

## NATO Coup Threat in Italy Spurs Gaullists On

PARIS, May 1 (IPS) — The continuing political crisis in Italy, and widespread agreement in France with the ICLC's warning of an imminent Atlanticist-directed coup in that country have led to tremendous intensification of the Gaullist organizing drive in France over the past two weeks. At this point, a military coup across the Alps would simply propel Michel Debré, Michel Jobert, Alexandre Sanguinetti and other Gaullist "barons" to the forefront and precipitate the immediate formation of the anti-Atlanticist "public safety" government for which they have been building since the beginning of the year.

All current intelligence points to the fact that the Gaullists have recaptured decisive political control of the French capitalist class (after an 18-month period during which the Atlanticist forces led by President Giscard d'Estaing seemingly succeeded in bringing France back into line with Wall Street's policies) and are making considerable headway in their attempt to take control of the "White Communist" united left parties led by Socialist Party (SP) First Secretary François Mitterrand and Communist Party (PCF) General Secretary Georges Marchais.

The final death-knell for Giscard's Wall Street-inspired Zero Growth economic and social "reforms" was sounded by leading industrial capitalist spokesmen this week.

On April 28, Jacques Ferry and Yvon Chotard, both vice presidents of the French employers' association, the CNPF, attacked the government's much-touted VIIth Economic Plan for its "incoherence" and insufficient industrial growth projections over the next few years, and made their own the development-oriented, anti-inflationary "incomes policy" advocated for months by former Prime Minister and leading Gaullist spokesman Michel Debré. Ferry further endorsed Debré's call for priority development of a "family policy" to reverse France's declining birth-rate, and demanded that a capital-intensive industrial program be immediately put forward by the government.

Not only did Ferry and Chotard thus rebuff Prime Minister Chirac's attempt to re-introduce the corporatist slave-labor economic policies of Marshall Pétain's infamous World War II Vichy regime, but they also directly notified Wall Street that the CNPF employers will not tolerate the subjugation of French industry to the Atlanticists' perceived self-interest.

In Ferry's case, this is a spectacular reversal. In early 1974, he led the handful of French industrialists then committed to the Rockefellers' fascist policy of "industrial redeployment" from the advanced sector to the Third World, and introduced the early phase of Giscard's deindustrialization program in the metals sector.

Although prompted in part by the international monetary crisis and the continuous economic bungling of the Giscard government, the CNPF's policy reversal was significantly encouraged by the Gaullists' decisive political motion in the previous week. On April 22, Debré and former Foreign Minister Jobert launched a mutually complementary offensive against Giscard, making it clear that they will not stop their organizing drive until their political tendency has regained control over all government policies.

### The Barons Speak

In his weekly newsletter to the members of his center-left

Movement of Democrats, Jobert outlined how, in the face of growing popular opposition to the Giscard-Chirac team, it is still possible for the government to save itself by implementing the necessary emergency employment and economic development program. It does not matter, said Jobert, if for a while the government majority is de facto reduced to a minority in public opinion polls, provided the correct policies are courageously put forth and implemented, as they will sooner or later rally the bulk of the population.

The same day, Debré openly proposed in the pages of the Paris evening newspaper *Le Monde* that the left-wing Socialist and Communist parties be associated to the conduct of government, as this would be the only way to carry out the required incomes and employment policies. As Debré is generally known to be a tough-minded right-winger in France, it did not take the shocked Atlanticists long to recognize that his call for a "public safety" national unity government in alliance with the left was tantamount to endorsing Jobert as France's next Prime Minister. Jobert, who refused to endorse the presidential candidacy of Giscard d'Estaing in 1974, and has since constantly criticized both Giscard and his renegade Gaullist Prime Minister Chirac, is regarded by the hard-core Gaullists as a younger generation "natural heir" to late presidents De Gaulle and Pompidou, and as an important potential ally by the left!

The next day, journalist and Giscard relative Alfred Fabre-Luce attacked Jobert in the columns of the conservative *Le Figaro* newspaper, and called him "irresponsible" for advocating in the scholarly magazine *Nouvelle Revue des Deux Mondes* that Europe unite itself politically, militarily, monetarily and culturally, but in full independence from the United States. Prior to this, the Atlanticists had affected to contemptuously ignore Jobert's criticisms.

These squawks notwithstanding, the Gaullist steamroller could not be stopped. On April 24, Debré's brother-in-law Yves Guéna was enthusiastically elected Secretary General of the Gaullist UDR party, the major component of Giscard's parliamentary majority, in what the press unanimously described as a victory for the orthodox "barons" over the pro-Atlanticist line of Chirac. In his inaugural speech, Guéna pledged to make again of the UDR a fighting, popular party, and immediately set out to rebuild the UDR's factory and district organizations.

In an interview with IPS, he stated: "I do not at all believe that there is a threat of a Soviet Red Army invasion of France. In my view, the most critical problem we face is political-monetary chaos and the non-convertibility of the dollar into gold"

Since Guéna's election, the Gaullists have multiplied statements of hostility to Giscard's policies, concentrating on his known attempts to phase General de Gaulle's independent nuclear "force-de-frappe" into the Atlanticists' NATO arsenal. Indications are that the Gaullists will make this an issue at the upcoming parliamentary debate on the defense budget and programs, and may choose to precipitate a vote of no-confidence in Chirac's government, which would force Giscard to call new elections.

### Pro-Soviet Stance

Retired French air force general Gallois, who is generally

known as the most brilliant French strategist of the post-war period, reaffirmed all the principles of the Gaullist defense posture in a radio interview April 26, including the refusal of France's integration into NATO, total rejection of the Schlesinger doctrine of "limited" nuclear warfare, and the continued "multi-polar" targeting of French nuclear weapons — i.e. not particularly aimed at the Warsaw Pact forces, but at all potential aggressors. A Jobert associate, General Binoche, concretized these views in an interview with the Italian magazine *Europeo* this week: "I've never seen any Russian soldiers parade down the Champs-Élysées, but I have seen a lot of Germans do so."

This viciously anti-Atlanticist and tacit pro-Soviet stance was further expressed by Gallois and "baron" Alexandre Sanguinetti when they were asked to comment on the death of Soviet Marshal Grechko. While the former strongly stressed the professional and psychological "stability" of the Red Army staff — in implicit contrast with the "unbalanced" NATO headquarters — Sanguinetti boldly stated that "Grechko was a just and moral man, both personally and in military affairs."

#### And the PCF....

One of the most important aspects of the Gaullists' renewed thrust for an independent French national defense is their deliberate attempt to rally the PCF to their views, so as to neutralize both Giscard and the pro-Atlanticist leadership layers around Mitterrand in the SP. At a symposium on defense held ten days ago by Gaullist general Buis, PCF defense specialist Louis Baillet stated that his party "acknowledges the existence of France's strategic nuclear force." This line, reiterated in a radio interview yesterday by Marchais, represents a reversal of past PCF policy. The French Communists, while previously sympathetic to the Gaullists' anti-NATO stance, had always refused to endorse the force-de-frappe.

There are numerous indications that the "convergence" between the PCF and the Gaullists involves other issues than defense. The Communists recently endorsed an emergency program for the moribund French aerospace industry introduced by Gaullist parliamentarian Lucien Neuwirth. The

Communist-controlled CGT trade-union is reportedly conducting parallel demonstrations to the UDR in defense of the supersonic jetliner Concorde. In a complete change of line, the financial daily *Les Echos* now praises the "sense of responsibilities" of the CGT, contrasting it to the often adventurist actions of the anarcho-sindicalist CFTD.

There is also evidence that the emerging Gaullist-PCF axis is beginning to wreak havoc within the SP leadership. Today's *Le Monde* reports that Mitterrand's lieutenant and Mayor of Lille, Pierre Mauroy, came out endorsing an industrialization program similar to the one advocated by Debré April 29. Other reports indicate that a potential split is shaping up among the Socialists: in the course of an SP executive meeting this week, Mauroy and others accused Mitterrand and his tendency of monopolizing party administrative posts. This is the first sign of tension registered within the Socialist leadership since the party's foundation in 1971.

#### And Nero Fiddles

Meanwhile, Giscard and his acolytes are doing their best to kill in the egg the emerging anti-Atlanticist, Gaullist-led national unity coalition. Yesterday, Interior Minister Ponia-towski introduced a new bill in parliament which would eliminate from the second round of all legislative elections all candidates who did not receive at least 15 per cent of the registered vote in the first round. This is carefully calculated to eliminate PCF candidates and bring about an SP landslide. A SP-dominated parliament would enable Giscard to appoint an Atlanticist SP-led government, without the PCF or Gaullist impediment.

Aside from this threat, Atlanticist spokesmen like *L'Express* editor Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber moot that Giscard will call for early legislative elections if his "tax on speculative gains," uniformly denounced by the left and capitalist circles for its unjust provisions, is defeated in parliament in two weeks. Giscard has reportedly threatened to withdraw support from the UDR members who refuse to vote for his bill. However, this does not faze the Gaullists in the least — a majority of UDR deputies now consider that a Giscard endorsement is "a liability" in the eyes of their electorate.

*Exclusive IPS Translation: Excerpts from Jobert's Program for Europe*

## Gaullist Leader Jobert Calls for End of Atlanticist Domination of Europe

*NEW YORK May 1 (IPS) — The following are excerpts from an article published in the May 1976 issue of L'Nouvelle Revue des Deux Mondes, a French scholarly and political monthly headed by Gaston Palewski, a Gaullist member of France's Supreme Court, the Conseil constitutionnel. Michel Jobert, after a long career as an inspector of the state's finances, became known when he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by then Prime Minister Pierre Messmer (1972-1974). He was instrumental in operating a rapprochement between France and Great Britain, and in opening the door to British membership in the European Economic Community (EEC). Throughout his tenure as foreign minister, he always emphasized the necessity for the Atlantic Alliance "to have two pillars of equal strength: the*

*United States and Europe." His repeated stress on this issue occasioned open clashes between himself and leading Atlanticists like U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the then West German Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt. Since the 1974 presidential elections in France, which resulted in the victory of pro-Atlanticist Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Jobert has been a consistent critic of the government of renegade Gaullist Jacques Chirac, primarily on domestic issues. His Revue des Deux Mondes article sanctions his return to an active role in the foreign policy arena.*

#### 1. Anaesthesia

Surgeons are luckier than politicians: When they operate, they do not have to worry about their patient's opinion, the