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West Europe Report

(FOUO 22/82)



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ECONOMIC

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EFFECTS OF INFLATION, INTEREST RATES ON THIRD WORLD DEBT

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 19-25 Feb 82 pp 104-106

[Article by Philippe Simonnot: "Debt: The World Crash Will Not Take Place"]

[Text] What is at stake for the bankers in the Polish situation? Avoiding a suspension of payments, because if one link in the chain of international credit crumbles, everything crumbles. Everything? Some 600 billion dollars in bank credits: at the end of 1981, 520 billion for the Third World and over 80 billion for Soviet bloc countries. With a little composure, however, the worldwide crash which some defeatists are promising can be avoided.

Until the Polish crisis, bankers' attention had been focused on the Third World. This was strange, and even upsetting, because the bankers, who are anything but philanthropists, had in fact considerably increased their aid to the Third World.

This expanded role by the bankers is only the logical countereffect of the twofold oil impact (1973 and 1979). The Gulf states accumulated financial surpluses. Since they had no banking system adequate for their sudden and immense fortune, Western banks, primarily American and British, were the principal beneficiaries of this manna of petrodollars. But in order to pay interest rates to their clients, these banks had to make this money work. How do do it other than by granting loans? An outlet was found--Third World countries, which had been jarred by the sudden increase in their oil bills.

Of course, bankers' participation in "aid" to the Third World increased its cost, because bankers charge more for their services than governments do. But contrary to appearances, the situation that has resulted is not a dramatic one.

We must be careful here not to be influenced by the figures: the Third World's total debt has gone from 87 billion dollars in 1971 to 524 billion dollars in 1981, increasing an average of 20 percent in face value. But in real terms, once the effects of inflation are taken into account, the annual increase is on the order of 8 to 10 percent, which is the same rate for the export of goods and services from these countries. In other words, the debt-export ratio of the Third World has, on the average, remained constant.

The 10 Largest Borrowers

The debt service--that is, the payment of interest and reimbursement of capital--has certainly increased more quickly than the debt itself. It has gone from 10.9 billion dollars in 1971 to 112 billion dollars in 1981 (26 percent per year). But here again, we must pay attention to monetary illusions! The debt and the debt service are concentrated on a relatively small number of debtor countries: primarily petroleum-exporting countries (including the richest members of OPEC) and the so-called newly industrialized countries. The latter, which make up only 16 percent of the population of the Third World, accounted for 40 percent of the outstanding total of the debt and for about 50 percent of the debt service. The category of so-called low income countries--the poorest of the poor--which account for 55 percent of the Third World's population, is responsible for only 17 percent of the outstanding debt and 7 percent of the debt service.

It is therefore not difficult to identify the major debtors. The threesome of Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela pay almost one-third of the total debt service. In Algeria, Spain, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Argentina and Indonesia are added to those three, you have the list of the 10 largest borrowers, accounting for 56 percent of the debt service. These are certainly not the most deprived. Even in the Third World the adage holds true: only the rich can borrow. Are these loans for life? It is rather a race between growth and indebtedness. A report by the OECD showed that a large number of Third World countries are able to efficiently utilize funds borrowed abroad to fuel increased growth which, in turn, causes a new request for foreign capital. The major debtors are good risks.

Moreover, the cost of this debt is not as high as a dramatic view of things would make it seem. Over half of the loans were granted at fixed rates quite lower than the inflation rate; in real terms, these rates are therefore negative. For the Third World as a whole, the average interest rate today is about 10 percent in face value. That is, in real terms it is barely positive. The spectacular increase in the price of money on the financial markets has had an impact only on that part of the debt which was lent at floating rates, particularly for the "big debtors" (Brazil, Mexico, etc.). This has resulted in the paradox of certain of the poorest countries, who are least exposed because their debts are at fixed rates, profiting from the soaring rates. Since their short-term credits are greater than their short-term debt, they have been able to invest funds on the international markets.

Finally, during the last two decades there has not been one suspension of payment. Although OECD states that the number of countries asking for debt refinancing (Peru, Turkey, Zaire etc.) has increased during the seventies, the amounts in question have not increased "significantly." As paradoxical as this may seem, loans to the Third World have remained a good deal for financiers these last few years, at least as profitable as loans to private firms in industrialized countries.

Poland Will Fall Into Line

We must not be overly pessimistic about the Third World's debt. But what about The Soviet bloc countries? Their debt raises even less worry. Until now, the

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socialist countries have always been good payers, with the exception of Poland. Western financiers can count on the leaders in the Kremlin and their allies to maintain order and, if needed, ration the people in order to honor the debt.

With this perspective, Poland should fall back into line, no matter how gloomily. But the Polish debt will have to continue to be refinanced. West German bankers, who are the most heavily involved, are already working on this while Chancellor, significantly, is making more gestures of appeasement.

At first glance, refinancing sounds like a miracle. But this is no accident and it is not due to chance. The reasons are that, first of all, no bank can expect to escape alone. If a small bank declares a state to be in suspension of payment, overlapping responsibility clauses, which are included in most financial agreements, call for redistributing the assets of the insolvent debtor among the creditors on a prorata basis according to their credits. Even without such clauses, a banker will hesitate to go it alone. In the long run, his colleagues, upon whom he depends because of the overlapping of international financial relations, will make him pay for it in one way or another.

And the value of the assets liable to be seized--in Poland's case, for example, coal arriving in Western ports, boats and planes outside of Polish territory, a few buildings, etc.--is nowhere near the amount of the debt.

This is a problem which, after all, is not dissimilar to that of the "German reparations." Morgenthau, Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury, summed it up nicely: "A creditor can seize what the debtor already has; but he needs the cooperation of the debtor to obtain the products of his future labor." A failing state is, in any case, always ready to cooperate. It knows that the governments of rich countries will not accept a refinancing of their credit unless an agreement is reached with private bankers. It also knows that it will be practically impossible to trade with other countries, because this requires short-term bank credits.

Finally, another reason is that a country with problems is not stripped of arguments during negotiations. Employment, already shaky in the North, will be threatened ever further if new credits are not granted to the East, and even more so to the South. Here again the problem of the German reparations comes up. Young Keynes gained celebrity by pointing out that the war debts of the vanquished Germany could be reimbursed once and for all only by products made in Germany, which would be to the detriment of the victors' production and, consequently, to their employment rate. A monumental lesson that is particularly applicable now: reimbursement of the 600 billion dollars must necessarily be through increased imports coming from the debtor countries of the South and East. And this is coming at the precise time when unemployment in the North is tending towards the dramatic levels between World Wars I and II, and when everyone wants to import less and export more.

In reality, the prime danger threatening world finances is the slowdown in economic growth, which can be seen in the West as well as the East, the North as well as the South. A general bankruptcy can be avoided only by new

international progress. The current lethargy is all the more dangerous today because, for 9 countries in the Third World, the service of the debt is greater than one-third of the value of exports, whereas there was only one such country (Brazil) 10 years ago.

In addition, faced with the increasing dangers, fewer and fewer bankers are willing to become involved in international activities without state guarantees, which will lead to an increasing state involvement in international loans. This will increase the risk that financed investments will be less sensible than in the past.

A gigantic bank crash will be avoided, but at the price of increasing world inflation, the costs of which will be borne by the poorest (peasants in the Sahel or in Northeast Brazil) or those most deprived of political rights (Polish miners).

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ECONOMIC

BELGIUM

UNION LEADER PROPOSES ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS

Brussels POURQUOI PAS? in French 11 Feb 82 p 12

[Article by Robert D'Hondt, secretary general of the CSC: "To Find a Way Out of the Crisis..."]

[Text] In order to find a way out of the crisis, we will have to fully re-think our way of analyzing things. We cannot subscribe to the backward looking concept which hardline liberalism, which dreams of reducing Europe and Belgium to the pathetic dimension of vassals of the United States and of reproducing the standards of a society of inequality, of solitude and of violence, wants to impose. We do not want any part of it.

The establishment of a different model assumes a break with capitalism. We have to stop thinking of this in terms of the intellectual categories of the past: the 19th century provided a definition of capitalism which is anachronistic and outmoded today; that period could not imagine what the power relationships announced by the technological wave of the future would be like, even as it could not anticipate the field of possibilities which the crisis opens up.

However, to make believe that it will be possible to establish a new model immediately, without transition, would be a hoax. Any break starts with measures which prepare it. In Belgium, the labor movement is aware of this and so are the Christian unions. Henceforth, the myth of the "great evening" has become a museum piece to them and, in the face of the crisis, they talk in a more responsible manner than the media would have the public at large believe.

What does the CSC [Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (Walloon)] propose in order to break with the hardline management of the crisis, and to develop the links to that other model of society which is more compatible with our thirst for freedom and our concern for what is human?

Briefly, let us say that it proposes four main lines, for the short and medium term.

1) A coherent industrial policy, determined under the aegis of the public authorities, in consultation with the private sector, and within the framework of the overall plan which would have its own version in each enterprise; strict criteria for any state aid to enterprises, with social control over

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them; an effort toward industrial diversification which takes the domestic market into account. This industrial policy would be financed by a compulsory "loan for industrial expansion" to tap the fresh capital which is currently lacking.

2) The creation, spread over a 4 year period, of 100,000 decent jobs through the implementation of a real third labor network, financed by part of a special crisis tax.

3) To safeguard social security will require -- and we have foreseen it -- efforts to be agreed to by the workers themselves. But for its part in the financing of it, we cannot allow society as a whole to shirk its responsibilities.

Rather than some solidarity contribution imposed on the workers alone, we propose that part of the proceeds from the special crisis tax be used to finance state subsidies to the social security sectors. It should be noted in passing that there cannot be any question of returning to a needs test, even if it is introduced "at the top" and "within the family," which would in terms of its principle undermine what social security basically represents in Belgium.

4) A distribution of labor and of the available income through an accelerated reduction of working hours on the order of 10 percent, with compulsory and controlled compensatory recruitment and, for lack of it, the proportionate financing of an intersectoral regional or sub-regional fund for the creation of new jobs or the maintenance of existing jobs. In this order, and taking into account the impact of the new technological flux to be controlled within the framework of a real dialogue with the private and the political sector. The maintenance and development of jobs in the public services must be guaranteed, thanks to internal shifts and the development of new services.

What we basically want is to regenerate an industrial fabric, which is currently breaking down, and to return the resources for its development to the people.

In order to carry through such an orientation, there will have to be, if not at the level of the country, at the very least in Wallonia, a true and new majority which feels the desire for it. On the side of the "Christian left" it will also be necessary to get away from the conflicts which weaken it politically. The MOC [Christian Labor Movement (Walloon)] is currently working on this through wide consultations with its rank and file.

The CSC, which wants to promote the unity of the workers, must fit in the social dynamic which is characteristic of the southern part of the country. This does not mean a break with our Flemish friends, but an adaptation to the difference in context experienced by the Walloons.

We also need a new trade unionism, more interprofessional, more centered around local activities and economic and social experimentation, which accepts novel alliances with the shopkeepers and farmers who are associated with its actions.

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A new strategy is emerging for the CSC in Wallonia. It is specifically aimed at globalizing certain aspirations of the workers and at promoting methods and forms of action which join them and theirs, the actively employed and the non-actively employed, together, both as producers in enterprises and as consumers and savers. To strengthen the position of the workers. New practices should lead to a wider selectivity in the traditional methods of trade union action.

Finally and especially, it is necessary for the political debate in this country to become more subtle and intelligent, outside its traditional and outdated portrayal as between heaven and hell, as if there were no other alternative today than between a savage liberalism and a soulless collectivism.

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POLITICAL

BELGIUM

PROGRESS, SETBACKS OF UDRT PARTY

Brussels POURQUOI PAS? in French 11 Feb 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Jacques Schepmans: "UDRT: A Second Wind?"]

[Text] In this month of October 1981, and as soon as everyone began to anticipate the inevitable elections, public opinion was convinced that a strong movement would come out for the UDRT [Democratic Union for Respect for Work (Walloon)]

Its meetings enjoy great success and the media which up to now had maintained a disdainful silence, opened their columns to the unique representative, Robert Hendrick.

Sign of the times: Christian Dumon, the many-sided president of the Brussels PSC [Social Christian Party (Walloon)], always in quest of a mandate as illusive as the Holy Grail, even attended a UDRT meeting. If he went there to gather information before, perhaps, going out to eat, that is because there was success in the air. And then, barely 2 weeks before the elections, the machinery suddenly jammed up. The spring was broken and while they expected at least double, the UDRT was left with only three representatives and one senator. What happened?

Today, it would be a lie to claim to have seen calm and serenity return within the party. In December, and then in January, four very stormy and a little disillusioned internal meetings were held and, when it came to voting, the required quorum could not even be found.

Unquestionably, with the municipal elections only a few months away, the party feels a tiny bit demobilized, and all the more so as Robert Hendrick, loyal to his principles, once again refuses to follow the traditional tactic, namely alliances, advance agreements and the future distribution of government mandates.

This is admirable, it is reassuring, it is everything one would want it to be, but apparently this seems to strongly displease many activists who, for years, have been pasting posters and licking envelopes, forever hanging about while being used as menials, and who today would like to draw the fruits of their

efforts. This could indeed play curious tricks on this party of purists as was already the case on the eve of the legislative elections.

At that time, the leaders of the UDRT had pushed aside "good positions" held by old activists, who were a little pedestrian and too pragmatic, to replace them with brilliant jurists of the Thomas Delahaye style. A party of purist jurists, if one may say so...

This has aroused a good bit of bitterness and the president of the Federation of Small and Medium Size Enterprises, Mr Eyckerman -- who was thus put out of the running -- did not wait to take his revenge by leading a solid campaign in favor of all the anti-tax people except for those, of course, who claimed membership in the UDRT. Similar rifts have obviously left scars, and even today a wind of revolt from the rank and file is blowing against the party leadership.

According to the statutes of the UDRT, the political mandate should be the sole occupation of those elected during the period of their term of office. Consequently, some candidates, for example small company managers, gave up their ambitions. But today, while Mr Hendrick fulfills his contract perfectly, Representative Delahaye has kept his very flourishing lawyer's practice and Senator De Clippele more than ever wants to be a notary public, having even hired one of his clerks as parliamentary secretary.

Now this does not bother us very much, as we are convinced that a sound personal income strengthens the independence and honesty of members of parliament, but how would you explain this to a rank and file, some of whom were frustrated in their hope for vainglory?

As for us, we believe -- but our opinion is not important at all -- that the UDRT was right in choosing quality for its parliamentary representation rather than wanting to associate itself with old activists who, once at the rue de la Loi, would rapidly make themselves look ridiculous if not worse.

A certain character in the UDRT, obligingly exhibited by the RTBF [Belgian Radio Broadcasting and Television System -- French Service] during a "To Be Followed" broadcast, which could have come out of a propaganda office and showed as much fair play as an ambush in the Bondy forest, will have persuaded many people that Representative Hendrick was not wrong.

Now, what is going to happen and how are they going to find the second wind which would transform the UDRT into something other than this temporary lock for future renegades from the PRL [Liberal Reform Party (Wallon)]?

From Convention to Conventions

As early as the beginning of spring, the party is going to organize conventions which, by early 1983, should lead to a large congress aimed at redefining the identity of the UDRT.

The primary themes will revolve around the duality: "Life and Liberty," with two major poles: "Life and Economic Liberty," and "Life and Political Liberty"

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For Robert Hendrick, the direction of his immediate action is to fight against the monopolies, against the RTT [Telegraph and Telephone Administration] which will soon, with the excuse of technology, control the data banks, and also against the pressure groups which are found in the state management bodies, thus playing the role of policeman policing himself.

Here we have once again a reappearance of the libertarian philosophy so well defended by the new president of the PVV [Party for Freedom and Progress (Flemish)], Guy Verhofstadt. Consequently, is the UDRT still necessary with this liberal renewal?

This makes Robert Hendrick hopping mad. First of all, the UDRT must remain the radical spur destined to sting the liberals as soon as they are tempted to fall back into their customary conservative rut, born out of a taste for compromise. Between language and actions ... Besides, the UDRT questions quite a number of aspects of the government policy, for example its ambiguity and its lack of courage, if not its selfishness.

"The liberals have promised a great deal, but what did they do when it came down to imposing a legal personality on the unions, which is within the democratic logic? Nothing. What have they done to resolve the problem of the private radio stations? Nothing. Finally, unlike them, the UDRT wants to reduce social charges in order to make a cost reduction possible and not to reduce labor income. It is true that we want to follow the straight line of the progressive ideology of the liberation of man, which is quite the opposite of the dogmatic ossification of the socialists or the cool selfishness of the liberals. As for the PSC, what's that?"

For a long time yet, the founder of the UDRT will pursue his idea, obsessed by an anxiety in the form of a question: the UDRT, what for?

Could it be that this is what the voters on that cold November Sunday had not very well understood?

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

CHANGING NATURE OF PSF CREATES DISSATISFACTION

Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 6 Feb 82 pp 26-27

[Article by Michel Bosquet: "The PS No Longer Exists"]

[Text] "In many respects, we were more free under Giscard or under Pompidou." At least that is what many high-level intellectuals and politically on the left, what is more, are coming to think at times. Not, of course, that the conservative governments in the past have paid more attention to their ideas or that there was more room in institutions, before 10 May, where those ideas could spread. On the contrary, remember Marcellin and Bonnet, Lacanuet and Peyrefutte, Saunier-Seite and the haughty supervision that Giscard himself exercised on the press.

If a number of intellectuals (of the left) feel that they are less free at present, it is for an entirely different reason. They no longer find anyone with whom to talk. They no longer find any space where it is possible to work out a point of view and to establish the shape of the future that should be built. This space existed before 10 May. It was provided by that large opposition party whose faults the intelligentsia measures without any illusion but some of whose very rare qualities it appreciated.

In fact the PS was everything except a monolithic party, regardless of how monarchical its structure might be and how bureaucratic its mechanism. Every socialist trend coexisted in it in some way or another: Leninists and libertarians, Marxists and Christians, partisans of state control and those in favor of self-administration. Alongside the habitual apparatchiks and professional politicians, the PS--and the PS alone--had among its members capable of becoming a minister men and women with new, original thinking: the Attali and Delors, Pisaní and Badinter, Jeannette Laot and Evelyne Sullerot, and so on. No other party had as much gray matter and exercised so strong an attraction on the university, technical, scientific, artistic, literary intelligentsia.

Owing to the PS, this intelligentsia was able, in all its components and on every level, to believe for 5 years that it was not useless to invent, to reflect, to discuss. The socialist opposition was the ready-to-hand outlet for this production of ideas. Owing even to the multiplicity of its trends, the PS, in some one or another of its components, remained open to proposals

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and to the new forces: to nationalitarian, feminist consumer movements; to groups or clubs representing the school, medicine, the city, the press, labor, free time, and so on.

There no longer is much left of that abundance of militant ideas and energy. The leftist intelligentsia is now an orphan. Because as soon as the government was installed in office, the PS--decapitated--slammed its door shut in its face. The often innovative and imaginative policies that the party's committees had worked out on planning, enterprise, health, agriculture, energy, industry, consumption, and so on have almost all been shelved indefinitely. The party no longer reflects, proposes or works out. Its best brains, the ones who had ensured its opening to new ideas, are almost all in government office. Debate no longer takes place except in closed meetings of a few "big brains." The party has become the conveyor belt of the executive branch or, as its top leaders tell it constantly, "the intermediary of government action." Realize that it is responsible for "explaining" government action, that is to say for justifying it and for "mobilizing opinion" in favor of it.

Because the PS has thus become an instrument of power, the intelligentsia is left to one side, reduced to unemployment, if not to silence. Where, when, with whom can it still reflect and discuss on the construction of a new society? Today, just like yesterday, the government, and the government alone, works out and implements its policies. It has a monopoly of conception, of decision and, of course, of expertise. When it is pressed, it refuses to have debates arranged in the country or between experts with contrary opinions. It prefers to consult experts of its own choosing in the secrecy of its offices, and then decide on its line in accordance with criteria known to no one. The party, constantly violated and short-circuited, has been reduced to making its existence known by means of demonstrations of ill humor that often are demagogic. In the absence of public debates (for which Parliament is not necessarily the best place), the stakes or the nature of the various possible options are never clarified. The government's choices are still unexplainable with regard to the overall plan underlying them.

Where are we going? What society, what manner of living, what kind of civilization does the government intend to set up under cover of its reference to socialism? Does it only know? Does it see beyond its short-term objectives? Does it sometimes sacrifice strategy to tactics, settle problems in terms of secret struggles between cliques, rather than in terms of basic stakes?

These questions float around in every private conversation. Suspicion is setting in: what is being concealed from us? Is not refusal to engage in any debate motivated basically by a concern for removing the differences between PS and PC, or for preventing them from coming out into broad daylight? Are not the first statement by Cheysson on Poland, Mauroy's statement at Cambrai on Siberian gas, Jospin's extreme discretion on his meeting with Marchais explained by this?

But if that is the game, who wins in it? By dint of wanting to "occupy" the PC's ground, is not the PS in the process of losing what made its specificity and its characteristic image? It is not certain that the government itself is served, in its action, by a lack of major debates and an abundance of initiatives in enterprises, schools, regions, communes. By setting

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aside everything that does not come by itself, by behaving as if the "change" could only come from on high, the leftist government finds itself settled in that same situation that its best representatives, when they were in the opposition, asserted that they wanted to avoid at all costs: a situation in which the people are led to expect everything from the state and from the state alone. A situation in which, consequently, the people will be prompt in recriminating against the state with regard to everything that does not change, sufficiently or fast enough.

In order to avoid feeding this recrimination and the "claim on the state" that it expresses, it would be necessary for the Keynesian reforms, essentially quantitative and slow in producing their effect, to be accompanied by qualitative reforms that will transform living conditions, social relationships, perception of the future into appreciable areas without delay.

For example, mere ministerial circular letters can give state employees the right to free self-determination of their work time (annual, monthly, weekly) and their hours, a right that will increase employment and will open up to labor union assemblies very ample room for self-management of time, working conditions and distribution of tasks, without costing anyone anything.

Mere circular letters can specify new quality standards for products in general use, standards specified in collaboration with consumer associations, finally called on to participate in determining products.

Mere circular letters also can create--especially in building and particularly in public buildings and the HLM [Low-cost Housing Program]--sizeable markets for materials that economize energy, among others, markets with regard to which hundreds of enterprises will be encouraged to equip themselves, to hire, to conclude contracts and programs, and so on. There is no use in urging industry to hire personnel and to invest, if, first of all, objectives for further growth, the nature and quantities of the products to be provided are not planned.

As long as the plane of quantitative, that is to say burdensome, measures is remained on, the limits of possibility are quickly reached, while the expectations and possibilities of outbidding tactics are limitless. It will be impossible ever to make enough, if the principle that "more" is "better" is used as a basis. The PCF is well aware of who has set a date by immediately demanding more nationalizations, more nuclear powerplants, more estate taxes, and so on. With regard to this quantitative dispute, the PS will continue to be embarrassed, torn between demagogic outbidding by some and the moderating "realism" of others, if it does not show concretely that "better" is not merely more. "Better living" is also and especially "living and working otherwise." In order to be successful in this demonstration, the party will, however, have to exist by itself, carried by a great movement whose carrier it will also know how to be.

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POLITICAL

SPAIN

ERRATUM: The following is a corrected version of an article originally published on pages 18-24 in JPRS L/10420 of 29 March 1982, FOUO 20/82 of this series.

OPPOSITION TO ETA'S 'REVOLUTIONARY TAXES' STIFFENS

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 1 Feb 82 pp 18-21

[Text] After enduring the most spectacular process of economic ruin in the recent history of Western Europe, the Basque nationalist leaders, under pressure by a large part of their party members and sympathizers, and especially by the 4,000 victims of extortion by ETA terrorists, who will have to pay, in France, a total amount greater than 15 billion pesetas, have started open warfare against the terrorist organization. Town by town, village by village. It is the rebellion of the victims that on 26 January, when 20 days had elapsed since his kidnaping, they had their most dramatic symbol in industrialist Jose Lipperheide.

In a desperate attempt, the ETA military terrorists replied with new assaults, with explosives and gunfire against the brave persons ready to challenge them and not to pay a cent. Bravery against extortion. But the fact that historical dynamics is working against the assassins disguised as revolutionary politicians is demonstrated by the fact of a lack of support among the Basque society, as Mario Fernandez himself, new vice president of the autonomous government of Vitoria analyzed in his interview granted to CAMBIO 16: "In order to organize a proamnesty demonstration or one on behalf of a specific hunger strike, they have to stand with a poster in front of those of us who came out of the Athletic-Royal Society soccer game 2 weeks ago in Bilbao, and organize a demonstration in this way. Otherwise, 200 or 300 persons in the duty shift go on demonstrations that weekend."

In summary, Xavier Arzallus himself answered ETA's challenge with a categorical: If ETA wants fear, there will be fear for all!

The declaration of total war made by the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and the autonomous government of Vitoria against ETA, mobilizing the population against the acts of economic extortion, brought to the surface the real background of the Basque problem: the existence of a hard class struggle with the force of arms.

ETA's number one objective is, and has been, the impoverishment of the Basque Country. Over 3 million citizens in that community have undergone, directly or indirectly, as personal witnesses of history, the most spectacular process of economic ruin in Western Europe in the last few decades.

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Four thousand professional men, businessmen, financiers, small merchants, civil servants all over the Basque country have been intimidated into paying a total amount: greater than 15 billion pesetas.

Each demand ranged between 3 and 20 million: "If you do not deliver it within the specified time, we shall seek you out to execute you," the message from the terrorists concludes.

The request for the so-called revolutionary tax includes another sentence that extends the arm of terrorism to other continents: "If you notify the police, or any kind of setback whatsoever occurs in delivery, you will also be executed wherever you may be, even if you leave Europe."

In recent years, the terrorized victims went in person or sent intermediaries to the French Basque towns of St. Jean de Luz, Biarritz or Bayonne to pay the tribute of fear to "Senor Otxia" in used banknotes with unconnected serial numbers. This was the most tangible proof of the impunity with which ETA terrorism operates in the south of France. Billions in illicit money that is "laundered" later in French agencies or other foreign centers.

But this extortion has touched bottom. In view of the internal and public rebellion by the victims, the PNV and Basque government leaders have said enough! to this economic bloodletting by facing up to the reign of terror by weapons.

With the call by lendakari [president] Carlo Garaikoetxea "not to be intimidated or give in to extortion" and a unanimous reaction by the people who gathered in their districts, places of work, associations and public opinion media, two victims of the "revolutionary tax," the mayors of Guecho and Santurce, put out the watchword: "We shall not pay."

"It would be a morale boost for me," Jose Antonio Loidi, mayor of Santurce, said, while his colleague from Guecho, Dr Urretxua, stated: "I believe that in that way my stand can serve as an example to encourage the others."

Indignation in the batzokis (PNV houses) of the towns was evident. "If something happens to our mayor, we shall respond." These reactions aloud were repeated in a number of public establishments in Algorta, as a watchword that "he who wants to be informed, take note."

In this atmosphere, the PNV municipal boards all over the area met in the party's building in Algorta. Over 100 representatives of the party approved unanimously a note representing, because of its harshness, a definite war communique against ETA. Finally, the Basques were taking a hard stand.

In this communique, after asking the extortion victims to make their name known, the municipal boards of the eight towns stated that "social justice travels on paths other than assassination, extortion and terror."

Nevertheless, the last point in the communique was the most definite one, because the threat became a counterthreat against ETA and its collaborators: "We point out, the eighth point stated, "that we all know each other; in the Basque Country and very especially in the towns, and we know who is who, who

are in agreement with those methods and who abstain when there is a proposal to reject this reprehensible recourse."

Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity]

In view of these words, those who live in the Basque Country or who are familiar with the reality of the problem know that the warning was addressed to the members of the Herri Batasuna extreme left nationalist coalition and to its spokesmen, who, on many occasions, refused to condemn this kind of action by ETA terrorism. And that it is not merely going to be words. There will be something more.

This was realized by Mario Fernandez himself, who stated, in an interview granted to CAMBIO 16: "I have the feeling that there is an overwhelming majority absolutely in agreement (not to pay). Some of them even, with that voluntarism typical of our party, will probably be ready to put the last sentence in that statement by the municipal boards into practice."

This firm stand ran through the Basque Country like powder. In some towns, like Orozco, the threat, although verbal, was transmitted directly to persons sympathizing with ETA. Persons who up to now had kept silent about the threatening messages were now commenting to their friends and were revealing them, in spite of family annoyance. Of the 4,000 persons affected by the tax, not all were industrial magnates or Neguri businessmen.

Thus, in Algorta, it was learned that a former dentist, a gudaris (Basque fighters) captain during the [civil] war, a foreman, an industrialist, two physicians, several merchants, and so on, had been victims of extortion by the terrorist organization. Four physicians in the Portugaleta clinic were affected. The surprise was great in nationalist circles. "What, he too? But he has been a party member all his life!

With its veto on the revolutionary tax and its severe condemnation of ETA, the party presided by Xabier Arzallus and the Basque government have declared open war against ETA members, playing the most severe and most difficult game in its recent history. A war that does not evade many risks, including physical risks, that PNV is ready to assume. Attacks with explosives on Guipuzcoa industrialists or the shooting of a San Sebastian businessman within the space of a few hours, in connection with failure to pay the revolutionary tax, were proof of the nature of these risks.

"We cannot leave the mayor alone now," a well-known attorney in Guecho said. "His stand must be extended to the whole Basque Country. Those who are brave enough to make their rejection public merit the support of all the people. Public support and with names."

In this connection, the PNV will have to have its own party members who still are paying the tax decide bravely to refuse. It must be condemned, as the mayors of Guecho and Santurce have done and the furtive border passages must be used only for traditional tourism.

Meanwhile, a new slogan has emerged in the Basque Country using the statement by a businessman, Jose Maria Vizcaino, president of the Guipuzcoa employers association Adegui. The slogan "Not to pay is more abertzale" [nationalistic, patriotic] has begun to spread around.

For a long time, the PNV was accused of ambiguous respect for the point of view of ETA, in spite of some sporadic condemnatory statements. Suddenly, it has launched forth in an open war against terrorism. It is increasing its statements. It is organizing its members and it is criticizing both branches of ETA severely and openly. What has happened?

The reply comes from attorney Mario Fernandez, the new vice president of the autonomous Basque government: "In recent times, terrorism, and particularly the revolutionary tax, have been contributing considerably to the deterioration of the economic situation of the Basque Country.

"Therefore," Mario Fernandez adds, "the revolutionary tax not only does not protect the interests of the Basque working people, as is said customarily in those cyclostyle communiques that ETA is accustomed to issuing, but, rather, it directly harms the Basque Country workers."

For the right arm of Garaikoetxea, the challenge hurled against the ETA now by the Basque government cannot serve for seeking, in this attitude, an individual physical protection of all the recipients of a threat or coercion by the ETA terrorist organization.

"I believe that what the Basque government has taken on the commitment to lead must be a reaction of public opinion," Mario Fernandez states, mentioning the assassination of engineer Ryan as the people's first massive reaction. This event served both to weaken the terrorist organization and the political groups that may be more or less defending their stands."

That is true. The murder of the Lemonz engineer Jose Maria Ryan, that occurred on 6 February--a year ago now--gave rise to a general strike and large-scale demonstrations by the people--like the one at the portal--against ERA terrorism in the Basque Country.

During that day, 9 February 1981, 300,000 persons demonstrated in the three Basque capitals, in a meeting held by political and labor union forces like the PNV, PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], PC, Euskadiko Ezkerra [Basque Left], CCOO [Workers Commissions], UGT [General Union of Workers, ELA-STV [Basque Workers Solidarity] and with the support of UCD [Democratic Center Union] and AP [Popular Alliance]. Nationalist leaders, like Xabier Arzallus himself, socialists Nicolas Redondo and Txiki Benegas, or communists Mario Onaindia, Roberto Lerchundi and Marcelino Camacho, were in the large demonstration on that day in Bilbao, under the umbrellas that covered the crowd from the rain.

The Euskadiko Ezkerra deputy stated categorically, in the capital of Guipuzcoa: "Today I say without any scruples that they are few, but with fascist methods. Fascism has been in the streets of San Sebastian, without uniform, shielded by the acronym HB (Herri Batasuna)."

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Twelve months later, a Vizcaya industrialist, Jose Lipperheide, lived minutes and seconds in the clutches of ERA between life and death, because he refused to pay the revolutionary tax.

In that lengthy situation of dramatism, in which sectors close to PNV and Euskadiko Ezkerra maintained, sadly, until Wednesday that ETA military would finally kill Lipperheide "regardless of how much negotiation," the family was still awaiting proof that he was alive, while the kidnapers revealed that solution of this kidnaping presented more problems than the kidnaping of Dr Iglesias Puga.

The senseless action by ETA political-military in the kidnaping of the father of the world famous singer Julio Iglesias, as well as the subsequent discovery of a sizable arsenal of weapons by the police in the Vizcaya town of Erandio, gave rise to conflicting reactions.

In spite of the fact that the political-military organization of ETA announced in its communique, after the freeing of Dr Iglesias by the police, that the kidnaping did not imply a breaking of the truce and that they had perpetrated it only for economic purposes, fear that the terrorist organization is returning to its old tricks has alarmed the Basque Country and the Madrid authorities.

The statements by Mario Onaindia, leader of Euskadiko Ezkerra, who is playing a key role in the process of pacification, who made a statement with an optimistic note after his interview with the minister of the Interior, Juan Jose Roson in Madrid last week, were not entirely shared in Basque circles.

"I believe that there is a political desire by the ETA p-m [political-military] and by the government to maintain the positive dynamics originated by the truce and acts like the return of political prisoners to the Basque Country might be the basis for continuing on that course toward normalization," Mario Onaindia said.

Masters of Terror

The ETA members have graduated as professors of terrorism, training other European groups that are part of the staff of "international terrorism." An INTERPOL official informed CAMBIO 16 that last December the strategic leadership of what constitutes the International of terrorism met in the Swiss city of Lausanne:

The Italian Red Brigades, the Fraction of the German Red Army, the Irish IRA, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and ETA.

INTERPOL is sure that the wave of attacks on United States diplomats and senior military officers was discussed in the meeting.

At the same time, it is obvious that the terrorist assembly was the result of public invitations drawn up by several of the attending organizations to coordinate their activity against the European democratic governments.

One of the immediate results of this collaboration was the arrest by the Italian police of a Syrian citizen who was transporting detonators and explosives intended for the Red Brigades.

Apparently, the connection with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine extremists is what ensures the supply of Soviet-made rocket launchers and grenades, used by the leading guerrilla groups in Europe.

The increasing part being played by ETA in the terrorist International was also revealed with the statements by a "repentant" [terrorist], Fernando Valiche, leader of the First Line organization.

The historic trial of the commander of this organization, taking place in Milan, made it possible to become acquainted with a memorandum from Valiche in which he revealed that Gianantonio Zanetti was made responsible for establishing connections with ETA.

In June 1978, Gianantonio Zanetti went to Spain and made an agreement with ETA on the holding of training courses for members of First Line, the Communist Fighters Formations and other terrorist groups in what is known, as a whole, as "armed party" of Italy, that is to say, organizations basically in agreement on confronting the democratic state violently.

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GENERAL

FRANCE

TRAINING, MISSION OF JOINT SPACE FLIGHT WITH SOVIETS OUTLINED

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French Oct 81 pp 37-38

[Article by Pierre Langereux: "First French Astronaut to Fly at End of June 1982"]

[Text] The first French astronaut will fly aboard a Soviet spacecraft about the middle of next year, between June and August, most probably toward the end of June 1982. He will be launched together with two Soviets, aboard a Soyuz T spacecraft which will rendezvous with the orbital station in which they will stay for 1 week in orbit at about 250 km above the earth. The station will be either the Salyut 6 now in orbit, or more probably a new Salyut 7 which is scheduled to be launched at the start of 1982.

The station will be manned initially by a "primary crew" who are tentatively scheduled to be launched around February 1982. This crew will consist of two Soviet cosmonauts who will effect a flight of long duration, but of less than 6 months, according to Vladimir Chatalov, head of the cosmonauts. The duration of the flight will be set before their departure by officials of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as is customary, V. Chatalov disclosed. But in the case of flights of long duration, it is only after 1 month in orbit that the actual duration of the mission is finally decided, with a lead time of 5 to 10 days approximately.

This primary crew will be joined near the end of June 1982 by a "visiting crew" consisting of two Soviet cosmonauts and the first French astronaut. At this point and for the first time, there will be five persons aboard a Salyut spacecraft. Until now, the Soviet Salyut 6 station has been occupied by no more than four persons at any one time.

The two Franco-Soviet crews, who have been in training since 6 September 1981, are now training at City of the Stars, where we met them at the official introduction on 19 October organized by the CNES [National Center for Space Studies] and Intercosmos (see AIR ET COSMOS No 878).

The "titular crew," who have been designated as the first to lift off, consists of Aviation Commander Yuri Malychev, 4 [as published], flight commander; Engineer Alexandre Ivantchenkov, 41, flight engineer; and Jean-Loup Chretien, 43,

astronaut-experimenter. We recall that Y. Malychev piloted Soyuz T2, the first of the new spacecraft to be launched with crew, and that A. Ivantchenkov, passenger aboard Soyuz 29 [as published], flew aboard Salyut 6 for a period of 140 days.

The "standby crew," who will replace the titular crew in case of failure of the latter, consists of Col Leonid Kizim, 40, flight commander; Vladimir Soloviov, 35, flight engineer; and Patrick Baudry, 35, astronaut-experimenter. L. Kizim took part aboard Soyuz T3 in the new spacecraft's first three-man flight. V. Soloviov is a new astronaut selected in 1977. Upon graduation in 1970 from the Bauman Advanced Technical School in Moscow, he worked first in the Space Studies Bureau headed by Academician Sergei Korolev, then returned to the Space Operations Center as a rocket propulsion specialist. He is married and the father of two children. His father was an aeronautical test engineer.

The detailed mission plan will be set up tentatively at the end of November 1981. The two Franco-Soviet crews will undergo an initial flight-readiness examination at the end of January 1982 administered by the Control Committee of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A second examination will take place 1 month before the flight to designate the crew to be sent into space.

The present designation of one as the titular crew and the other as the standby crew notwithstanding, the chances of flying of each of the Franco-Soviet crews are about equal. In case of failure or accident on the part of one of the members of the titular crew, the entire crew would, in principle, be changed. But, according to Gen Georgi Beregovoi, commander of City of the Stars, it is entirely possible that only one of the members may be replaced. It has already happened once that an entire crew has had to be replaced, and several times that one of the members of a primary crew has had to be, because of illness or accident. Thus, Soviet Cosmonaut Valeri Rioumine, holder of the world's space flight record (362 days) had to be sent into space a second time in the place of Valentin Lebediev, who had suffered a knee injury.

For the moment, the two Franco-Soviet crews are pursuing their practical training which began 1 and 1/2 months ago with a 1-week survival exercise in the North Sea off the coast of Feodosia, to familiarize themselves with the procedure for a forced landing at sea. Unlike previous Soyuz's, the new Soyuz spacecraft is designed to be able to put down on land as well as at sea. The landing point can thus be displaced by some 1,000 km from the planned one in case of necessity.

The two French astronauts have also taken part in weightless-simulation exercises aboard the new IL76 laboratory plane, which enables the effecting of some 15 simulations (by way of power dives followed by climbs), whereas the previous Tu-104 provided only up to five simulations and for shorter durations. During these flights, the astronauts train to move about inside a full-scale model of the Soyuz T cabin installed in the fuselage of the plane. Further such flights are scheduled for the spring of 1982.

This training was supplemented by other exercises in survival on land, simulating landings in swamps and on lakes, with recovery by helicopter. The crews will also undergo winter training near Moscow, and not in Siberia as is customary. Actually,

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the flight of the Franco-Soviet crew is scheduled to take place in summer and, theoretically, survival training under mountain or extreme cold conditions is not necessary. Throughout their training, the French astronauts are monitored by an appointed military physician, Dr Sergei Ponomariov, a specialist in the training of astronauts, who has worked at the City of the Stars over the past 11 years.

But to date, the training of the French astronauts has been highly satisfactory. Chretien and Baudry are very good candidates, self-disciplined, meticulous, punctual and hard-working, according to the officials of City of the Stars. Moreover, their qualification as military pilots and their training as test pilots enable them to rapidly assimilate knowledge of the Soyuz T spacecraft and its handling. In principle, however, the French astronaut will not be called upon to pilot the Soyuz T; that is the function of the flight commander. Nevertheless, in case of difficulties, each of the passengers aboard the Soyuz T must be capable of manually piloting the spacecraft, designed, though it is, to be flown normally in the automatic mode with the help of the on-board computer.

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GENERAL

FRANCE

BRIEFS

FUTURE SPACE PROJECTS WITH SOVIETS--French officials are desirous of having French astronauts participate in further space flights after the first one, which is scheduled to take place in mid-1982 with, in principle, Jean-Loup Chretien aboard. This would make it possible for "standby" astronaut Patrick Baudry to take part in a space flight and would, above all, enable a continuation of Franco-Soviet space cooperation at a very interesting level. The head of the CNES [National Center for Space Studies] expressed his interest officially in continuing joint space flights during the recent Franco-Soviet talks at Rodez (France). Soviet officials have not yet replied officially to this French proposal. In fact, they probably will not do so until after the completion of the first joint flight. But those whom we met during our visit to Moscow are rather favorable to the idea. Gen Georgi Beregovoi, commander of City of the Stars, thinks "the cooperation that has begun in this domain cannot be stopped." Professor Eugene Choulgenko, director of space biomedicine in the Ministry of Public Health, also thinks that "future joint flights would represent a consolidation of Franco-Soviet cooperation." France can indeed provide support to the USSR in the field of biomedical instrumentation for manned space flights. This is already the case with the blood-echography equipment, which will be used for the first time in space on the first Franco-Soviet flight. This equipment has elicited a great deal of interest on the part of Soviet officials who are desirous of using it for further experiments on flights of long duration. [By Pierre Langereux] [Text] [Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 31 Oct 81 p 39] [COPYRIGHT: A. & C. 1981] 9238

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