

Carter is offered a triumvirate for progress

Guadeloupe summit cracks the Anglo-American 'special relationship'

French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing probably did not need any confirmation of his success in recent months as a strategist whose foreign policy initiatives have contributed to prospects for world peace. But if he did, the results of the Guadeloupe summit meeting—between himself, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, President Carter, and Prime Minister Callaghan—provided it. The French leader had organized the summit with the intention of asserting Franco-German policy hegemony over the uncertain Jimmy Carter, and, in so doing, launch a Franco-German-American “triumvirate” which would drive a wedge through the Anglo-American “special relationship” and certify the policy-isolation of Great Britain. Following the summit, most European press, from France's conservative *France-Soir*, to the Italian Communist Party's *Unita*, agreed that the Guadeloupe meeting had indeed cracked the Anglo-American alliance, and marked the emergence of France and West Germany in world affairs at the expense of the British.

The outcome of Guadeloupe, as Giscard outlined it, is an agreement on four priority tasks for the immediate period, following along the lines of his Jan. 1 New Year's address in which peace and detente figured prominently. The first priority: disarmament—early completion of the SALT treaty, and a Pan-European disarmament conference for which France has been organizing since last fall. Second: agreement on an aid package for Turkey which is being construed as a blow to the IMF-imposed austerity and the orchestrated religious destabilization of that country. Third: the stabilization and economic development of the Third World, which came under the loose but suggestive rubric of “resuming the North-South dialogue.” Fourth and finally — with the minor difficulty of the compensatory amount problem settled with Chancellor Schmidt, Giscard confidently set Jan. 31 as the official date for establishment of the European Monetary System. This marked—as predicted by French radio—the defeat of Callaghan's attempt to organize President Carter against the ECU, the new European currency.

The new triumvirate

Before the Summit even began, pro-British forces in the U.S. were looking with horror at the impending French

success: in the Jan. 5 *New York Times*, Paris correspondent Flora Lewis spoke of Giscard resurrecting the late President de Gaulle's old “triumvirate” notion, boosting a Franco-German axis to alter European-American relations, forcing Carter to face world realities in the way the Europeans do, and realizing his pledge to leave Britain behind economically and politically.

Lewis's recollection of de Gaulle's 1958 bid to break up the Anglo-American relationship was no quirk. De Gaulle wrote a secret memorandum to the United States and Great Britain in 1958 in which he stated that France's obvious role as a major power meant that de Gaulle should be included in the British-American NATO command. The British bristled at what amounted to letting the proverbial fox into their NATO chicken coop, and the suggestion was rejected. Upon this de Gaulle announced France's withdrawal from NATO and the launching of her own nuclear *force de frappe*, leaving the British-dominated NATO badly outgunned by the European theater Warsaw Pact forces, a world reality up to this day.

At Guadeloupe, it was cold warrior “Woody Woodpecker” Brzezinski who lost his feathers. In the wake of the summit talks there was hardly a newspaper in all of Europe that did not report either Schmidt or Giscard's reprobation of Brzezinski's wild encouragement and support to London's provocative foreign policy schemes at the summit, the so-called China card played when Callaghan provocatively announced Britain's proposed Harrier fighter sale to China — and the Iran destabilization, as endangering world peace.

Schmidt also reacted strongly to Carter's indifferent attitude towards the Harrier sale, reported the French daily *Le Figaro* and major Italian and West German dailies. Schmidt pointed out, said the international press, that such sales endanger world stability because they are construed as an anti-Soviet, antidetente initiative. The Chancellor urged the U.S. to make its recognition of China a means to enforce peace and trade with all nations, and not use it as a provocative, geopolitical ploy. Giscard's comment on the Brzezinski and British provocations was sharp and weighty: “Legitimate recognition of world realities should be accompanied by efforts to improve the world situation.” The Czechoslovak daily *Rude Pravo*

picked up his remarks as an attack on Brzezinski's "academic theorizing in world affairs."

Callaghan suffered a final humiliation at Guadeloupe in regard to his attempts to organize Carter into a new "Camp David" on Rhodesia. The French daily *Le Matin* reported that Carter understandably "made a face"—considering the mess the first Camp David has already created. Meanwhile, *Le Monde* ran an editorial picking on Giscard's talk about "Zimbabwe" in his New Year's speech, a sure confirmation, following the evacuation of French nationals from Rhodesia, that the French expect, and look favorably on, a nationalist offensive to "eliminate the last vestige of colonialism in southern Africa," to use Giscard's New Year's expression.

The decision to provide aid to Turkey is a giveaway that the French Mediterranean strategy is much bigger than what might appear at first sight. The German *Frankfurter Rundschau's* rumblings about a resurgence of the Jobert Grand Mediterranean regional plan—put forward by French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert in 1973 — are to the point: French Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet was recently in Jobert's favorite old stomping grounds, Kuwait, talking about a comprehensive Mideast peace and a regional Arab development fund. British sewers in the U.S., meanwhile, are quietly panicking over the growth of French influence in the Arab world following Camp David and the eruption of the Iran crisis. With the enlargement of the European Community to include Spain, Greece and Portugal, France is negotiating with the oil producing

countries for a European Monetary System-centered Mediterranean "lake of peace and development," from Turkey and Portugal, down to Algeria or the Persian gulf.

The Grand Design is now emerging so clearly that the Soviets are beginning to publicly acknowledge the birth of that giant: writing in *New Times* this week, Soviet correspondents Felix Goryunov and Valery Lokhmachov clearly comprehend that beyond the simple currency stabilization scheme the EMS is often represented to be—even in the European press—there lies an endeavor to rebuild a gold-based monetary system that can bring about economic growth in Europe and large-scale investments in the Third World. *New Times* also insists that East-West trade is an essential aspect of making the EMS a success.

Giscard's road is set: in February he will be in Mexico to help consolidate that country's political and economic role as a major oil producer and a leader of the Third World, a key European ally, and—if sane heads prevail in the Carter Administration—a U.S. ally. In May, after a visit to Soviet President Brezhnev, Giscard has announced he will make a major statement on the "French concept of Europe," as the European Monetary System and Europe's role in the world will then have reached full maturity—possibly indicating that in Giscard's mind the Grand Design has four more months of gestation before becoming known as the law of the world.

—Garance Phau

Press on the summit: De Gaulle's 'directorate' realized

A broad spectrum of international media reported that the outcome of the Guadeloupe summit was the realization of Charles de Gaulle's 20-year-old dream of an international "directorate" which would effectively end the pernicious Anglo-American relationship. Some key samples:

Louis Foy, *France Soir*, Jan. 9:

Point-a-pitre, Jan. 8 — The happiest one was visibly President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The four power meeting, which the Americans refused to call a "summit" in order not to offend the absentees, finally brought about the "directorate" de Gaulle dreamed about 20 years ago. But, that word is banned since no one dares use it for fear of frightening the others.

For the first time, in the sun of

Guadeloupe, West Germany, which already had been taking part in official meetings for quite a while, this time gained access to a family council of the Western countries.

The family council is no doubt going to be held periodically and the three Europeans will from now on have the opportunity to show the Americans they are not the only masters. They (the U.S.)

the opinions of the others into account in decisions affecting them.

President Carter, who is often aware of his hesitations and his contradictions, was not unhappy to hear opinions other than those of his advisors who too frequently tell him pleasant things. He himself has publicly acknowledged that he had never participated in a meeting that was so

useful to him. (. . .)

China gave rise to the only big fight of that meeting. Mr. Carter and Chancellor Schmidt did not hide from British Prime Minister Callaghan that Great Britain had chosen the worst possible time to announce that it was ready to sell military Harrier planes to China, in the framework of a program of trade exchanges amounting to \$2 billion.

As for the Europeans, they warned Mr. Carter against the danger of trying to play one superpower off against another. . . .

Paris correspondent Augusto Pancaldi, Unita, Jan. 8:

(. . .)

China, Iran, other problems — ed.) were the themes discussed by the four in Guadeloupe (where no economic or monetary questions were discussed), then it seems to us that international detente was furthered. Carter got unanimous support for a rapid con-