

### *"Insults to Reality"*

However, if the continuous bickering between the two governing factions did indeed exasperate a number of voters, it is clear from the general behavior of the electorate that dissenting members of the "Presidential majority" consciously meant to express their disapproval of government *policy* and their general commitment to the economic and social development programs previously identified with Gaullist rule, but now almost exclusively represented by the left, the Communist Party in particular. Former (Gaullist) Prime Minister Michel Debré, who had repeatedly predicted the voters' evolution, stated in the March 23 issue of *Le Figaro* that "a majority of public opinion" condemns the government's "insults to reality" — Giscard's illusion that one can rule France without implementing a growth-oriented anti-inflation policy.

From this correct insight into the reasons for the government coalition's defeat, it is easy to deduce why so many Gaullist and other voters opted for the left, rather than simply cast blank or null ballots — the usual procedure in France for registering a "protest vote." In effect, large sections of the RPR base are mandating their leaders to withdraw support for Wall Street's ally Giscard and to seek instead an immediate programmatic convergence for social and economic progress with the working class and its representative political institutions, as did General de Gaulle in the World War II Resistance movement, and again at key junctures between 1958 and 1968.

Whether or not the Gaullist movement *as a whole* will understand this "message" is problematic. RPR leader Chirac had predicated his party's entire campaign on a mixture of support for the deflationary austerity program of Prime Minister Barre and visceral anti-Communism. Though he scored an unquestionable personal success in the rather "bourgeoisified" city of Paris, this tactic turned out to be a miserable failure nationally. Under Chirac's virtually programless

leadership, the RPR has only demonstrated its ability to defeat Atlanticist *capitalist* parties, but most emphatically *not* the left, contrary to his own repeated claim.

The Gaullist movement is thus faced with momentous strategic decisions. It can either continue to follow Chirac into a stormy alliance with the Giscardian monetarists and thus alienate its electoral base to the benefit of the Union of the Left, or return to De Gaulle's policy and regain programmatic hegemony within the left itself, at the expense of various and sundry "Socialist" exponents of zero growth and their accomplices in the Communist Party's leadership. It is an open secret that many workers would like nothing better than to trade the Union of the Left's incompetent — if well-meaning — "Common Program" for the kind of progressive national capitalist program advanced in the 1960s by Debré.

A good indication of this pro-Gaullist dynamic within the left was provided March 20 by the new (Communist) mayor of Saint-Etienne, Joseph Sanguedolce: "The incumbent mayor (arch-Atlanticist Minister of Finance Michel Durafour — ed.) was an anti-Gaullist who practiced an anti-national policy... I was an officer in the Resistance, and it seems that many of our Gaullist friends preferred to vote for me." Between the two rounds, Sanguedolce, a regional leader of the CGT trade-union, had openly defied Union of the Left policy by promising to involve the Gaullists in managing city affairs after the election.

In other cities, the pro-Gaullist tendency in the working class asserted itself with less bravura, but equal determination. In the Marseilles run-off March 20, several thousand Communist voters refused to obey party orders and cast blank or null ballots rather than support Gaston Defferre, the incumbent Socialist mayor known for his Atlanticist proclivities. In the nearby city of Aix-en-Provence, 4,000 Communist voters backed the RPR slate against the independent "Socialist" incumbent.

## CDU Chief: Foreign 'Coalitions' Responsible For Plethora Of Scandals In BRD

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### WEST GERMANY

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In a surprise gesture, the leader of West Germany's opposition party, the Christian Democratic Union, last week came sharply to the defense of Chancellor Schmidt's coalition government over the issue of foreign intervention in the country's intelligence agencies. Addressing a congress of the CDU's youth group in Schleswig Holstein on March 20, CDU chairman Helmut Kohl defended the right of the Bundesamt fuer Ver-

fassungsschutz (Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution, the "West German FBI,") to carry out its vital functions. "It is possible that there are also forces involved in criticizing the bugging action that do not come from the BRD at all...there are remarkable coalitions, that are not at all concerned with individual liberty, but with the obstruction of state institutions..."

Mr. Kohl was referring to a series of Watergate-style bugging scandals which have multiplied over recent weeks in West Germany. Not accidentally, the major target of these scandals is the BfV, the agency within the Interior Ministry charged with investigating subversion of the Federal Republic's Constitution, and the

stronghold of "traditionalist" forces in the West German intelligence community which owe their loyalties to European industry rather than to Rockefeller's Interpol. Kohl's statements join those of the Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who has announced that he does not intend to fire any minister or make other personnel changes in the wake of the scandals, which have formed the most publicized aspect of a destabilization effort against the Schmidt government.

The original scandal appearing two weeks ago in the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* on the technically illegal bugging of a nuclear engineer, expanded over this week with the "revelation" of three additional incidents, one of which threatened to involve not only Interior Minister Werner Maihofer, but also Günther Schüler, chief of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's own staff. A number of spokesmen within the ruling parties (the Social Democrats and Free Democrats) have been vehemently demanding the resignation of Maihofer and have called for drastic restrictions of the BFV's ability to investigate the domestic activities of terrorist networks. Among those demanding the protection of "individual human rights" against electronic surveillance are the lawyers of the Interpol-controlled Baader-Meinhof terrorist gang, the youth groups of both the government parties, and Horst Ehmke, a leading Social Democratic politician close to SPD chairman Willy Brandt.

But after a series of all-party meetings held in Bonn over the past few days, the government appears to have stemmed the tide and may even be able to turn the situation to its own advantage. All the major parties called for centralization of information pertaining to surveillance activities, in order to avert press "leaks" calculated to provoke hysteria. Interior Minister Maihofer has released a list of every emergency surveillance conducted over the past decade.

#### *Behind the Scandals*

Two events this week have put the underlying purpose of the "bugging" scandals into bold relief.

The first event is last week's call by the SPD parliamentary fraction leader Herbert Wehner for an independent West German initiation to speed up the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks in Vienna, which are currently stalled over "tactical nuclear weapons." Although the call, published in *Neue Gesellschaft*, received relatively little publicity, over the weekend Wehner's name suddenly appeared at the very center of the bugging scandals. The major newspapers began asking such questions as "Does Wehner Want to Topple the Government?", while the Hamburg daily *Die Welt* wrote that Wehner might want to give the SPD "a recovery spell in the opposition." Another *Die Welt* article broadly hinted that Wehner is even collaborating with the Soviet Union to create a

Watergate atmosphere, so as to avoid dealing with the Soviet "military buildup!"

But Wehner has summarily brushed this nonsense aside in an article printed early this week in the *Kölner Express*. He wrote that he has absolutely no intention of upsetting the present government, and went on to praise Chancellor Schmidt as the only West German leader qualified to handle the country's international affairs. West Germany, he wrote, has an important international role, and "especially...has to push for troop reductions and arms controls...It is decisive for democratic and social development that the BRD remains a peace-ensuring factor in the world."

The second event is this week's announcement of the government's new energy policy guidelines for the period 1977-1985. Economics Minister Hans Friderichs has thrown down the gauntlet to the U.S. Carter Administration, stating that the government is "resolved" to develop its nuclear technology and secure economic growth. Friderichs warned that a collapse of his nuclear program would result in an energy deficit of 20 percent by 1985, zero economic growth and a tripling of unemployment.

This determination comes in the face of a recent court decision banning the construction of a new nuclear generating plant in Wyhl. The judgment, which has already been attacked by the Federal Nuclear Security Commission, sets impossible standards to protect the reactor vessel from bursting, even though the likelihood of this ever happening is already one in ten. The capricious decision not only sets an ominous worldwide legal precedent; it has also injected new vigor into the Naderite environmentalist "movement." Over the weekend approximately 12,000 of these low-life held a bloody demonstration at another nuclear construction site near Grohnde, chanting such slogans as "Black Or Red, We'll Strike You Dead!" The Schmidt government's fight against the environmentalists is scheduled to come to a head at a special SPD energy conference in April.

Rumors and lies continue to circulate about the fate of the West German-Brazilian nuclear deal. *Der Spiegel* reported that the Soviet Union's ambassador to Bonn, Falin, met with State Secretary Peter Hermes in order to discourage Bonn from going ahead with the deal. The Soviet Union, the magazine said, wants to sacrifice its interest in West German technology for good relations with President Carter. This report was contradicted, however, by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which wrote that Falin really told Hermes that the Soviet Union is not interested in participating in any nuclear technology proliferation agreements.

Meanwhile, Brazil still has not received initial shipments for the disputed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant, and it is rumored that this will not occur until Schmidt meets Carter at the London summit meeting May 8.