

Debré's endorsement. His deputy-minister of Finance will be Gaullist Robert Boulin.

Equally significant is the promotion of Gaullist Guichard to Minister of Justice, in replacement of raving Atlanticist Lecanuet, who ends up in charge of the Ministry of Economic Planning. Finally, Ambassador to the U.N. Louis de Guiringaud, who spent most of his career in Third World posts, replaces Atlanticist non-entity Jean Sauvagnargues at the Foreign Ministry.

The program of Raymond Barre's government is not known yet, but Giscard himself said two days ago that its immediate task is to defend the French franc against speculative attacks and to initiate the struggle against run-away inflation, thus indicating that — for the first time since Giscard's election in May 1974 — something serious may be done to combat the devastating effects of Wall Street's export of hyperinflation and deindustrialization through the Eurodollar market and the Cayman Islands swindle.

Debré himself said on French radio today that UDR Gaullist support for the government would depend on the nature of the latter's policy, stressing in particular the necessity of a resolute development-oriented anti-inflation struggle, and of national independence.

Francois Ceyrac, head of the French employers' association CNPF, in effect announced that his organization is in the Gaullist camp in a radio interview yesterday. Commenting on rumors of an upcoming incomes' policy, Ceyrac agreed that the growth of wages must be moderated, while stressing that "this moderation also applies to non-wage revenues, including capital revenues." This de facto call for a tax on capital corresponds with a long-standing demand of the traditionalist Gaullists.

This surprisingly positive statement from France's industrialists, along with the often reaffirmed anti-austerity stance of the French Communist Party (PCF) and the trade-unions, shows to what extent Wall Street's creature Giscard is boxed in.

Sanguinetti:

French Need "Adventure In Non-Alignment"

Aug. 26 (NSIPS) — The following interview with Alexandre Sanguinetti, former Secretary General of the Gaullist (UDR) party appeared in the Aug. 23-29 issue of the weekly Le Nouvel Observateur:

Q: Aren't you afraid of soon being bypassed if your affirmation of Gaullist principles by an ex-Prime Minister by the name of Jacques Chirac?

A: I hope so with all my heart.

Q: Some attribute your criticisms against the policy of French President Giscard to disappointed ambition or ill humor. What do you think?

A: Frankly, taking into consideration the services which I have rendered the people in power, by seeming to be docile I could have attained a lovely career. Besides I haven't any personal quarrels with any of the princes who govern us. My ambition is simply to live by my convictions.

Q: But it is not really clear what you accuse Giscardism of, except that it replaced Gaullism-Pompidouism. . . ?

A: No. My complaints are political. In diplomatic matters, for instance, I think that we have returned to dependency. The head of state and his government accept the status quo in Europe and in the world. They no longer reject blocs. National independence, however, means refusing to submit Europe to these two imperialisms, who are both rivals and accomplices, and

which perpetuate an obsolete world....Our government should on the contrary seek to break this passé scheme (the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty), by which we are locked in by the Americans' Atlantic Pact and the Soviets' Warsaw Pact. . . . In truth, I believe that the French people need the great adventure of non-alignment. But that is precisely what is denied to them. This is one of the examples of the return to the 4th Republic which we are witnessing today.

Q: Not on all levels. You, nostalgic for Gaullism, are you not seduced by the — often authoritarian — style of the government of the head of state?

A: Let's be serious. Not long ago Giscard reproached Charles deGaulle for his "solitary exercise of power." Today, he outdoes the General. Never, for generations, has power been so solitary. (Earlier 20th century French Premier Georges) Clemenceau relied upon the political class to govern, deGaulle on the masses who frequently questioned him by means of referendum. But what does Giscard rely upon? Honestly, I ask myself. What I do know in any case is that we are in a pseudo-monarchy.

Q: How do you show that?

A: By a general demeanor and a thousand little details. . . . Above all, what strikes me is this air of boredom, of fatigue, which he displays so frequently. Louis XV must have looked the same at the end of his reign.

Q: Nonetheless many Frenchmen continue to consider the head of state as a man of good will. . . .

A: That is not the problem. I am obliged to admit that Giscard was elected on his economic and financial competence. What's left of it today?...All that our National Administration School graduates in power know to do to cure inflation is to raise the interest rate and increase the price of postal stamps. You see where they've brought us: the collapse of the franc. . . . No one can lastingly govern France unless he represents both the left and the right. But Giscard is the right, and it alone. His reformism is only a verbal one. . . where are the great social changes? One still waits for the immense fiscal reform the country needs. One also waits in vain for the reform which will transform the relations of capital to labor. For the wage earners cannot be citizens in the nation and subjects in the factory. Our active population counts 80 per cent wage-earners today: if we want to reach a social consensus, they must be given a share of power in their workplace, in brief, they must be associated with capital. Indeed, autogestion would fragment the productive capacities. The collectivist way would fatally lead to the domination of a master-party and its bureaucracy. As for liberalism, which is an addition of individual egoisms, I sometimes wonder whether it does not lead us straight to fascism.

Q: You mean that there is a potential fascism in Giscardism?

A: I only ask to be wrong. But I believe that, through some sort of logic, some in this regime may some day tip over into fascism. Why? Because liberalism goes toward fascism when it feels threatened. The progressive take-over of the press by certain men whose origins and ties are known to everyone is, in my view, an omen. In the name of free enterprise, freedom of expression is being killed. What I am also being bothered by is the fact that the government seems to look for support in the sociological classes which feed fascism, historically, rather than in the whole nation. Unfortunately, when (French Socialist Party head) François Mitterrand says that the left has behind itself the sociological majority of the country — the majority of the active population — he is right. It is the inactive who today compose the main battalions of the "advanced liberal society."

Q: According to you, Alexandre Sanguinetti, you are no longer part of the presidential majority?

A: I have never been a part. I have always rejected that notion, which is not Gaullist. If there is need of a majority in the

National Assembly, according to the Gaullist constitution of 1958, it is to support the action of the Prime Minister, not to deck the alters of the head of state.

Q: Are you going to step over the breach soon and join the left?

A: No, I refuse to be trapped in one camp. What do you do with a right wing which ignores generosity and has no sense of the nation? What do you do with a left which ignores the necessity of power and does not have the sense of the state? This is what General deGaulle used to tell me in 1958, and I believe that it remains true today.

Michel Debre:

“It Is The Hour Of Truth”

Aug. 18 (NSIPS) — The following are extracts of an interview with Gaullist leader Michel Debré which was broadcast on Aug. 27 on France Inter, a radio station controlled by the government of President Giscard d'Estaing.

Debré: It is the hour of truth. For four years, the disease of the economy has been super-inflation. It is a satisfaction for me to at last see the light shed on this problem.

Q: Is UDR participation in the new government going to be a matter of party or personal responsibility?

Debré: The UDR ministers participate on their own responsibility... The fact that there will be UDR ministers is a good sign; in difficult moments, decisions have to be taken “in view of orientations and priorities... Problems of persons and political membership are secondary. The important thing is to know where the national interest is. I am happily surprised to see the importance attached to the struggle against inflation.

I consider that a Prime Minister who does not agree must draw the consequences...

Q: Should Parliament be reconvened soon?

Debré: ... I don't see the point of a parliamentary session in September... One must never compromise on essential things... Politicians only have one duty: see where the national interest is. We must struggle against devastating inflation... In four years, we have wasted time...

Q: Will the UDR rally to the new regime?

Debré: The UDR is an envelope behind which there are to a large extent men who have faith, who crossed deserts, who have been neither in the Elysée nor in Matignon, who have been nowhere. They can continue to do so today, with alacrity...

Q: Are new alliances possible now within the UDR and within the majority? How about the elections?

Debré: The main reality, for the elections, is multiple candidacies... The leadership of the UDR will be a directive team...

Q: Are you favorable to early elections?

Debré: When one wants to take an 18 months to two years action to succeed, one must wait for time to elapse... I can't see elections taking place in October or November. To envisage elections for next spring would be the most deplorable thing, as then nothing would be done.

Q: What is your view of so-called presidentialism?

Debré: I am not a presidentialist. The lasting character of the Constitution demands that the Prime Minister have an important responsibility.

Q: Isn't Gaullism obsolete?

Debré: Those who say that of Gaullism are themselves opposed to Gaullism, and illustrate miserable periods, like 1940...

Q: Some time ago, you said you would not oppose Mitterrand becoming Prime Minister under Giscard; do you still think the same?

Debré: We are in a democracy, in a republic. This has two consequences: government rotation (“alternance” — between

left and right) is possible if the laws and liberty are respected; or the party in power does everything to stay there.

Q: Can you draw a portrait of Raymond Barre for us?

Debré: Réunion Island can only feel a certain pride that one of its sons is at the head of the government, a pride which Raymond Barre amply deserves not only because of his qualities, but also because of his character.

Q: What do you think of his performance as EEC vice-president?

Debré: I have always seen him defend positions which Gen. de Gaulle would have defended...

Q: Why do you favor an anti-inflation policy?

Debré: If West Germany is in the situation we see today, it is because it applied a policy of incomes moderation. The West Germans have the highest purchasing power in Western Europe, this is a result of successful tripartite agreements... The policy I am calling for would necessarily include “a call for investments,” i.e. a series of measures whose consequences (socially) are eminently fortunate ones. Inflation means a whole series of social injustices...”

Q: So your analysis converges with that of Mr. Mitterrand?

Debré: Mr. Mitterrand's analyses have coincided with mine for a little while. Undoubtedly, he has made progress, in my opinions.

Q: Does Giscard respect the Constitution?

Debré: The institutions are fundamental... But I am against casuistry.

Q: What about your personal future?

Debré: I have devoted my existence to a certain idea of France. I would prefer to have the means to apply it rather than simply write it, or say it on your radio station...”

Other Gaullist Reactions

Alexandre Sanguinetti, Gaullist leader;
National Radio interview, Aug. 23.

“We are going to witness a change of regime (under President Giscard d'Estaing)... Articles 20 and 21 (on the distribution of powers between President and Prime Minister) of the constitution are definitely erased... We will be in a Sixth Republic... I do not know whether Chirac is going to leave, but I advised him to do so...”

Jean Charbonnel, Gaullist leader;
Quotidien de Paris, Aug. 26.

“It has thus been proven, as we have not ceased to say since 1974, that Giscardism and Gaullism are totally incompatible. It is regrettable that Chirac took so long to become aware of this. The moment seems to have come for the Gaullists hidden in this majority since the presidential elections to retake their liberty of action, to enter into a resolute opposition to a system which can no longer ensure the country its independence, nor progress, nor justice.”

World Reactions To The Resignation Of PM Chirac

Le Parisien Libéré, Aug. 26: “Barre is a specialist of European problems, and even more, not depending on any political party, can enlarge the majority towards the center-left. Giscard has said... to open towards the Left, is to want to break up the UDR and stifle the great Gaullist ideas. It is also to reopen the road on which the Third Republic slid France in 1940 (which marks the date of the formation of the Vichy government —ed.)”