

masters of the plutonium cycle

The spread of atomic techniques is not in itself a factor in the multiplication of weapons. Restrictive measures concerning the diffusion of knowledge or technology could be even more dangerous

As soon as he was elected, Mr. Carter launched a great offensive around the theme of nonproliferation The nuclear nonproliferation bill could also signify that the United States wants to force us to abandon recycling and the fast breeder by prohibiting the recycling of enriched uranium supplied by them. In that case, we would find ourselves under the obligation to carry out a new and total "war for independence," nothing being negotiable. . . .

On an international level it is remarkable that the developing countries are more and more turning towards us. They hope to realize their economic takeoff thanks to a nuclear industry benefiting from French support. Sellers of uranium ore, buyers of nuclear plants, and research installations, they can defeat the will of the two superpowers to "police" the world

Tomorrow, the Germans will have to choose. They can accept Carter's conditions But the Germans have been as struck by Carter's imperialism as others (they felt it with the Brazilian contract) and they are undoubtedly tempted to give a content, with the nuclear issue, to a political Europe. In this hypothesis, we could offer them participation in Eurodif and Coredif (uranium enrichment consortiums — ed)

We make only one recommendation (to the French government — ed): never give in when the conditions for independence are at stake.

"European Approach"

Yves Guena, Gaullist party deputy in the National Assembly and political advisor to Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac, wrote in the July 21 issue of *Le Monde* attacking Britain's historic opposition to Grand Design policies. Below is an excerpted translation.

Europe can become a great power and, in sum, it must become so. Through its population, its industry, its scientific capability, the Europe of the Nine is theoretically equivalent to the two giants who share the world; one day it should be able to balance them in the great planetary game.

We, the Gaullists, are partisans of the construction of Europe, and we give this word all its meaning From the start, let us stress that two snags must be avoided: the dilution of the Common Market into a free-exchange zone, and the follies of supranationality.

The free-exchange zone is, with or without this name, the alibi, the good conscience of those who speak about Europe but are resolved not to build it, of those who are inclined only to build the Europe of the merchants

In several circumstances already we have shown our resolve to avoid this bastardization of the European idea. One can recall the fight led by Couve de Murville (the Foreign Minister — ed) in December 1958 when General de Gaulle opposed . . . the sabotage attempt undertaken by England for the profit of the free-exchange zone. One can also recall how, later, in 1962, General de Gaulle said no to Great Britain which sought, for lack of being able to destroy the Common Market from the outside, to enter it, but without accepting its rules, and thus to undermine it from the inside. Twice, the Gaullists saved Europe from its fragile beginnings

Then, we succeeded in imposing the Common Agricultural Policy The second danger (is) the maximalism of the supranationalists

We denounce the deficiencies of Europe's energy policy. This is the great problem of the hour: would the European countries be without ideas or common will to face this crisis?

The response to the efforts undertaken by France and West Germany on the road to monetary unity will be the touchstone of the good will of each country. And no one should be surprised — it's in their nature — at the equivocations of the English.

To what avail all these efforts, and perhaps these sacrifices, this frenetic search for Europe, if Europe is only to be, according to Kissinger's expression, a regional power, a practical relay for American policy on one extreme of the Euro-Asian continent?

Portugal A Key

French President Giscard d'Estaing has just returned from an exceptionally fruitful visit to Portugal, part of a broader drive to draw southern Europe and Africa (via Portugal's former colonies) into the emerging Grand Design. The French government extended \$100 million in economic aid to Portugal, bypassing the IMF and its strictures.

The loan will help finance French exports to Portugal. French participation in Portugal's fledgling nuclear program is also under consideration.

Paul Granet, a French member of the European Parliament, has recently elaborated France's role in the international development of nuclear energy. He noted that because of France's unique position vis-à-vis the African countries, from which it can obtain uranium fuel, the Third World is looking to France to fulfill its nuclear needs.

Both France and West Germany are perfectly willing to exclude Great Britain from the new trade and development initiatives if its obstructionist behavior continues. According to the French financial daily *Les Echos*, Britain will be offered the choice: join and cooperate or be left behind.

Grand Design Versus Race War In South Africa

In the last two weeks, Western Europe's Grand Design policy has spurred a general entente on the continent of Africa — a rapid-fire series of settlements of conflicts including the Namibia settlement, rapprochement between Angola and Zaire, a cease-fire in the Mauritania guerrilla war, and a signal from South Africa that they want to resume détente with black Africa.

Scurrilous press reports to the contrary, U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young and his aide Donald McHenry have played the key American role in this process, along with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and other European leaders. Like the European leaders, Young has explicitly and repeatedly based his vision of U.S. Africa policy on escalated U.S. aid for

development in Africa (see box).

This process is now threatened, however, by a desperate British-inspired counterattack witnessed in the escalation of atrocities against black and white civilians by the pro-British "Sandhurst clique" in the Rhodesian military. Accompanying hysterical predictions of a general massacre of the white population, are cries from the British Tory party for support of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's bogus and illegal "internal solution."

Abetting the British, the United States Senate voted up an amendment to this year's foreign military-aid bill on July 26, setting conditions under which President Carter would be required by law to end the U.S. economic boycott of Rhodesia.

The Senate's action sabotages the further progress of the already astounding accomplishments of Ambassador Young and Donald McHenry, who, on top of the Namibia settlement, have been responsible for the improvement of U.S.-Angola relations and, in conjunction with Western Europe, South Africa, and the black front-line states, have the best chance of arriving at a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia. The Namibia settlement — which provides for a transition to independence of the South African colony by next year — was reached by close collaboration between black Africa's five front-line states: Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, and Western delegations from France, the U.S., West Germany, Britain and Canada. While the front-line states kept the pressure up on the Namibian SWAPO liberation movement to settle, the Western delegations applied the pressure on South Africa.

In the middle of this coordination, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt paid a visit to Zambia just prior to the Bremen summit, where he discussed with President Kenneth Kaunda peace plans and Europe's new development-oriented foreign policy. Schmidt particularly made the point that while Germany

supports the front-line states over Rhodesia, they have extensive economic ties with South Africa which they are not about to break in any dangerous and self-defeating embargo. The dismantling of apartheid must be accomplished in the context of economic growth, he added.

Ending Apartheid

South Africa has responded to this diplomacy with an appeal for the resumption of détente with black Africa. Foreign Minister R.F. Botha welcomed the Namibia settlement with the statement that this represents "a possible new era in southern Africa..." This opens the possibility of South Africa and the front line states resuming their 1973 collaboration in getting an acceptable settlement in Rhodesia and ending the war, and subsequent negotiations over apartheid along the lines laid out by Chancellor Schmidt. This latter issue was discussed recently by South African manufacturing and mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, who has reversed his previous support for low-wage labor intensive investment — which would tend to augment the apartheid policy — with a call for capital intensive investment and rapid economic takeoff in South Africa as the only road away from further domestic upheaval.

—Peter Buck

Oppenheimer Denounces IMF Austerity

Henry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation and South African gold and diamond magnate, argued for capital-intensive investment and the upgrading of the southern African labor force in a speech, quoted here, to the International Monetary Fund Conference in Mexico City, May 22.

...I am convinced that an attempt to meet South Africa's problems by containing wages and favouring a relatively simple structure of production is bound to fail. We have reached an advanced stage in our economy from which we cannot go back. New development will either be carried through in a sophisticated manner or will not be carried through at all. There is no real choice in most modern industry between high wages and much mechanization on the one hand and low wages and little mechanization on the other....

...My belief is that progress in any sphere and not least in the economy is not best sought by way of a general advance all along the line but by a significant breakthrough on a narrow front....

If it is assumed that South Africa is able to finance a rate of growth which must be not less than about 5 percent per annum to allow all the new entrants to the labour market to find employment the effect must be a huge growth in the black urban population outside the homelands....Moreover, of these black workers much larger numbers will require to be skilled....The only economic situation which is compatible with apartheid is one of stagnation in which development of the modern sector of the economy is limited to a level at which the majority of the skilled work can be handled by the whites and the black participation is kept to a minimum. This

Andrew Young Leads U.S. African Policy

From an exclusive interview with the Mexican daily El Sol, July 21:

The rich countries can only benefit from the progress of the less wealthy countries, said the controversial U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young in Geneva, defending the "right of the developing countries to economic expansion."

Young, disavowed on innumerable occasions by the State Department, had the opportunity today, between lines, to defend his personal style of diplomacy by saying that "One must proceed with the largest dose of credibility, even if there are misunderstandings."

"The possible success of the current negotiations with Namibia demonstrates to us that our current diplomacy in Africa, in the direction of stabilization, cooperation, and respect for human rights, is correct."

means that the growing black population would have to be accommodated in relatively undeveloped rural areas where, as in a number of other so-called developing countries, their numbers and their miseries would be likely to be limited only by the merciful effect of a high death rate. It is no wonder that many of the blacks and notably the Zulus who are the largest of the tribes, are rejecting the independence offered them and demanding their share in the development of a united South African economy....The fact is that any attempt at this time to redraw boundaries anywhere in Africa is bound to lead to war and not to peace. So, to my mind, our only hope is to work towards a broadly based South Africanism in which tribal interests, black and white, must be merged. Do not let us pretend that this will be easy or that success can be guaranteed. It is, however, better to try something

difficult — even something as difficult as changing the minds of men — rather than to set out on a course which the facts and figures show from the beginning must lead to a dead end. There is at least one major factor which works powerfully in the direction of unity and that is the growth of a powerful modern, free-enterprise economy in which black and white would...necessarily have to share....

To call for higher wage rates and the end of racial discrimination in industry while at the same time seeking to deny South Africa the capital inflow which is necessary in order to offer these conditions not just to a privileged elite white or black but to the masses of people, involves muddled thinking if not indeed intellectual dishonesty....

U.S., Japan Must Cooperate On Fusion

Exclusive interview at Bonn with Japan Trade and Industry Ministry official Amaya

U.S.-Japanese cooperative fusion power development is crucial to the realization of the energy and economic development programs adopted by the western heads of state at the Bonn, West Germany economic summit. Mr. Amaya, Director General of the Agency of Natural Resources in the Japanese Ministry for Trade and Industry told the Executive Intelligence Review on July 17. The complete text of Mr. Amaya's exclusive interview with the Executive Intelligence Review, conducted by our Wiesbaden correspondents only days before the historic Bonn meeting, follows.

Q: Prime Minister Fukuda, during his recent trip to the U.S., made some far-reaching proposals for cooperation in the area of fusion energy, and said Japan was willing to offer \$1 billion in order to finance such cooperation: Does your government expect a positive response to the Prime Minister's offer from the U.S. government?

A: I think Mr. Carter is also very positive in his support for this project. In fact, the details have not been decided upon at all, they still have to be discussed between the experts of both countries.

Q: I'd like to describe the broad collaboration already existing between the BRD and Japan as a Grand Design. Do you think that your cooperation with West Germany will draw in the U.S. as well into participation in global economic recovery, cooperation in R and D, and Third World development?

A. Our cooperation in the fields of science and technology is extremely important just now, and I think the most important area of this cooperation is between

the U.S. and Japan. I imagine that the reason why Mr. Fukuda is very much interested in pushing support for this project is, firstly, that he is very much aware of the difficulties we will face in the future because of a shortage of energy supplies. So, we should prepare now to overcome those possible shortages, possible in 5 or 10 years to come. And research and development activities are decisive for that. We need new energy sources to follow up oil. Mr. Fukuda is keenly interested in the field of fusion research, but he is not an expert — he is most interested in the difficulties which have to be overcome by human beings reaching into the future. But, from the technical point of view, fusion is very important. But we also have to take care of such resources as coal — I mean liquification and gasification of coal. So, it is not only fusion, but also these new coal technologies are the issues which have to be jointly studied by the United States and Japan.

Q: Have any concrete proposals been made?

A: The proposals are not yet very concrete, you see, these ideas have emanated 'from the top,' from the very summit. For that reason, there is a political commitment which is coming into being, and the details have not, for the most part, reached the negotiations level at all. The question of how much money also still has to be discussed concretely, on the expert level. (He added at this point that they want to work on solar and geothermal energy as well.) Actually, the second reason why Mr. Fukuda is interested in new areas of R and D cooperation is because he is interested in overcoming problems of our balance of payments surplus. And we have a very large balance of payments surplus with the USA — many