

picked up his remarks as an attack on Brzezinski's "academic theorizing in world affairs."

Callaghan suffered a final humiliation at Guadeloupe in regard to his attempts to organize Carter into a new "Camp David" on Rhodesia. The French daily *Le Matin* reported that Carter understandably "made a face"—considering the mess the first Camp David has already created. Meanwhile, *Le Monde* ran an editorial picking on Giscard's talk about "Zimbabwe" in his New Year's speech, a sure confirmation, following the evacuation of French nationals from Rhodesia, that the French expect, and look favorably on, a nationalist offensive to "eliminate the last vestige of colonialism in southern Africa," to use Giscard's New Year's expression.

The decision to provide aid to Turkey is a giveaway that the French Mediterranean strategy is much bigger than what might appear at first sight. The German *Frankfurter Rundschau's* rumblings about a resurgence of the Jobert Grand Mediterranean regional plan—put forward by French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert in 1973—are to the point: French Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet was recently in Jobert's favorite old stomping grounds, Kuwait, talking about a comprehensive Mideast peace and a regional Arab development fund. British sewers in the U.S., meanwhile, are quietly panicking over the growth of French influence in the Arab world following Camp David and the eruption of the Iran crisis. With the enlargement of the European Community to include Spain, Greece and Portugal, France is negotiating with the oil producing

countries for a European Monetary System-centered Mediterranean "lake of peace and development," from Turkey and Portugal, down to Algeria or the Persian gulf.

The Grand Design is now emerging so clearly that the Soviets are beginning to publicly acknowledge the birth of that giant: writing in *New Times* this week, Soviet correspondents Felix Goryunov and Valery Lokhmachov clearly comprehend that beyond the simple currency stabilization scheme the EMS is often represented to be—even in the European press—there lies an endeavor to rebuild a gold-based monetary system that can bring about economic growth in Europe and large-scale investments in the Third World. *New Times* also insists that East-West trade is an essential aspect of making the EMS a success.

Giscard's road is set: in February he will be in Mexico to help consolidate that country's political and economic role as a major oil producer and a leader of the Third World, a key European ally, and—if sane heads prevail in the Carter Administration—a U.S. ally. In May, after a visit to Soviet President Brezhnev, Giscard has announced he will make a major statement on the "French concept of Europe," as the European Monetary System and Europe's role in the world will then have reached full maturity—possibly indicating that in Giscard's mind the Grand Design has four more months of gestation before becoming known as the law of the world.

—Garance Phau

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## Press on the summit: De Gaulle's 'directorate' realized

*A broad spectrum of international media reported that the outcome of the Guadeloupe summit was the realization of Charles de Gaulle's 20-year-old dream of an international "directorate" which would effectively end the pernicious Anglo-American relationship. Some key samples:*

Louis Foy, *France Soir*, Jan. 9:

Point-a-pitre, Jan. 8 — The happiest one was visibly President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The four power meeting, which the Americans refused to call a "summit" in order not to offend the absentees, finally brought about the "directorate" de Gaulle dreamed about 20 years ago. But, that word is banned since no one dares use it for fear of frightening the others.

*For the first time, in the sun of*

*Guadeloupe, West Germany, which already had been taking part in official meetings for quite a while, this time gained access to a family council of the Western countries.*

The family council is no doubt going to be held periodically and the three Europeans will from now on have the opportunity to show the Americans they are not the only masters. They (the U.S.)

the opinions of the others into account in decisions affecting them.

*President Carter, who is often aware of his hesitations and his contradictions, was not unhappy to hear opinions other than those of his advisors who too frequently tell him pleasant things. He himself has publicly acknowledged that he had never participated in a meeting that was so*

useful to him. (. . .)

*China gave rise to the only big fight of that meeting. Mr. Carter and Chancellor Schmidt did not hide from British Prime Minister Callaghan that Great Britain had chosen the worst possible time to announce that it was ready to sell military Harrier planes to China, in the framework of a program of trade exchanges amounting to \$2 billion.*

*As for the Europeans, they warned Mr. Carter against the danger of trying to play one superpower off against another. . . .*

*Paris correspondent Augusto Pancaldi, Unita, Jan. 8:*

(. . .)

China, Iran, other problems — ed.) were the themes discussed by the four in Guadeloupe (where no economic or monetary questions were discussed), then it seems to us that international detente was furthered. Carter got unanimous support for a rapid con-

# Germany, France aid Turkey against IMF

The Republic of Turkey has become the centerpiece of joint West German-French efforts at the recently concluded summit in Guadeloupe, which appear to be aimed at breaking the International Monetary Fund's control over Third World economies, and helping establish the European Monetary System's role as the new world monetary system.

West German Chancellor Schmidt, backed by French President Giscard d'Estaing, pushed for the creation of a special loan fund to enable Turkey to stabilize its beleaguered economy and extricate itself from the strait-jacket of an unworkable International Monetary Fund austerity program. The Turks have requested that this fund provide Turkey with approximately \$8 billion in fresh credits to be used not for debt repayment, but for the financing of the country's ambitious five-year development program. This program the Turkish government, despite tremendous IMF pressure, has refused to abandon. The Turks have stressed that without such a fund, the resulting economic instability will have severe political ramifications, possibly leading to an attempt at a

Chile-styled generals' coup. Fully aware of this danger, Schmidt and Giscard at Guadeloupe stressed to President Carter the urgent need for a loan mechanism for the Turks.

In an interview in the Jan. 9 West German daily *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit praised West Germany and France for supporting Turkey's fight against the IMF, and denounced the IMF for plunging his country "into an abyss." With the support of the Europeans, and hopefully the U.S., said Ecevit, Turkey can be the model for all Third World countries committed to development and at odds with the IMF.

## Will the U.S. get on board?

It is clear that West Germany is using the Turkish situation as a "test case" for the European Monetary System... and for Carter.

Although Carter was reportedly "convinced" by Chancellor Schmidt of the need for aid to Turkey, the U.S. is still holding back from committing itself in joining with the Europeans to extend the kind of economic assistance that Turkey needs. The reason for the Administration's reluctance is the fear of bucking and bankrupting the IMF, and of undercutting the London financial and political circles behind it.

In a weak-kneed effort not to alienate the Turks, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher was dispatched to Turkey on Jan. 10 to "inform" Ankara that \$300 million in

clusion of a SALT treaty with the Soviet Union, and this cannot but be considered positive — in view of the fact that France always opposed such negotiations as dangerous for European security. This seems to us the most important result of Guadeloupe. The creation of a "directorship of four" which now includes West Germany, is now a fact. There are those who see in this new development a counterweight to the classic, traditional Anglo-American entente.

*Flora Lewis, New York Times, Jan. 5:*

The four-power Western summit meeting starting here tonight reflects an evolution in America's relations with Europe, as well as something of a shift in the policy and style of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the host. Announced as an informal unstructured meeting in which the government chiefs can exchange their concerns about problems anywhere in

the world it is in effect a revival of Charles de Gaulle's idea of a Western "triumvirate" with the addition of West Germany...

The organizers of the Guadeloupe meeting have declared that no decisions and no declarations will emerge from the meeting. Nonetheless, it is bound to affect overall American-European relations, which had already been changing.

Perhaps the measure of the change can be seen in the subtle movement of French policy under Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, who a few years ago had a close relationship with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany, then warmed French relations with the United States and now seems to be returning to a French-German foundation for his policy.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing has come to share some of Mr. Schmidt's harsh judgment of President Carter, officials say privately, particularly in his feelings that the United States has

lacked firmness of direction and failed to face up to big power responsibility in Africa...

At the same time, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing has been fairly open in his assessment of British influence as drastically on the wane. He told the public with satisfaction not long ago that France had forged well ahead of Britain in economic strength and that his aim was to equal West Germany in the mid-1980s. The goal, he said in effect, was to create a kind of French-German centerpiece for Western Europe because it would be dangerous to leave West Germany alone as the dominant power of Western Europe and it would open Europe to American domination if the problem was to be solved through political integration of Common Market members.

It adds up to both a desire and a sense of opportunity for Western Europe to play a weightier part in the American-led Western coalition.