.

This event followed the complete success of the acceptance tests conducted by the Navy on board the frigate Duguay-Trouin and the corvette Georges Leygues, which has just left for a long cruise at sea. The Georges Leygues, which began service at the end of 1979, is the prototype for the C70 series of corvettes for anti-submarine warfare in the open seas; it is armed primarily with two ASM Lynx helicopters with sonars and torpedoes and with an anti-aircraft Naval Crotale system which has eight missiles on the pad ready for launch.

A sequence of 12 consecutive successful shots, conducted until February 1980, proved the effectiveness of this new naval weapon system; this test series included six validation shots made on board the Navy's test ship, the Ile d'Oleron, which was equipped with the first firing units of Navale Crotale in November 1977.

Four shots had direct impacts on the target and the average pass distance of the other missiles fired was less than the

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distance needed to set off the proximity fuse and less than the lethal radius of the missile's warhead (8 m).

The success of the salvo firings by the Georges Leygues also confirmed the possibility of guiding simultaneously two missiles fired at an interval of several seconds at the same target; this capability of the Naval Crotale will enable it to handle particularly threatening aircraft attacks.

The shots also verified the effectiveness of the weapon system within its entire range of action and the quality of the guidance system of the missiles, using the firing radar of the system, even in force 5 seas.

One of the shots succeeded in striking a target appearing in the axis of the ship while the ship was subject to a roll of + 15°. Another also succeeded with a target flying at a very low altitude and flying past the Crotale system. The lack of smoke when the missile is fired and its high initial speed give the Naval Crotale both the discretion and the effectiveness needed to intercept the most modern aircraft.

Furthermore, the French Air Force, which is also outfitted with the Crotale system in its land-based version, has in recent months made several successful shots of these missiles at very low altitudes (AIR & COSMOS, no 805).

The missile firings will continue this year in order to increase the range of action and the performances of the missile.

The French Navy has already ordered the first group of six firing units of the Naval Crotale, four of which were delivered last year to outfit the frigate Duguay-Trouin and the first corvettes of the Georges Leygues class. An order for a second series of about 10 weapon systems is planned, with delivery starting next year, in order to outfit the Navy's ships.

The Navy is also very interested in expanding the range of the Naval Crotale missile--which is now 10 km--and in certain improvements of the weapon system, which would give it an improved anti-ship to ship missile capability.

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THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

FRANCE

GENERAL FORGET REVIEWS FATAAC'S MISSION, READINESS

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 19 Apr 80 pp 38-39

[Article by Jean de Galard]

[Text] Air Force Gen Michel Forget invited the press to take part last Tuesday in a presentation conducted at two 1st Air Region bases, Nancy and Luxeuil. This presentation was quite exceptional both because of its nature and because of the number of pieces of equipment involved--the resources that the FATAAC [Tactical Air Force] has in its two components, conventional and nuclear, to counter a possible aggressor in any circumstances and at any moment. General Forget, commander of the FATAAC/1st Air Region, wanted to emphasize the power and flexibility of this "offensive combat tool," the Tactical Air Force, the permanent and instantaneous nature of its operational capability, and the high level of skill of the personnel who operate these resources.

In the introductory briefing he gave to present the FATAAC in 1980--315 (soon to be 330) combat planes on line, divided into 13 squadrons of Mirage III and eight (soon nine) of Jaguar, or in all, 21 (soon 22) squadrons, including four (soon to be five) which have tactical nuclear weapons--General Forget restated the three factors which form the unique nature of the Tactical Air Force:

a. The fact that its command is merged with that of the 1st Air Region. Having both forces and their support is a precious advantage for these forces, which are most likely to have numerous and rapid redeployments. This merger, said General Forget, in no way hinders the stationing of FATAAC units outside of the territory of the 1st Air Region. A

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supplemental group from the 11th Fighter Squadron based at Toul was established at Bordeaux last year, and before the end of this year, a supplemental group from the 7th Fighter Squadron based at Saint Dizier will have been formed at Istres.

b. Its important role in deterrence. At any moment, on the order of the chief of state, the FATAc is ready to employ its nuclear weapons, in close coordination with the "Pluton" regiments of the 1st Army; such a strike would clearly confront the opponent with the ultimate threat of the use of missiles from the strategic nuclear force.

c. The diversity of the missions and range of action of the FATAc units. These missions are essentially: reconnaissance, that is, collection of information; assault, not only in the area of the battlefield but several hundred kilometers in depth; and coverage, which proceeds from missions of a defensive nature. As for the range of action, for several years now these missions are no longer limited "to the traditional invasion areas of our territory." The organization and training of FATAc units, the mobility of its units, and the flexibility of its vectors make it perfectly capable of employing all or part of its resources wherever the situation requires, either in Europe or outside of Europe. General Forget revealed that at the present time a good number of FATAc squadrons have been deployed outside of France, while originally this sort of mission was only given to a single specialized FATAc squadron.

At the conclusion of his briefing, General Forget pointed out the efforts that have been made in recent years, both in territorial and in operational matters, to enable the FATAc to continue to become even more effective: reinforcement of the protection of air force bases and ground defenses (base camouflage; hardening of facilities; the use of hangar-shelters for aircraft which will soon have concrete doors; underground PC [command posts]; the establishment of "Crotale" units and of 20-mm dual-tube gun units; the formation of commando gunner units); greater cooperation with ground forces and with the Navy, for the FATAc units are primarily designed to work in the framework of combined operations; rigorous development of a doctrine governing the use of conventional and nuclear weapons: the mission of the FATAc is a "quick punch" operation, rapid, brutal, and massive action providing fire support of extremely high density against the enemy's second and first echelon units. Today the FATAc units are being trained for these mass actions.

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The various types of aircraft of the FATAc armed with non-nuclear weapons were presented at the Nancy base: Mirage IIIR and RD for specific reconnaissance; Mirage IIIE equipped with AS 37 Martel missiles for penetration aid missions; Jaguar equipped with bombs, rocket launchers, and Magic missiles; and Mirage 5F equipped with bombs. At the Luxeuil base, where there are two units of the 4th Fighter Squadron with a nuclear mission, the reporters were for the first time allowed to enter the tactical alert zone used for aircraft armed with the AN 52 on an alert status, and to observe the various sequences of the fitting of the nuclear weapon on board a Mirage IIIE. Everyone could appreciate the special constraints in the areas of protection and security required in the environment of a nuclear squadron.

To conclude, the journalists present witnessed the take-off from two runways of the Luxeuil base of 17 aircraft of the FATAc. The capability of the FATAc in "doing its job" in case of crisis was one of the conclusions to be drawn from this day. We will return to this topic again.

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FRANCE

FATAC AIRBASE AT ISTRES SOON TO BE OPERATIONAL

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 26 Apr 80 pp 56-57

[Article by Jean de Galard]

[Text] During the interview he had 15 April 1980 with journalists, following the visit the latter had made to the 3d and 4th FATAC fighter wings based in Nancy and Luxeuil, Air Lieutenant General Michel Forget; commanding the Tactical Air Force 1st Air Region, confirmed the basing, starting next August, on the 125 Airbase of Istres (4th Air Region), of a ninth Jaguar squadron. Officially created on 1 April 1980, this squadron will be the fourth of the 7th Fighter Wing based in Saint-Dizier. Having been baptized "Limousin," it will also be a nuclear squadron, the fifth of the Tactical Air Force which has four as of today: the two Mirage III E squadrons of the 4th Fighter Wing based at Luxeuil and the two squadrons of the 7th Fighter Wing based at Saint-Dizier.

Presently, while on the Istres base the concrete shelters which will assure the protection on the ground of the Jaguars which will be stationed there are being erected posthaste, the 4th squadron of the 7th Wing is gradually accepting delivery of the 15 Jaguars which will constitute its reglementary issue. Until today it has received seven. Next August, the squadron will be actually constituted at Istres. At the end of the year it will be operational, according to General Forget. Its pilots will have been recycled and trained at Saint-Dizier by instructors of the 2/7 "Argonne" Squadron, whose principle mission is the recycling of Jaguar pilots and the periodic supervision of their training, its secondary mission being conventional weapon tactical support.

The primordial role of tactical nuclear weaponry was clearly emphasized by General Forget who pointed out in this respect that "the manipulation of the nuclear weapons" was nothing new for the Tactical Air Force which had already once before, in 1962, assured within NATO the nuclear mission which was then vested in the air force. After the withdrawal of the French armed forces from the organization, it was the 4th Fighter Wing, at Luxeuil, which was the recipient in 1973 of the first tactical nuclear weapons conceived and manufactured in France and which was charged with their use. In spite of this experience and whatever may be the level of qualification

10

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and the professional conscience of the personnel charged with the use of nuclear weaponry, everything concerning the tactical nuclear arm is the object, in security matters, of an absolute rigor: in this respect, the journalists can vouch for it, no room is left for improvisation, initiative, memory, or routine; the successive operations unfold in an immutable, almost liturgical, order; everything transpires as if, each time, it was the first time. Future improvements in the field of the use of the tactical nuclear arm involve a potential increase in the weapon's power and its release as far as possible for the objective (which the ASMP missile will make possible).

The short or middle term improvement of conventional weaponry rests on the possibility, let us recall, for the pilot of a single seat airplane to carry out with very great precision, and even flying at low altitude, the automatic designation of objectives for laser-guided weapons (cf ATR ET COSMOS, No 762, p 31); it also involves the carrying and use of anti-runway bombs, of wide dispersal (anti-tank and anti-personnel) weapons to support ground forces. In the field of electronic warfare, the first offensive counter-measure equipment is in place.

During their overseas interventions, Jaguar pilots had to perfect their evolution techniques which made it possible to dodge antiaircraft artillery.

The increase in fuel cost, General Forget specified, requires knowing how to derive maximum benefit from training missions; consequently, the pilots' progress must be strictly controlled, which requires authority, rigor, attention, vigilance from unit commanders.

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THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

FRANCE

'TONNANT' SUB, S-3 MISSILE PUT INTO SERVICE

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 26 Apr 80 p 69

[Article by Pierre Langereux]

[Text] The month of May is going to witness the unfolding of two important events concerning the Strategic Nuclear Force: the entry into active service of the 5th missile launching nuclear submarine ("SNLE") 'The Thundering' ["LE TONNANT"], on 3 May, and the inauguration of the 1st unit of new SSBS-S3 strategic ballistic missiles on the Albion Plateau on 23 May, by the French Minister of Defense, Yvon Bourges.

Aerospatiale has announced in this respect that it has just carried out, one month earlier than the date specified in the contract, the "demonstration of good working order" of the 1st SSBS-S3 missile firing unit on Albion Plateau (Upper Provence). This operation constitutes the complete test of the firing unit composed of 9 missile in silos and a fire command post (PCT), as well as related higher command and logistic installations. The SSBS-S3 program, begun in November 1973, comprises a new ground-to-ground missile of over 3,000 kilometer range equipped with a one megaton thermonuclear charge and penetration aids (decoys), as well as new logistic installations (silos, PCT, higher command center, assembly warehouses, etc.). The successful synthesis firing in July 1979 made it possible to confirm the preceding test firings and to grant operational status to the SSBS-S3, Aerospatiale indicated.

The arming of the silos of the 1st unit is presently going forward and the SSBS-S3 site of 9 missiles will be completely operational for the "alert" planned for the beginning of June 1980. The weapon system will then be placed in charge of the Air Force (1st GMS).

The SSBS-S3 weapon system has been developed under the direction of the DTEn [Direction technique des engins] with the participation of Aerospatiale, prime industrial contractor, of the CEA [Centre d'Experiences Aeriennes Militaires] for the direction of the nuclear warhead program, and of the Service technique des telecommunications et equipements aeronaturiques for the direction of the transmissions programs. The principle industrial participants are: SEP [Service d'Electronique physique], Crouzet, EMD [Electronique Marcel Dassault], LCT [Laboratoire Central de Telecommunications],

12

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SAGEM [Societe d'Applications Generales d'Electricite et de Mecanique],  
SNPE [Societe Nationale des Poudres et Explosifs], CETT [Centre Europeene  
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Entreprise, SINTRA [Societe Industrielles des Nouvelles Techniques  
Radioelectriques] and Thomson-CSF [Compagnie Generale de Telegraphie sans Fil].

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FRANCE

BRIEFS

NEUTRON BOMB DECISION--According to a high official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "the president of the republic, by deciding next month to provide France with the neutron bomb, will demonstrate in no uncertain terms that he intends to deal with Moscow from a position of strength." Pressured by the Soviets in 1978, President Carter put aside the idea of deploying this new tactical nuclear weapon in Europe. French Minister of Defense Yvon Bourges, by saying that France would not deny itself the use of this weapon, "was preparing the road ahead for the president," according to well informed sources. [Text] [Paris L'EXPRESS in French 24 May 80 p 125]

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14

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COUNTRY SECTION

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES OF BORDER GUARDS TO BE RESTRICTED

Hamburg STERN in German 24 Apr 80 pp 241-242

[Article by Heiner Bremer: "Shortening the Leash"]

[Text] Minister of the Interior Gerhart Baum wants to make sure that the Border Guards work for the intelligence service only in exceptional circumstances.

Hard times are in the offing for the West German intelligence services. Drastic reductions are planned in the largely unlimited and uncontrolled odd-job services performed by the Federal Border Police (BGS) for Cologne's Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) and the Pullach Federal Intelligence Service (BND). Liberal minister of the interior Gerhart Baum, an advocate of strict compliance with constitutional principles, wants to put the border guards on a short leash. There is to be an end to BGS officials' continuous undercover functions in cooperation with intelligence services. Baum's belief: "A citizen is entitled to cross the border. It is inadmissible that he be kept in the dark as to what is being controlled and for what purpose information is being gathered."

Clicking noises had for many years been heard in the back rooms of German border stations. BGS officials had been photographing and photocopying passports belonging to tourists and to travelers who made frequent trips to East bloc countries. Unsuspecting citizens were interrogated about the destination and purpose of their trips to foreign countries; BGS officials compiled lists of names and detailed dossiers--all for the intelligence service,, which even provided special cameras for secretly copying documents and whose agents, acting on tips from the BGS, traveled all over the place to border guards as agents.

To justify their extra work the border guards referred to a voluminous 1976 regulation entitled "Special Instructions About Gathering Certain Information Incident to Border Police Surveillance (SO-GK)." When word got around in the spring of 1978 that the BfV had transmitted to the border police confidential lists of extremist organizations and publications, as well as

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"black books" containing personal data on left-wing extremists in important positions to "facilitate their information gathering tasks," Minister of the Interior Baum had had enough. Lists and books were confiscated, the SO-GK regulation was partly rescinded and a detailed legal investigation of questionable border control activities was initiated under the aegis of six independent renowned law professors.

The report has been completed. In a confidential letter to the experts of the SPD and FDP fractions, Baum cited the investigators' main findings. First insight: "BGS investigations under the SO-GK regulation have nothing to do with their mission." In contrast to Baum's reticence, his main advisor and star witness, Prof Erhard Denninger from Frankfurt, declares that "systematic surveillance of travel, using nominal and, from the police viewpoint, neutral criteria (business travelers, refugees) does not fall within the purview of the border police mission." In plain language, the unlimited snooping exercises conducted by the border guards in behalf of the BfV and the BND were somewhat extra-legal.

The second finding of the investigators: "Official assistance to the BfV on the part of the BGS is basically permissible, since the BfV mission is based on law. But this must not violate the rule of proportionality." Denninger, whose strict constitutional guidelines have met with Baum's approval, confirms: "Placing entire categories of persons entering the country under suspicion under the SO-GK guidelines is covered neither by the mission nor by intelligence service authority." According to Denninger, "BfV requests for official assistance must be based on sufficiently firm suspicion of individually discernible anticonstitutional acts or plans."

The third finding, which must deeply hurt old intelligence types: Transmission of data obtained from individuals from the BGS to the BND is questionable from a legal standpoint, because the BND mission is not defined by law. According to the Ministry of the Interior, "this is however acceptable during a transition period."

Baum has in the meantime obtained concurrence for the most stringent action from the experts in the coalition fractions, from BfV and BND presidents Richard Meier and Klaus Kinkel, the intelligence coordinator in the office of the chancellor, State Secretary Manfred Schueler. The illegal SO-GK will be rescinded and replaced by specific requests for official assistance. Says Baum in a confidential memorandum: "The objective is compliance with the law. Contents, extent and purpose of the requested data must be exactly described and defined." A primary objective is a new border control law, in addition to a revision of the BfV law. According to one of his associates, Baum wants to "nail things down" in the political control of the services and therefore wants a voice in future important official assistance procedures. "I have no intention of always agreeing without knowing why the BGS is to be used or what use the recipient is going to make of the information."

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But supervision by the Ministry of the Interior is not the only one to be intensified. There are good chances for implementing a plan after the Bundestag elections, under which a politician "of the Georg Leber type" (a Baum confidant), who would be responsible to the delegates, would exercise supervision of the BND in the office of the chancellor. This would serve to exercise closer supervision of foreign intelligence services and to relieve State Secretary Schueler of this burden, since he has had enough of BND-watching anyway.

Effective supervision of the BND is of particular importance since Baum does not wish to demand a law governing the BND. His reason: "A BND law would not constitute a gain for constitutional clarity, since for obvious reasons the BND mission cannot be exactly defined." This liberal does not want to be responsible for a necessarily vague law to serve as an excuse for questionable snooping practices. He prefers instead to regulate the flow of information to the BND through the use of other laws.

He does not plan to follow his experts' recommendations in one other highly controversial item: the photographing of documents will remain permissible for the near future, but under considerably limited circumstances. A memorandum from the Baum ministry states as follows: "if the BND needs details about development of foreign passports and visa stamps," there must be a guarantee that "in no event will there be use of data based on the person [carrying the documents]. If at any time data involving individuals must be transmitted to the BND, they must immediately be destroyed when the object of the exercise has been satisfied.

BND chief Kinkel stubbornly resisted a ban on photographing passports ("I will take this up with the chancellor, if necessary"), indicating that his services had a need for foreign, especially Eastern, passports and visa cancellations to be able to equip their own agents with the latest editions. But [in return for this concession] the BND president must swallow the bitter pill of prohibiting border guards in the future from working for the BND in an uncontrolled and arbitrary manner and to nail agents.

Baum has been able to settle one additional point of contention concerning official cooperation. The Bundeswehr will have to drop its desire of having its recruits checked for extremist tendencies by use of the giant computer in the Cologne BfV headquarters (ref. STERN No 16/1980: "Recruitment by Computer"). During a high-level conference, Baum and Defense Minister Apel turned down the proposals made by Hardthoehe officials. Not even an appeal by Defense State Secretary Joachim Hiehle made any difference. His plea: "Mr Minister, the army's combat capability is threatened if a member of the German Communist Party gets in among the soldiers." Said Apel drily: "Oh, you know, Mr Hiehle, a communist puts life into the business and makes things interesting."

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17

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

POPULARITY OF PCF'S MARCHAIS SEEN DECLINING

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 3 May 80 p 130

[Article by Jacques Roure]

[Text] Georges Marchais drinking on 29 April in the hotel Meridien of Paris, with the Soviet Boris Ponomarev, one of the dignitaries from the Kremlin. Then, shaking the hand of the Czech Vasil Bilak, one of the grave diggers of the Prague Spring. Georges Marchais, the same day, confronting the No 2 socialist, Lionel Jospin, live on Channel 2.

Twice, within a 2-hour period, the Conference of the European Communist Parties and "Les Dossiers de l'Ecran," recognized at the Tours Conference--which ratified, in 1920, the split of the Socialist Party and the creation of the Communist Party--gave the secretary general of the French Communist Party the opportunity to brilliantly confirm his double betrayal.

He had made himself the champion, belated but apparently determined, of the independence of the Communist Party from Moscow. He is now playing the part of the soviet "driving belts" in Europe. He had made himself the advocate of the Union of the left. He is now demonstrating once again that the Communist Party and the Socialist Party no longer have anything in common.

Why this willingness to return to the sources of the Tours Conference: rallying with Moscow and split with the socialists? "It is a question of creating the framework of a different left, more radical, tougher, that only we would then be able to incarnate," explains a communist leader. In other words: a left completely excluding the Socialist Party.

This explains the more and more caricatural criticism of the socialists. Day before yesterday, they "were leaning towards the right." Yesterday, they were accused of being full-fledged members of the " threesome party" with Giscard and Chirac. Today, Mitterrand is considered by L'HUMANITE to be "more to the right" than the president of the republic. This explains the systematic denigration. Nothing is too hard to rally the discontented.

This line, pure and hard, which has been guiding Marchais for the past year now, has led him to a succession of failures.

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--Failure of the European Communist Parties Paris Conference, 28 and 29 April. Marchais was counting on the presence of the Italian, Spanish and Yugoslav communists to render less noticeable his alining with Moscow. He was hoping to act as mediator between the Soviets and the Eurocommunists. He only succeeded in being the obliging host of the Soviets and in displaying publicly the divisions of the Eurocommunists. "Less we will speak of this meeting, the better off the Party will be," confided a collaborator of the Central Committee.

--Declining popularity of the communist leader in the public opinion. This decline is noticeable in all public opinion polls. According to the IFOP, 68 percent of the socialist voters would in no event vote for Marchais. And especially, 20 percent of the communist voters would not vote for him, in comparison with 12 percent in November 1979. Mitterrand would only get 14 percent of the intended votes if Rocard was a candidate, and 15 percent if Mitterrand was a candidate.

However, it is especially within the system that the uneasiness is being felt. This is a new and important fact. "I know of 13 members of the Central Committee that are in disagreement with Marchais," explains one communist official. This is to point out that even at the highest level, the secretary general of the Communist Party is being challenged. Even amongst the leaders. Thus, Pierre Juquin, who is nevertheless indebted to Marchais for his rise in the political bureau, today admist, in private, certain disagreements with the policy of the secretary general. Even if he faithfully continues to play out his role as spokesman.

For the first time, several federal secretaries, gathered in Paris on 21 April--namely, those from the Midi--did not hesitate, in front of Charles Fiterman, to denounce the party line. According to them, it is the deep cause of the militant demobilization that they are noticing in the departments. As a matter of fact, the campaign for renewing one's membership in the Communist Party is becoming a fiasco. Even L'HUMANITE does not dare put out the falgs. Certain branch secretaries, whose cells no longer meet, send in their Party cards through the mail. As for L'HUMANITE, its sales keep decreasing. Its circulation is inferior to 90,000 copies.

"I have rarely seen the Communist Party as little mobilized as it is presently," explains a Communist Party official. "There is a surviving core of people where one finds the most sectarian. They stick to Marchais and are locking the Party."

Intellectuals who had up to now resisted getting involved in the dispute, are in turn doubting. Two spectacular examples. The historian Alexander Adler, one of the writers of "The USSR and Us"--book strongly recommended by the major ruling body of the Communist Party when it came out in 1978--has not renewed his membership card. The novelist, Gilles Perrault, author of "Pull-over Rouge," who in 1977 had slammed the door on the Socialist Party to join the Communist Party, admits today that he feels he has been cheated.

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The secretary general of the Communist Party was counting on the burial of the Union of the Left to steal the leadership of the opposition from the Socialist Party. One year from the presidential elections, the result of partial local elections is unequivocal: the Communist Party is stagnant, when it is not regressing. The Socialist Party is maintaining its positions. And it remains in the public opinion polls, the most popular party of France.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

'GRADUATED' DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Proposal by Jean-Pierre Cot

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 31 Dec 79-6 Jan 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Jean-Pierre Cot (Socialist deputy from Savoy)]

[Text] Is France capable of having a human rights policy? The answer is less obvious than might be desired. The subject remains one of virtuous proclamations which cover up dubious practices. Uruguay, which systematically imprisons opponents, which kidnaps, tortures and assassinates political prisoners, has ratified the United Nations pact on civil and political rights, as has Pinochet's Chile. The odious regime of the shah of Iran, whose sinister Savak went hammer and tongs against thousands of prisoners, celebrated with true imperial pomp the year of human rights and played an active role on the UN Human Rights Commission. Everyone has realized since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, that violations of basic human rights are not the monopoly of capitalist countries and fascist regimes. Stalin's crimes were in no way inferior to Hitler's, the Gulag is a good match for Western tyrannies, the genocide of the Khmer people has, I trust, found no defender.

France's constant position since 1958 has strengthened that situation in which the most odious vice has thus rendered homage to virtue. Our diplomacy has been lavish, in international chambers, with good advice and has kept on recalling, with suspicious insistence, the Declaration of 1789. For all that, whenever the minister was urged to act in a specific case, the reply would roll out: "Surely you do not mean it?! That matter comes under the internal jurisdiction of the national authorities, who would see in our intervention inadmissible interference. But rest assured, we are acting, in spite of everything, discreetly, effectively..."

However, for several years now, an important change has been observed. By the action of private organizations, among the first rank of which must be placed Amnesty International, public opinion has been awakened to the problem of human rights. Evidence has been increasing substantially, such as the long lists of pregnant women, children, and teenagers

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who have "disappeared" in Argentina, doubtless abducted and assassinated by the police.\* Henceforth, a citizen who is arbitrarily arrested has some chance of being traced by others, in other countries, who will request an accounting, who will exercise constant pressure on his behalf. It is admitted today, throughout the world, that the violation of human rights concerns all human beings and that in this matter the exception of internal jurisdiction can no longer be pretexted. The USSR and the peoples democracies have learned this at their expense by undertaking at Helsinki agreements whose full consequences they did not foresee. International proclamations are no longer altogether futile.

The effort of private organizations is fundamental but insufficient. As long as states will not actively intervene to demand respect of the basic rules for the protection of human rights, the results will be meager. To be sure, a policy of human rights is not easy to set in motion. In this domain where the absolute, where intransigence are the only conceivable attitudes, the limits of public action must be admitted. No government whatever can make the defense of human rights the sole object of its foreign policy. Other considerations intervene, such as national security, the maintenance of detente and world peace. These objectives must constantly be conciliated with the imperatives of the struggle for human rights, with the knowledge that in politics it is impossible to subordinate everything to a moral imperative. On the morrow of World War I, Max Weber emphasized the opposition between the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility. He demonstrated how the politician, who was responsible for all the consequences of his acts, comes under the second ethic and could not take refuge in the comfort of a moral absolute. In the domain of human rights, we are obliged to be responsible, even if it is more painful there than elsewhere...

The ethics of responsibility lead to what I shall call a conception of the graduated defense of human rights. I realize how much such an idea may appear shocking, since it involves the defense of universal values. However, by putting everything on the same level, we are condemning ourselves to ineffectiveness and we are facilitating cowardly confusion. I unhesitatingly condemn the practice of occupational interdiction in West Germany, but I find it unacceptable to place it in the same bag as the building of the Berlin wall by East Germany. Likewise, I refuse to treat identically the arbitrary internments in the Soviet Union and the torture, assassination, and massive disappearances in Argentina. It is proper to grant unstinting support to Soviet dissidents, no matter what political solutions the latter advocate, because the regime refuses them freedom of speech and hunts them down for opinion delinquency. It is not clear that the boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games must be pleaded for as we did for the Buenos Aires "Mundial." Two years ago, we had to shout aloud about the abomination of a poorly known regime. Next year, the voice of

\*A must on your reading list: "Argentina, the Devil in the Sun," by Carlos Gambetta (Atelier Marcel Jullian).

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Sakharov and his friends will have to be heard. The context is not the same.

The speech delivered by Jean-Francois Poncet during the debate on the budget for the Foreign Affairs Department denotes, in human rights matters, an important evolution in French theses. Henceforth, the problem of human rights is considered to fall within the purview of international affairs and not within the internal jurisdiction of the individual states. Concretely, France affirms that it is its duty to intervene, firstly on behalf of its own nationals, but also--and therein lies the novelty--for the respect of human rights in the person of every human being. The minister adds that the government intends to draw consequences from this in bilateral relations between France and the states concerned. Lastly, the homage rendered to the action of private organizations foreshadows closer collaboration between the latter and official agencies than has been the case in the past.

While we can only be satisfied by this change in a position of principle, the credibility of Jean-Francois Poncet's declarations is sorely tried by the recent behavior of French officials in several circumstances.

On Africa, the assertions of the president of the republic cannot cause the truth to be forgotten. France refused to the last minute to acknowledge the Bangui massacres, which were qualified by Robert Galley as "pseudo-events." It systematically attempted to discredit those who were attempting to sound the alarm and was above all anxious to keep the imperial marionette on his throne, then to find posthaste a successor for him. The denials put forth today do not change one iota of the affair: either our diplomats did not know anything, while all Bangui was in the know, which seriously calls into question their competence, or, more likely, the government refused to do anything and finds itself today poorly placed to give protestations of its zeal for human rights.

Need it be recalled, on the other hand, that, one after the other, within 1 year's time, the press attache, the cultural attache, and the military attache of the French Embassy in Buenos Aires publicly made known their sympathy with the Argentine regime? Colonel Le Guer even declared: "Every French officer would have acted as the Argentine officers did in a case like that which this country experienced from 1976 to 1978." ! Transfers were made--disciplinary measures, it appears.

Furthermore, remarkable determination will be required to change the bad habits of some of our diplomatic envoys--others, fortunately, have an admirable attitude--by forcing them to break with the tradition of politeness which is the heart of diplomacy.

The task is all the more difficult in that the Department of Foreign Affairs is not the only one involved; defense and finance do not necessarily have the same point of view, and the chief of mission will have to

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exercise in this respect the new authority which has been conferred on him. In the absence of such effort, it will have been to no avail to declare that "our diplomatic machinery is completely mobilized to assure, in France's name, the defense of human rights."

For human rights cannot be separated from overall foreign policy. It is the absence of an all-inclusive conception which calls into question the capacity of the present government to act in this matter. What is a human rights policy worth when in other respects the right of the Saharan people to exist is trampled on? When, in fact, political asylum is abolished by the Dublin agreement, thus creating a repressive European void? When Klaus Croissant or Francesco Piperno, accused on clearly political grounds, are extradited on the basis of incomplete dossiers, in order to do a neighbor a good turn? When they are getting ready to institute the rule of the arbitrary and of the convenient for the expulsion of immigrant workers under the Stoleru law? France a land of asylum? The minister was right to recall that it is to our honor that we have welcomed many political refugees. But, if they have to be put at the mercy of state policy, politics are significantly tarnished as a result.

Lastly, the link between the defense of human rights and arms sales comes to the fore. The government refuses, to this day, to admit it. It esteems that it can continue to develop commercial relations in general and the fruitful arms trade in particular with any regime whatsoever. While the United States, within the framework of a policy of limiting arms sales about which there is much to be said, has suspended a large number of contracts which had been or were about to be signed with South American dictators, France has taken up the slack. We are delivering "Mirage" planes to Argentina and Chile and light and antiguerrilla arms to most of the countries of Latin America. To my knowledge, the only embargo rules effectively applied have been those against Chile, with the known limits. We are not the only ones to act thus because we are faced with German and British competition. The fact remains that the European Community, in Latin America as well as in Africa, is taking the place, in the nick of time, of faltering American imperialism. Political action has its constraints. Let us know how to expose them clearly by stripping them of their aureole of hypocrisy. We will be all the more justified in saying that, for lack of extending to the entire world the policies being followed, for lack of gathering these up in a coherent design, the human rights policy outlined by the minister of foreign affairs runs the risk of being a simple alibi which will not long mask the truth.

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24

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Criticism, Analysis of Proposal

Paris COMMENTAIRE in French Spring Edition 80 pp 111-114

[Article by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie]

[Text] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie is a professor at the College de France. Among his principal works are: "The History of Languedoc" (Presses Universitaires de France, collection Que sais-je, 1977); "The Languedoc Peasantry" (Mouton, 1975; Flammarion, abridged version, 1977); "The Historian's Territory" (2 volumes, Gallimard, 1973 and 1978); "Montaillou, a Languedoc Village" (Gallimard, 1975); "Carnaval of Novels" (Gallimard, 1979); "Money, Love and Death in Oc Land" (printing, Seuil, 1980).

Among the politicians of the Socialist Party, J-P Cot unquestionably distinguishes himself by his knowledge of situations and by his sense of responsibilities. I believe it therefore important to submit to an amical and critical analysis one of the essential texts of Jean-Pierre Cot. And this all the more so in that LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, the paper which published this text, has always made itself conspicuous by its courageous antitotalitarian stands, on the various fronts which held center stage, either on the right or on the left.

Textual analysis is an arid exercise but one which is not without pertinence. I shall inflict therefore this surgical operation on an article of Jean-Pierre Cot entitled "'Graduated' Defense of Human Rights in Foreign Policy."<sup>1</sup>

Since the "Declaration of Human Rights" promulgated in France in 1789, it was generally thought that the defense of these rights should be unconditional, even if circumstantial or opportunistic questions might surface here and there. Of what then does the new principle of "graduation" or "gradation," proposed by Jean-Pierre Cot, a jurist and Socialist deputy from Savoy, consist? There is first of all, from Cot, a firm, and completely justified, condemnation of the procedures employed in this domain by the "rightist" dictatorships of the Latin American countries.<sup>2</sup> It would have been logical to include in this condemnation of the Latin portion of the New World the Castro regime, which systematically violates human rights. But Cuba, the communal soil of the sensitivity of a certain left, becomes miraculously taboo in this article: Cot does not even mention the name of this large Caribbean island.

Afterwards comes the pillorying of the former regime of the shah.<sup>3</sup> One might have thought, there again, that the occasion cried aloud for also condemning the regime which succeeded that of the shah; this new system, for the first time (in a long while) in the history of humanity, sets up

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a theocracy, which is absurd, xenophobic and mediaeval in the worst sense of that adjective. It is enough to make laymen like Little Father Combes or Jean Mace turn over in their graves: both of these figures, laity oblige, among the legitimate ancestors of the present Socialist Party. But Cot does not condemn Khomeyni. The deputy from Savoy will say indeed that he wanted to avoid blind windows or symbolic symmetry; it would, therefore, be ridiculous, in order the better to criticize the shah, or even Pinochet, to heap sarcasms on Khomeyni or Fidel Castro.<sup>4</sup>

But, however, there is a paradox: these accursed blind windows are going to be encountered, ritually (although Jean-Pierre Cot had previously rejected them), as soon as it is a question of condemning the breach of human rights which has occurred in the country of "true socialism": "Everyone has realized since the 20th Congress of the CPSU (USSR), that violations of basic human rights are not the monopoly of capitalist countries and fascist regimes. Stalin's crimes were in no way inferior to Hitler's, the Gulag is a good match for Western tyrannies, the genocide of the Khmer people has, I trust, found no defender."

Let us note in passing the mumbo-jumbo of this long sentence. The symmetry can be conceived, indeed, between communism and fascism: in different degrees, they both trample human rights under foot. It does not hold, on the other hand, if the USSR is compared with "capitalist" countries, like England or republican France; in these two nations, human rights, in spite of certain deplorable slip-ups, appear to be fundamentally respected, in comparison in any case with the USSR.

Imperturbably, Cot keeps on alining the blind windows and the symmetries which he had sworn, in the introductory paragraph of his article, that he would refrain from utilizing since their usage would be in any event ambiguous and counterproductive.<sup>5</sup> But that is because now the communist world is in question. Cot doubtless surmises that he should avoid in the eyes of his own party the fatal reproach of anticommunism. Against them (sic), he wants to take his precautions, a priori, by raining shells on both fronts. The result is significant. Thus on Stalin: "Stalin's crimes were in no way inferior to Hitler's" and further long on the gulag: "the Gulag is a good match for Western tyrannies." Only the condemnation of the Cambodian genocide is unilateral and absolute: "the genocide of the Khmer people has, I trust, found no defender."

Furthermore, it must be noted that this statement relative to the Khmers is carefully inserted in the system of symmetrical oppositions which the preceding sentence defined,<sup>6</sup> which introduced inclusively this "risky" paragraph on Stalin, the Gulag, Indochina.

The USSR is going to surface again in the following paragraph, which is devoted to the important changes which, according to Cot, Amnesty International and the Helsinki agreements (!), have produced. Here again, the "fatherland of socialism" is caught up in a system of oppositions

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which allows the author to safeguard his good progressist conscience. He is thus going to use in this case a double-barreled comparison: Argentina-USSR, and no longer only Stalin-Hitler or CPSU-Western world:

- 1) Argentina: "Evidence has been increasing substantially, such as the long lists of pregnant women, children, and teenagers who have 'disappeared' in Argentina, doubtless abducted and assassinated by the police";
- 2) the parallel connection, USSR and the peoples democracies: "It is admitted today, throughout the world, that the violation of human rights concerns all human beings and that in this matter the exception of internal jurisdiction can no longer be pretexted. The USSR and the peoples democracies have learned this at their expense by undertaking at Helsinki agreements whose full consequences they did not foresee. International proclamations are no longer altogether futile."

The sophism is evident. It is indeed (I agree with Cot on this) useful and positive that Amnesty International publish lists of missing persons in Argentina and elsewhere. On the other hand, a dose of frightening ignorance is needed to write that the Helsinki agreements were achieved at the expense of the USSR, even if, in effect, the East's dissidents have argued from the Helsinki agreement in view of an action which, moreover...will gradually lead them behind bars.

There follows a paragraph in which the author emphasizes that a state, a government, cannot allow itself to be guided solely by moral considerations. It would be unseemly to remind Jean-Pierre Cot that his party (the SP) is not, at the moment, in power; consequently, nothing prevents Cot from indulging in the (unpretentious) luxury of defending moral values everywhere, wherever they be threatened.

A new train of parallel connections then parades by. For convenience sake I call them A, B, C, and D. At least three (B, C, and D) reconstitute in their turn those blind and double windows which Jean-Pierre Cot professed, however, to abhor. The first parallel connection (A) couples East and West Germany. Two others (B and C) again involve the binominal Argentina/USSR, which, decidedly, pesters our author. A third (D) centers on Soviet dissidents.

(A) East and West Germany. "I unhesitatingly condemn the practice of occupational interdiction in West Germany, but I find it unacceptable to place it in the same bag as the building of the Berlin wall by East Germany."

For once, Cot goes very far in the right direction and one should, although one swallow is a long way from making a summer, acknowledge it. Everyone indeed knows, and Cot is a thousand times right in recalling it, that the liberal regime of West Germany is wrong in formulating certain professional interdictions (berufsverbot); but this regime is infinitely more human than the dictatorial system of East Germany, symbolized by the Berlin wall.

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Our writer, however, becomes panic-stricken at his own daring, no matter how justifiable it may be. Immediately he is going to balance or rather unbalance his sole piece of intellectual audacity, he will flank it awkwardly by three debatable propositions symbolically symmetrical in form.

(B): "Likewise, I refuse to treat identically the arbitrary internments in the Soviet Union and the torture, assassination, and massive disappearances in Argentina." This time, the delicate equilibrium is frankly upset by Cot, and shockingly tilted toward the USSR. Everyone indeed knows that also rife in the USSR is psychiatric torture, assassination and massive abductions (there are several million men in the present gulag, which greatly exceeds the number of abductions in Argentina, no matter how scandalous these latter may be). Everyone knows, furthermore, that the USSR practices, among other types of discrimination, state-sponsored anti-Semitism and state-sponsored anti-Christianism.

Carrying out on a grander and more secret scale the same policy of torture, assassination and massive abduction as in Argentina, and, moreover, taking the liberty of banning from society two of the three religions of the Bible, is really an extraordinary record! Why, in these conditions, attenuate the moral condemnation leveled at Brezhnev in comparison with that which overwhelms Videla? An attenuation completely unmotivated! It is evident, however, beyond any doubt, in Cot's short sentence I have just quoted in this respect.

Proposition (C): the parallel Moscow-Buenos Aires is continued by reflections on the binominal Mundial-Olympic Games, that other pons asinorum of our time.<sup>7</sup> Here again, as in the preceding proposition (B), the USSR receives in relation to Argentina the traditional treatment of the most favored nation. A sports boycott for Argentina, Cot tells us, si; a sports boycott for the USSR, non. Let us read the sentence:

"It is not clear that the boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games must be pleaded for as we did for the Buenos Aires 'Mundial.' Two years ago, we had to shout aloud about the abomination of a poorly known regime. Next year, the voice of Sakharov and his friends will have to be heard. The context is not the same."

The way I look at it, the context is even worse in the USSR, which, obviously, does not whitewash the Argentines, but let us change the subject.

Cot will doubtless plead that his position, in this case, is due to reasons of expediency. But the denial with respect to the USSR of a boycott which, conversely, was rigorously advocated for Argentina, appears to me, in reality, fully correlated with the special indulgence Cot had previously shown, fundamentally, with regard to the USSR in the question of "arbitrary internments."

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Whence the interest offered by an exegesis of the final phase D: "It is proper to grant unstinting support to Soviet dissidents, no matter what political solutions the latter advocate, because the regime refuses them freedom of speech and hunts them down for opinion delinquency."

The blind window here is constituted by the restriction: "no matter what political solutions the latter advocate," which, in itself, contains nothing shocking. Cot is referring here to the extremist opinions of some dissidents, even genial ones, such as Solzenitzen. It will, however, be noted that not once, with respect to the arbitrary abductions which have been carried out in Argentina, has Cot formulated the problem which should have been self-evident to him, from the very fact of the unilateral criticism he has expressed against the opinions of certain Eastern dissidents. Among the missing persons in Argentina, there have indeed also been, hang it! some terrorists Cot has never mentioned; their attacks, their bullets were just as open to criticism (and even a lot more so) than some recent arguments, certainly quite debatable, of the author of the "Gulag Archipelago." Implicitly, with a casuist's ingenuity, Cot then tips the scales against the Russian dissidents in comparison with the persecuted Argentines; exactly as he previously tipped them toward the USSR in comparison with the Argentina regime. It is seen here, once again, that the motto "two weights, two measures" moves ahead, clothed in subtle logic, on all fronts.

We will not be surprised then that with the same logic the second part of the article (devoted to the human rights policy of the Quai d'Orsay) completely dismisses the problems of the countries of the East. The only regimes evoked are henceforth those which are subject to Western influence.

- 1) It is first question of French-speaking Africa and, to be sure, of the Central African Republic.
- 2) It is next question of Argentina: Cot complains about the tokens of sympathy which French officers and diplomats are reputed to have proffered this past year with regard to the Argentine regime.
- 3) Again in question are West Germany and Italy: Cot evokes the Croissant and Piperno affairs.
- 4) The arbitrary system "[instituted by] the Stoleru law for the expulsion of immigrant workers" is sharply criticized.
- 5) Delivery of planes and light arms to Argentina and Chile are then the object of severe criticism by our author.
- 6) Lastly, in a remarkable display which closes the article, the European Economic Community and the inevitable American imperialism are soundly attacked for their African and Latin American interventions.

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It goes without saying that, among these six points of criticism addressed to Western countries, many are important and deserve attentive examination. However, how can one help but emphasize that criticism would equally be possible of certain aspects of the French policy regarding human rights violations in the East; and, for example, the fact that this or that French statesman refused to meet Amalrik; the fact also of bowing down symbolically before Lenin's mummy; or of accepting to leaving to the Vietnamese the supervision of sorting out their refugees?...

To stick to the three preceding examples (Amalrik, Lenin, the Vietnamese), these serious weaknesses of French policy would also deserve firm condemnation, emanating from a politician of the opposition. But, in that case, he would run the risk of irritating that ex-ally, the PCF. It is easier to understand now what Jean-Pierre Cot meant by the sibylline title of his article: "A Graduated Defense of Human Rights." It is always a question, for this important leader of one of the two parties of the left, to operate on what the Anglo-Americans call a double standard: toward the West, a frank and massive French condemnation is pronounced, potentially justified, moreover, against human rights violations perpetrated in or on behalf of a given Western country. Toward the East, on the other hand, Cot systematically dolls up his criticism with restrictions, concessions to the adversary, compensating trade-offs, with blind windows... We are confronted here not with the resolutely critical essence of a true spirit of the left, but with the mental structures of the French left: it has been afflicted with permanent myopia, since the 1920's, for what is happening east of the iron curtain. A strange case of squinting! We have yet to hear the last of it!

FOOTNOTES

1. LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 31 Dec 79-6 Jan 80, p 18.
2. "Uruguay, which systematically imprisons opponents, which kidnaps, tortures and assassinates political prisoners, has ratified the United Nations pact on civil and political rights, as has Pinochet's Chile." (J-P Cot, op. cit.)
3. "The odious regime of the shah of Iran, whose sinister Savak went hammer and tongs against thousands of prisoner, celebrated with true imperial pomp the year of human rights and played an active role on the UN Human Rights Commission."
4. Let us cite in this respect the introductory paragraph of the incriminated article by Jean-Pierre Cot: "I realize how much such an idea (the graduated defense of human rights) may appear shocking. However, by putting everything on the same level, we are condemning ourselves to ineffectiveness and we are facilitating cowardly confusion."

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5. Cf note 4.

6. I recall this sentence: "Everyone has realized since the 20th Congress of the CPSU that violations of basic human rights are not the monopoly of capitalist countries and fascist regimes."

7. The Mundial, world soccer championship held recently in Buenos Aires.

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9330

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

ARIANESPACE PARTICIPANTS, DIRECTORS NAMED

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 29 Mar 80 p 50

[Article by Pierre Langereux: "Arianespace, First Space Transport Company"]

[Text] The Arianespace Company for production, marketing, and launching of the European "Ariane" rockets has just been founded. It is the first private space transport company existing anywhere in the world to have at its disposal a heavy launcher.

The new company's charter and by-laws were signed, according to plan (see AIR ET COSMOS No 804), in Paris on 26 March, by all the shareholders. Arianespace Company has 48 European shareholders, representing CNES [National Center for Space Studies], the principal shareholder (34 percent), as well as 11 European banks and 36 companies in the aerospace and electronics industries of the 11 countries participating in mass production of the Ariane launcher (see AIR ET COSMOS No 791). The company's nominal capital of 120 million francs is shared by the 47 shareholders in Arianespace (see table).

At its first meeting, held the same day, 26 March, the board of directors of Arianespace elected as its chairman and director general Frederic d'Allest, CNES director of launchers, and consequently director of the "Ariane program" for the ESA [European Space Agency].

The 12 members of the Arianespace board of directors are:

- Frederic d'Allest, CNES director of launchers;
- Roger Lesgards, CNES secretary general;
- Jean-Gerard Roussel, CNES director of industrial and international affairs;
- Jean-Jacques Sussel, CNES deputy director in charge of major industrial projects;

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--Pierre-Marie Usunier, director of the ballistics and space division of Aerospace Company (France);

--Andre Garnault, SEP [European Propellant Company] (France) director of industrial policy;

--Georges Estibal, MATRA Company [expansion unknown], deputy director of the space sector;

--Bernd Kosegarten, marketing director of ERNO [Northern Development Syndicate] (Germany);

--Jorg Feustel-Buechl, director of advanced technological studies of MAN [Augsburg-Nuremberg Machinery Manufacturing] Company (Germany);

--P. G. Willekens, administrative director general of SABCA [Belgian Aerospace Construction Company, Limited] (Belgium), representing group 1 countries (Belgium, Denmark, Italy);

--Hans-Peter Schneider, technical director of Contraves Company (Switzerland), for group 2 countries (Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland);

--Bengt Eriksson, deputy director general of the Volvo Company (Sweden), for group 3 countries (Sweden, Ireland, United Kingdom).

The board of directors of Arianespace thus includes seven French persons among its 12 members, corresponding to France's majority participation in Arianespace capital (about 60 percent) and in the development of the launcher (65 percent).

Arianespace is a French limited liability, private capital company. But the company's organization will be international in character. It will be made up, in all, of about 100 persons who will be established at Evry (Essonne), where the administrative offices of CNES launchers, responsible for the Ariane program, are already located.

The company will have one or two deputy directors general, as well as four operations management departments: an administrative and financial department, a marketing department, an industrial department (in charge of production and staffing the project team), and an operations department (transportation, logistics, management of launching facilities).

Marketing prospects for the Ariane launcher suggest an estimated 1983 turnover of close to 1 billion francs, according to CNES.

The first Arianespace launching should take place at the end of 1982, after the four in-flight test shots (LO1 to LO4) and the six launchings of the first production lot of mass produced rockets carried out under the direct responsibility of the European Space Agency.

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We remind readers that parallel to the founding of the Arianespace Company, the statement made by France remains open to the membership of European states until 15 April. This document will constitute a general legal framework for the production of Ariane launchers. It will be complemented by a covenant between ESA and Arianespace, to be signed probably at the end of June. All the details on the new Arianespace Company were published recently in these columns (AIR ET COSMOS No 804).

Participation by the 48 Arianespace Shareholders	Percentage
France:	59.45
CNES	34.20
Aerospatiale [French Aerospace Company]	8.50
SEP	8.50
MATRA	3.60
Air Liquide [Liquid Air Company]	1.85
Comsip-Entreprise [expansion unknown]	0.10
Crouzet	0.10
Deutsch	0.10
Intertechnique	0.10
SAFT [Stationary Battery and Tracion Company]	0.10
SFENA [French Air Navigation Equipment Company]	0.10
SFIM [expansion unknown]	0.10
SODETEG [Technical Studies and General Enterprises Company]	0.10
Credit Lyonnais	0.50
BNP [National Bank of Paris]	0.50
Societe Generale [General Banking Company]	0.40
Paribas	0.40
Vernes Bank	0.20
Germany:	19.60
MAN	7.90
ERNO	5.50
Dornier	2.80
MBB [Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm Company]	2.80
Dresdner Bank [Bank of Dresden]	0.30
Bayerische Vereins Bank [United Bavarian Bank]	0.30
Belgium:	4.40
SABCA [Belgian Aeronautical Construction Company, Limited]	2.60
ETCA-ACEC [Aerospace Technical Studies and Construction-Charleroi Electrical Engineering Shops]	1.10
FN [National Arms Manufacturing Company, Limited]	0.70

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	Percentage
Italy:	3.40
SNIA-Viscosa [expansion unknown]	1.60
Aeritalia [expansion unknown]	0.90
Selenia	0.90
Switzerland:	2.70
Contraves	2.15
CIR [expansion unknown]	2.15
F und W [expansion unknown]	0.10
Union des Banques Suisses [Union of Swiss Banks]	0.30
Spain:	2.50
CASA [Harvester Suppliers, Incorporated]	1.90
Sener	0.60
United Kingdom:	2.40
British Aerospace	0.95
Ferranti	0.95
Avica	0.30
Midland Bank Limited	0.20
Sweden:	2.40
Volvo	1.60
SAAB-Scania	0.80
Netherlands:	2.20
Fokker	1.90
Allgemeine Bank Nederland [General Bank of the Netherlands]	0.30
Denmark:	0.70
Rovsing	0.50
Copenhagen Handelsbank [Copenhagen Commercial Bank]	0.20
Ireland:	0.25
ADTEC [expansion unknown]	0.15
Aer-Lingus [Eire National Airline]	0.10

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

MIRAGE 2000'S INTERCEPTION CAPABILITIES DESCRIBED

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 29 Mar 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Jacques Morisset: "Five Minutes To Intercept a Plane Flying at 75,000 Feet and Mach 2.5"]

[Text] As the Mirage 2000's main mission is interception, it is of interest to examine how the Mirage 2000, equipped with an air-to-air missile (MATRA Super 530 D) will be able to intercept and destroy an enemy aircraft penetrating national airspace at very high altitude and high speed.

The hypothetical case is that of a "hostile" flying at Mach 2.5, or about 2,700 kilometers per hour, and around 75,000 feet altitude (23,000 meters): such could be the case, for example, for a MIG 25 on photographic reconnaissance, a hypothesis put forward on numerous occasions the past few years. The "hostile" in question thus covers 45 kilometers every minute and 750 meters every second....

After detection by distant early warning radar (this method of detection does in fact operate well beyond the borders, and in the case of a MIG 25, shortly after take-off, as its climbing speed, flight level, and cruising speed permit rapid identification) and confirmation that the hostile is actually preparing to penetrate national airspace, a FATAAC (Tactical Air Force) Mirage 2000 is ordered to take off at an appropriate time, selected so that interception is accomplished to an optimal pattern. Everything happens very fast then, on account of the Mirage 2000's climbing speed (up to 15,000 meters per minute, or 250 meters per second), its acceleration capability, its radar range (RDI or RDM [expansions unknown]), and the performance of the Super 530 D (range, climbing and acceleration capability).

After take-off, the Mirage first climbs at high subsonic speed, that is to say Mach 0.95, up to about 20,000 feet; then it makes a transsonic acceleration enabling it to break the "sound barrier" as quickly as possible, with the thrust of its SNECMA [National Company for the Study and Construction of Aircraft Engines] M 53 turbo-jet, with burners on; on account of the increase in drag inevitably noted between Mach 0.9 and Mach 1.2 or 1.3 (the transsonic "hump"), it is indeed advantageous to have transition be as brief as possible, hence the choice of a trajectory that is (temporarily) almost horizontal.

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After acceleration, the aircraft is in full supersonic operation, and climbs again at a less acute pitch at a flight speed of 650 knots (1,200 kilometers per hour). Less than 3 minutes has elapsed since take-off....

Around 25,000 feet (7,500 meters), the radar picks up the target, which is still about 100 kilometers away and flying 50,000 feet higher up...the closing speed of the two aircraft is very high, and the distance separating them is reduced by about 1,100 meters every second: detection is immediately followed by identification, then by radar lock-on (automatic tracking): the Mirage 2000 is now at nearly 30,000 feet, less than 4 minutes has elapsed since take-off.

As soon as it has locked on to the target, the aircraft begins a new climbing phase to place itself with its missile in the best possible position: between 30,000 and 40,000 feet, the missile's seeker head locks on to the target, as permitted, obviously, by information from the aircraft's radar, automatically transmitted to the seeker head. The Mirage 2000 has swooped skyward (the so-called "zoom" maneuver) and the pilot is waiting for the optimum time for firing the missile (actually, the release is automatically activated).

Firing the MATRA Super 530 D: a little over 4 minutes has elapsed since take-off: the hostile is still several tens of kilometers away, and some 20,000 feet higher up; while the missile is accelerating (fired at supersonic speed, it will finish its flight at a speed two or three times higher) and is climbing toward its target, the Mirage 2000 also climbs for several tens of seconds so as to "light up" the target on its radar and facilitate the work of the missile's homing head, which can thus see the "illuminated" target perfectly.

A few tens of seconds later, it is all over...the MATRA Super 530 D, accurately guided by its homing head and having a maneuvering capacity which prevents the target's escape, has intercepted and destroyed the latter: meantime, that is to say, as soon as the missile's homing head became fully independent, the Mirage 2000 began a disengagement maneuver to leave the interception zone. Hardly 5 minutes have elapsed since take-off, which was itself ordered when the attack craft was some 200 kilometers away.

Incidentally, the low level of these figures will be noted, an extremely interesting level, due to the conjunction of three factors:

--Climbing and acceleration speed of the Mirage 2000: it depends on the thrust/weight relationship at each instant of flight (and not just on the thrust/weight relationship at take-off) and on the aerodynamic qualities of the aircraft

--Range of the detection and firing radar

--Range and climbing capability of the missile, which can thus be launched earlier and lower; in the matching of aircraft and air-to-air missile; it is obvious that the missile is faster and climbs faster: so long as it can be

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guided, it is obviously an advantage to involve it to the extent possible in the total energy gain<sup>1</sup> required, in kinetic terms, for interception.

In fact, the high performance missile valorizes the aircraft carrying it and its radar, and vice versa. Compared to earlier combinations, that is to say, Mirage 3 and Mirage F 1, the Cyrano 2 and 4 radars, the MATRA 530, than the MATRA Super 530 missiles, the combination of Mirage 1 plus RDM or RDI radar plus the improved Super 530 allows several minutes to be saved during interception, and a considerable shortening of the distance needed for the interceptor's take-off to achieve destruction of an enemy aircraft as soon as it penetrates national airspace, and in some extreme cases (an aircraft arriving at very high altitude and speed), the Mirage 2000 arms system will be capable of effecting interceptions that are still normally impossible for current aircraft.

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<sup>1</sup>Total energy is equal to the sum of kinetic (speed gain) and potential (altitude gain) energy.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

AS-30 LASER MISSILE TEST-FIRED AT LANDES TEST CENTER

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 3 May 80 p 41

[Text] An Aerospatiale "AS 30 laser" laser-guided ground-to-air missile was fired successfully on 4 April at the Landes test center in France at a target illuminated by the laser beam from the Thomson-CSF "ATLIS" 2 target designation pod, carried by a Jaguar fighter plane. According to Aerospatiale, which announced this test on 22 April, "the firing on 4 April is the first time a laser-guided missile has ever been fired at a target illuminated by a single-seat aircraft."

The "AS 30 laser," derived from the "AS 30" radio-guided missile, is a 520-kg missile, including a 240-kg explosive payload, with a range of between 10 and 12 km. It is 3.65 m long, with a diameter of 0.34 m and a wing-span of 1 m. The "AS 30 laser" missile can be used in single-seat or multi-seat combat aircraft to attack major, hardened or defended surface targets while permitting the launch aircraft to remain beyond the range of enemy defenses. The "AS 30 laser" missile has been adopted by the French Air Force which will use it to equip the Jaguar aircraft of the Tactical Air Force.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH MEXICO OUTLINED

Paris LA LETTRE DE L'EXPANSION in French 12 May 80 p 5

[Article: "France Prepares To Play the Mexican Card Fully"]

[Text] Everything between Mexico and France is steeped in oil on the eve of the arrival of President Portillo. The latter wishes to make France a privileged partner. He is going to propose to France increased deliveries of petroleum from now to 1990, in return for intensified technical and scientific cooperation, industrial investment, and financing. Concern No 1: to avoid as much as possible economic and technological dependence on the United States. President Giscard is entering fully on this effort: France will propose, in effect, to Mexico the signature of an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation on the applications of nuclear energy, as well as an agreement between the CEA [Atomic Energy Commission] and URAMEX (Mexican company charged with the exploitation of uranium) concerning exploration for and exploitation of the important resources in Mexico of radioactive minerals. France will also propose the use of its technical services in the area of animal husbandry (SOCOPAL) and of the commercial sale of perishable foodstuffs. PUK [Pechiney-Ugine-Kuhlmann Company] will also participate in the development of important sources of copper which have not yet been exploited. To aid in the sale of Mexican products in Europe, a Mexican trading area [plateforme] will be established in Le Harve, on the model of the Brazilian trading area already in existence. France will also propose new sources of public financing, in addition to the agreement on Fr 1.0 billion approved at the time of the visit of President Giscard to Mexico. The BNP [National Bank of Paris] is prepared, in addition, to lead a syndicate of the large French banks in offering a loan of \$300 million. Finally, about 25 French companies already have investment projects in Mexico.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

BRIEFS

NAVAL, CUSTOMS OPERATIONS--The Navy and the Customs Service have divided up their maritime monitoring operations. The former will be in charge of long-range general surveillance, the latter of specifically-targeted missions (contraband, Maritime immigration, deep-sea fishing). Customs will be equipped with about a dozen twin-engined craft while the Navy will launch a 790 million franc five-year plan for the purchase of eleven ships and three patrol aircraft. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 19-25 May 80 p 24]

STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS STOCKPILE--A national raw materials bank will be set up to enable the offering of state-guaranteed loans totalling 1.6 billion francs on the financial market and which will allow the addition of mineral raw materials (cobalt, antimony, chromium, tungsten, copper, zinc). This stock is currently valued at 500 million francs, i.e., two months' worth of reserves. In the United States, the strategic stockpile is valued at about 38 billion francs. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 19-25 May 80 p 24]

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41

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

DECLINE IN SHOE INDUSTRY PREDICTED FOR 1980

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 26 Apr 80 p 11

[Article by Luciano Mondini: "Our Shoes Are 'Going More Slowly'"]

[Text] Alarm sounded at the Venice shoemakers' convention. The miracle may be over: exports are falling, imports are rising. The European market will have to be given more importance. Importance of marketing.

Venice--It is frankly hard to imagine the shoe industry in crisis, beset by imports, worried by the "loss of velocity" of exports, and oppressed by protectionism on the American, Japanese and Australian markets as well as by an EEC disinclined to be generous to production from outside the community.

At the Venice convention, which was announced by ANCI [National Association of Italian Shoemakers] as an adjunct to the annual assembly of shoemakers (6,308 production units and 112,800 members), the trade seemed to be like an athlete that had been pampered for his performances but who is now wallowing in anxiety at an unexpected slump.

This is substantially the impression given by ANCI President Leonardo Tranquilli and the many speakers who poured their laments into the microphone: producers, retailers, and producers of machines making shoes for export.

Undoubtedly, the interplay of circumstances bears them out. Yet it is only fair to remember that 1979 was a "fabulous" year (and not only 1979, as Romano Prodi said) and that a certain downturn had to be expected. Last year, exports of finished products and shoe parts brought in 3.287 trillion lire or 1/3 of the petroleum deficit.

It is as though we made everybody else walk so we could use our cars. Only in the USA did our shoe exports (including the Lucchesian miracle clogs) rise from 63 million pairs in 1978 to 97 million. In 1977 we had not done better than 39 million, which makes a downright explosive trend. Could it continue? No, and the producers knew it.

42

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But what is alarming, Tranquilli says, is not the foreseeable slowdown but the feared reversal. He cites order figures that are down, as of 10 April 1980, by 42 percent for the USA, 18.1 percent for Germany, and 17 percent for the rest of Europe. In sum, sales were down 24 percent compared to the same date last year.

At the same time, imports from not only developing countries have been aggressive and sustained: up 36 percent in quantity, up 77.7 percent in value for 1979 over 1978.

Again according to Tranquilli, who is certainly not optimistic, things will be worse in 1980, when imports will account for 23-25 percent of domestic consumption. The causes: loss of competitiveness through increased labor costs, rising prices of raw materials, and increasingly tight money, not to mention monetary rigidity. Some speeches contained subtle allusions to a "desire for devaluation," which Prodi, the convention chairman, roundly rebutted; however, this recurring theme does reveal a distraught frame of mind.

Essentially, then, if the wind is changing, what ought to be done? Prodi made a few suggestions. Above all, Europe should be "rediscovered." The European market is less volatile than the American and is basically "domestic," i.e. under control and not likely to call for continued changes in production strategy.

Another point: in addition to the industry's capability to make shoes, it needs to reinvent another--the ability to sell them. The industry needs a commercial network that is flexible, efficient, and able to pick up and transmit signals of style changes and forecasting and steering new trends.

Thirdly, the sector ought to be considered in the broader context of the "system." Only by working together can machine producers, tanners, and accessory producers make innovations in the production process, make a respectable impact on the market, and move into the Third World with collaboration and integration procedures that are the only way of exorcising the "enemy."

Having said all this, Prodi added, we still do not have the "solution" yet. Different domestic conditions are needed, as well as a coherent economic policy and something other than a war of words against inflation. But this applies to everybody, not just shoemakers.

[Chart follows on next page.]

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(1) SINTESI COMPARATIVA CONSUNTIVO 1979 E PREVISIONI 1980 (Totale calz. a quant. e valore)						
(2) DESCRIZIONE	(3) 1978 (4)		1979		1980	
	Paia	Valore (000)	Paia	Valore (000)	Paia	Valore (000)
(5) ESORTAZIONI	294.802.977	2.216.695.711	374.850.612	3.124.894.929	305.000.000	3.197.670.000
CONSUMI INTERNI	133.216.535	1.045.631.269	142.273.000	1.306.916.060	128.000.000	1.405.440.000
IMPORTAZIONI	20.843.783	46.939.189	27.382.936	83.374.613	30.000.000	96.000.000
(6) PRODUZIONE	407.975.729	3.215.387.791	489.239.676	4.348.441.316	403.000.000	4.507.060.000

- (1) Comparison of consumption in 1979 and forecasts for 1980 (total of shoes by quantity and value)
- (2) Description
- (3) Pairs
- (4) Value (in thousands)
- (5) Exports  
Domestic consumption  
Imports
- (6) Production

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14  
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SPAIN

BRIEFS

BORDER CONTROLS--Computer terminals linking the State Security Directorate and border stations will be put into operation in the coming months. The data provided by computers will prevent those foreigners who have been expelled from Spain through one border post from entering through another on the following day as it now occurs. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 18 May 80 p 5]

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45

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COUNTRY SECTION

SWEDEN

ECONOMY MINISTER BOHMAN: NO CONSUMPTION INCREASE FOR 5 YEARS

Stockholm VECKANS AFFARER in Swedish 17 Apr 80 pp 72, 73

[Article by Lars Eklund, journalist: "Bohman Even Grimmer: Expect Several Lean Years"]

[Text] In the 5-year budget the Government is about to publish a continuing very low economic growth is expected, Gosta Bohman discloses. There will be hardly anything left for increased private consumption, unless it can be transferred from the share of the public sector. The grim forecasts call for an altered view on realities, says the Minister for Economic Affairs, who now asks for "courage from politicians, trade unions and representatives for the employees of the public sector."

[Question] Is there room for an increase in the standard of living within the not-too-distant future in Sweden? Is it even possible to sustain the current level?

[Answer] In the period 1960-70 GNP increased by about 92 billion (in 1975 prices). Private consumption increased by 40 billion and public consumption by about 26 billion. We had a capital formation in business here and abroad that also amounted to 26 billion.

During the seventies, GNP increased by less than half--42 billion in the same value of money. Private consumption amounted to fully 20 billion and public consumption was about the same. The increase in capital formation reached 1 (one !) billion, which thus should be compared with 26 billion during the previous decade.

Here lies the root of the evil: private and public consumption has seized the total GNP increase, except for one billion, during the seventies.

And we cannot go through the eighties without substantial investments--the growth in both public and private consumption must slow down, relatively speaking, if we are to manage the Swedish economy. The more efficiently

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we cut down the public sector, the more the private sector gains. But if public consumption is allowed to expand freely, private consumption will be hurt.

Conclusion: no rise in the standard of living, worth mentioning, is possible. If the rapid expansion in the public sector is maintained there will be less left for salaries--in terms of real purchasing power--the freedom of action will be reduced, productivity and productive results and the GNP-growth will deteriorate.

[Question] The objectives for Social Democrats and Moderates (and the other parties in the Government) seem on the whole to be the same: speed up the wheels, resources to the industry, better international competitiveness. Why do you quarrel so damned much?

[Answer] It is true that the Social Democrats have the same objectives as we have, but they propose quite opposite solutions that will worsen the inflation, the budget deficit and the external balance. They want to increase taxes in order to finance a public sector that already is too big, add to the budget deficit by expanding expenditures, and they do not want to limit local government expansion which is strongly inflationary.

We pay attention to the economic realities--we consider their view of reality totally wrong.

I read that they want to get the investments going and to transfer resources to the productive sector so that we can produce and export more--we shall work through the crises, not starve ourselves through it. There we agree. But they suggest ways that will have a totally opposite effect.

We estimate (optimistically) a GNP-growth from two to, at most, three percent during the 5 years to come. But that is not enough since it, in itself, implies an increase in government consumption by only 0.3 percent and in local government consumption by 2.8 percent--which together will leave about 0.8 percent for private consumption. Thus, no real rise in incomes. Increases in consumption by the Government and by local governments must be even more reduced if we are to find room for real, not only nominal, increases in incomes.

The Swedes have claimed too much as an advance, all figures prove this, and now we need a completely different view of reality than the one prevailing during the sixties and the seventies. The adjustment demands courage from politicians and trade union leaders--not least from those who represent the employees in the public sector.

[Question] We are approaching a tougher international economic situation. Does this mean decline for the industrial countries?

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[Answer] The reports I have seen show a poor growth at the end of 1980 but also a recovery, probably within a couple of years. The world population grows by about 100 million persons each year. They have to be supported, given jobs and energy etc. The LDCs cry for goods to rise their standard of living.

GNP in the newly industrialized countries grows faster than in the Old World. This causes faster turnover also for the traditional industrial countries. This development process should add something also for us, in a somewhat longer perspective.

I see the greatest danger in the international inflationary climate, which is created by the OPEC-countries' large surpluses of oil money that circulate in the world economy. At present about 500 billion Swedish crowns.

If I have learned anything in this job, it is how quickly the picture can change. Sweden's financial position is--apart from the balance problems I have mentioned--for the moment fairly good. Our exports go well, the influx of orders is quite high and unemployment has never been as low as now. In spite of the fact that--or maybe as a consequence of the fact that--our position is so good now, we risk a deeper fall at the end of the year. Probably, it will not be the smooth transition earlier expected.

[Question] The social contract--the Government package including a price freeze, a rent freeze, company profits on blocked accounts, tax relief measures etc. that you tried to sell to the labor market parties. Price: a wage freeze. They did not but it!

[Answer] I am not so sure about that. But first the Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) shouts at us that the Government has to take steps (at a time when we already had reduced taxes by 1,500 Swedish crowns for the LO-worker). After that we released a series of suggestions that--as far as we could judge--ought to gain approval both among employees and in the largest opposition party.

Following that we are accused of interference--in the wage negotiations. The expression "social contract" has become poisonous--so let us forget about it!

We are dealing with substantial economic problems that are the concern of the whole nation. We need an open attitude between the Government and the labor market. The wish to politicize in party terms may lead the representatives for the labor market to take steps that they in the interest of their clients should avoid. Conflicts of loyalty are difficult to handle when you are standing with one foot in a party and the other in a trade association. The game in politics and the game on the labor market would be more honest if representatives for the trade unions and enterprises independently and unassistedly devoted themselves to the long-range interests of corporations and employees.

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By the way, did not the agreement of 1978 come close to a social contract? The tax rates had been tied to an index, the marginal income taxes reduced. Starting from this point it was possible to include some kind of index--clauses in the agreements. The authorities did not promise to keep the inflation within those specific limits--but I remember how the bare knowledge of these clauses affected the Swedish economy. All went well the first year--we would have succeeded also the second year had the new oil-price rises not occurred.

A government should be prepared to do anything in its power to facilitate an agreement--but must take into consideration, all the time, the nation's economic development in the long run.

[Question] The principle stating that a government should not interfere when the parties of the labor market are going to negotiate or take up arms?

[Answer] As a principle the territories should be separated, so far both Palme and Gunnar Nilsson are right. The Government is responsible for economic policy--the parties on the labor market for the agreements. But I do not see anything principally wrong in synchronizing. It cannot be wrong to ask the parties to what extent they are prepared to cooperate. It is wrong to accuse the government of lack of action--but at the same time refuse to enter into a discussion. Regarding, for instance, where the measures should be taken to bring about improved real incomes and secure employment. It is also wrong if the government through its actions interfere with the real negotiations, without being invited.

[Question] You ask the public employees for restraint. This year they are the first to come forward with their demands!

[Answer] In the year 2000 public employees and the retired will amount to 4 million persons. Two million are to support them. How can the ATP-pension scheme be maintained in such a situation? We need substantial growth in the economy--and that, in turn, will not occur if we do not succeed in accelerating capital formation and investments, which, in their turns, will not occur if we are not prepared to slow down the rate of consumption, especially on the public side. To me this is obvious.

The public sector has grown by about seven percent in volume annually for one and a half decades--while GNP has grown by less than half, that is by 2 to 3 percent. Without any action being taken, these two trends will intersect each other shortly after 1990--the public expenditures will take all of the national income. This ought to be a warning to anybody who thinks that we Swedes always can live in the best of worlds.

[Question] Gosta Bohman is the leader of the largest of the nonsocialist parties--at the same time he is probably the one who has compromised the most in the name of unity. Almost to the edge of self-destruction?

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[Answer] Palme says that Bohman runs the Government. He says so because it amuses him and he thinks it irritates the others in the Government. He may well do that--in a way he is helping the Moderates!

A multi-party government has to work as a team--and if I and my coworkers are not willing to compromise we have no right to expect compromises from others.

In matters of principle I do not compromise! That is why I have got a reputation to carry around: stubborn, difficult, a man that easily flies into a rage. And it is true, I blow up very easily...but I am not resentful. And really, I do not slam doors!

[Question] Do you understand those who fear nuclear power?

[Answer] Fear of the unknown is a protection we human beings have to carry. Personally I have a strong belief in the future of technology--I do not think it will be long before we have 100 percent safe nuclear power plants. The scourgers march by--now as they did during the Middle Ages. Their belief was strong...But the world did not come to an end.

Skara, Kristianstad and Jonkoping refused to let the railway pass by. And the DAGENS NYHETER wrote forcefully against electrifying the railway Gothenburg-Stockholm in the twenties in the same way as now against nuclear power.

[Question] War and peace. Is the state of the world such as to create a new boom in armaments--better times ending with the big crash?

[Answer] I was in Washington a little more than a month ago discussing the economic situation. Nobody believed that rearmament would affect business activity. Nor do I believe that the recovery will depend on the war industry!

There are always risks. Afghanistan and the unstable situation in the Middle East are considered more serious cases down in the Continent than here at home.

If I thought that a new war was impossible I would be the first to join May Wechseltmann on the barricades!

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COUNTRY SECTION

SWITZERLAND

'SEAGUARD' NAVAL ANTIMISSILE SYSTEM PRESENTED

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 3 May 80 p 43

[Text] The Suisse Contraves Company, at the Hanover Show, presented its new naval weapons system, the "Seaguard," specially designed for defending ships against anti-ship missiles, including missiles flying at low altitude (sea-skimmer). Two prototypes of the "Seaguard" are currently being built by Contraves with the participation of Siemens Albis AG [Incorporated] (Germany) for the surveillance radar, Plessey Radar Ltd (Great Britain) for the X-band firing radar, and Oerlikon-Buehrle (Switzerland) for the new "Sea-Zenith" cannon combined in the weapons system. This 25-mm quadruple-mount cannon can fire special ammunition at a very rapid rate, guaranteeing a high destruction probability against missiles. The control of the firing or optronic radar of the "Seaguard" can be combined with guns or sea-to-air or sea-to-sea missiles. The entire assembly is designed to operate in a powerful environment of electronic countermeasures. According to Contraves, the "Seaguard" can be operational in 1985.

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