

French politics: foiling the trap

Jacques Cheminade, in announcing his candidacy for President of France, exposes the limits of the terms of the political debate in this pivotal nation.

An extremely dangerous trap has been set for our country. It consists in saying: Either you are for national independence and opposed to the "Kohl Europe," or else you are in favor of the Franco-German alliance and against the nation-state. This fake dilemma is intended to paralyze France's contribution to the necessary emergence of a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and could thus deal the death-blow to peace through the common economic development of our continent.

My candidacy for President is intended, in the first place, to expose this trap, putting people on guard against any "Entente Cordiale" with the British financial oligarchy, and defining a policy which is truly fitting to our national mission and not some parody of it. For this purpose, we must start off on the right foot—which none of our politicians is doing: We must first define the essential challenge which has been thrown down to us, and then answer it with the political means history has given us.

The first challenge consists of rejecting an international financial and monetary order which is destroying the real economy and of replacing it with a new order, based on infrastructural buildup and productive investment. Europe, in this shift, should play a model role, and France, with Germany, must become the motor of that Europe. Continental Europe, with its links to Eurasia and Eurafica, has the unique mass of knowledge, of skills, and economic and cultural capacities to be able to serve as the fulcrum of this urgent obligation.

Who opposes this? The same people who control the present monetary and payments system. The statistics of the Bank for International Settlements reveal their identity: Out of total world trading on the stock markets, transactions on the London financial markets account for 34.1%. If you add the two financial offshoots of the Commonwealth, Hongkong and Singapore, you get around 50% of the total, whereas the North American markets have less than 25%. The British financial oligarchy, with its allies in the Eastern Establishment of the United States, do not therefore represent a nation, but a supranational institution based on systematic looting of world resources for their interest payments. The proof is in the fact that in this system, transactions in goods or real services amount to only 2% of transactions on the world exchange markets (this ratio is 0.56% in England), which is

the same as saying that 98% of the shares traded do not correspond to the creation of any real wealth! Quite the contrary, the system lives by looting real wealth, because the logic of short-term returns drives out medium- and long-term productive investment.

With the challenge and the enemy thus identified, let us examine what is happening in political and economic life. These interests are systematically preying on the productive systems of France and Germany—on the "Colbertian" as well as the "Rhinelander" economies.

Developing continental Europe

Margaret Thatcher, in her memoirs, showed clearly that she would stoop to anything to stop German reunification and shut down a development policy for continental Europe. What she did head-on, the Major government is trying to do from the inside, as a Trojan Horse. Already at the end of the 19th century, Britain did its utmost to scuttle plans for peace through economic development in continental Europe, especially those starting from France and passing through Germany, which were shaped by Russia's Count Sergei Witte and France's Gabriel Hanotaux, who foresaw Russia's emergence from isolation. The first Entente Cordiale, as it was conceived in France by Théophile Delcassé,¹ was a weapon against the project for European economic unity.

Closer to the present, has anyone noticed the regular offensive of the near-totality of Anglo-American press against France, especially against the policy of Franco-German entente? In *Forbes* magazine of Aug. 15, Sir Alan Walters, onetime favorite adviser of Thatcher and one of the most determined adversaries of the European Monetary System, goes after our country, inciting the world's investors to pull out their investments. "Remember what happened when the Stavisky affair broke out in December 1933!" cries the British Walters with his American co-author Steve Hanke, of Johns Hopkins University.²

1. Delcassé: French foreign minister 1898-1905; he succeeded Gabriel Hanotaux and crafted the 1904 alliance with Britain known as the Entente Cordiale.

2. The Stavisky affair was the Bayonne municipal credit swindle around Russian-born banker Alexander Stavisky, which was the partial cause of bloody riots in France in February 1934.

Jacques Cheminade, the presidential candidate of the Federation for a New Solidarity, was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1941. An economist and historian, he is the author of several books, including *Regard sur la France républicaine* (*A Look at Republican France*, 1991) and *La France après de Gaulle* (*France after de Gaulle*, 1981).

In 1994, he edited the definitive treatise of Jean Jaurès, *La Réalité du Monde Sensible* (*The Reality of the Perceptible World*), for which he wrote a lengthy introduction.

Cheminade's supporters are currently petitioning to obtain the 500 signatures of French elected officials required to put Cheminade on the presidential ballot for the April elections.

A former student at the prestigious National School of Administration (ENA), Cheminade has experience in public administration as well as in the private sector and political life. Having traveled in France, the United States, and many countries of the Third World, he has had experience which is rare in France, which gives him a view of both the "inside" and the "outside" of the country.

A collaborator and friend of American economist Lyndon LaRouche, he is also a prominent member of the Schiller Institute in France. He writes a political, strategic, and economic newsletter, *Le Commentaire de Jacques Cheminade*. He is also an editorialist for the newspaper *Nouvelle Solidarité*.



Jacques Cheminade

Similar articles have appeared in the *American Spectator*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the London *Economist* and *Financial Times*. All of them denounce an "arrogant" French government, "seized by excess," which has "chosen to be prisoner of German policy" and to disobey the injunctions of speculators. The *Wall Street Journal* accused Jacques Delors and Prime Minister Edouard Balladur of "paranoia" for having "denounced," in August 1993, "a plot by Anglo-Saxon finance against the franc and the European Monetary System." That's an astonishing definition of the word "paranoia": The Anglo-American press unanimously trumpeted France's weakness, and the "non-residents," most of them English and Americans, dumped their French treasury bonds and stocks post-haste. Hence, one would have to admit that reality corresponds to the "paranoia."

Our hereditary foe: British oligarchy

Without entirely understanding the fundamental economic game of this policy, Charles de Gaulle perfectly grasped its geopolitical expression. As quoted in Alain Peyrefitte's *C'Était de Gaulle*: "Our major hereditary enemy was not Germany, it was England. . . . It wants to keep us from leading the Common Market to a good end. It is true that it was our ally in both wars, but it does not naturally tend to

wish us well. For Germany, on the other hand, it is clear that our interests meet and will meet more and more. It needs us, as much as we need it. . . . England will not enter the Common Market until it has repudiated at the same time its imperial dream and its symbiosis with the Americans."

Oh, but, some will say, times have changed, and the Britain of the end of the 19th century is not the Britain of the 1960s. This is perfectly accurate with respect to Britain, but totally false with respect to the British oligarchy, which remains the same as ever. The British oligarchy's primary enemy today is a Germany integrated into a European development program, and a Europe in the process of economic unification. Countless articles in the British press attest to that.

This press, which has already vigorously gone after President Clinton—who is more detached from the British alliance than all his postwar predecessors, with the exception of John Kennedy—has redoubled attacks and slanders since the American President's visit to Germany this past July 10-12. The reason is that during that trip, Clinton elevated Germany, no longer Britain, to the rank of main European partner, and supported a continental development policy resting on the Franco-German alliance. The symbol of this commitment was his meeting with European Commission President

Background: the French presidential elections

Presidential elections are scheduled to take place in France at the end of next April, provided President François Mitterrand is not obliged to step down earlier due to severe health problems. So far, Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, head of the nominally Gaullist party, the Rassemblement Pour la République (RPR), is the only officially declared major candidate, but his bid is strongly opposed within party ranks. His major rival is Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, who belongs to the same party but has more support from the liberal coalition partner, the UDF, of which former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing is a member.

While a victory for the majority candidate seemed certain after the overwhelming defeat of the Socialist Party in the European elections last June, the tables have turned. Some polls now show that if Jacques Delors, current president of the European Commission and probable candidate of the Socialist Party, does run, he would win.

While the right-wing parties, the majority, are tearing themselves apart in internal fights for power, the government is slowly disintegrating. Since last summer, three ministers have resigned over ongoing judicial investigations against them on various charges of corruption, graft, and illegal funding of political parties. This is a result of France's version of the "Clean Hands" anti-corruption campaign, in which Italy's institutions were destroyed in record time. Although initial Socialist Party calls for dissolving the government may be more demagogic than serious, the present government is not likely to last beyond

the year's end.

Meanwhile, the directors of many of France's leading industries and infrastructure suppliers are being targeted by the "Clean Hands" investigations.

The main issue has not been raised by anyone: the imminent financial meltdown and the emergency reconstruction measures which need to be taken. In France, as in other European countries, talk is focusing on the so-called ongoing economic recovery, the inevitability of unemployment, how to cut public spending, and so forth.

Since there is no perspective of growth and of breaking out of the monetarist straitjacket, the debate around Europe is irrelevant. Chirac will try to capitalize on the very strong sentiment in France against the Maastricht Treaty on European union (the referendum ratifying the treaty only passed with 51% of the vote last June), by accusing his probable rival Delors of being a European federalist, which means in favor of a common currency for Europe, a European central bank, and doing away with national sovereignty. Delors is presented by his opponents as the "candidate of Chancellor Kohl," who will subjugate France's interests to those of the "big, bad neighbor" Germany. This all plays into Great Britain's effort to set up a new "Entente Cordiale" with France and to weaken the Franco-German alliance, which goes back to de Gaulle and Adenauer.

What the actual stance of Delors will be on these questions is not clear. He has been head of the European Commission since 1985, and somewhat removed from the French political "pulse." But even if the debate drags on endlessly, everyone agrees in private that the Maastricht Treaty will never be applied, simply because it is a bureaucratic text which in no way takes into account political and economic realities.—Christine Schier

Delors and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Faced with this situation, the British leaders and press attempted by every means to frighten France—"alone" in the face of the German and American "giants," and to make us believe that an "Entente Cordiale" could rhyme with national independence. Jimmy Goldsmith, simultaneously, supports the "nationalism" of a Philippe de Villiers³ and a French version of the "Operation Clean Hands" which has swept Italy's traditional postwar political parties off the map and disgraced or jailed their leaders en masse. Let us remember, in passing, that he justifies the *Forbes* accusation by talking about a "new Stavisky affair."

3. Philippe de Villiers, a former member of the Republican Party of France, split dramatically from the party recently and ran a "neo-conservative" campaign for European Parliament last June, lavishly funded by Jimmy Goldsmith.

It is striking to note in these circumstances, that the "Clean Hands" operation (sponsored by the hands of Jimmy Goldsmith) is aiming precisely at all the major French companies—Alcatel-Alsthom (communications, transportation), Générale des Eaux and Lyonnaise des Eaux (urban water systems), Saint-Gobain (chemical), Schneider (equipment)—which constitute the mainstays of any European infrastructural and industrial development plan.

So, it's clear: A Franco-German alliance for peace through development in Europe is in the crosshairs of the British (and Anglo-American) financial oligarchy, which is, by its nature and historically, the main enemy of our nation-state and of productive economy. Against this are found the political orientations—surely imperfect, but opposed in principle—of Chancellor Kohl and President Clinton, which are also attacked by the same media organs that are going after France.

Adrift toward the Entente Cordiale

So what are Messrs. de Villiers and Chevènement, these good “nationalists,” denouncing? The plot by Germany, a “Rhineland conspiracy.” Jean-Pierre Chevènement,⁴ in *Le Monde* of Oct. 18, sees Delors as the “candidate of the German Christian Democracy,” whereas Philippe de Villiers and Jean-Marie Le Pen⁵ have raised a hue and cry (and without having first looked in a mirror or looked around at their friends), demanding a huge “Clean Hands” operation which would destabilize France, as we have seen in Italy.

At the same time, the famous Franco-German axis has, from the Paris side, the consistency of a marshmallow. In a government with no long-range vision, we find the curious bedfellows of “Maastrichtian” Europeans and those who hold Maastricht in contempt, their only point in common being that they accept the Maastricht Treaty (see box) as the obligatory reference-point for Europe.

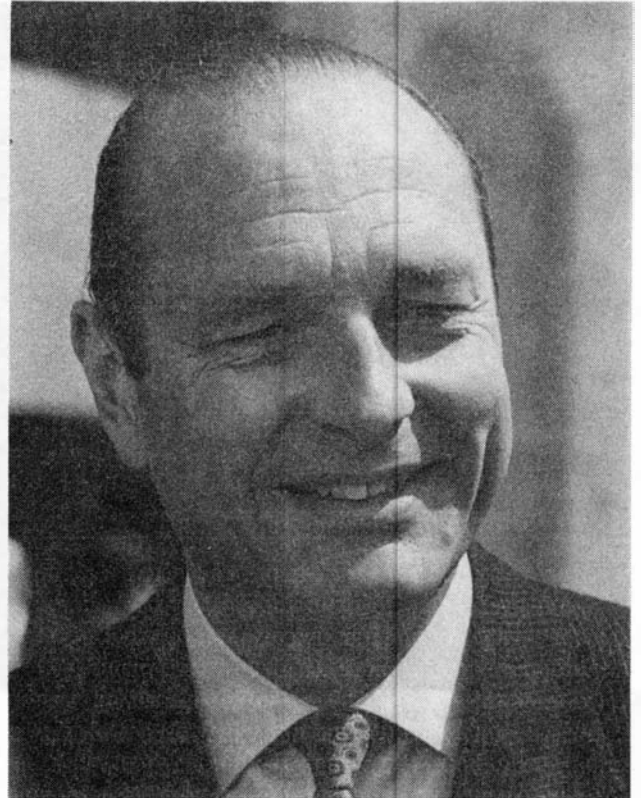
Meanwhile, and even more dangerously, there is a Franco-British cozying-up being pursued in Bosnia, which goes far beyond cooperation (which in itself is unacceptable). Douglas Hurd, the head of the British Foreign Office, congratulated himself during a session of the Franco-British Council, over the “substantial similarities of France and Great Britain. . . . We do have differences perhaps on one or two points in our appreciation of world events, but when things get serious, we are always side by side.”

It is by playing the military collaboration card that London hopes to achieve a rebirth of the Entente Cordiale against the Europe of Kohl and Delors, patronized by Clinton. First of all, we find broached, in an accord concluded on the other side of the English Channel by Gen. Philippe Morillon—the U.N.’s and the Franco-British man in Bosnia—a “coupling” between the land detachments of the British Rapid Deployment Force and units of our French Rapid Action Force (FAR). Next, the two countries set up a commission charged with examining how the two navies could have joint patrols with their strategic missile-launching submarines, and share deployment zones. Finally, the United Kingdom and France envisage creating a joint air force, which could train and protect the units of the two countries to the benefit of peacekeeping operations in a U.N. framework, or joint bilateral actions. This project will be examined during the next Franco-British summit in Chartres on Nov. 18.

So there is a rapprochement with those whom we defined initially as our historic enemy, under the pretext of building a Europe with a variable geometry, from one domain to another, where our military will have to fight together with the British. Our Foreign Minister Alain Juppé was very clear on this point, in his decision to dismember Bosnia and pro-

4. Jean-Pierre Chevènement is a former Socialist who flanks the “neo-conservative” radicals in France from the left.

5. Jean-Marie Le Pen is the leader of the National Front, which has a rabid anti-immigrant stance.



Jacques Chirac

ceed with territorial exchanges, while ratifying genocide on the ground.

There is at the same time a systematic campaign to denigrate Germany, accompanied by expressions of esteem for Britain. For example, the journal *Valeurs Actuelles* of Oct. 22 describes a France whose economy “is going to suffer,” because “Germany will weigh heavily on our recovery” by raising taxes and reducing public spending. Other articles show the disastrous consequences of the “strong franc” policy—all blamed on Bonn—and sing the praises of the British break with the European Monetary System, alleged to have permitted a strong recovery in the British Isles! (In Britain, one child out of three was living below the poverty line as of 1993, according to the Child Poverty Action Group.)

But Pierre Juillet⁶ beats them all, in *Le Monde* of Oct. 28, when he writes: “Who is exposing the German party which is submerging us in its propaganda, as the Spanish party did under Louis XIII, the British party between the wars, and the American party under the Fifth Republic? No one.” He goes on with the rhetorical question: “Who is rising up against the decision of Chancellor Kohl to push our country into integration, into a federal whole to the point of irre-

6. Pierre Juillet was a leading adviser of de Gaulle’s successor, President Georges Pompidou, who did everything he could to push Pompidou to ally with Britain and abandon Gaullist policies.



Jacques Delors: His vision of Eurasian development is too bureaucratic, too timid. The existing financial and monetary structures must be put through bankruptcy proceedings, if the economy is to grow.

versibility, when independence was the watchword of Gaullism? No one.”

Franco-German alliance and sovereignty

Let us recall, in passing, that General de Gaulle used to say (again we quote from Alain Peyrefitte’s volume): “The European Economic Community is not an end in itself. It must be transformed into a political community. . . . It is because the British were not ready to enter into a political community that, finally, it was necessary that they not be allowed to enter the Economic Community.”

Some will say at this point: Here you are defending the Europe of Jacques Delors and Helmut Kohl, supported by President Clinton, a “Germano-American” Europe. Our answer: Contrary to those who don’t want to see the imperial hand of London because of their own imperial French nature, we do not think in the schemata of bygone systems.

I say clearly that I support a program of Eurasian and Eurafrikan infrastructure development and industrial plant buildup, like Delors—and others—but that we must go much farther than he.

The first problem is that Delors and his entourage have too bureaucratic a vision of things, not a political one, in the sense of politics as we have tried to define it here. Rejecting the British oligarchy is thus the starting point for a European growth initiative.

The second problem is, in fact, the question of federalism

and the nation-state. With the German Christian Democracy, we think that France and Germany should play a fundamental role in the world, and that they can only play it by acting together. But contrary to the German Christian Democracy, and in the tradition of the nation-state, we think that this objective cannot be reached in a multinational structure, but through an alliance of sovereign republics.

On a deeper level yet, and this is Delors’s third problem, we are utterly convinced that a major European growth initiative can be put into place only if the existing financial and monetary structures are put into bankruptcy proceedings. Their existence, manifested by the perception of financial revenues, is in fact incompatible with a development policy. Now the advisers of Delors—those whom *L’Express* of Oct. 27 calls his “apostles”—have instead distinguished themselves by their constant accommodation to the policy of international financial revenues, that of the British oligarchy. Elisabeth Guigou was the standard-bearer of the disastrous Europe of Maastricht, which has done more against Europe than the worst anti-Europeans. Ségoulène Royal calls for a “Clean Hands” operation in France, taking up what Philippe de Villiers and Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, with the patronage of Jimmy Goldsmith, have repeated, with the object of paralyzing our productive apparatus and heavy industry. There are even those who have created the conditions of the corruption, who today are upset about its existence. Philippe Lagayette, former director of the cabinet of Delors when he was minister of economics and finance, was the artisan of deflation and the monetarist policy of Maastricht, a form of supranational austerity fully coherent with the system of monetary deregulation and world free trade which now exists—that of the British financial oligarchy. Jean-Baptiste de Foucauld is the man who propounded the idea that only sharing the poverty and doling out welfare could combat the problems of the jobless and social outcasts, while omitting to mention the financial and monetary interests responsible for these problems—i.e., agreeing to talk about the cage, without getting out of it.

The trap is quite clear: It works if you adopt the law of the prevailing system, but that is the very law which we have to reject.

To foil the trap, is to resituate the Franco-German alliance in the order of a true Colbertian economics, a program both of Eurasian and Eurafrikan development, and of cultural renaissance, which is indispensable to this reconstruction—a subject no one mentions with regard to Europe.

Time is running out. Choosing this or that side of the trap—for example, between the New Age Socialist Ségoulène Royal and Pierre Juillet—is not to choose, it is to accept getting caught in the trap. To not get sheared, we must think, and to think we must not march with our heads down, because that position certainly makes it impossible to see the face of the enemy and even harder to see the horizon of the challenge to be met.