American protectorate, they say, and unity once realized, we will know how to act to free ourselves progressively of this protectorate, just as so many other colonized people have done in the past twenty years.

This is a subtle and agreeable reasoning for all those who think that politics consists of waiting, maneuvers, and above all, fear of effort and unlimited compromises. Therefore at the risk of pulling them softly out of their dream of independence, we must tell them that a comparison of Europe with former colonies is, on this score, radically inadequate. first, because many of these countries did not remain really independent, and have again become de facto protectorates of the former or of a new dominant power. Those who refused such an evolution did pay or still pay a price which, rightly or wrongly, no European country would freely accept: political dictatorship and a standard of living freeze. Finally and above all, a foreign protectorate would have graver and more durable effects on a developed economy than on a still under-developed economy: Whereas the latter must implement relatively crude technical capabilites to complete its first steps, our European countries can only live by endlessly improving their technology, thanks to which they will be able to manufacture and export the sophisticated materials which alone enable them to purchase the raw materials they need...

3. The Awakening

Here is, however, the adventure where, consciously or not, the present government is taking our country. One wants to believe that, having become conscious of what is at stake, no Gaullist, no socialist, whatever his tendency, no republican, no patriot — with the strong meaning this word had during the Revolution — will accept this shameful end of our French and European civilization. Then, the hour of awakening will ring.

For we must repeat it tirelessly, the true advocates of Europe are not those who make the loudest noise, but those who are attached to lucidly defining the conditions of its independence. They know just as much as the advertising agents of an American Europe that, in the present world, the gathering of the countries of this continent is a political, economic and military necessity for the development and even the survival of the peoples who live in it. But they also know that it is not a verbal Europe which will achieve this result, and even less a Europe of slavery...

—military guarantees: Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance into an egalitarian cooperative organism, to replace natural subordination; correlatively, integration of the European armies around an independent force of dissuasion (nuclear strategic force — Ed.) on the technological and operational plane; systematic preference granted to European materiel.

—economic guarantees: Development of a European industry in all advanced-technological sectors (nuclear, computers, aerospace, etc.) thanks to a tariff policy which has priority over the trans-Atlantic "free trade" which only works one way; in the same spirit, preservation of European agriculture, first condition of independence, which must not depend on the whims of U.S. soybean producers.

—monetary guarantees: Establishment of a European standard, partly based on gold, which will put an end to the regime of the dollar standard, the insidious instrument of U.S. colonialism.

-cultural guarantees: Notably through the adoption of European working languages which is not those of one or the other Greats.

Once these guarantees are accepted, the problem of supranationality will stop being the reason for discord which it presently is, as each European state will find in European authority the guarantee of its independence as that of the entire Union...

Exclusive IPS Translation

Gaullist General Warns of "American Threat" to Europe

NEW YORK, May 1 (IPS) — The following are excerpts from an interview published in the Italian weekly L'Europeo with French General François Binoche. The former head of Allied forces in West Berlin, Gen. Binoche was retired from the Army last year by French President and Atlanticist agent Giscard d'Estaing for making repeated attacks on the pro-Atlanticist West German government. He was formally accused of failing to comply with "obligation reserve" that demands that a French military officer make no political statements about a foreign government. Binoche, who has been on friendly terms with Soviet and Warsaw pact military leaders, is a close ally of Gaullist leader Michel Jobert and is a member of Johert's Democratic Movment. L'Europeo, which published the interview under the headline, 'Frankenstein Has Risen Again," has been active recently in exposing links of Italy's leading Atlanticist, FIAT owner Gianni Agnelli, to provocations and conspiracies aimed at toppling the Italian government.

...But Binoche did not stop there, rather, he adds more arguments to his way of talking, and his way of talking is making

inroads, not only in certain parts of the Army but also in broad layers of French public opinion. All of this seems to us to be very indicative of the state of mind that is being created, and not only in France, in the face of the disproportionate growth of the new German phenomenon....

Question: You speak of German danger. Normally rather, one hears of American danger, regarding economic domination or on the other hand, the Russian danger, regarding military power. Are these the false adversaries?

Answer: Europe, it is said, is under the American heel. This was true in the beginning. But today, dominated by the German economy, by the German currency and industry, we see Europe becoming day by day more German....

Question: But do you think that the Russians could ever accept the reconstitition of a greater Germany at their borders?

Answer: ...East Germany is already a curious "satellite" (of the Soviet Union) which during the so-called "Prague Spring" asked, I would rather say, imposed the Russian military intervention, contributing to it three batallions, which were used. Tomorrow the West German "satellite" of

America, could it not ask the same thing from this side of the Iron Curtain?

Question: But can the German military force constitute a danger for Europe?

Answer: Federal Germany has a fine army. ...Certainly, Germany does not have nuclear weapons, at least not officially, because in effect, I would like very much to know what the German Chief of General Staff Rall, went to do in South Africa at Palindaba, precisely where they are developing the atomic bomb. I would also like to see eliminated all the suspicions on what Mr. von Braun will do, now that he is finally "freed" from the USA, in the Mercedes plants. Isn't von Braun an expert on missiles? Wasn't he interrupted while he was building them for Hitler at the end of the last war? Are we sure that all these nuclear reactors that were sold to Latin America and particularly to Brazil, have only "peaceful" aims with all these "Brazilian citizens of German nationality" who live in those parts?

Question: However, some people object, these are only hypotheses. The immense Soviet power is, on the other hand, a threatening reality. And they don't lack missiles and atomic bombs...

Answer: I have never seen the Soviet soldiers march on the Champs Elysses, the German soldiers I have...but for me, I repeat, the Russian problem is.China, not Europe. In Europe, unless one is blind, the real danger is another one, very present already. And I don't say that one has to think necessarily in terms of tanks.

Question: What are you referring to?

Answer: I refer to the extraordinary declarations of the

German foreign minister Genscher, released at the end of last November, at his return of the very fruitful business to South America. No one French paper reported it, and yet they are very instructive, in fact they remind us of the not forgotten theories — adapted to the new times — on Lebensraum. Genscher said then: "A new division of the world is underway and Germany must get ready to assume its responsibilities. The hegemonic power in Europe, Germany appears as natural intermediary, key country for the relations between the industrialized and Third World. These Third World countries cannot have faith but in this solitary and stable rock in the midst of the general agitation. The Middle East, the Black and white Africa, South America and of course, Europe in the widest sense, they all come under its sphere of influence. The Pacific and Asian areas will be the U.S. territories...although this generosity of the USA has not lasted too long, in fact Minister Moerch said that even Southeast Asia, wherever the Americans, British and French will leave the area, the German duty is to replace them...

Question: And yet, general, the 'solitary and stable rock' is downright taken as an example by our political leaders (Giscard said so in the past days) and by industrial leaders; what does it mean? It is a guilty abdication on the national, economic and cultural levels...it is the fear of communism most of all.

Answer: The meaning of the 'European choice' of certain government leaders and certain employers is exactly this: To free themselves of their problems with the workers, they are ready to let themselves by crushed by Germany.