
Giscard's Opponents

What makes Jacques Chirac and François Mitterrand run?

by Dana Sloan

During the first round of the French presidential elections on April 26, President Giscard's main challengers are François Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist Party, and Jacques Chirac, the neo-Gaullist mayor of Paris. Mitterrand, so goes the conventional wisdom, is the last great hope of the liberal left; Chirac, the new standard-bearer of conservatism.

But Mitterrand and Chirac have far more in common than their obvious commitment to bring down Giscard in the elections. They are twin expendable assets, one profiled to appeal to the left, the other to the right. They have been set into motion by a cast of characters who for the past 20-odd years have had one obsession: to destroy the political and institutional legacy embodied in the Fifth Republic.



Jacques Chirac

The forces behind Mitterrand and Chirac bear more than a surface resemblance to the coalition that came together after de Gaulle's return to power in 1958, a coalition that crystallized during the early 1960s in and around the OAS (Organisation Armée Secrète—Secret Army Organization). The OAS was a French component of the Permindex-centered drug-running and assassination bureau which, it has been documented, ran the assassination of John F. Kennedy and multiple unsuccessful attempts against the life of de Gaulle. The same elements are now coaching Chirac and Mitterrand.

Relatively informed observers of the French presidential campaign might have been surprised when, two months ago, arch-conservative Gaullist party leader Chirac's leading advisers announced that in the second-round runoff on May 10, Chirac would throw his support to Socialist Mitterrand. In the United States, members of the Socialist International even gloated that Chirac

would become Mitterrand's prime minister if this strategy succeeded. What political differences with Giscard could bring Chirac, who has Giscard's first prime minister, to consider putting Mitterrand into the Elysée?

Chirac and supporters

Chirac's actions have never been motivated by "political differences"; his opportunism is well known. Chirac's only role in the present campaign is that of political wrecker, to divide the majority that has backed Giscard for the past seven years to make sure that he is not elected to another term. Ironically, it was also as a political wrecker that Chirac first supported Giscard in 1974: to undercut the Gaullist party controlled by de Gaulle's loyalists in preparation for rebuilding it as his own power base.

Chirac's power base is best exemplified by his campaign manager and two leading endorsers of his campaign. One endorsement came from Jacques Médecin, mayor of Nice on the Côte d'Azur, and a defector from Giscard's Republican party. Médecin, who has tried with sparse success to turn Nice into the Las Vegas of Europe, complained that under Giscard's rule there has been less "democracy" in France than in Poland, and declared that Chirac has the kind of "free-enterprise" program that "every mayor in France could support."



Jacques Médecin

What Médecin was really complaining about was that Giscard's interior minister had shut down the casino operated by his long-time associate and friend, Jean-Dominique Frantoni, president of the Casino Ruhl, on charges of evading \$20 million in taxes. For three years, with Médecin's backing, Frantoni had waged a campaign over the dead bodies of members of the rival LeRoux family to

become the city's casino boss. Médecin had also negotiated off and on since 1979 with Morris Shenker, president of the Dunes Corporation of Las Vegas, over bringing Las Vegas money into Nice.

The second revealing endorsement of Chirac came from Georges Bidault, twice foreign minister of France, who was indicted in 1952 for "plotting against the security of the state" as a result of his role in the OAS, and escaped to Brazil. Along with Jacques Soustelle and Antoine Pinay, Bidault was one of the members of the Vincennes Committee formed in 1960 as a government in the wings prepared to bid for power following de Gaulle's assassination. Pinay served as liaison for the "right-wing" Vincennes Committee in the similarly motivated "left-wing" secret conference known as the Déjeuner de l'Alma organized by Pierre Uri, then European director for Lehman Brothers and now Mitterrand's top economic adviser. Bidault, like Soustelle and the other OAS members, was amnestied in 1968 after Mitterrand helped obtain passage of a parliamentary bill granting amnesty for all those involved in crimes against the state during the period leading to Algerian independence.

The Socialist connection



Gaston Defferre

Chirac's campaign manager, and one of his top controllers, is Charles Pasqua. Author of the Friedmanite book *Free Enterprise, A State of Mind*, the Corsican Pasqua was director of exports for the Marseilles-based liquor company Ricard during the early 1960s, and the boss of under-

world figure Jean Venturi, Ricard's Montreal-based North American importer and distributor, whom American authorities allege was "the principal distributor of French heroin in the United States." Jean Venturi's source of supply was organized by his brother Dominique "Nick" Venturi, who is based in Marseilles, the city run top to bottom by Socialist Gaston Defferre since the end of World War II, when he was first installed as mayor through an alliance between British intelligence-run Resistance groups and the mob. Defferre is still a formidable power broker in the Socialist Party, controlling the powerful southern Bouches du Rhône party federation.

Mitterrand's career

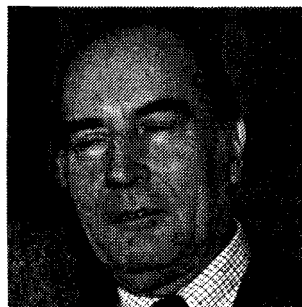
François Mitterrand is a product of the same political machine, except that he is a former "right-winger" recycled into the "left" after de Gaulle took power.

Throughout his political career, Mitterrand's path crosses with Permindex and especially one of its most notorious assets, Jacques Soustelle.

Mitterrand's treachery began during the war, when his escape from a Nazi prison was organized through the intervention of Jacques Doriot, leader of the pro-Nazi Parti Populaire Français, so that Mitterrand could go to work for Marshall Pétain's Prisoners of War Committee. Mitterrand was eventually decorated with Pétain's Francisque medal. Immediately after the war, Mitterrand and Soustelle joined the Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance (UDSR), which was devoted to purging Communists from all official agencies. This witch-hunt played a particularly important role in Marseilles, where the police unit known as the CRS (Compagnie Républicaine de Sécurité), which many Communist resistance fighters joined after the war, was heading up the battle against the drug mob and Defferre. The purge of the CRS opened the way for Marseilles to become the heroin refinery of Western Europe.

During the Fourth Republic, Mitterrand was a frequent minister and early champion of the "French Algeria" cause. As interior minister in 1954, Mitterrand's response to the first calls for Algerian independence ("the only possible negotiation is war") won him the support of the colonial diehards. He was also among the first to join the "France-Israel Alliance" parliamentary group set up by Soustelle in 1956. His response to de Gaulle's return in 1958 was the book *The Permanent Coup d'Etat*, in which he termed Gaullism a dictatorship.

It was following de Gaulle's establishment of the Fifth Republic that Mitterrand began his "left turn." One of its components was to make him appear the victim of various right-wing plots. The most extravagant episode was the "Observatoire Gardens Affair," in which Mitterrand organized his own near-assassination in an effort to pin the blame on the Gaullist secret services. So suspicious of the story were members of the parliament that Mitterrand's immunity from investigation was lifted.



François Mitterrand

attempt to turn the trial into an indictment of the

But even after this transformation, Mitterrand continued his favors to the OAS crowd. In 1962, for example, Mitterrand was brought in as a defense witness in the trial of former General Raoul Salan, founder and chief of staff of the OAS. Mitterrand used the witness stand in a brazen attempt to turn the trial into an indictment of the

government, especially its prime minister Michel Debré, whom he accused of involvement in an earlier attempt against General Salan's life. Throughout the period of the OAS's effort to start a civil war in France, Mitterrand was in the wings, waiting for the right moment to make his bid for power.

First, he needed a party.

Electoral attempts

The old Socialist Party of France, known as the SFIO, had been thoroughly discredited during the course of the Algerian war, and de Gaulle's enemies came up with a strategy for revamping it around the presidential bid of Gaston Defferre. Defferre's campaign was launched in late 1963 in the pages of *L'Express* magazine, published by Defferre's close friend and political cohort, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. *L'Express* began a series of articles describing the "ideal" candidate against de Gaulle, a candidate referred to only as "Monsieur X." After this charade went on for some time, it was finally revealed to the expectant public that "Monsieur X" was Gaston Defferre.

Although Defferre's effort hit the rocks, by early 1965 it had set the stage for Mitterrand to become the candidate of the left opposition and to replace the old SFIO with the Socialist Party, which Mitterrand now heads. In the runoff between de Gaulle and Mitterrand, Soustelle called on his followers to vote for the Socialist leader.

Now, in his third and last presidential bid, Mitterrand is the rallying point for those who share the aims of depopulation and economic devolution. At a conference of the Socialist International in Paris last month, the founder of the Club of Rome, Aurelio Peccei, expressed his support for the Socialist candidate because, he said, socialists tend not to think in terms of national interest. In line with this, the Socialist Party has introduced a bill into parliament calling for the decriminalization of marijuana. The SP supports euthanasia as a "fundamental law of socialist society." Mitterrand's candidacy has also been endorsed by Dr. Claude Olivienstein, a strong proponent of decriminalization of all drugs in France.

Chirac supporter Philippe Dechartre, notorious for his involvement in real-estate swindles during his tenure as minister of equipment, is preparing to launch a Mitterrand support committee after the first round of the elections, according to the weekly *L'Express*, together with other nominal Gaullists of the same background. Well-placed sources comment that Chirac himself will have to make at least some gesture of support for Giscard before the runoff, lest a dossier on Libyan financing of the Chirac campaign somehow make its way into the press.



'Criminologists' run radical organizations

by Jeffrey Steinberg

On Monday April 6, Italian police in Milan scored another major breakthrough in their decade-long war against terrorism with the arrests of Red Brigade leaders Mario Moretti, Enrico Fenzi, and Barbara Belzarani. The 35-year-old Moretti was a founder of the Red Brigades. He has been identified as the leader of the "Roman cell" that carried out the kidnapping and execution of former Premier Aldo Moro in 1978.

While the capture of Moretti is in itself a significant step toward the eradication of the terrorist underground in Italy, another aspect of the arrests has potentially far more profound implications for the unraveling of the command structure over the terrorist international. The broader implications center around Enrico Fenzi, the other member of the Red Brigades "strategic leadership" picked up with Moretti at the Milan train station.

Fenzi is a professor of Italian literature at the University of Genoa. He was first arrested in May 1979 by Gen. Alberto Dalla Chiesa's special antiterrorist unit of the Carabinieri. After being released for lack of evidence, Fenzi was re-indicted last year for the kidnapping of Judge Giovanni D'Urso, a magistrate involved in highly classified antiterrorist work. Fenzi's accomplice in the D'Urso kidnapping was another radical professor, Giovanni Senzani. In addition to being Fenzi's brother-in-law, Senzani was a professor of criminology on the law faculty at the University of Florence. Senzani's public career as a leading radical criminologist and his secret life as a "people's judge" in the terrorist underground were closely intertwined. Italian authorities believe that

Red Brigades defendants.