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LABOR HEAD OF DEFENSE COMMISSION SEES NATO SUPPORT THREATENED--"We must accept the fact that there is disunity in Norway concerning the stationing of missiles and NATO's double resolution. But it must be confirmed that Norway as a nation stands solidly behind NATO's decisions," said Ronald Bye, former secretary of the Labor Party, at a meeting of the Sandefjord Defense League Thursday. Ronald Bye, who is chairman of the defense commission, stressed that the Norwegian debate on defense and security policy has developed in an unfortunate way. "Confusions, insecurity, uncertainty, and unnecessary oppositions have been created. It is therefore important to stop what can now develop into a fundamental split in defense and security policy. That can be done by cooling down the heated debate about missile stationing and NATO's double resolution," says Bye. The former secretary of the Labor Party emphasized that free debate that reveals a lack of unity is one thing. That Norway as a nation stands loyally and solidly with its allies is another thing and more decisive. Moreover, we should now come together on the principles of our defense and security policy. Bye elaborated these simple principles in 12 points. One of these is that Norwegian defense policy and foreign policy must be based on respect for the allied nations' policy, positions, and leadership. "Norway must not deepen or stimulate oppositions between the nations in the NATO community," says Ronald Bye. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Mar 83 p 4] 8815

CSO: 3639/92A .

WOMEN'S PARTY LEADER IN CAMPAIGN: NO UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 23 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] When MORGUNBLADID asked The Women's Party's top candidates their opinion of Iceland's participation in NATO and the defense treaty with the United States, Reykjavik's top candidate, Sigridur Duna Kristmundsdottir, answered: "In our opinion the question is not merely of our participation in an alliance or that of an armed force's presence in our country, but a question of life or death. We do not think that an armed balance of forces ensures peace, but I do not think that Iceland can be disarmed without other countries being disarmed. We are particularly anxious for a discussion of these matters and for information, so that people can weigh the arguments and have a basis on which to form an opinion."

Sigridur Duna further stated: "As long as we have an armed force in the country, we want it to be strictly supervised. We want our government to unequivocally at any time to state the reasons for the presence of this armed force here. Thirdly, we do not want any increased armed operations in this country, for such operations wherever in the world increase the arms race, which we by all means want to prevent."

"It would be desirable to disband both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But as long as they both exist, I think the lesser evil is to belong to NATO than the other pact," stated Kristin Halldorsdottir of Reykjanes electoral district.

She also said: "The most important thing is to urge the governments of the United States, the USSR, and other atomic powers to a wide-ranging agreement on decrease in armaments. The Icelandic Government must take a firm stand against the arms race, as in my estimation a balance of terror does not constitute security. The goal is abolishment of all armed pacts, disarmament; peace. For me this is nothing less than a question of life or death for our children.

"Iceland's participation in NATO and the defense treaty need constant review, and I think it is extremely important for our country to be economically independent of the armed force's presence," Kristin Halldorsdottir concluded.

Malmfridur Sigurdardottir, top candidate for the North-East District, stated: "We do not want Iceland's participation in armed pacts at all, no matter who

is involved. We are against all armed pacts." We then asked her how she would ensure the country's security and independence. "We want Iceland's voice to be the voice of peace before all. We are willing to participate in peace treaties, and we believe women's speaking out is vital for lasting peace, for their goal is world peace."

We finally asked Malmfridur whether women would work towards our resignation from NATO and the armed force's departure if they got in a position to do so. She answered: "That's not necessarily number one on our program. There are so many things which need to be considered in that connection, and we do not intend to recklessly forge ahead in any matter--and there are many which need to be dealt with."

9981

CSO: 3628/28

CONSERVATIVE DAILY: GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND IRRESPONSIBLE ON TF

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Mar 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Irresponsible"]

[Text] It is unfortunately characteristic of Gro Harlem Brundtland's style of leadership that any attempt to discuss the Labor Party's wild leaps on security policy is labeled as "inflammatory and biased activity." What her opponents have been doing for weeks and months is analyzing what the chairman of the Labor Party has actually said and written about her party's stand on NATO's dual decision and western negotiation strategy with the Soviet Union. On this basis, they have presumed to remind the chairman of the consequences it could have for Norwegian and western security if NATO's negotiating strength and resistance are undermined. And they have clearly stated that they could not accept a new course that involves a break with the commitments we have assumed within the framework of mutual cooperation with Norway's allies in NATO.

In an article in AFTENPOSTEN, the Labor Party chairman makes a strange new attempt to talk her way around the facts. On behalf of her party, she rejects all responsibility for the deep disagreement that has arisen on security policy in this country and she is somewhat annoyed that the critics do not really understand the Labor Party approach to this issue. For according to the chairman, there is no question of divisiveness on the part of the Labor Party. What is involved is "political analysis, reflection and responsibility."

We regret that we are forced to say that her procedure seems very unconvincing. Nothing has occurred in security policy reality since the dual decision was made to indicate that Norway should move away from the negotiating strategy on which the governments of all the NATO countries agreed. Therefore one cannot avoid the conclusion that Gro Harlem Brundtland has a personal responsibility for the division that has occurred when early last fall she advocated Norway's withdrawal from its commitments to NATO--a position she has maintained since that time. In the last half year the Labor Party chairman has been at no time disposed to relieve the deadlock that has increasingly characterized our security policy debate. Efforts to build bridges between the government and the

Labor Party have been rejected. This bears witness to the immaturity as well as the irresponsibility of the leader of our biggest political party.

The possibility for new negotiation moves at appropriate times has been constantly discussed among NATO countries. There has been no disagreement about that. What is harmful to negotiations--to quote Prime Minister Kare Willoch--is that the Labor Party is undermining confidence in the western negotiators, that it is weakening the demand for a balance of forces between East and West and that it wants to remove important parts of the western pressure that could make the Soviet Union agree to reduce its superior forces.

6578

CSO: 3639/94

OVER TWO-THIRDS OF POLLED FAVOR FREEZING NUCLEAR ARMS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Mar 83

[Text] Opinion polls show support for a "freeze": 71 percent of those asked agree that the U.S. and the Soviet Union already have enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other, and that the testing, production and deployment of more nuclear weapons should be forbidden. This is shown in an opinion poll the Norwegian Institute of Opinion undertook for ARBEIDERBLADET.

Forty-three percent are "completely agreed" on this, 28 percent are "agreed," 15 percent "disagree," and four percent are "completely disagreed." Ten percent answer that they don't know.

The opinion poll therefore shows a strong support of the "freeze" idea. A corresponding opinion poll undertaken by the American weekly news magazine NEWSWEEK in the U.S. shows that 64 percent are completely agreed or agreed, 19 percent disagreed and 10 percent completely disagreed.

The question put to 1,000 persons over 15 was, "Those who are struggling to freeze the nuclear arsenals at the present level claim that both the U.S. and the USSR already have enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other, and they therefore wish to forbid testing, production, and deployment on both sides. What is your opinion, completely agreed, agreed, disagreed, completely disagreed?" The question is identical to the one asked in the U.S., and the Norwegian Opinion Institute had no influence on the formulation of the question.

There is the strongest support for the opinion that lies at the base of the freeze proposal in the Socialist Left Party, the Labor Party, and the Liberal Party. Of these parties' followers, 96 percent, 82 percent, and 84 percent respectively say that they are completely agreed or agreed. Only four percent, ten percent, and seven percent disagree or are completely disagreed.

Even in the Conservative Party the thought behind a freeze receives strong support. Sixty-two percent of the conservatives are completely agreed or agreed that there are already enough nuclear weapons on both sides. Twenty-five percent are disagreed, and six percent completely disagreed. Among supporters of the Christian People's Party, 60 percent are completely agreed and agreed, and 26 percent disagreed, while two percent are completely disagreed. Of the Center Party's voters, 68 percent are agreed or completely agreed, and 18 percent disagreed.

The opinion poll was taken in the middle of February

ESCALATION OF BASQUE TERROR WITH ATTACK, SECOND KIDNAP

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 26 Mar 83 pp 1, 14, 56

[Text] Policeman in Renteria Murdered and Former President of Discount Bank Kidnapped

A National Police convoy was attacked in the vicinity of Renteria (Guipuzcoa) yesterday by individuals who opened shotgun fire as a result of which five policemen were wounded. One of them subsequently died in the San Sebastian hospital. Several hours later, Diego de Prado y Colon de Carvajal, former Discount Bank president, was kidnapped in the garage of his Madrid home by four youths who passed themselves as policemen. These actions, added to the kidnapping of Guipuzcoa industrialist Jesus Guibert, detained for the past 3 days by the Independent Anticapitalist Commandos, may be a part of a more serious escalation of terrorist activities recorded in recent months.

Diego de Prado y Colon de Carvajal, former Discount Bank president and brother of Manuel de Prado, a personal friend of the king, was kidnapped by four armed, unmasked youths. Diego de Prado, 53, was accosted by his kidnapers at 1430 hours, in the garage of his own home, from where he was put in the car in which the four strangers had come. By midnight all consulted police sources admitted to their perplexity as to the reason for the kidnapping, and not one tended to consider it political or economic. Nevertheless, an investigation was initiated by the group specializing in ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] of the Madrid Regional Investigation Brigade.

The kidnapping occurred while Diego de Prado was driving to his home, located at 51 Zurbano Street, for lunch. In the few seconds during which the automatic garage door was open, a red Seat Ritmo car quickly followed Prado y Colon's automobile. According to the police in charge of the investigation, there were four or five people in the car, all of them in their 20s. Inside the garage, they got out of the car and seized Diego de Prado.

Moments later, the kidnapper was put into the Seat Ritmo and, together with two or three of the kidnapers, left the garage and the area.

The two remaining youths, who had displayed police badges, remained in the house for more than 1 hour. They hardly talked to the tenants who they warned from the very first to obey all their instructions. Minutes before leaving the house, at about 1530 hours, they cut the telephone line and warned the janitor's family not to report the fact to the police.

High state security officials complained that the initial notice they received on the kidnapping was slightly before 1800 hours, which gave the kidnapers more than 3 hours of leeway to flee and hide Diego de Prado in a secure place.

When notified, Manuel de Prado y Colon de Carvajal, former president of the Ibero-American Cooperation Institute, went to his brother's house where other family members and friends of the kidnap victim gathered. They included Gen Sabino Fernandez Campos, royal household secretary and Manuel de Prado's friend. Among the telephone inquiries was a call made the king, according to friends of the family.

Slightly after 2100 hours, Manuel de Prado came out of the house to speak with the large number of reporters at the door. He described the case briefly and added that his brother had not received any threats or at least had not disclosed threats to his relatives. Starting with today, attorney Marcial Fernandez Montes will be the family's spokesman.

As to the reasons for the kidnapping, a high official at police headquarters pointed out to this periodical that according to the members of the Prado family, who were consulted in the course of the evening, the kidnap victim not only has no personal wealth but is having economic difficulties. That is why the suspicion which spread around some circles yesterday was that the kidnapers had hit the wrong target and had wanted to kidnap Manuel de Prado.

As to the identity of the kidnapers, the various official and unofficial police sources interviewed last evening claimed having no specific terrorist group in mind as the target of their investigation. Although senior police officials, asked by this periodical, did not expressly name a specific terrorist group, most of them tended to suspect the ETA in general. Diego de Prado is married to Angeles Perez Soane, daughter of the duke of Pinohermoso. The family has five sons, the oldest being 22.

[Report by Genoveva Gastaminza, San Sebastian]

A National Police convoy of the Fifth Reserve Company in Murcia, which was returning to its Fuenterrabia barracks after guard duty at the Martutene Prison in San Sebastian, was attacked by two individuals who opened shotgun fire from the top of a hill rising over the Bilbao-Behovia Highway, off Renteria. Five national policemen were wounded, one of whom, Corp Ramon Martinez Garcia, died 3 hours later, on the operating table of the San Sebastian hospital, from cardiac failure which occurred while a bullet lodged below his stomach was being extracted.

Two individuals opened gunshot fire on the second in a convoy of five Avia vehicles which were moving quite quickly toward Fuenterrabia, at 7:45 am on a rainy morning with heavy fog. The attacked personnel jumped on the ground while their comrades riding behind them engaged the attackers despite the low visibility.

Policemen Jose Maria del Val Martinez, Enrique Olivares Pequeno, Jose Nicol Garcia, Ramon Navarro Marin and Ramon Martinez Garcia were wounded in the attempt. They were all considered wounded lightly. The last on the list, however, subsequently died at the San Sebastian hospital. The minister of interior announced his intention to attend the funeral which will be held today.

Cardiac Arrest

This death caused a great deal of consternation, for it was initially believed that no such consequences of the attack would occur, the wounds considered not too severe. Paulino Martinez, the National Police chief in Guipuzcoa, told this newspaper that in the course of his visit to the hospital where the wounded had been taken, he had greeted the deceased Ramon Martinez, who was lying on a stretcher waiting to be operated on. Ramon Martinez had commented happily on their luck of having survived the attempt.

According to the medical authorities at the San Sebastian hospital, a severe hemorrhage occurred while the bullet was being extracted from Corp Ramon Martinez Garcia, the consequence of which was a cardiac arrest from which the patient failed to recover despite the resuscitation efforts of the physicians.

The deceased corporal, who was married and had two children, aged 5 and 2, was born in Ceuti (Murcia). He was 33 last December. A resident of Molina del Segura, Ramon Martinez had joined the National Police on 1 April 1971. Next week he would have served 12 years.

Three Weeks in Basque Country

The Fifth Murcia Reserve Company, in which the deceased served, had arrived in Guipuzcoa on 4 March last--exactly 3 weeks ago--and was to return on or about 4 April, thus completing its month of rotation service of National Police companies in the Basque country.

The unit had spent the 24 hours preceding the attempt at the Martutene Prison, where they had been on guard duty. Although no official confirmation has been received as yet, the policemen who repelled the aggression having been unable to see how the attackers escaped, it is assumed that they used an orange-colored van and an R-7, which had been seized at gunpoint by some individuals yesterday morning, and the owner of which was found at noon tied near the Renteria cemetery.

These successes--adding to this action the kidnapping of Mr Guibert--break the apparent month-and-a-half-old calm. The last murder attempts had taken place last February: on 5 February a bomb exploded in the offices of the Bank of Biscay, which left three employees dead; on the 12th the wife of a private investigator on a job in Tolosa was killed.

Both actions caused a great deal of commotion and spoiled the initial idea of celebrating a peace mass, suggested by Carlos Garaikoetxea, president of the Basque Autonomous Government.

Before the Basque Parliament met in plenary session, the deputies representing the various groups expressed their feeling of repulsion at the attempt, together with the president of the autonomous cabinet.

Two Bombs in the Center of San Sebastian

Elsewhere, two medium-strength bombs were exploded yesterday morning, respectively in a San Sebastian electrical store and a pharmacy. In both cases, Efe reports, some material damage was caused but no one was hurt.

The bombs were exploded within 5 minutes of each other. Both establishments are in the center of the city. The blast broke some glass in houses around the explosions.

Both bombs had been placed at the doorways and were equipped with timers.

5157

CSO: 3548/305

PRESUMED EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF ETA ARRESTED

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 15

[Report: "Three Members of the 'Executive Committee' of the Political-Military ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group], Eighth Assembly Detained"]

[Text] In the course of a broad sweep conducted against the ETAp^m Eighth Assembly, in Gerona and Biscay, the police detained seven people. Weapons, documents and clandestine apartments were seized. Three of the seven are presumed members of the executive committee of the terrorist organization, according to well-informed sources.

Jose Agustin Achega Aguirre, believed to be the chief of the operative commandos and one of the highest officials of the Political-Military ETA, Eighth Assembly, also known as Fiti and Duque, was detained at the beginning of the week in Bilbao. Identified among the other six are Juan Aguirre Aurrekoetxea (Txangurro) and Roberto Sanz Riego, presumed members of the Political-Military ETA Executive Committee, as is Fiti, and the group consisting of Francisco Javier Aguirre Aurrekoetxea, Juan's brother, and Maria Josefa Jaureguiza.

As to the detained people whose names are not known, it appears that they are part of the so-called Biscay Commando. The extensive operation mounted by the security forces, as this newspaper has been informed by high police officials, was actually started more than 1 year ago, when the officials then in charge of the antiterrorist struggle in Basque country decided to ask proper permission to tap Francisco Javier Aguirre Aurrekoetxea's telephone based on the likelihood that his brother, Txangurro, may try to get in touch with him eventually. Telephone monitoring, the same sources said, had yielded no results until last week, when Francisco Javier Aguirre Aurrekoetxea received a telephone call to get in touch with Jose Agustin Achega and Juan Aguirre.

Based on the information from the tap, members of the Central Investigation Brigade, together with personnel from the Guardia Civil and the National Police, moved into Gerona and Biscay provinces, for according to the information acquired by the police, some of the ETA leaders intended to move from France into Spain through the Junquera border point on their way to Bilbao, where they intended to meet with Fiti. Still according to these sources, Maria Josefa Jaureguiza and Francisco Javier Aguirre went to Gerona Province to establish contact with Francisco Javier's brother and Sanz Riego in Figueras.

Gerona police sources had already said last Wednesday that on Sunday four presumed ETA members had been detained in the province. Jose Agustin Acheaga was detained subsequently, apparently on Monday, in Bilbao. Let us point out in this connection that official circles claimed yesterday that Acheaga's detention had been made possible by the plugging of leaks regarding the detention of the four mentioned individuals.

In this connection, Jesus Martinez Torres, commissioner general for investigations and the head police official in charge of antiterrorism, told this newspaper yesterday that the operation which was completed at the beginning of this week was started months ago, with the surveillance of individuals in Basque country suspected of being in contact with the political-military leadership. He added that such detentions are a "police success," although he admitted that some recent leaks to information media had spoiled the planned operations for that time. "This really upset us," he claimed. He also denied that the French authorities had collaborated in any one of these operations.

Weapons and Safe Houses

Unofficial government sources have indicated that the members of the Central Investigation Brigade had acquired substantial data on arm repositories and safe houses used in recent months by the political-military members. The same sources confirmed that the Security Forces had found two mortars, hand grenades, submachine guns and ammunition, and safe houses in Bilbao. In this connection, the sources pointed out that members of the Security Corps, accompanied in some cases by some detainees, were inspecting various mountain areas listed in the documents seized from the detainees, in search of possible zulos or arms caches.

Circles related to the police operation also claimed yesterday that the initial interrogations of the detainees had led to the tailing of suspects, some of whom may be detained in the next few hours, should it be confirmed that the leaks to the information media had spoiled the plans of the police.

These important detentions are taking place at a time during which, after months of vacillations, all indications seemed to point to an upsurge in acts of violence on the part of the Eighth Assembly members.

5157

CSO: 3548/305

PNV INDUSTRIALIST KIDNAPPED IN AZPEITIA

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 22 Mar 83 p 13

[Article by Patxo Unzueta]

[Text] Jesus Guibert Azcue, age 55, a member of the Basque Nationalist Party and manager of the Marcial Ugin, S.A. iron and steel company of Azpeitia (Guipuzcoa) was kidnapped yesterday shortly after 9:00am by three unknown persons, who fled the scene in a company car which they had previously forced the industrialist to enter. It appears certain that the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] is responsible for this new kidnapping, although as of now it is not known to which branch of the terrorist organization the raiding party responsible for the action belongs.

The governor of Guipuzcoa, Julen Elgorriaga, confirmed after speaking to members of Guibert's family that the industrialist had received letters containing demands for payment of the "revolutionary tax." Persons who in the past had professional relations with the company also reported that about 3 years ago Jesus Guibert, who was already subject to pressure of terrorist extortion, was in the habit of taking certain precautions, such as using different cars for his trips. For a time, according to these sources, the Guipuzcoa industrialist was officially "missing," and stopped appearing for a time at the places he had usually frequented. Recently he had carried on a normal life, apparently without any special precautions. Every morning between 8:15 and 8:30 he left his home on Zubieta Street in San Sebastian, and travelled the 52 kilometers which separate the capital of Guipuzcoa from Azpeita in an Opel, Senator model, light metallic blue color with San Sebastian license number 3468-0. An Azpeitia businessman, who has known Guibert all his life, commented: "I don't know whether they asked him for the 'tax', but if they did ask him for it he certainly paid it, because otherwise he would not have travelled so calmly around there, not only through the town, but on pleasure trips, alone in the countryside, as did his brother-in-law and associate Pedro Ucin."

Modern Company

Jesus Guibert Azcue joined the Marcial Ucin company some 25 years ago after his marriage to Elena Ucin, daughter of the founder of the plant. Pedro, one of the four brothers of Buibert's wife, shares the management of the factory with the kidnapped man. The latter, the son of an iron dealer of the town--and related on his mother's side to the owners of the Azcue furniture factory--managed to convert the little workshop which made ploughs and other farming implements which his father-in-law had opened a half century ago into a thriving company.

At present, Marcial Ucin, S.A. is one of the most technologically advanced factories in the whole Basque Country. It manufactures metal plates, using scrap iron as the principal raw material. Guibert has the reputation in Azpeitia as being very intelligent and enterprising in business. Moreover, the factory is not known to have a large number of labor disputes; as a neighbor commented: "If he had problems with a worker he would offer him a substantial compensation to leave, and the problem would end." At present a total of 174 people are employed in the company, which is located in the Paseo de los Fueros, almost across from the market. The demolition in progress in the rear part of the factory, aimed at expanding the installations, gives proof of the good condition of the company. Yesterday several persons saw Guibert arrive as he did every day. Some of them--at least one secretary, who was crossing the street at that moment after having left her daughter at school, and a female agent of the municipal police, who was directing traffic only 50 meters away from the factory--saw how the car almost immediately again left the garage, which is located on the ground floor of the factory.

Those witnesses were somewhat surprised to see that the Opel, which was moving at a moderate speed, was not being driven by the industrialist, but by a dark man about 35 or 40 years old. Jesus Guibert was in the seat next to the driver, and there appeared to be two other people in the back seat.

One Daughter is Daughter-in-law of Echeverria

It was the secretary who first became worried when the manager did not return. The family confirmed by telephone that Guibert had left his house at the usual time. It was then that the alarm went out. According to a neighbor, quite some time before 12 noon, the time when she heard the news of the possible kidnapping on the radio, "it was apparent that something strange was going on."

Guibert Azcue is the father of four children, two boys and two girls, ranging in age between 17 and 29. One of his daughters it seems has recently married one of the brothers of Miguel Echeverria, the youth who was kidnapped last 10 January, and who was returned one week later after his relations paid the ransom demanded.

The Guibert family usually lives in San Sebastian, but they own a house--the Ucin family one--in Azpeitia, where they are in the habit of staying from time to time. Azpeitia is a town of 13,000 inhabitants. An ancient Carlist stronghold, the home town of St Ignatius--but also of the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party] leader Xabier Arzallus--today it is a town very closely identified politically with the PNV, of which its mayor, Luciano Lazcano Uranga, is a member, as well as 12 other councillors. The remainder are divided between Basque Left (two councillors) PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] (1) and EK--the Carlist Party--(1).

The older daughter of the kidnapped man confirmed that her father had received letters signed by the ETA--she did not specify whether it was the military or the political-military branch--but she added that "recently the threats had stopped." Regarding her father's health, she stated that "he is a strong man, accustomed to taking part in sports, and with great presence of mind."

As soon as the report was received, both the Civil Guard and the National Police, as well as the Ertzaina (autonomous Basque police) set up check-points in the vicinity of Azpeitia. This town is situated in a rather mountainous area, full of small villages and cabins. The Heights of Azkarate separate Azpeitia and Azkoitia, towns which are almost contiguous, from Elgoibar, through which the Bilbao-Hendaya highway passes.

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ETA TARGET OF POLICE ACTIONS; ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 7 Mar 83 pp 44-48

[Article by Ander and Gorka Landaburu: "The ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] Loses a Branch; Deadly Hit by the French Police on the Eighth Assembly 'Milikis'"]

[Text] Repeated splits, lack of political cover and the activities of the French police, which culminated in a variety of important detentions, have dealt the ETA (P-M) the hardest blows in its history.

Juan Infante, a member of Parliament and a Bilbao attorney who is negotiating the legalizing of the Eighth Assembly ETA, assured CAMBIO 16 that as a political and military project the ETA (P-M) was now past history. "The 'Eighths' are dead, i.e., the group of those who decided to break the truce in January 1982 and to pursue terrorist actions is practically dissolved."

The coup de grace was administered to this terrorist branch 22 February last by the French police which, that night, mounted an important operation against ETA exiles in the south of France. The French police had set up something slightly stricter than a routine control operation in the Ciboure settlement, less than 1 kilometer away from the Saint Jean de Luz "sanctuary." With great care and extreme discretion, while the Ciboure population was glued to Channel 2 on the television, which was broadcasting a program on the 1940 armistice, Jose Astorquiza, alias "Pottoka," head of a large ETA (P-M) sector, was apprehended on a silent street.

Police Offensive

The secrecy, efficiency and speed of the French police confirmed the importance of this detention. They had detained a "heavyweight," the chief of the "Milikis," the most radical faction which had recently taken over this branch of the terrorist organization.

Several letters addressed to Basque industrialists in Navarra and Alava, requesting the sinister "revolutionary tax" on behalf of the ETA (P-M), were found in a Peugeot 104, driven by "Pottoka," which had been discreetly watched by the police over the previous several hours.

The recipients of these letters, most of them involved in real estate operations, were to include Ignacio Zoco, a former international soccer player.

The amounts these industrialists were asked to pay as "revolutionary tax" varied between 5 and 20 million pesetas, according to the French police.

All envelopes bore Spanish stamps and were to be delivered to an intermediary who was to mail them from Spanish territory. A quick search in the residence of the detainee led to the discovery of the typewriter used for these letters as well as gloves which showed marks of the seal of the terrorist organization and a hood used at the last press conference of the P-M in the course of which, attended by three journalists only, the advent to power of the "Milikis" had been announced.

The apprehension of "Pottoka," who was caught with his "hand in the till," triggered the general offensive of the French police by direct order from Paris.

In the midst of intensive activities, Commissioner Catala of the Bayonne Subprefecture, head of the PAF (Air and Border Police), ordered as a first step the investigation of various ETA apartments after obtaining a proper court warrant.

Roundup in the South

The roundup was carried out simultaneously in various localities in the area and police inspectors were sent to specify the private homes in Tarn, Cambo, Bayonne, Biarritz and Saint Jean de Luz.

The French police seemed willing to hit the ETA refugees hard.

The result of this police operation was 15 detentions of presumed ETA members. Reinforcements of the judiciary police were sent to the Bayonne Subprefecture especially from Bordeaux to interrogate the other exiled leaders such as Arnaldo Otegui, Mondragon, "El Gordo," Francisco Javier Lopez Pena, Jose Luis Garcia Fernandez de Luco and Carlos Tellan Garces, in addition to Kepa Astorquiza.

Inspector Catala's men also collected extensive documentation on the terrorist organization and the last P-M meeting, as well as reports and directives of the new majority sector, known as the "Milikis," for their leaning toward the strategy of the military ETA military, HB [Herri Batasuna] and the five points of the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] alternative.

The news spread among the refugees like a flash of gunpowder, and a number of them decided to spend the night away from their homes, fearing further detentions covering a broader area.

The French lawyers who usually defend the Spanish Basque refugees, claimed that this police action is part of a broader plan of the Ministry of the Interior, which has decided to establish stricter control over these refugees.

"Unquestionably," one such lawyer told CAMBIO 16, "things have changed in recent months. Most of the control and supervision over the refugees are part of an agreement and political strategy developed between Madrid and Paris."

ETA Threats

The Bayonne subprefect confirmed to this periodical the concepts of a long-term plan. However, he emphasized that the latest actions were the fortuitous consequences of a simple control operation in the course of which specific criminal evidence was discovered. "It was not our wish to react violently to the statements made by some 'P-M' in a recent clandestine press conference, in the course of which veiled threats against us were formulated," Subprefect J. Jezequel added.

It seems that in the course of this press conference to which the Bayonne subprefect referred, and which was attended by three journalists only, Kepa Astorquiza, "Pottoka" himself, said that "if France were to attack the exiles it may meet with a surprise."

The socialist deputy of the district, Jean Pierre Destrade, pointed out at his home in Saint Jean de Luz the lack of more active police operations against the exiles. "It is obvious," he pointed out, "that we must cooperate more extensively with our Spanish socialist friends, for this is no witches' cauldron. France has laws and those who violate them will have to face justice."

Nevertheless, Bernard Garcia, adviser to Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, presented a somewhat different version in Paris: the great sweep mounted against the "P-M" is part of the long-term strategy of the French government and of a plan covered in stages. "This plan is also consistent with better cooperation which has developed for the past several weeks between the socialist French and Spanish administrations," added the adviser to the French prime minister.

According to sources questioned by this publication, this plan has been implemented by recently setting up strict and tight supervision of Basque refugees and the continuation of the operations recently initiated on French territory.

Encirclement of the P-M

The encirclement of the ETA refugees, which initially yielded 15 apprehensions, has triggered concern and worry in Saint Jean de Luz and Bayonne, where a number of ETA members have been forced to abandon their residences and usual contacts, aware of the activities of the French police. The only three of the initial 15 detainees remaining in the Bayonne prison are Kepa Astorquiza, Garcia Fernandez and Lopez Pena, who are charged with various crimes, noteworthy among them being "membership in a clandestine organization for the extortion of funds and use of forged documents," aggravated in "Pottoka's" case by having entered France clandestinely.

The consequences facing the ETA members from such charges are possible prison terms ranging from 6 months to 6 years.

Further detentions were made 48 hours later when the police arrested four other "poli-milis" as they were preparing to enter a surveyed apartment in Bayonne. Arrugaeta, the only one of the four detainees (Jose Gonzalez Valderrama, Jose Manos Martija, Jose Uribarri and Jose Miguel Arrugaeta) was taken to jail on the basis of an arrest warrant for his escape from a place of confinement in the center of France.

The warrant which was issued by a French judge following his escape, after the French Government denied a request of his and Linaza's extradition, has been fortuitously served.

This police operation, the forthcoming municipal elections and the pressure exerted by the abertzales [patriotic] in favor of releasing the ETA Txomin Iturbe, have increased political tension in the south of France where contact had been established between Paris and the two branches of the ETA terrorist organization.

Such tension breaks out whenever ETA (P-M) is on the verge of resuming operations. Ever since the members of the Seventh ETA (P-M) Assembly decided to dissolve their organization and to abandon the armed struggle, the situation within this organization has been tense, with repeated friction. The failure of the "Operation World" and the holding of the Eighth Assembly precipitated a new split.

As is common in ETA history, the crisis was resolved in favor of the hard-liners, who were in favor of a strategic rapprochement with the positions of the military ETA. Most of the leaders and members of the armed organizations supported the "Milikis" plan, thus placing this sector in the majority.

Death of the P-M

Twelve of the 17 central committee members, and five of the six members of the executive endorsed the hard line of their various supporters among the latest members arrested by the police.

The "Milikis" report stipulates that they are unwilling "to renounce armed activities even if a political negotiation would be initiated leading to peace." They also accused Euskadiko Ezkerra of being a social democrat and support Herri Batasuna, claiming that "it has become clear through the 28-0, that the hegemonistic sector of the abertzale left is HB."

Conversely, the minority, headed by its historical leader (P-M) Txutxo Abrisqueta, were in favor of peace talks and their views were supported by the ETA members jailed in the Nanclares de Oca Jail.

The Bilbao lawyer and member of Parliament Juan Infante claims that the organizational weakness of the Eighth Assembly is confirmed by the fact that the actual forces on either side of the border do not exceed 70 members.

"Our impression," concludes the lawyer, "is that on Spanish territory there is virtually no membership or structure."

History of the ETA

The ETA was born in 1957 as a result of the split of Eusko Gastedi (Youth of the Basque Nationalist Party), which seems to be the origin of the organization.

ETA history must be written on the basis of the targets which, excluding assassinations, kidnapping and attempts, consist of divisions within the terrorist organization. The first was the already mentioned 1957 split, which gave birth to the organization. After several years of very limited activities, "the goats" split in 1966. Dazzled by the Argentine experience, they mounted guerrilla operations in the Onate Mountains until they were broken up by the law-and-order forces only 1 year later. Between 1957 and 1966 there were no splits, perhaps because the various groups within the organization were taking orders while the police were holding the leaders of the other groups.

The decision taken by "the goats" in March was followed in December by the ETA-Berri [New ETA] which, commanded by Paco Iturrioz, was expelled by the Fifth Assembly of the organization, making room subsequently for the Spanish Communist Movement (1970).

Another split occurred in August 1970. This time it was the Sixth "Phantom" Assembly, which later was to accommodate the Trotskyites of the Revolutionary Communist League.

Later on, the organization, which was still observing the agreements of the Fifth Assembly, held another Si Assembly, in August 1973, where the positions which, in October of 1974, were to lead to another split, this time between the so-called Political-Military and the military were adopted. The former, which are now known as the "poli-milis," held their Seventh Assembly in September 1976 in an effort to resolve the problems which they have with one of the sectors in their organization, the Special Commandos or "Bereziak." However, a split did take place and members led by Apala joined the ranks of the other sector, the "milis."

Last year the ETA (P-M) faced another split between a sector which claims to obey the stipulations of the Seventh Assembly and has decided to lay down its arms, and another sector which, on the basis of the Eighth Assembly, decided to continue the armed struggle.

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ENERGY CONSUMPTION GROWING ONLY HALF AS FAST AS GNP

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Mar 83 p 6

[Text] "The same observations are being made in all the Western countries -- there is a decline in energy consumption. In Norway there has been an even decline since 1979. Earlier one liked to see the relationship between energy consumption and growth in gross national product (GNP) as 1-1. Actually it is 0.4-0.8. Energy consumption in Norway has increased from 1976-1982 by 0.5 percent, while the GNP has increased by two percent."

Per Arild Garnasjordet of the Central Bureau of Statistics told this to ARBEIDERBLADET.

In January it was remarked that the Central Bureau was operating with figures that lie under those of the Energy Prognosis Commission. The Central Bureau calculated that energy consumption would be three billion kilowatt hours (2 TWh) under what the government had established for 1990. Both for general supply and for energy-demanding industry the Central Bureau has set a lower consumption up to 1990.

If one looks at the waterways that now may be taken out of the general plan, Breheimen will give just about exactly three TWh. Therefore the debates on prognoses and calculations of energy consumption and need will become very important.

The Total Picture

"We came down farther than the Prognosis Commission's 104.7 TWh, to 101.1 TWh, because we took our starting point at a lower growth in the oil price, according to IEA's and OECD's calculations. In the light of recent developments, our calculations do not seem less probable," Per Arild Garnasjordet said.

"It is a fact that energy demanding industry has heavy going at the moment. But the Central Bureau of Statistics is not working with zero-growth models. There is a transition from the use of oil to the use of electricity. This can bring electricity consumption up in general use, but a weak economic development can also lead to lower electricity consumption.

"In our opinion it is important to consider the total energy picture, including demand for other fuel than just electric power. Here our figures show zero growth up to 1990."

ARBEIDERBLADET: What do these prognoses signify for policy decisions?

"In any case one must now include energy-demanding industry in prognosis calculations. At present there is a decline in process, and this makes it necessary to include energy-demanding industry in the evaluation of future construction need."

Environmental Effects

In the Central Bureau's survey, in addition to economic growth and energy consumption, figures have also been calculated for some environmental effects of energy consumption and production. "A very important calculation when one is to weigh things in balance," Garnasjordet said.

It is fine to have figures that show how the emission of SO₂ declines because of decreased oil consumption. But a negative side is the damage we can measure that results from water power development.

"Often one gets the impression that construction projects are being reduced today in order to avoid environmental effects. But at the same time one must be aware of the fact that the projects are getting continually larger and more comprehensive, and that the environmental effects can also get larger," Garnasjordet said.

The Environmental Balance Sheet

In the Central Bureau's report of 1/83 there are figures that show the new results from the powerful technology that is now in use. While before 1939 there were only two developed power stations with a regulated height of over 40 meters, 30 stations were built in the period 1975-80 with a regulated height of over 40 meters. Before 1939 there were only five cabins submerged by a dam, and in the period 1975-80 100. All in all, there were 16 cabins, dwellings, businesses, and dairy cabins submerged by dams before 1939, in the period 1960-69 510, and in the period 1975-80 there were 200.

When inroads on the environment reach such an extent, it is perhaps not so strange that resistance is more noticeable, both locally and nationally.

Bad Fishing

"I would like to tell of a comprehensive interview-investigation the Central Bureau undertook with all domestic fishing groups. In dammed up water the trout stock has decreased, while the number of char has increased. The fish size has decreased for trout, char, and perch. The amount of catch has also decreased. To be sure, this is nothing new, but it is a formidable confirmation, not just of a local, but of a nationwide, unambiguous picture.

"To give comprehensive reports on what we have and consume in the way of natural resources is the goal of an environmental balance sheet," the researcher in the Central Bureau of Statistics, Per Arild Garnasjordet, said.

EXPERTS AGREE: ECONOMIC UPTURN AROUND CORNER

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 Mar 83 p 22

[Article by Kermit Nørlund and Bent Bjørn Christensen]

[Text] The dawn of better times is now breaking, but Denmark will have to watch its steps in order to benefit from the upturn, experts state.

Combine the declining international and domestic interest rates. Mix well, while adding constantly declining oil prices. Add an inexpensive labor agreement. And, finally, sprinkle stable prices on the mixture.

This is the recipe for today's special: "Danish Upswing." However, before it may be served in this country, things will have to improve abroad. The United States is on its way, but only when the upswing is felt in the rest of the West, will it help.

During the last few weeks, happy messages have been sweeping over Denmark. When the parties in the labor market had agreed on our wages for the next 2 years, the international interest rate decline also had its effect on this country. Later on, the oil price reductions of the sheiks followed. One economist after the other came forward with predictions to the effect that we were on our way out of the swamp into green valleys.

Making the Money Fly

And the effects have not failed to show up. Residential housing sales are again in progress, and many families have decided to replace their old cars by new ones. We are ready to make our money fly anew.

However, neither Mrs. Jensen on Saxogade nor the Hansen's at Hillerød will have much more money at their disposal than previously. Perhaps rather the contrary. For it will cost money to set the wheels of industry turning again, especially in Denmark. And, in industry, pessimism has changed into optimism and a belief in progress. However, in order for the country to collect the profits, the restraints on the consumption of the Danes will still have to be

maintained. This appears from a number of interviews given by Danish and international experts to the editors of the Focus series of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in the course of the past week.

Self-Torturers

Psychology plays a decisive role when the first signs of economic progress appear. There are definite signs of progress in the United States; in Europe, expectations play at least an equally great role as concrete signs of progress. That is why economists are unanimous in warning against excessive optimism, which will induce people to spend more money.

If a leading Danish businessman is asked today how things go, he will answer: "Better," but if asked how his own sales are going, he will answer that things are not better yet.

Torben Nielsen, chief economist, the Private Bank, has, during the last few years, formed the following picture of the Danes: "We are a nation of self-torturers, who, up to a certain point, like to hear that we are on the brink of the precipice, or that the Danish state is on the point of bankruptcy. But after fifteen emergency agreements in the labor market to no effect, people become tired of hearing about emergencies. A kind of national pride gets the upper hand. People report ready to make sacrifices, believing that it will be possible to change the course. The large drop in the interest level is the first visible result. Without it, there would hardly have been the present optimism in the country."

Reduces Impact

Economists stress that a clear distinction will have to be made between the world-wide upturn and the one taking place in Denmark. For the fact that we have to pay more money abroad than we take home--i.e. our balance of payments deficit--reduces the impact of our share of the upturn.

"It is true that this problem casts a strong damper on the amount of upswing that one may accept," says Bodil Nyboe Andersen, director of the Cooperative Bank.

"The balance of payments problem is bad enough as it is, even if investments are depressed. But things will become worse if the upswing starts causing a high import rate. In this country, we have got to destroy some of the positive effects, and that applies, of course, in particular, to the private consumption of the Danish people. We cannot afford any sharp deterioration of our balance of payments but must, on the contrary, be aware of the need to avail ourselves of the situation to improve our balance of payments. We have to go many years back in the economy to find as many positive features at the same time. However, it is important for us not to count our chickens before they are hatched."

Confidence

Hans E. Zeuthen, chief economist of the Independent Economic Council, says that, especially in the United States, the view has prevailed during the last 3 years that faith removes mountains.

"However, it has been recognized that this is not possible. There must be some basis for one's faith. The falling oil prices, however, show that there is now a bit of action together with the faith. But it is only when investments appear that things really start moving. But in order for the optimism to last, the possibilities for increasing sales will also have to exist.

The fact that some people start talking about optimism already at the point when things are not going as fast downhill as they used to, gives rise to confusion. I believe that the upturn will take place at a fairly slow rate--do not forget that West Germany is still marked by stagnation or that which is worse. And, as far as Denmark is concerned, I still wonder if we shall experience any major upturn. It is true that oil prices have declined, but, as far as I know, the scheduled tightening of the fiscal policy has not been shelved. We do not know the extent to which the fiscal policy will be tightened--and the effect of the fall in oil prices to the consumers may be swallowed up by such a measure.

As far as I can see, we are now moving away from a situation where we expected 1983 to become a year when things would go really badly, to a situation where we do not expect 1983 to become such a bad year after all."

May-June

The Private Bank has changed its view on the economic situation thoroughly. Torben Nielsen says that we may use 7 percent more than last year. Six and a half percent will be swallowed up by price increases, but we shall have 0.5 percent left for an actual expansion of the consumption. A couple of months ago, he expected that we would have to have our consumption cut by 2 percent compared to last year's consumption. The present optimism is due to the fact that we have to pay 4 billion kroner less for fuel.

"We are of the opinion that the effects of the drop in oil prices will show up already in May-June. And this will quickly be seen in the form of an increase in the volume of orders for enterprises which produce, for example, clothing and durable consumer goods, such as furniture, dry goods and automobiles. An increase in the employment rate will follow but will be in evidence already during the summer months--not least within the building and construction sector. I find that we may add 0.5 to 0.75 percent to the economic growth rate of all previous economic forecasts."

Consumption

Torben Nielsen, chief economist, has also made projections with respect to the way in which we shall be spending our money. He expects a continued

showdown between supermarkets and specialty stores on our everyday commodities, in which the supermarkets will gain an extra percent. In addition, we shall be spending 3 percent more on clothing and 4 percent more on durable consumer goods.

Job Situation

"The most important benefit which the Danes will derive from the economic upswing is the fact that the risk of becoming unemployed decreases. We shall not be very much better off financially, for the government will be compelled to carry on its restrictive financial policy measures."

Last week, Steffen Møller, chief economist of the Danish Metal Workers' Union, made the projection that 50,000 more people will be employed next year over the turn of the year 1982/83. That sounds promising to the ears of the unemployed, but the queue at the state employment offices will not necessarily become smaller because the employment rate increases. For the influx of workers into the labor market is still large. Hans E. Zeuthen, chief economist of the Independent Economic Council, says:

"I do not believe and cannot see that we are particularly close to a situation where the unemployment rate drops. It is true that the decline in the employment rate is changing into an increasing employment rate, but it is doubtful whether it will be large enough to prevent the unemployment rate from continuing to rise."

In its report published last week, the Central Bank states that "only through increased competitiveness abroad by slowing down the increasing wage and cost levels may we hope to reduce the unemployment rate in the not too distant future."

The developments in the employment situation will, however, very much depend upon the amount of upturn which the government will be able to accept in relation to the total economic situation. For investments in the trades and industries also have drawbacks, in that the enterprises, to a very large extent, will have to purchase their modern machinery abroad. And that costs expensive D-marks, dollars and Japanese yen. The balance of payments will deteriorate, and economists say that the government should not shut its eyes to this. For otherwise we shall be back in the old swamp.

Investments

On the other hand, there will be no lack of funds for investments in the trades and industries, once openings for investments are created. Torben Nielsen of the Private Bank says that it will soon become universally accepted for Danish enterprises to go abroad for their loans. "The 1984 investments will, to a large extent, be financed south of the border [West Germany]. For the difference in interest rates of Danish and foreign loans is unbelievably great, and only the fear of a Danish devaluation--which might obviate the advantage--has put a restraint on Danish firms so far.

However, the very fact that Danish enterprises will have to finance part of their new investments through foreign loans may also, indirectly, have a harmful effect on the ordinary Dane. For even if Torben Nielsen of the Private Bank predicts that the interest rate will drop by 4 percent over the next few years, it should be kept in mind that the Danish interest rate will have to be kept at a high level to " " Danish enterprises to go abroad for their loans.

Oil

Oil is still the life blood flowing through the economies of all countries. The fact that the pulse rates have now become faster on account of lower oil prices far from means that we may not develop palpitations anew. Torben Nielsen refers to the present oil price situation as a "brief interlude," while Hans E. Zeuthen, chief economist of the Independent Economic Council, cannot conceive of an oil price very much below 30 dollars per barrel for more than 2-3 years, at the most.

That is why the experts with whom BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has been in touch, say that, at this very point, it is important to prevent new oil shocks.

Both in Europe and in the United States, leading economists are in complete agreement on the proposal, which, in this country, has been presented by, among others, former Energy Minister Poul Nielson, to maintain a high oil price by "adding indirect taxes" as prices drop.

The philosophy underlying the proposal is that a continued high oil price will prevent a return to an excessively large consumption of costly oil. In this way, the time is postponed where the production of oil lies closer to the demand.

The point of departure of the economists is that the indirect tax be carried through internationally, and they propose, at the same time, that the revenues from the indirect tax be used for international tax and indirect tax reductions for the same consumers. The proposal is supported, by, among others, the esteemed British, conservative, economic periodical THE ECONOMIST, the head of the U.S. Treasury and former U.S. Secretary of State Henning Kissinger. In this country, the idea is supported by, among others, Hans E. Zeuthen, Torben Nielsen, and Bodil Nyboe Andersen.

Signs of Spring

There has been a change of mood within Danish industry during the last few months. According to the chairman of the Danish Federation of Industries, this may be associated with the fact that business people are born optimists, who are always looking for new possibilities.

"There will hardly be any major upswing in 1983. Even the very weak signs of spring may, at the moment, become overestimated. It is my opinion that the upswing will take longer than we desire. The characteristic feature of previous downward trends was that they did not occur at the same time in Europe and in the United States. And the Third World used to be entirely unaffected.

That has not been the case this time. All three areas have experienced downward trends at the same time. That is why it will become more difficult to achieve a rapid upturn. All countries are pursuing restrictive policies because they have got into deep problems of indebtedness everywhere."

It is true that Erik B. Rasmussen says that optimism reinforces itself at the investment level. He disagrees with colleagues who state that they will be able to avoid new investments and will be able to manage the upswing solely through the use of available capacity. The chairman of the Federation of Danish Industries fears but one thing: "How long will the Danes understand, after the weak signs of recovery, that in order for us to make progress, a number of years of caution will be needed. We have got to restrain ourselves, otherwise we shall lose our chances."

The World

In Washington, in the United States, Sven Burmester, division chief, the World Bank, has a warning to the Danes: "The fall in oil prices will hardly last, and if we repeat our hitherto mistakes, we may experience an even more severe downward trend within 12-24 months.

There are several reasons for the warning. First, we must prevent a new major increase in the oil consumption. Second, we have not made use of the possibility which the Western World has had during the last few years of 'slimming down.' I here have in mind that we ought to get rid of the branches of industry where we are unable to compete. That applies, for example, to the textile industry and the steel industry, which might be transferred to the Third World.

If the upswing does, indeed, take place, we ought to understand--for the first time in history--that we form part of this world. The interdependence is steadily increasing. And what has been the common crisis might perhaps be turned into the common possibility if we took the advice of former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt to sit down for talks.

The developing countries should not be forgotten, neither when it comes to aid or trade if we are on our way into a new upswing."

7262

CSO: 3613/89

PRIVATE BANK STRIKE GAINS INTENSITY

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 30 Mar 83 p 39

[Unattributed article: "Tension and Pace Building Up during Second Day of Private Banking Industry Employee Strike"]

[Text] Shots fired into the air in Madrid and threats with weapons in Pontevedra, major incidents during day. Participation in the bank employee strike yesterday reached a figure of about 120,000 employees, according to sources in the unions that called the strike; this represents 80 percent of the private banking employee force. Bank owners however claim that incidents have been kept at a minimum. The inclusion of some provinces in the strike, such as Teruel, Ciudad Real, and Guadalajara, must be added to the increase in participation in Basque Country and the rise in tension as various incidents took place in the course of which guards at some of the banks used their firearms or when an agent threatened a picket with a pistol.

While employers in the sector officially maintained that the strike, which is in its second day, was being supported by a smaller number of workers than last Monday, the labor union headquarters that called the strike pointed out that the number of participants grew up to 80 percent of the personnel force. At the very moment when Rafael Termes, president of the bank employer organization, held a press conference to report on FY 1982, about 2,000 bank employees demonstrated around the Madrid Hotel where the press conference was being held.

Labor union sources noted that the information pickets were at work yesterday morning in the offices of the banking industry compensation chambers of Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid where, after holding meetings, it was decided to close these offices in which operations were paralyzed yesterday to the tune of 1.5 billion pesetas.

Among the major incidents yesterday, we can report that, when the workers left the accounting center of the Bank of Santander in Madrid, a guard fired his regulation weapon into the air. When the members of the information picket unit reported this, the National Police arrested the guard. Along these lines, an agent of Banco Simeon, in Pontevedra, pulled out a weapon and threatened the strikers; this caused great commotion among the members of the pickets. The

management of Banco Simeon later on pointed out that this agent's action was not due to any directives that had been issued by the bank, which is why it was decided to proceed against this agent and suspended him from his job and pay, according to Segundo Marino.

Between 85 and 90 percent of the workers yesterday participated in the private banking industry strike in Zaragoza, according to Javier Ortega. Some incidents did take place, especially in the Popular, Hispano, and Banesto banks when the information pickets arrived. The police had to intervene at the latter bank when a confrontation developed with the branch manager. The strike was almost total in the big banks, that is, Zaragozano, Vizcaya, Bilbao, and Central.

In the province of Badajoz, in the meantime, the strike involved 50 percent of the personnel force; the number was much smaller in Caceres with 30 percent support of the workers in this sector, according to Julian Leal. With the exception of some banks, where the personnel force completely joined in the strike, as in the case of Vizcaya, the employees in other establishments remained at their posts, as in the Bank of Bilbao. This is a general trend throughout the region, where the establishments involved continue operating, with transactions carried out by supervisors and branch managers.

About 2,000 strikers yesterday morning demonstrated in Cataluna Square in Barcelona on the second day of the strike in this sector which was characterized by greater participation. After the end of this gathering, the workers staged a demonstration march in Cataluna Ravine, continuing on until they reached Diagonal. During the march the demonstrators chanted slogans dealing with the strike and whistled loudly and frequently in front of offices that had not joined in the strike.

The degree of participation in the strike remained at percentages similar to those on the first day although employees of Banca Mas Sarda joined the strike yesterday and although there was greater participation in the central offices of Banco Popular.

5058

CSO: 3548/307

LOOK AT DEPRESSED SOUTHERN FISHING INDUSTRY

Madrid EL SOCIALISTA in Spanish 16-22 Mar 83, 11, 12

[Article by Antonio Benito: "The Fishing Industry Will Come Out Afloat"]

[Text] The situation is rather delicate after 72 days without putting to sea. The agreement with Portugal is not finished and anger keeps rising.

Something strange can be detected on arrival in the port of Cristina Island in Huelva. There is no movement and there are no voices. The boats are beached. The fishermen pass the time in the bar, playing cards or just chatting in small groups near the pier. They have not gone out to sea for 72 days now. Negotiations with Portugal continue to drag out and it does not seem that a final agreement will be worked out. The fishing industry's problems, which have been serious for quite some time, are now getting worse due to the lack of licenses. The fishermen however for the first time are getting unemployment compensation.

Cristina Island is a little town that lives almost entirely from the sea and that is hard hit by this problem. Everybody is aware of the difficulty of the situation and of the few possibilities of straightening it out in long-range terms. The lack of foresight during earlier years and the failure to modernize fishing methods left the Spanish coast practically sterile. The trawling method, which disturbs the ocean bottom, and the narrow-mesh nets have destroyed the Spanish banks. This is why seine-fishing vessels have become urgently necessary outside territorial waters. But the Portuguese are not inclined to yield. Besides, since the neighboring country is in the midst of a pre-election phase, with an administration in office, they are not coming up with any final solutions and they delay the negotiations with proposals and counterproposals.

Bare Necessities

For Miguel, a fisherman at Cristina Island, the problem springs from the fact that Pinto Balsemao keeps putting the matter off. Here we barely have the necessities of life," said Miguel, "and with 35,000 pesetas in unemployment compensation you cannot get anything more than just enough to eat and above all you have to share with your fellow fishermen who do not have as much seniority and who have to get along with 200,000 pesetas. We want to work and we do not want an agreement that would be bad for Portugal." Miguel's

opinion, given in a loud voice, was seconded by the majority of those present in the La Marinera Bar, nodding their heads. Ill humor and worry are obvious.

Walking along the pier, you can see a boat full of clay jugs, tied together. They say that this is a new experiment subsidized by the administration to fish for octopus without destroying the ocean bottom.

Another Sales Method

For the small operators, the problem springs from the heavy costs connected with running the boats. One of them says: "Between the rise in the price of gas-oil, Social Security, and uncertainty about prices you come to the end of the year with heavy losses. It would be necessary to cut out the middlemen; you cannot have a situation where the fish costs 1 [peseta] here, while it costs 7 [pesetas] at the fishmonger's in Madrid and let nobody tell me that all of this is transportation cost. The fish should be sold in some other way; even housewives would notice the difference." "They would have to fix prices," he continued. "There are days when you bring your boat back full and you do not make even 10 pesetas." "Indemnities for the big boats came to 1 million pesetas whereas they only came to 200,000 for the small boats. Our situation is very difficult because the letters [of credit] run out and the finance company can wind up with everything." He talked about the need for reorganizing the industry, with a decrease in the number of units in the fleet and an increase in the tonnage. Another problem he sees is the lack of compliance with the agreements, involving the importing of Italian shellfish "due to the fact that they do not abide by the agreements and bring in more than was agreed upon."

For Juan, another fisherman, the problem resides in the egotism of some of the interested parties involved. "The conflict with Portugal revolves around big trawlers, not small boats. The latter are the lifeline of the people and negotiations on license renewal have been resolved but if there is no agreement with the big boats, there is no agreement with the small ones."

Ayamonte at the Border with Portugal

Fishing has been a source of extraordinary wealth in Ayamonte. The canning industry had moments of splendor but now only three plants are left. The border has influenced the entire economy in this town. Tourism is the industry which yields the most income because of the volume of business it developed.

For Sebastian Casillas, a district council member, "the conflict with Portugal affects the development of the entire town since a part of our commerce is paralyzed. There is much worry about this topic in the district. We have sent telegrams to all of the administration agencies, both central and autonomous, to resolve the situation quickly and to arrive at an agreement."

Ayamonte has been a meeting place for representatives of the two administrations, the Spanish and Portuguese ones, and representatives of the workers from both countries. But no agreement has been worked out and people may get angry, the longer the situation lasts. Some operators with few scruples tried to cause trouble to bring about violence and to exploit the situation in order to exert

pressure. But the good judgment of the workers prevented that; besides, most of the operators own their boats and are aware that closing the border would hit the town's economy even harder; the area has already been hit by the blockade measures of the fishermen in Villareal in Portugal.

Work Stoppage

On Sunday we were told: "The administration was quick in granting a work stoppage and this calmed everybody down but we cannot go on like this." For him, the crux of the disagreement consists of the ship operators who do not agree on the distribution of licenses and some therefore are going to Morocco. "Trawling is nearing an end and it will be necessary to reorganize the fleet and get new seine-fishing boats." Gerardo commented: "The workers are waiting, the situation of the fishing fleet operating in Portugal is bad, very bad. Here, the conflict with the Portuguese revolves around trawling because long-line fishing, ring-net fishing, and net-casting have remained what they always were. Portugal is just playing a game." "After agreeing on 18 licenses," Gerardo continued, "They now tell us that there are going to be only 15, for trawling, and this cannot be because you cannot go on living on 35,000 indefinitely."

In Punta Umbria the problem with Portugal is less felt than on Cristina Island and in Ayamonte. For the fishermen in that area, it is the economic problems that need solving most urgently. "Maintaining a boat is ruinous," a boat owner at Punta Umbria told us. He was one of the members of a small group that had gathered. "With 20 days out at sea, working day and night, and a sales volume of 2 million, each fisherman makes 20,000 pesetas. That cannot be. As far as Morocco is concerned, that always depends on the political situation, because when it is calm, there are no problems."

The general situation off the coast of Huelva is difficult. Sloppiness and patchwork have been customary practices in resolving conflicts. But everybody knows that this sort of thing falls apart quickly if you do not manage to work out long-term agreements and if you do not begin to reorganize the fleet. Right now, those most hard-hit are waiting for the elections in Portugal, confident that a good agreement can be negotiated--but there is little hope. They know that all countries are reducing the catch volume and are restricting licenses for third countries. The fishing industry several years ago began to enter a street without much of a way out.

5058

CSO: 3548/307

MAJOR CAJA DE CATALUNA PROFIT RISE IN 1982

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Mar 83 p 52

[Article by X.V.-F.]

[Text] Barcelona--Profits of the Caja de Ahorros de Cataluna [Savings Bank of Catalonia] rose to 2.666 billion pesetas in 1982, an increase of 1.5 percent of the weighted average balance of customer deposits and amounting to a percentage increase of 57 percent over the previous year. The principal characteristic of the fiscal period was the high yield obtained with only a moderate increase in the liabilities which amounted to 200,718 billion pesetas, 16.5 percent more than in 1981, according to figures released by the directors in presenting the results of this institution, third in its sector in Catalonia and seven in Spain as a whole.

The prudence with which the Caja operated in 1982, esteeming yield over growth, is a consequence of the continuation of the criteria of its management. This continuity in the administrative principles is all the more noteworthy in that the appointment of a new board of directors on 4 June 1982 had been preceded by a campaign of public criticism.

The fact that, in carrying out the Fuentes Decree of August 1977, a board of directors was appointed with members close to the socialist and communist parties--since the Barcelona Municipal Council, the institution's tutelary organization, is in the majority--caused certain commentators to become angry. Even Ramon Trias Fargas, adviser of Generalitat's Department of Economy and Finance at the time, publicly warned against the "dangers of politicking" in the banking sector.

Josup Lluís Sureda, president of Caja de Cataluna and professor of finance, said in this regard that "on no occasion did the board decide against the criteria of the technical services and general directorate. In any case," he said, "if any change has been noted, it is that we requested much more information than our predecessors." Joan Bilbao, general manager, confirmed these words and stressed the freedom "possessed by the experts" in issuing their information. "We have followed the policy of technically examining the operations," he declared.

Three objectives have been pursued by the institution: solvency and good financial condition, moderation in the types of active and passive interests and strict territorial observance.

Resources and Investments

The solvency objective was pursued by carrying out a growth policy which did not increase the cost of the liabilities, which remained at about 6.13 percent on the average. Deposits increased to 200.718 billion pesetas, or 16.5 percent, "which implies a growth greater than that of inflation and, although less than that of other banks, is satisfactory, for we do not want to enter a race involving rankings," Josep Lluís Sureda stated. This increase contained certain variations compared with previous years. Thus, apart from the attraction achieved through the new system of mortgage arrangements, the deposits of private customers (96.2 percent of the total liabilities) turned more to savings accounts (which rose from 13.4 percent to 15.3 percent of the total credit balance) of lower yield, to the detriment of those savings accounts (which lost 3.8 points) and of term deposits whose percentage participation dropped 0.8 points.

Credit investments increased by about 18.4 percent, reaching 109.314 billion pesetas. Loans to the commercial sector and public corporations increased and slightly decreased credits for housing which exceeded 57 percent of the total investments.

Total income rose to 23.2 billion pesetas, representing an increase of 30 percent in 1981. Financial costs increased by 32.9 percent and administrative costs, by 16.2 percent; after provisions for taxes and insolvencies, the net results were 2.666 billion pesetas.

8568

CSO: 3548/297

MULTI-UNION STRIKE CALL AGAINST PRIVATE BANKS

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Mar 83 p 53

[Article by Rodolfo Serrano]

[Text] Negotiations underway by the banking sector were interrupted yesterday when representatives of the Spanish Association of Private Banks (AEB) were prevented from attending the meeting scheduled for today by a strike called for 28, 29 and 30 March by the following unions: the UGT [General Union of Workers], CCOO [Workers Commissions], ELA-STV [Anarchist Students of Andalusia-Solidarity of Basque Workers], FITC [Independent Federation of Credit Workers] and INTG. The bank managers sent a circular to their organizations recommending a wage increase of 9.5 percent, to be effective on 1 January 1983, and of 5 percent in cases of disassociation. AEB sources indicated that this increase had nothing to do with "efforts being made through negotiation, and that it should become effective yet this month."

The strike call, officially made yesterday, will affect the collection of payments from most of the workers who have already arranged for payment for their property through the banking facilities, or by check, precisely on the eve of the Holy Week vacations. The unions have advised the workers to request advance payments on their accounts in accordance with the provisions of the Labor Statute. The only banks not affected will be those of the Rumasa group. According to Justo Fernandez, secretary general of the UGT's banking sector, an agreement had been reached with Miguel Boyer, minister of economy and finance, to apply the same contract terms to workers of these institutions as those applicable to the rest of the sector.

The decision made by Clemente Rodriguez Navarro, chairman of the negotiating committee, to suspend the meetings in view of the strike situation resulted in repercussions among the union members, who considered that the chairman was siding in with management.

Yesterday, Justo Fernandez pointed out that, when Rodriguez Navarro decided to suspend the negotiations, the strike call had not yet been officially announced.

"It is not logical," he said, "to have made this decision simply on the basis of unconfirmed news; nor is it logical for the AEB representatives, citing the same reasons, to have decided not to attend the meetings." Yesterday, the secretary general of UGT's banking sector requested the resignation of the negotiating chairman. The strike call was made yesterday morning and the AEB was notified at about 1230 hours.

Reminiscent of the AI

The banking contract negotiations are repeating the difficulties and arguments raised during the Interconfederal Accord (AI) talks. In explaining its 9.5 percent offer, the AEB points out that, prior to the negotiations, it is already experiencing an increase of 5.2 percent in wage costs. Management bases this increase on vegetative growth (seniority and statutory increases), increased in other aspects not strictly in the labor category (provisions on behalf of the employees) and increased in the costs of social security.

The AI negotiations were about to be interrupted when representatives of the CEOC [Spanish Confederation of Business Organizations] and CEPYME [Spanish Confederation of Small and Medium Businesses] asserted that the wage package to be included in the ANE [National Agreement on Employment] should take these factors into account. It was the bank-management sector which was more adamant in this regard and gave rise to a veritable battle within the CEOE to maintain its criteria. The package finally accepted with regard to the AI--9.5 percent and 12.5 percent--was very far from that proposed by the AEB.

Representatives of the banking institutions wielded the same arguments at the banking sector's negotiating table. According to the AEB's figures, an increase of 9.5 percent over the compensation aspects implies a real increase of 11.5 percent inasmuch as the 9.5 percent must be increased by 2 points to offset the wage erosion which stems from vegetative growth: seniority increases, statutory increases, etc. This erosion of 2 percentage points was another argument brought up during the AI negotiations.

In view of this posture, the unions point out that, contrary to what was claimed by the AEB, payroll costs have continued to decline percentage-wise, whereas the sector's profits have increased in recent years, going, in the case of the seven major institutions, from 31.563 billion pesetas in 1978 to 61.294 billion in 1981. Although there are no complete figures on the results for 1982, according to statements made yesterday by UGT and CCOO sources, the profits widely exceeded those of the previous year.

With regard to wage costs, although it is beyond question that they rose from 190.233 billion pesetas in 1978 to 316.974 in 1981, the above-mentioned sources emphasized that their relative share in the total cost during the same period dropped from 23 percent to 16.3 percent. In addition, and again according to the same information sources, the number of workers in the banking sector has continued to decline. The staff of the seven major institutions decreased by about 2,000 employees from 1978 to 1981.

8568

CSO: 3548/297

LABOR MINISTER ON ALLEVIATION OF RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 16 Mar 83 p 1, 51

[Text] The minister of labor and social security, Joaquin Almunia announced yesterday that beginning in 1984 a new system to replace the present system of community employment will be implemented. Until that time new rules for control and administration have been established and the funds designated for rural unemployment have been increased up to 30 billion pesetas (almost 6 billion more than in 1982). The new measures made public by the minister and the announcement of the opening of negotiations between the administration, the unions and the employers associations for the 28th of the present month have for the time being stopped the mobilizations, which took place yesterday as they did on previous days. The Confederate Council of the Rural CC00 [Workers Commissions] decided yesterday evening, following a tense and difficult debate, to call the protests off.

The new plan explained yesterday by the minister of labor and social security, Joaquin Almunia, during a press conference, is based on the virtual abolition of the present system of community jobs and its replacement by the establishment of a new system denominated the Rural Employment Fund. The purpose of this fund will be the financing of the necessary work plans in every region, aimed at absorbing rural unemployment.

This would be complemented by establishing an unemployment subsidy for occasional farm workers. Both measures, which will be debated by the administration, the unions and the rural employers, will decisively eliminate the funneling of funds to the civil governments for distribution among workers. Indirectly it would also have other consequences: the management of the funds would be exclusively in the hands of the administration, through the National Employment Institute and it would not depend on either the civil governments or the municipalities.

Joaquin Almunia affirmed that the rural census would no longer be necessary because "employment offices would have greater relevance with the new system." These offices would be the ones to provide the work force needed to carry out the projects to be financed through the Rural Employment Fund.

Control of the Funds

The Ministry of Labor has set guidelines likely to achieve better administration and control of the funds for public jobs until 1984, date on which the new system will be put into effect. In relation to this, Almunia emphasized the increase of daily wages to 1,270 pesetas, the guarantee of a 4-day work week, the standardization of the daily work schedule to 6 and one half hours and the recommendation of some flexibility at the time of applying the criteria for the family unit. According to what has been established, the families consisting of four members or less cannot receive more than one of the salaries from community jobs. At the same time the minister announced that a deliberate effort will be made to encourage job training and that investment organizations have been asked to present job proposals.

The minister's statements were made after one interview each with the president of Extremadura's Council, Juan Carlos Rodriguez Ibarra, and with representative from the Farm Workers Union (SOC), among whom were Francisco Casero and Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo, mayor of the Sevillian town of Marinaleda. The president of Extremadura's Council said that he had asked the person responsible for jobs to send 6 billion [pesetas] to be used for rural unemployment in Extremadura.

Rumasa's Farms

For their part, the rural leaders pointed out that the measures adopted were inadequate, but that they had noticed the present minister's strong disposition toward solving Andalucia's problems. Sanchez Gordillo stated that "the mobilizations have been a warning and we will keep a truce until the 28th. If no solutions are found we will proceed with more mobilizations." For his part, Francisco Casero warned that the farms expropriated from Rumasa will be the focal point during the coming months. "We do not want them to revert to the private sector, we want them to revert to the people." In order to achieve these objectives he announced new mobilizations for 29, 30 and 31 March in the region of Jerez.

Yesterday evening, the confederal Council of the Rural CCOO, meeting in Seville, in a debate that lasted over 5 hours, decided to put a stop to the mobilizations as a result of the new measures announced by the labor minister, reports Jose Aguilar. The most inflexible attitude was that of the representatives from Malaga, Jaen and Trebujena who considered what has been achieved up to now unsatisfactory and insisted on the need to continue the protest.

After the meeting, union leaders left for Madrid to explain the agreement to the 145 peasant leaders occupying a church in the district of San Blas. Yesterday's activities developed in a manner similar to last Monday's. Almost 200 community employment workers were still occupying Malaga's cathedral, where representatives from some 20 of the province's towns participated, according to Jose Antonio Frias.

Some 50 workers occupying the cathedral spent the first night of the occupation outdoors while the rest remained in the church's vestry. In talks with personnel from the episcopate, the laborers decided to abandon the church at night for fear persons not involved with the problem might take advantage of the situation to steal from the interior.

Those inside received direct help from the episcopate through the Diocesan Secretariat in Solidarity with the Unemployed, who provided them with mattresses, blankets and food. There is also a resistance fund to which organizations and businesses from the province contribute.

Laborers for Alameda and neighboring towns held a march to Antequera, 32 kilometers away, to join 150 persons occupying this locality and to participate in a group action before the city hall. The stoppage by hundreds of laborers who have community jobs in Villanueva de la Concepcion continues and yesterday some 60 laborers from Algatocin, in the region of Ronda, which along with El Burgo is one of the areas of greatest conflict, also join the stoppage.

The activities of the laborers from Cadiz also continue, as well as the stoppage by various groups of community employment workers in Trebujena, Jerez de la Frontera and Puerto Serrano, according to information from our reporter Jose Angel Bermejo. Early in the afternoon another group of 25 laborers occupied the commission's headquarters in the capital of the province and places in the hills. In Sanlucar de Barrameda all through the day there were large gatherings demanding 6 work days of community jobs.

Labor Minister Announces a New System of Community Jobs

The minister of labor, Joaquin Almunia, announced yesterday the implementation, starting 1 January 1984, of a new system aimed at alleviating rural unemployment that will replace the present community jobs program.

The system is based on the establishment of a fund designated the Rural Employment Fund, whose purpose is the financing of work to be done in the areas most affected by rural unemployment. At the same time, an unemployment subsidy will be established for contingencies in the rural areas.

Meanwhile, throughout 1983, better measures and control of the system in force will be applied, and proper instructions to this effect have been given. The announcement of the establishment of new daily wages as high as 1,270 pesetas, the standardization of the day's work to 6 and one half hours and the guarantee of a 4-day week of community jobs, along with the [prospect of the] beginning of negotiations between the administration, labor unions and employers next 28 March, helped in making the union's central office, workers commissions, decide yesterday evening to call off the protest activities it was planning. The union's decision was made after a tense debate that lasted 5 hours.

On the other hand, the labor minister talked yesterday about the need to make possible the signing of temporary contracts, a mechanism that, according to his words, is generating the greatest number of new recorded contracts.

9907

CSO: 3548/265

PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS AGAINST RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 16 Mar 83 p 12

[Editorial: "Mobilization in Andalucia and Community Employment"]

[Text] Like an endemic disease that appears and disappears, mobilizations of Andalusian day laborers who demand the reform of the community employment program, which was an important element in the electoral campaign that helped the Socialists come into power, have begun again. Usually criticisms are also heard about this method of distributing charity among the rural unemployed: it is a question, in almost every case, of distributing money from the government's general budget in order to alleviate the lack of jobs in the primary sector and in passing, keep this lack of activity from exacerbating the protest and the tension among the salaried farm workers, which is increasingly difficult to control. Actually for many years public order in areas such as Andalucia, and in some cases Extremadura, was financed with the funds for the community jobs program. The recipients of this "charity", as they themselves have called it in many instances, have said that the community jobs were "bread for today and hunger for tomorrow." Historical experience has proven this to be true.

The succeeding governments of the Union of the Democratic Center expressed time and again their intention to rectify this situation by dignifying the laborers' condition, often pressured into this by the spectacular protests of laborers, outstanding among these being the general strike in the town of Marinaleda in the middle of August 1980. Nevertheless, that intention never was anything more than a wish.

On the occasion of the signing of the National Employment Agreement (ANE), in accordance with the union and employers' organizations, the government tried to clarify and rationalize the system of community jobs. As a first step, the urgent task of devising an agrarian census that would permit the determination, although approximate, of the number of possible beneficiaries was undertaken. Labor leaders, civil governors and businessmen were unanimous in denouncing the possibility of fraud and mischief that the present system permitted. The census was a complete failure and was boycotted by a large number of those concerned.

The Spanish Socialist Workers Party incorporated the reform of the system into their electoral program. One hundred days after the party had assumed power, some agrarian organizations agreed on the need to remind the Executive of its promise of reform. This has been the cause of the present mobilizations, promoted mainly by rural labor committees. The essential elements of the system persist, and it seems justifiable to expedite a change in the rural areas, which everyone believes to be urgent. Nonetheless, the proximity of municipal elections casts doubts on the reasons for these mobilizations just before elections. The fact that the CCOO [Workers Commissions] is leading these protests, the self-exclusion of the Federation of Farm Laborers-UGT (General Union of Workers) and the absolute neutrality of the Union of Farm Workers--no doubt the most pugnacious agrarian union organization in Andalucia up to the present time--make one think that not all of the intentions are purely recuperative and that political elements may be substantive this time.

The promptness with which the minister of labor and social security, Joaquin Almunia, responded to the workers' protests, receiving representatives from the Andalusian Council and from the three agrarian unions, introduces an element of hope that the sensitivity of the present cabinet to the community employment program may not be pure rhetoric, as happened time and again with the UCD. There is also the feeling that the government fears the increase in protests in an area where under ordinary circumstances the majority will vote Socialist in the municipal elections. In spite of this, the new government has not hesitated in using money to try to stop the conflict by raising daily wages from 1,033 pesetas to 1,270 pesetas and increasing the budget funds to 30 billion.

Almunia has set a date for the termination of the community jobs program--January 1984, has announced its replacement with the Rural Employment Fund (consisting essentially of appropriating funds for public works in the areas needing them and whose work force will be precisely the salaried rural workers) and the establishment of unemployment compensation for unemployed rural workers not covered by the budget for the new fund. The minister also has formally summoned all those concerned to start negotiations on the new system by the end of this month.

From now on the credibility of the executive among the salaried agrarian sectors of the whole of Spain could depend on the results of these negotiations.

9907

CSO: 3548/265

BIG INDUSTRIES EXPECT BUSINESS PROFITS TO INCREASE IN 1983

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 28 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by Bjorn Suneson: "1983 Will Become a Turning Point for Swedish Industry"]

[Text] It looks like 1983 will become a turning point for Swedish industry.

A majority of the large industrial companies expect profits to rise this year and many even believe in sizeable profit gains. Scarcely any company is of the opinion that profits will fall.

This is evident from a compilation by TT [Tidningarnas Telegrambyra] of balance sheet totals from about 40 major industrial companies listed on the stock exchange.

Last year the companies had a total sales figure of more than 300,000 billion Kronor and 700,000 employees. Included in the compilation are only firms with sales of at least 1 billion Kronor.

As a rule the companies are cautious in their prognoses. There is therefore reason to assume that evaluations of the future are brighter than what is actually indicated.

Higher Dividends

Among the companies which anticipate large increases in profit are SCA, PLM, Swedish Match and Boliden.

Another sign indicating more optimism is that practically all companies are paying higher stock dividends this year. The increases are 10 percent on the average, and stock owners are thus being compensated for inflation.

Alfa-Laval is raising the dividend by 43 percent, the strongest increase among the companies studied. However, 2 Kronor of the dividend are an anniversary bonus which could be eliminated next year.

Several companies are increasing dividends by 25 percent, for example Astra, Esab, Flakt and Kema Nobel.

Bahco, which is a company in trouble, is suspending dividends, and so is Grafoprint.

The combined profits of the approximately 40 companies in the study amounted to 12.3 billion kronor. Profits rose a total of 18 percent during 1982.

Volvo, Saab. Asea and Ericson show profits in the billions.

Uddeholm had the worst result with a loss of over 700 million kronor, followed by Modo, Bahco and Fagersta.

All of the results refer to profits after financial net. The results were adjusted for exchange rate losses.

Same Profitability

Although profits increased by 18 percent, the profitability is not likely to have improved significantly, because sales did not increase as much as profits.

The so-called net margin, that is to say the profits divided by sales, remained unchanged at 3.9 percent. This means that on the average the companies earned not quite 4 kronor of every 100 kronor sold.

It was not possible to make profitability calculations for net or total capital since the companies do not usually show statements of assets on their balance sheets.

Although profitability generally is very weak in many companies, some are doing very well. Among them are, for example, the pharmaceutical companies Astra and Fortia with margins of 15 and 17 percent, respectively.

The forest products companies Holmen, Papyrus and Billerud are also among the winners with net margins of 8-13 percent.

The machine-building industries Saab-Scania, Alfa-Laval and Aga, whose margins are 7-10 percent, are also doing well.

Common to practically all of the companies is the heavy interest burden. The high interest rates in combination with weak profitability and increased borrowing has forced interest costs upward. The devaluation also dealt many companies with foreign loans tremendous exchange blows.

Few major companies have a positive financial net. The exceptions are Fortia and Astra, among others.

11949

CSO: 3650/150

WAITING LIST FOR HIGH-INTEREST ANNUITY BONDS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 14 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] Bonds valued at 155 million Turkish Lira, which were put on the market under the guarantee of the Construction and Credit Bank (Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi), were apparently bought up within a short time. Ahmet Balioglu, Director for the Bank's liquid assets, gave the following information to our newspaper, noting that three corporations held the bonds:

"People who purchase these bonds are entitled to convert them into currency --along with interest accumulated to date--whenever they wish. These bonds yield a gross interest of 45 percent and net 31.5 percent. We had planned to advertise them in the paper every day for a week to acquaint the public with them. However, by the final day of the ad, the bonds had been long gone and we were obliged to compile waiting lists."

Balioglu commented on the interest shown in the high-annuity bonds by saying: "Our people had once been accustomed to earning interest income, but in the aftermath of the Kastelli crisis, the idea of 'first security--then interest' became more prevalent. This is the first time our bank has done this, and I believe that a 'bank guarantee' provides an important element of security."

This new practice is being carried out by the 'Directorate for Liquid Assets,' which the Construction and Credit Bank decided to set up in the Osmanbey building about a year ago and which went into operation in recent months. Balioglu emphasizes that the Bank had decided to 'house' and independent service for liquid assets, a field very different from classical banking.

Tuncay Artun, the Deputy Director General of the Bank, made the following comment: "For years the capital market in Turkey had been unable to live under a sturdy, genuine roof. Things became even more unsettled after the Kastelli crisis. And now we, the Bank, have decided to establish a strong atmosphere of security for the capital market, which has suffered so much, and to shoulder our responsibilities in this."

12279

CSO: 3554/203

LETTER OF INTENT DELIVERED TO WORLD BANK

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 12 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] ANKARA NEWS AGENCY--Turkey has prepared a "letter of intent," which is to serve as the basis for the 4th Structural Adjustment Credit of \$300 million that it will be receiving from the World Bank. Officials from the Ministry of Finance and the Treasury Secretariat met with experts from the World Bank two days ago and made the final touch-ups on the letter. The World Bank experts left yesterday and will be submitting their report along with the "letter of intent" to the Executive Board of the World Bank when it meets in May.

Contents of Letter

According to information obtained by an Ankara News Agency correspondent, the "letter of intent" covers Turkey's medium-term economic policies, stressing that policies based on the rules of a free market economy--as called for in the 24 January resolutions--will be continued in the medium-term. The letter also contains information concerning the government's policies on structural changes that are either in progress or being planned for this purpose. These structural changes are to be concentrated in the area of public and private finance.

A dynamic relationship is to be established between the capital funds and deposits of banks. Bank policies pertaining to finance and personnel are to be rational ones. The question of proprietorship is to be resolved and loans to be given by banks will be subject to strict criteria. These points constitute a major portion of the "letter of intent" upon which accord was reached.

Those sections of the letter dealing with general policies on "money," "prices" and "balance of payments" run a close parallel to letters previously submitted to the International Monetary Fund.

The letter also emphasizes that the work being done to reorganize Public Economic Enterprises is nearing completion. It states that all Public Economic Enterprises, with the exception of a few public organizations whose services are indispensable, will be opened up to the free market economy.

These enterprises will thereby lose Treasury backing, but will be free to decide upon their own management and to hire personnel to work under contract.

Also in accordance with the letter, the Afsin-Elbistan project, which the World Bank is financing, is to be accelerated. Turkey is to allocate a sum of lira equivalent to the World Bank credit for this purpose.

Finally, the "letter of intent" stipulates that the World Bank credit will be allowed to be used freely, but not for importing weapons, crude oil and consumer products. In the case of previous credits, the letters of intent had specified those imports that were to be financed, but had not gone into obligations with regard to economic policies.

12279

CSO: 3554/203

WEST GERMAN COOPERATION IN FOOD INDUSTRY

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] ANKARA/BONN (ANKA) - The FRG is studying joint investment projects with Turkish workers, in the food industry field, in order to encourage them to go back home.

According to information obtained by the ANKA correspondent, the Berlin German Development Institute which undertakes studies for the FRG and the EEC and provides them with expert advice, has completed a 3 year study of the subject and submitted the completed project to the FRG Ministry of Economic Cooperation.

The German Development Institute found that the potential for progress in the Turkish food industry and exports is worthy of attention, as a result of its work, and it has chosen the Cukurova area as a pilot zone for the above mentioned project. Within the framework of the project, it is planned to establish in Cukurova, as a first step, an export oriented meat-processing plant which will have the backing of the FRG Hermes Credit.

It was noted that this investment will be profitable because of the high demand for meat from countries of the Middle East and that it will be possible to export frozen meat to all the Arab countries which require slaughtering in accordance with Islamic customs.

The German Development Institute pointed out that for this investment the FRG would also be able to provide all the experts and the basic information on organization and marketing techniques needed for the meat industry.

Why Cukurova?

At the end of its research the Institute reached the conclusion that the investments made in the meat industry of the Cukurova area conformed, from the technical standpoint, with international standards but that because of low demand and high interest policies such enterprises were unable to secure the necessary working capital and to work to their full capacity. The study draws attention to the fact that the agricultural products of that area are destined for domestic consumption only and that their cultivation is subject to seasonal conditions and it stressed the need to carry out the work required to eliminate the difficulties encountered in obtaining a regular supply of the raw materials used by the food industry.

German Firms Also Interested

It is pointed out that a large number of German firms are interested in making joint investments with Turkish workers who are presently employed in the FRG, in the food industry field. But it is claimed that they set as a condition the participation of a well known and reliable Turkish firm as a partner. It is noted that since meat processing plants in Turkey are exploited by the Meat and Fish Association which belongs to the public sector, the fact that there are no private enterprises specializing in this field causes hesitation on the part of the German firms and that only a large holding could eliminate their reluctance. With this end in view, contacts have been made with the Cukurova Holding.

12278

CSO: 3554/224

TURKISH WORKERS SAVINGS ASKED FOR HOUSING

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] ANKARA (DUNYA) - Minister of Housing and Resettlement Ahmet Samsunlu met with West Berlin Mayor Weissaecker. During the meeting possibilities of transferring the savings of Turkish guest workers from the Koln Construction Savings Fund and the Bavarian Construction Savings to the Turkish Mortgage and Credit Bank were discussed.

The West German Mayor and Minister of Housing and Resettlement Ahmet Samsunlu also discussed the necessity of completing the Ankara cutting tools factory which is a Provinces Bank (of Turkey) and the Siemens factory joint venture, as soon as possible. Minister of Housing and Resettlement Ahmet Samsunlu said that Turkish workers could find work opportunities as partners in that factory and stated that he favored a resumption of the cooperation between the FRG and the Development Bank which was effective from 1963 to 1973.

Worker Savings Abroad

The report prepared by the Special Commission of Experts on the Problems of Guest Workers which was established by the State Planning Organization, discloses that Turkish guest workers have an estimated 7 to 10 billion DM in savings in the FRG banks. The report goes on to say that "in comparison to other foreign workers, Turkish workers have a greater tendency to save and, while supporting an average of two non-working family members abroad, they also have savings in foreign banks." It notes that when the savings of Turkish workers employed in other Western European countries are also added in, it can be said that the savings abroad of guest workers may total up to 13 billion DM.

According to another finding of the same report, in 1977 the savings in Berlin banks of the 40,000 West Berlin guest workers were in the vicinity of 1.9 billion DM. The report adds that a large proportion of the foreign currency guest workers send to their country goes into the purchase of real estate and that "the most common reason for this is the fact that these workers cannot find reliable areas of investment and are afraid of being unable to find work if they have to come back for good."

12278

CSO: 3554/224

IMPORT-EXPORT BANK TO BE ESTABLISHED

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 30 Mar 83 p 9

[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] ANKARA (CUMHURIYET BUREAU) - It has been learned that, in order to finance Turkey's foreign trade, work **/"towards establishing an Import-Export Bank"/** within the structure of the Ministry of Finance has begun. It has been made known that within the framework of the new bank's structure the subject of export insurance which is being studied will also be taken up, to stimulate exports and cover the risks exporters face.

The draft bill on export insurance, aimed at promoting exports, which was submitted by Advisory Council member Bahtiyar Uzunoglu to the Economic Affairs Commission, is being studied by the pertinent ministry. In the course of the talks initiated at the request of the Premier's Office, to establish the government's views, it was emphasized that the Ministry of Finance's **/"impl-ementation of the export insurance was not going to be insitutional but would only be applied as a system."/** In the views submitted to the Premier's Office by the Ministry of Finance it was stressed that **/"the export insurance would be planned as part of the structure of the projected Import-Export Bank"/** and that the matter would be dealt with under the competence law.

It is also stated as the view of the government that the Premier's Office approves the plan of the Ministry of Finance and that a decision was reached about the form the export insurance would take under the competence law, within the context of the readjustments planned in the field of banking.

It was learned at the same time that the **/"Import-Export Bank"/** to be established by the Ministry of Finance will **/"specialize"/** on the questions of extending credit to foreign trade and insuring exports. The information was also given out that the principle of making the bank a public institution, with capital provided by the state, had been adopted. The only point which was not clarified was the ministry to which the bank will be attached. It appears that, while the Ministry of Finance plans to attach the bank to itself, the Ministry of Commerce opposes this viewpoint.

12278

CSO: 3554/222

KETENCI ON CONVERSION FROM WORKER TO CIVIL SERVANT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 31 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by Sukran Ketenci in the column "From the Worker's World" "Going to Sleep a Worker and Waking Up a Civil Servant"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Workers employed by public institutions and enterprises are very concerned again these days. As President of Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor] Sevket Yilmaz put it /"They are afraid of going to sleep as workers in the evening and waking up as civil servants in the morning."/ Telephone calls, letters, visits, reflect this fear; /" I am employed as a worker. Can our company be converted to a revolving capital enterprise?"/,/" If the status of industrial workers is changed to that of civil servants, someone like me who has worked from 15 to 20 years as an electrician will find himself, because of the level of his education, under the orders of a newly hired civil servant. Furthermore, special bonuses and social benefits outside of salaries will be discontinued. No matter how experienced at his job or how efficient a worker may be, by having his status changed into that of a civil servant, he will suffer great moral and material losses. Is it not possible at least to preserve, until they retire, the rights earned by those who are employed as workers?"/ When faced with the text of the draft bill it is not possible for us to answer questions of this kind which reflect such fears, in a positive and optimistic manner.

The draft bill proposes the conversion into civil servants of all those who are employed by public institutions and enterprises which are subject to the Civil Servants Law. However, given the provision that economic enterprises such as factories, textile mills, workshops and building yards will be converted into revolving capital enterprises, it is likely that they will employ workers. Clearly, with the bill coming into force, 100,000 to 500,000 workers linked with concerns which will be turned into revolving capital enterprises may find themselves /"going to sleep as workers in the evening and waking up as civil servants in the morning."/

Why are workers unwilling to become civil servants? Is becoming a civil servant such a shameful thing that this causes such widespread fears among workers and such extensive reactions from labor unions?..

In our nation it is not only the new draft bill, it is the disputes perpetuated for years now by administrative decrees, converting workers into civil servants, while no one is willing to become a civil servant, the workers and the unions making a stand for the protection of the workers' status and the authorities' attempts to evolve a formula for increasing the number of civil servants...it is this endless blood feud which greatly puzzles outsiders. The fact that it has not been possible to solve this problem despite controversies which date back to 1963 makes attempts made now to narrow it by massive conversions into civil servants incomprehensible.

It is all too natural for foreign social scientists and union members not to be able to understand, to grasp this problem which is peculiar to us. We believe it is not very likely that another nation such as ours could be found, where there are such big differences between the rights of civil servants and those of workers. In democracies, civil servants as well as workers can benefit from such labor union rights as collective bargaining and the right to strike and from the free union system. Being a worker or a civil servant does not mean having different rights, but simply to have the nature of one's job defined. That is why administrators and employers do not attempt to convert workers into civil servants. And civil servants feel no urge to become workers.

Narrowing controversies by turning workers into civil servants must not be viewed as finding a solution to the problem. From the employers' standpoint it might be very attractive to get cheaper labor out of workers by changing their status into that of civil servants. In the long run, however, there is no doubt that this cannot have a positive outcome from the aspect of productivity. It is especially improbable that this will result in labor reconciliation and an increase in productivity. The solution to the problem cannot be found in turning workmen into civil servants and curtailing their economic and social rights but by raising the economic and social rights of civil servants to the same level as workers.

12278

CSO: 3554/222

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF FAILED COMPANIES IN 1983

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 22 Mar 83 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara--It has been determined that 504 firms, with a combined capital of 504.2 million Turkish liras, failed between the beginning of the year and 11 March 1983. During the same period, 1,911 new firms, with a combined capital of 17 billion Turkish liras, were formed and 335 firms increased their capital worth by a total of 30.7 billion Turkish liras.

According to data gathered from the Trade Registry Gazette, 455 of the firms that have ended their activities were copartnerships. The combined capital of these firms amounted to 440.6 million Turkish liras. In addition, 44 limited partnerships, with a combined capital of 33.7 million Turkish liras and 5 limited companies, with a combined capital of 29.9 million Turkish liras, also ended their activities in the said period.

It was determined that the majority of newly established companies and the firms that increased their capital in the said period are joint stock companies. Thus, in the said period, 785 new joint stock companies, with a combined capital of 13 billion Turkish liras, were established and 212 joint stock companies, with a combined capital of 29.4 billion Turkish liras, increased their capital.

The figures show that, of the newly formed firms, 792 are limited companies, 303 are copartnerships and 31 are limited partnerships. The combined capitals of these three groups were calculated as 2.8 billion Turkish liras, 1.2 billion Turkish liras and 66.3 million Turkish liras, respectively.

Meanwhile, it was determined that 49 limited companies increased their capital by total of 935.5 million Turkish liras, 68 copartnerships increased their capital by 327.6 million Turkish liras and 6 limited partnerships increased their capital by 12.6 million Turkish liras.

It is seen from these figures that in the period between 1 January and 11 March 1983 the total gross capital increase of the companies amounted to 47.7 billion Turkish liras, but that if bankruptcies and liquidations are taken into account the net capital increase of the companies amounted to 47.2 billion Turkish liras.

9588

CSO: 3554/214

PROSPECTS FOR LIVESTOCK, MEAT EXPORTS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 24 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by former Director General of Meat and Fish Association Bulent Birol:
"A New Horizon in Exports: Livestock and Meat"]

[Text] Livestock and meat exports, which remained at the \$50-million level for years, have recorded major increases since 1980 and have increased by around tenfold in the 3-year period since then.

According to estimates made on the basis of export figures for the first 11 months of 1982, livestock and meat sales by the end of 1982 will amount to at least \$435 million. Although the country has increased its livestock and meat exports by almost tenfold in both value and quantity, no meat shortages have been felt in any part of Turkey, increases in wholesale and retail meat prices have remained below price increases observed in other commodities and the foreign currency earned from these exports has been earned without spending any foreign currency overseas. These are important points that deserve serious attention.

As a former undersecretary of the Ministry of Commerce put it: "A new horizon in exports has been opened for Turkey. We must utilize this opportunity very well."

The share of meat in total livestock and meat exports rose from 5.1 percent in 1980 to 25.8 percent in 1981 and 28.1 percent in 1982. This is a healthy development for Turkey's economy. Increasing meat exports as opposed to livestock exports not only helps the development of our livestock breeding and meat processing industry, but also contributes significantly to our foreign currency earnings with exports of leather clothing, made by our leather processing industry from rawhide (\$74 million in export revenues for the first 10 months of 1982) and exports of calibrated assorted guts (\$11 million in export revenues for the first 10 months of 1982). Furthermore, the internal organs of the animals can be used as a cheap source of animal protein for domestic consumption. Meat exports also have the important economic advantages of providing higher profit margins and creating employment. However, the current implementation is developing in a direction that impedes meat exports. Tax returns on meat have not been fully implemented from the very outset. The pertinent directive provides for tax returns on mutton, beef and chicken meat, but excludes lamb, veal and goat meat from this implementation.

An Uncertain Situation

Despite its shortfalls, a 20-percent tax return rate was implemented on meat exports throughout 1981 without any bottlenecks. However, Directive No 82-7 reduced this tax return rate to 5 percent as of 28 May 1982, and an adjustment directive issued on 4 June 1982 raised the tax return rate back to 15 percent. Directive No 82-9 reduced the tax return rate to 10 percent on beef exports and 5 percent on mutton exports. Thus, an uncertain situation has been created in meat exports, and whereas the share of meat in livestock and meat exports took a big jump from 5.1 percent in 1980 to 25.8 percent in 1981, it could only rise to 28.1 percent in 1982.

Conclusion

If lasting economic and administrative measures are taken and the domestic and foreign markets are well-organized, livestock and meat exports can bring in foreign currency earnings of around \$1 billion within 2 to 3 years.

Since the returns on meat exports are much greater than those on livestock from a general economic viewpoint, meat exports must be encouraged. Therefore, Directive No 82-9 must be reviewed in the face of recent developments, and by making lasting and realistic arrangements which will make our exporters competitive in foreign markets, the success achieved in meat exports in the past 3 years must be perpetuated.

9588

CSO: 3554/214

FOREIGN FIRMS INTERESTED IN FREE ZONES CONTRACTS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 24 Mar 83 pp 9,10

[Report by Kenan Mortan]

[Text] Mersin--It is becoming clear that the free trade zone system will create new employment opportunities for Turkey. Even before the free zones have been declared, firms specializing on this issue have been making offers in pulse-taking visits they have been paying to the zones. One of these firms is a Japanese company called Nichiman Co., Ltd. Its field of specialization is construction of free zones. This company has sent its Turkish representative to Iskenderun to state that they are ready to construct free zones. We received our information about this firm from Mehmet Binbay, President of the Iskenderun Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He said: "To tell the truth, I do not know much about this firm. But many firms like that have been arriving lately." By his statement, Binbay was expressing his surprise at how fast the news of the free zones had traveled in world economic circles. These firms will build the infrastructure for the free zones and construct entrepôts in prefabricated form. While giving this information, Binbay showed us a telex note on his desk. The note was sent by Tekfen Holding.

At its conclusion, the note listed the advantages of the location of the Toros Fertilizer Industries and the suitable conditions of the surrounding region and said that as soon as the installations being planned today are built foreign resources amounting to 1 billion Turkish liras can "immediately" be secured from European firms at the initial stage alone.

Speaking about how this 1-billion sum will be channeled into investments, Esin Gokhan, Deputy Director General of Toros Fertilizer Industries, said that this sum, which will be secured from firms with which they have contracts, will, "in one sense, be the financing money for the free zone."

There is more. A foreign firm called Scandinavian Line sent a representative to a panel discussion held in Iskenderun on 10 January on free trade zones and declared: "We are ready for free zones. Iskenderun is an ideal place by our standards. We can build and develop a system." The financing needs of a region that is best prepared to be converted into a free zone will undoubtedly amount to at least 4 to 5 billion Turkish liras. In addition, competition among free zones has increased following the proliferation of free zones around the world. Consequently,

countries organizing free zones are forced to build basic service units, such as infrastructure and entrepôts, and offer them to foreign firms in order to attract foreign capital. One exporter said in a light tone: "So far all we can offer is an Arabic song about Lebanon by Fayrouz who sings on the Damascus TV. When the free zones are declared organization and infrastructure must be in perfect condition." Professor Ekrem Pakdemirli, Chairman of the Department of Incentives and Implementation of the Office of the Prime Minister, said in a speech in Mersin: "If necessary, we will definitely change our incentives schedule and include in it the infrastructure services necessary for the free zones." This statement showed that new incentives may be introduced in the near future.

Public administration has already introduced certain concrete implementations in connection with the administration and construction of free zones. Firms have been paying their port fees in dollars since 1 January 1983. In view of the inadequate crane capacity of the port authority, the firms were given the right to use private cranes and fork-lifts of their own.

Lastly we consulted Economics Professor Omer Gokay about his views concerning the implementation of free zones and possible future developments. Professor Gokay served as an expert on free zones for UNIDO in Vienna for 3 years.

Gokay said: "We must not forget that thinking about free zones as production areas presumes large investments.

"In my opinion, initially the free zones will function as free trade zones and later an entrepôt system will be more dominant."

The free zones are also expected to run into a series of practical problems in view of the fact that even in a fairly developed region like Mersin a telex line takes 4 million Turkish liras to be installed and it takes 3 to 4 minutes to get the dial tone on the telephone.

9588
3554/211

ALIAGA NOT TO CONSTITUTE FREE ZONE

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 24 Mar 83 p 10

[Report by Baris Kudar]

[Text] Izmir--It was learned that the Nemrut Bay in the Aliaga district, located 70 kilometers to the north of Izmir, has been dropped as a possible free zone site. It was also learned that the decision was based on strategic grounds and was officially conveyed to the Aegean Chamber of Industry and the Izmir Chamber of Commerce.

Prime Minister Bulend Ulusu had announced during his contacts in the Aegean region on 11 and 12 January 1983 that the Nemrut Bay of Aliaga would be converted into a free zone. However, subsequent technical studies showed that the region is inadequate from an infrastructure perspective and unsuitable for strategic reasons. Thus, Nemrut Bay was dropped as a possible free zone site.

The Aegean Chamber of Industry and the Izmir Chamber of Commerce were officially notified of this decision and were asked to submit proposals for a new free zone site. According to information received, a free zones coordination committee, headed by Vacit Tumer, Deputy President of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce, will submit to the government proposals about possible new sites within the next 15 days.

9588

CSO: 3554/211

SDP ORGAN ATTACKS FOREIGN MINISTER ON POLISH SANCTIONS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 24 Mar 83 p 8

[Editorial: "The Defeat"]

[Text] It almost did not matter how the voting turned out in the Folketing on Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen's controversial mandate. If he had obtained the support of the Folketing by means of suddenly converted Progressive Party votes, it would have been a question of an unsolid support. However, the matter now became clearly decided. Seventy-eight votes opposing the foreign minister's policy of sanctions, sixty-eight in favor of it.

The foreign minister recognizes the crystal-clear truth that it is a bitter defeat. He and his government chief will now have to deduce the consequences.

We are not going to demand that the foreign minister resign, but it is very gratifying that it has been established that the minister of a minority government cannot pursue a policy opposed by the majority. That is precisely what this matter is all about.

The foreign minister has tried to interpret the opposition to his positions as a campaign of slander against him personally and as downright malice. That, of course, is nonsense. It is a question not only of a serious matter but also of certain principles which cannot be abandoned.

The voting in the Folketing yesterday shows in clear, convincing figures what it is that the majority wants.

It is quite surprising that the government should want to have its mistakes rejected in such a drastic manner.

7262

CSO: 3613/89

LEADING DAILY COMMENTS ON 'UNCERTAIN' MEANING OF ELECTION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 23 Mar 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Winds of Change Predict Uncertainty"]

[Text] One final result of the spring 1983 parliamentary election is indisputable: It was a beautiful victory for computers. Other election results cannot be explained as unambiguously. Very many setbacks are being presented these days rather as defensive victories.

A clear mistrust in the achievements of the campaign just concluded can be read in many ways from the final results. Just think of the new arrival of the Finnish Rural Party, the significant personnel changes within the parties, and the break-through of the Greens and the Constitutionals.

The increase in support for the four largest parties at the expense of the small groups was broken in these elections mainly because of the large defeat of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic Union]. The People's Democrats have never during their existence been so hard pressed. It is time for the final accounting, unless the party intentionally wants to wither away.

The fragmented right moved ahead a little at the expense of the center and the left in this election, which were conducted with slogans of domestic politics. More symptomatic than this is information about the narrow victory of the government parties and the collapse of the prophesied election victory of the Conservatives. Trust in renewed Conservatives must have evaporated just in the last weeks and days before the elections.

The electorate expressed clearly its desire for change. Nevertheless, the result does not tell unquestionably how to proceed from here. First of all, we must doubtless restore Parliament's prestige, which has been questioned lately, even though strong emotionally-charged movements don't seem always to be sufficiently attracted to it.

The election result would seem on the surface to support a continuation of the left-center government, strengthened by the Swedes. But many factors of uncertainty will make the choice of this road difficult. Are great changes in personnel and corrections in programs enough to restore to the government parties the ability to act in the face of attacks from an enthusiastic opposition and doubts among the electorate?

The votes may give their trust to some groups on an apparently flimsy basis, but this does not in the slightest guarantee that those representative will have effectiveness and ability to cooperate in the demanding work of Parliament. Adaptation to new ways of operating will doubtless take its time.

Also the traditional parties, which more or less preserved their positions, will have to examine their models of activity. The bridgehead position of the Green movement in the no-man's land between socialists and non-socialists, and the total elimination of the Liberals who have served throughout the nation, remind us of the vital importance of this fact. Every idea requires continual sacrifices.

The nation has had its say in any case, and President Mauno Koivisto has his first real power struggle ahead. The complex government negotiations will not be made at all easier by the fact that uncertainty over the preservation of their own power in upcoming party congresses is preying on the minds of many of the party leaders who will be participating. The decline of many of them has already begun.

9611

CSO: 3617/92

AIR TERMINAL BECOMES ELECTION CAMPAIGN ISSUE

Foreign Minister on Terminal

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 29 Mar 83 p 48

[Text] "The renovation of the air terminal building for which I have been responsible is now in its final stages," said Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson in an interview with Morgunbladid yesterday.

When asked whether these preparations would be finished before the elections, Olafur answered: "Could make for quite a surprise, and that's about all I can say at the present time." Olafur also said that he himself would not be opposed to the construction of a new terminal in the near future, although that attitude is not shared by all: "The present administration is still in power and must honor its agreement: the People's Alliance has veto power."

Asked about progress of the construction in Helguvik, the foreign minister replied: "It's coming along. We expect the oil tanks to be finished this summer--I don't know precisely when--but they will be built and buried in the ground."

People's Alliance: No Cooperation

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 29 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] At a lively and well-attended public debate between Albert Gudmundsson and Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, Albert who's the top D-List (Independence Party) man, declared that if the People's Alliance tried to prevent Althing's plans for construction at Keflavik Airport, they would automatically be disqualified as partners in a coalition government.

"A-List (People's Alliance) people wonder about the future and naturally seek answers from us Independent making tonight's gathering a definite declaration of confidence in the IP," said Albert Gunmundsson.

Joe Baldvin Hannibalsson, in his introductory speech, urged serious consideration of the "inglation twins" mouthings, and "then watch them lose at the polls."

In answer to questions from the floor, both candidates declared themselves in favor of increased use of the national referendum and agreed that such a referendum would be an ideal way to equalize voting power in the country.

When Albert Gudmundsson was asked where the IP was going to find the money for increased mortgage lending and whether they expected to win that money in a lottery, he answered that the nation would definitely be the lottery winner if the IP gained a majority in Althing.

Joe Baldvin Hannibalsson was asked about reasons for the PA's poor showing in opinion polls at places of employment, such as Product Sales and Hotel Saga, according to which surveys the party appeared to be but one step away from annihilation. He answered: "You mentioned Product Sales and Hotel Saga. I haven't yet visited those places. Perhaps after I do, the picture will be brighter."

9981

CSO: 3628/28

VOTERS' IMAGE OF PROGRESSIVE PARTY: FIGHTS BUREAUCRACY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] Norwegian party profiles is a Scan-Fact survey conducted for AFTENPOSTEN. Field work carried out by Norwegian Opinion Institute.

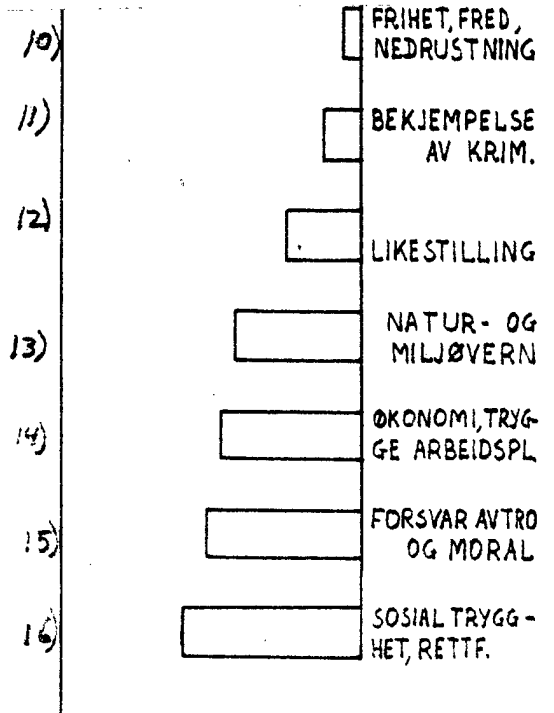
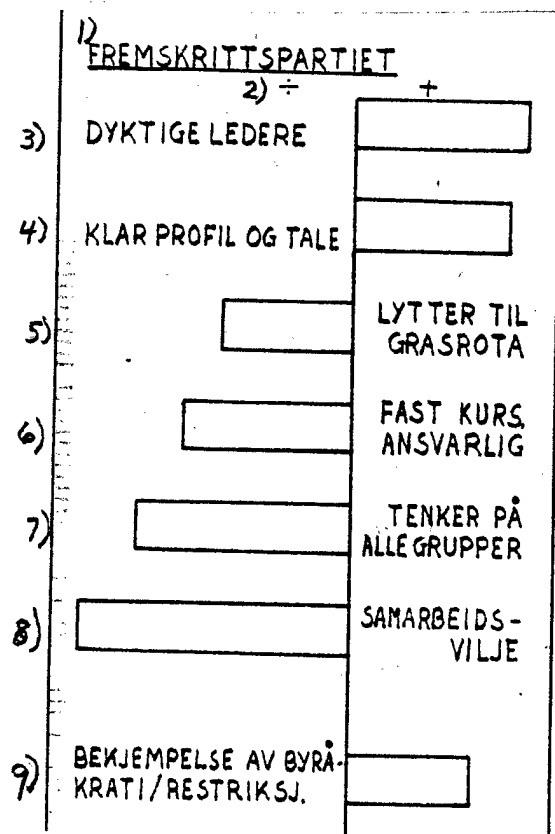
This is the Progressive Party's profile seen through the eyes of the voters: a party with capable leaders which has a clear profile and talks a language that voters understand. The only issue area where the voter majority agreed with the Progressive Party is in combatting bureaucracy and unnecessary restrictions. Otherwise the party gets minus ratings all down the line.

Voters do not credit the Progressive Party with qualities such as cooperativeness, responsibility and consideration for all groups in society. And when it comes to promoting social security and fairness, very few agree politically with FRP [Progressive Party]. Interestingly enough, there was no difference here among respondents on the basis of income and people with a higher level of education agreed even less with FRP than did people with a low level of education.

Otherwise, it is not surprising that Conservative voters are by and large the ones who feel most positively about the qualities and policies of the Progressive Party. This "love" is also reciprocated. In almost all areas, Progressive voters regard the Conservative Party as the second best party. Only when it comes to faith and morality did KRF [Christian People's Party] move ahead and the Conservative Party was rated next to last on its environmental protection policy.

The Center Party is a little more popular than KRF among FRP voters and the Labor Party follows a good distance behind, but well ahead of the Liberal Party and SV [Socialist-Left].

In other words, like the Conservatives, Progressive voters prefer the Labor Party to the Liberals.



Key:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Progressive Party | 10. Freedom, peace, disarmament |
| 2. Minus | 11. Fights crime |
| 3. Capable leaders | 12. Equality |
| 4. Clear profile and language | 13. Conservation and environmental protection |
| 5. Listens to grass roots | 14. Economy, job security |
| 6. Firm course, responsible | 15. Defends faith and morality |
| 7. Thinks of all groups | 16. Social security, fairness |
| 8. Cooperative | |
| 9. Combats bureaucracy, restrictions | |

In general, FRP voters are less loyal to their party than other voters are. On several points they like other parties better than their own. The Conservative Party is more willing to cooperate than the Progressive Party is, in the view of FRP voters and they also feel more in line with the Conservative Party than with their own when it comes to the economy and jobs, Christian faith and morality and equality. On the last point, AP [Labor Party] is also rated more positively than FRP. Both KRF and SP [Center Party] come out better than FRP with regard to faith and morality and SP also received the most support for environmental protection.

On the other hand, no one is as satisfied with his own party as FRP voters when it comes to their special issues, such as fighting bureaucracy and restrictions and the area of crime prevention policy. And no other group is as satisfied with their own party's profile and clear speaking as FRP voters are.

6578

CSO: 3639/94

POLL SHOWS LARGE SETBACK FOR LABOR PARTY

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Mar 83 p 6

[Text] The Labor Party had the greatest decline on Norway's Market Data's poll for February. The other parties show less change.

The Labor Party now has a support of 37.8 percent. This is a decline of 1.8 percent since January. The Christian People's Party showed the greatest increase. The Christian People's Party now has 8.9 percent, while the support the month before was 7.6 percent. For all the other parties, there is only a small change. The Conservative Party now has a support of 30.5 percent, while in January the figure was 30.4.

As far as the Labor Party is concerned, this poll confirms the tendency seen by the Norwegian Institute of Opinion and the Market and Media Institute recently. The MMI poll showed a decline of 4.7 percent for the Labor Party, showing a support of 37.5 percent. The Labor Party has usually been higher in the MMI than in the other institutes. The NOI showed the last time that the Labor Party had 37.5 percent. All three polls now show that Labor has a support of between 37 and 38 percent.

POLITICAL BAROMETER

Would you vote if there were an election tomorrow?
IF YES. Which party would you vote for?

ANSWER DISTRIBUTION:

	Year	L %	C %	CPP %	CP %	SL %	L %	PP %	LF %	C %	REA %	OTHERS %
January	81	33.3	31.2	11.2	6.8	6.0	5.0	3.5	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.0
Election	"	37.1	31.8	9.3	6.6	5.0	3.9	4.5	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.2
January	82	38.7	30.5	9.2	6.4	4.9	3.6	4.8	0.4	0.1	0.9	0.5
June	"	39.7	29.2	9.1	5.9	4.6	4.4	5.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.2
October	"	40.4	29.3	8.8	5.9	5.2	3.2	5.7	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.1
December	"	39.9	29.3	8.5	5.7	5.1	4.1	6.0	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.2
January	83	39.6	30.4	7.6	6.0	5.6	3.7	5.8	0.4	0.1	0.6	0.2
February	"	37.8	30.5	8.9	6.0	5.1	4.3	5.4	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.6

The poll was done during the period 14 February to 8 March 1983. The number polled was 1,345. Of these, 1,134 answered the question on party choice.

Norway's Market Data Ltd.

9124

CSO: 3639/97

POLL MEASURES PARTIES' DIFFERENCES IN VOTER IMAGES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] The political parties build fences between each other to distinguish themselves and to secure their own pastures. But now and then the parties also try to tear down the fences between them and their closest political neighbors in order to work together. The last part of this series of party profile investigations for AFTENPOSTEN by Scan-Facts looks at these rail fences in the light of the voters' perception of the qualities and positions of the parties.

It is seen then that the fence between the Conservative Party and the Christian People's Party is lowest. The Conservative Party also has a close relationship to the Progressive Party. After this there follows the relationship between the Christian People's Party and the Center Party, and the Conservative Party and the Center Party. Finally the Labor Party has a positive neighboring relationship between the Socialist Left Party and the Liberal Party.

Not the Center

Otherwise, the other party combinations give negative results. This applies, for example, both to the relationship between the Liberal Party and the Center Party, and between the Liberal Party and the Christian People's Party. There does not, therefore, seem to be any mutual confidence and political comradeship present that would lead to increased cooperation between the three parties in the middle.

Not Mutual

This is the result, then, when we combine, for example, the conservative voters' evaluation of the Progressive Party with the Progressive Party voters' evaluation of the Conservative Party. But the love is not always mutual. There are no other party voters who favor another party so highly as the Progressive Party voters do with the Conservative Party. Yes, the Progressive Party voters like the Conservative Party better than the Liberal Party voters like the Liberal Party! But the Conservative Party voters prefer for their part both the Christian People's Party and the Center Party ahead of the Progressive Party.

The poll also reveals the half-isolated positions of the Progressive Party and the Socialist Left Party as wing parties. Only the voters of the Conservative

Party and the Labor Party respectively give these two parties a collective positive character.

Most Popular

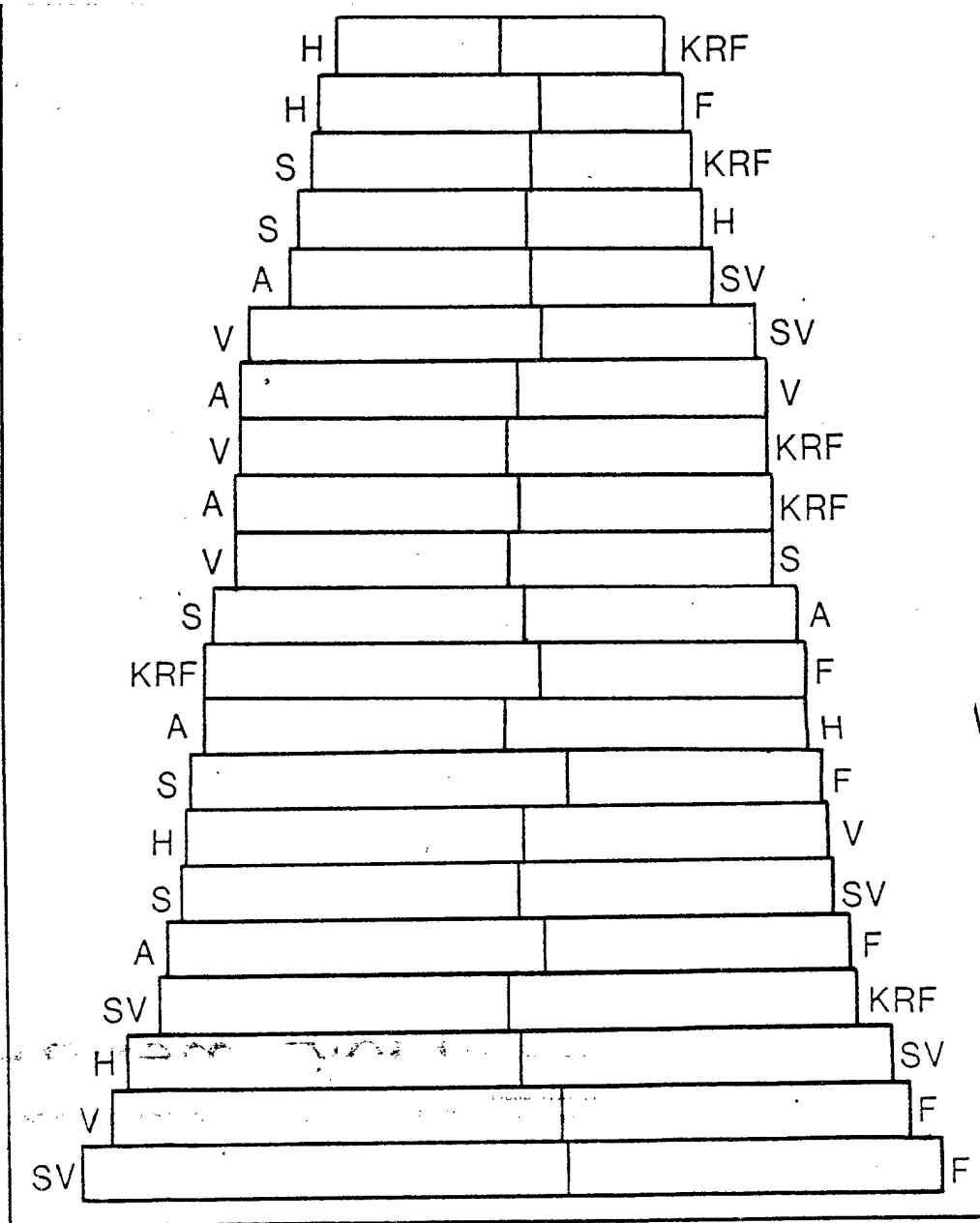
The most "popular neighbors" are the Conservative Party, the Center Party, and the Labor Party, each of which receives a positive grade from the voters of three parties, the Conservative Party from the voters of the Progressive Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Center Party; the Center Party from the voters of the Christian People's Party, the Conservative Party, and the Progressive Party; and finally, the Labor Party from those who vote for the Socialist Left Party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian People's Party.

The Christian People's Party and the Liberal Party receive positive marks only from two neighbors each, from the Conservative Party and the Center Party, and from the Socialist Left and the Center Party respectively.

Ten Articles

This is the last article in the series of Scan-Fact investigations. The other articles appeared 12, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 28 March.

[Chart Caption] This is an illustration of how good the neighboring relationship is between parties. The distance is least between the Conservative and the Christian People's parties at the top of the diagram, and most between the Socialist Left Party and the Progressive Party at the bottom. The dividing line between the Conservative Party and the Christian People's Party is in the middle of the line, and this means that the voters of the Christian People's Party like the Conservative Party just as well as the Conservative voters like the Christian People's Party. When the dividing line between the Socialist Left and the Progressive parties lies closest to the Progressive Party, this means that the Progressive Party voters like the Socialist Left better than the Socialist Left voters like the Progressive Party.



Key:

- H Conservative Party
- KRF Christian People's Party
- F Progressive Party
- S Center Party
- A Labor Party
- SV Socialist Left Party
- V Liberal Party

POLL EXAMINES VOTERS' IMAGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Center Party Profile Lacks Clarity

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Mar 83 p 3

[Norwegian Party Profiles: A Scan-Fact Poll for AFTENPOSTEN; field work by NOI (Norwegian Opinion Institute)]

[Text] It is a not very clear profile that the voters draw of the Center Party with regard to the party's general characteristics. It is near the average on all points. But it is only for thinking more about its own voters than about all social groups that the Center Party gets a negative mark.

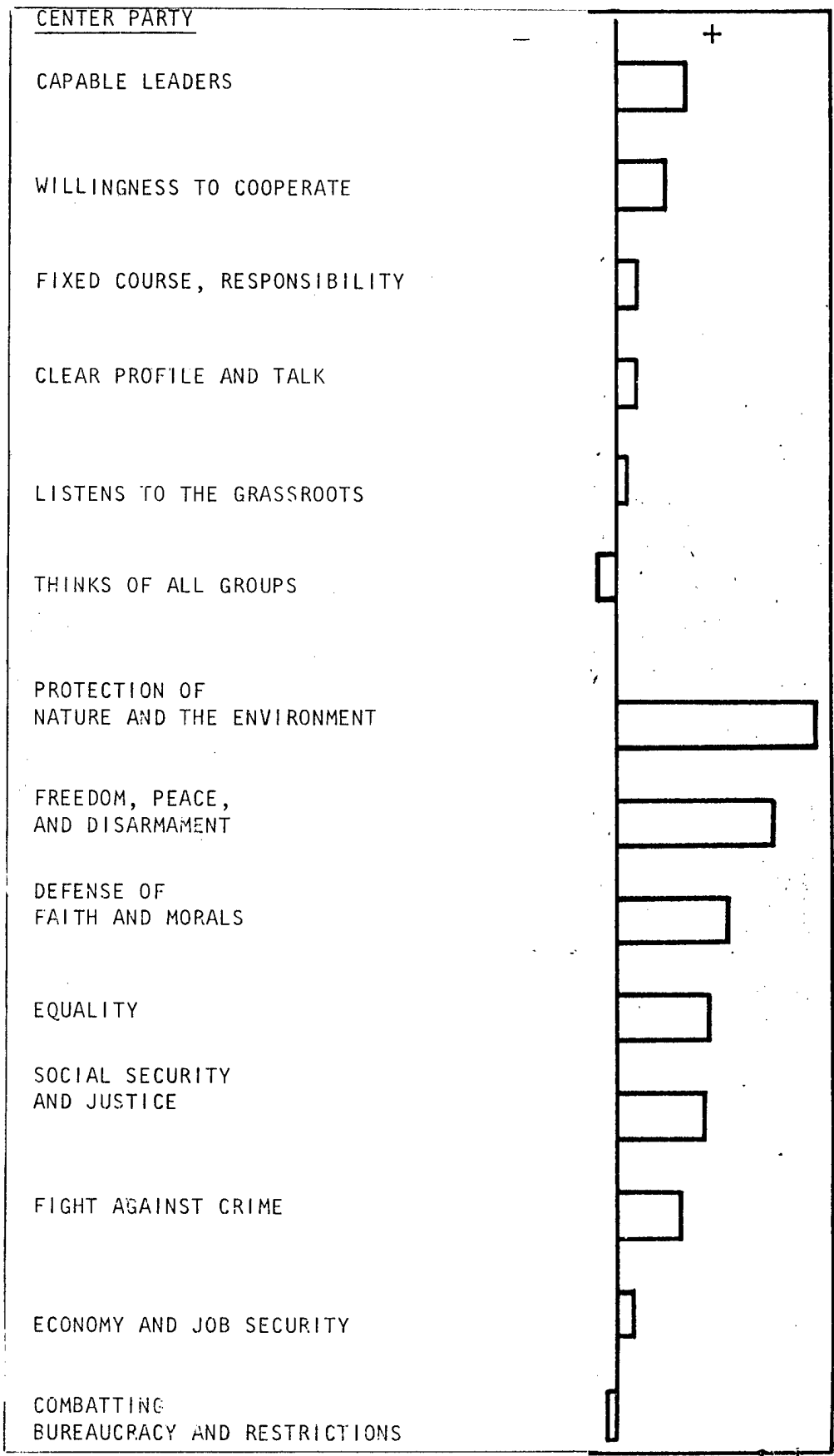
When it comes to political fields, the Center Party comes out somewhat better. Here the party gets good support for its environmental policy. Only in regard to the fight against bureaucracy and restrictions does the Center Party come out on the minus side. Can that be because the party has been the target of criticism against the concession law?

The Center Party also gets weak support for its economic policy, but that is not improbably to be attributed to its lack of a clear profile in the voters' eyes. When more than half of those asked gave neither a positive or a negative appraisal of the Center Party on that point, it indicates that the explanation lies there.

Best From the Christian People's Party

It is the voters in the Christian People's Party that gave the Center Party the best testimonial. Then come those who vote for the Conservative Party, ahead of the Progressive Party voters. Both the Labor Party voters and the Liberal Party voters give the Center Party a negative character. In the latter case this is not because the Liberal Party voters prefer all other parties to the Center Party, but because the Liberal Party voters generally feel more remoteness from other parties than do other voters. The Socialist Left Party voters are least enthusiastic of all for the Center Party.

And how do the Center Party's own voters look upon their own party and other parties? They are least pleased with the Center Party in regard to thinking of all social groups and listening to the grassroots, and most in line with their



own party in environmental policy. But in general Center Party voters are not much inclined to boast about their own party, whether that is due to dissatisfaction or to modesty.

Next after the Center Party it is the Christian People's Party that Center Party voters like best. But it is only a hairsbreadth ahead of the Conservative Party. The Liberal Party comes in third place in the Center Party voters' eyes. They are actually just as much in agreement with the Liberal Party as with the Conservative Party on political matters, but have far less confidence in the Liberal Party's general characteristics.

Then at a good distance come the Labor Party and the Socialist Left Party, but it is the Progressive Party that Center Party voters feel least in line with. The Progressive Party voters' relatively nice opinion of the Center Party is thus not requited on the Center Party voters' side, and the same applies to the Socialist Left Party.

It is thus the Christian People's Party, the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Party that the Center Party voters feel political kinship with and give a positive appraisal. There is little in this survey that indicates that any close cooperation with the Labor Party would please the Center Party's voters.

Socialist Left Is 'Youth Party'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 24 Mar 83 p 5

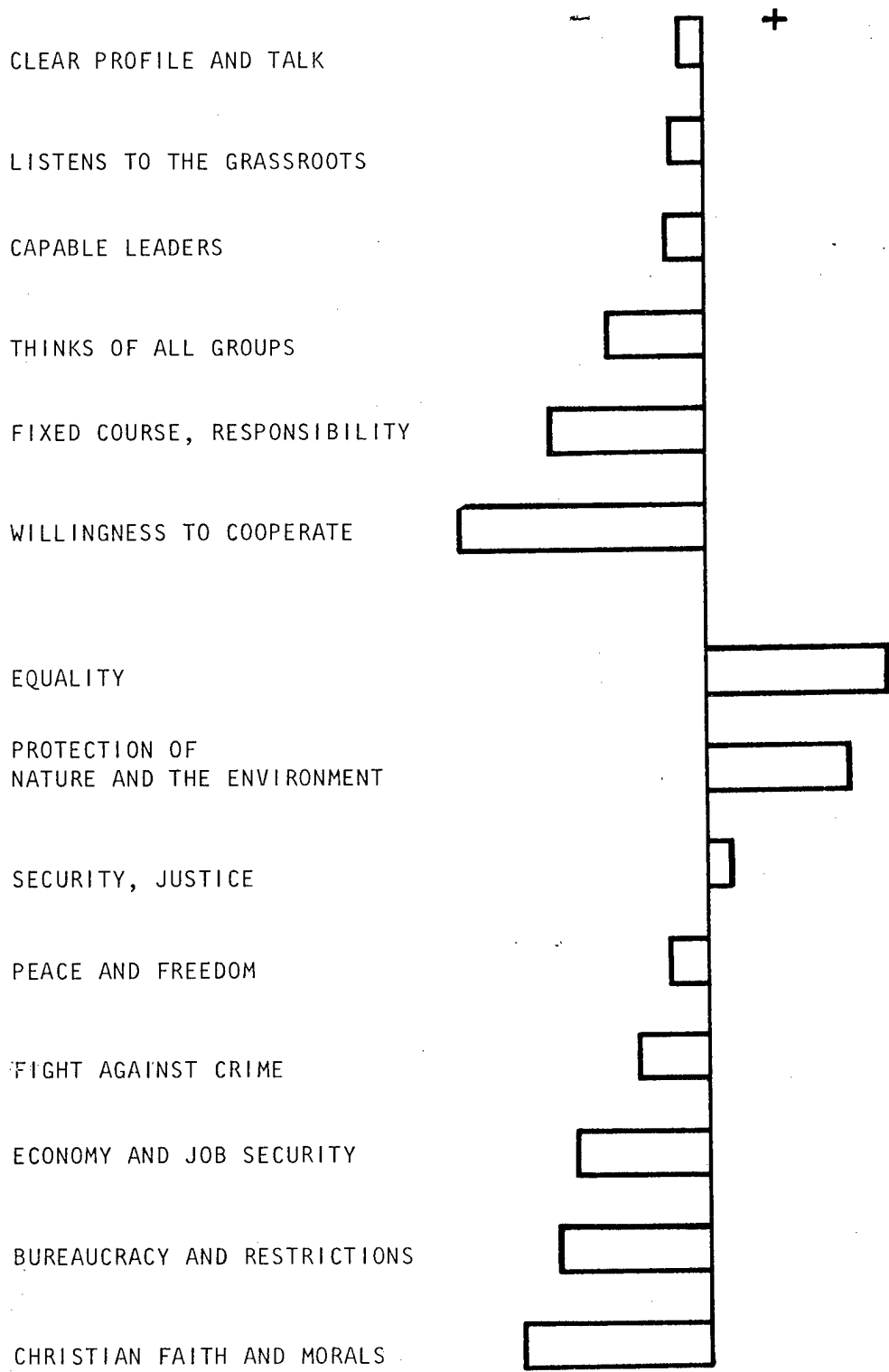
[Text] The Socialist Left profile is not beautiful in the voters' eyes. For no characteristic that would inspire general confidence in the party is there a plus point in Scan-Fact's profile survey for AFTENPOSTEN. But when it comes to particular issues like equality and environmental protection, the Socialist Left holds its own reasonably well.

The attitude toward the Socialist Left is far more positive among voters under 30 years old than among older ones. It may be somewhat more surprising that men almost without exception rate the Socialist Left Party higher than women do. Only on the question of defense, peace, and disarmament are women more in line with the Socialist Left Party than men.

On the other hand, the view of the Socialist Left Party is surprisingly "classless." From other surveys we know that the Socialist Left's red star rises strongly with the education of those interviewed. But in this survey Scan-Fact finds practically no difference of any significance between people with high and low education. It does indicate that Socialist Left sympathisers with high education are more critical of their own party than Socialist Left sympathisers with less schooling. The same pattern seems to hold when we look at the income of those interviewed, though in a somewhat lower degree. In this survey we find small differences between income groups in the view of the Socialist Left, while adherence to the Socialist Left in the election and in opinion polls usually rises with the income.

Socialist Left voters find the weakest points in their own party in regard to willingness to cooperate and the fight against bureaucracy and restrictions.

SOCIALIST LEFT PARTY



But it may happen that in that party willingness to cooperate is not seen as a characteristic worth striving for.

The Socialist Left voters are least satisfied with their party in regard to profile and clear talk, and among substantive issues the Socialist Left voters support the party line especially strongly on questions like equality and environmental protection.

How do Socialist Left Voters look upon other parties? Here Scan-Fact finds a surprisingly traditional view among the Socialist Leftists. They follow strictly a classical view of a one-dimensional party scale from left to right. The Socialist Left voters are most in line with the Labor Party, next the Liberal Party, then the Center Party, the Christian People's Party, the Conservative Party, and the Progressive Party. No other party's voters follow that scale equally strictly.

One might perhaps have expected that the Socialist Leftists environmental interests would have come out so strongly that the Liberal Party was considered closer than the Labor Party in the overall picture. It is also hard to understand that Socialist Left voters feel more akin to the Christian People's Party than the Conservative Party, when one thinks of cultural questions, and that the Socialist Left Party recruits from the same social pastures as the Conservative party. But it is only when it comes to equality and combatting bureaucracy that Socialist Left voters feel themselves to be more in line with the Conservative Party than with the Christian People's Party.

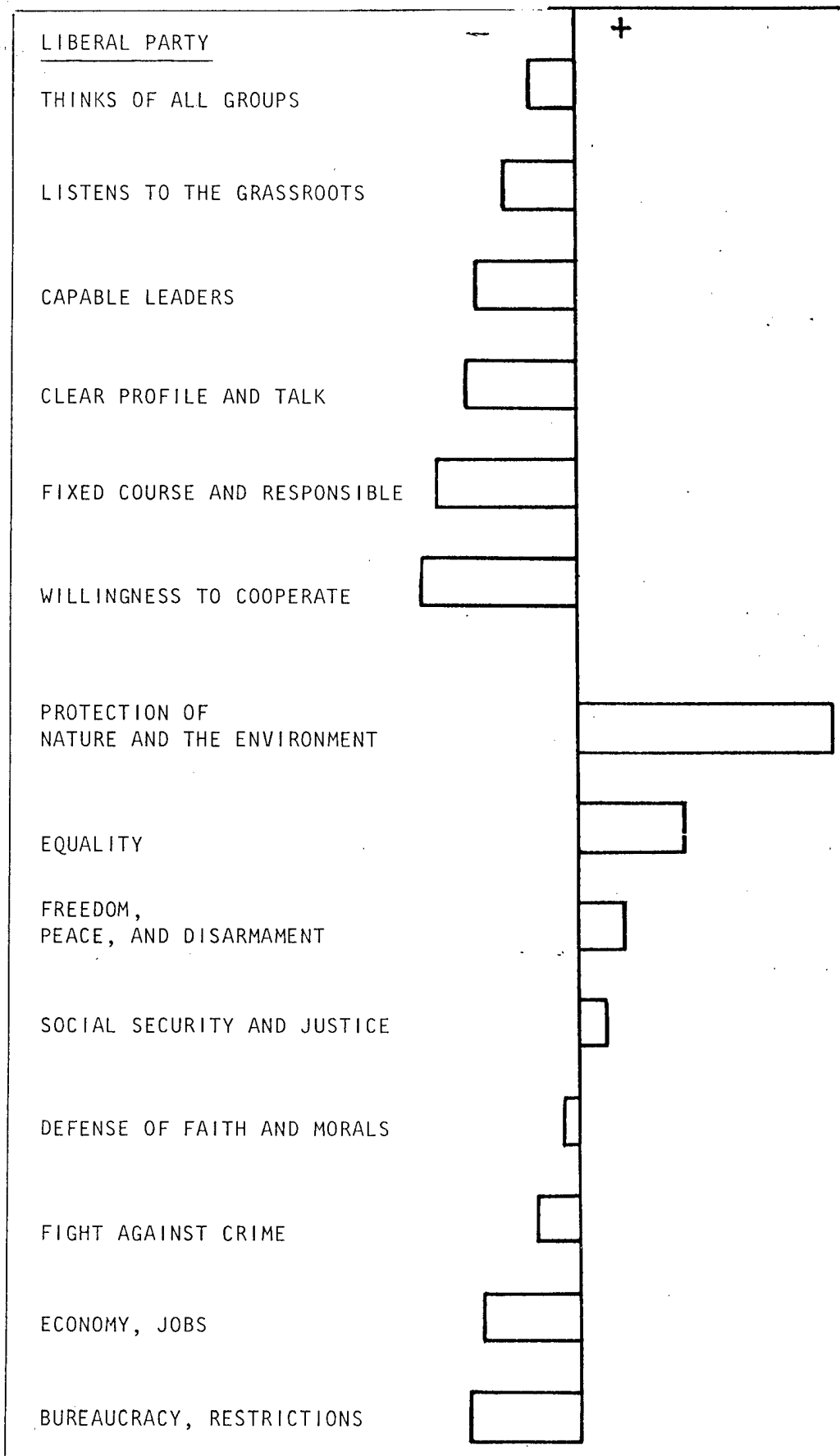
The Center Party, on the other hand, is far more esteemed by Socialist Left voters, even though it is also far behind the Liberal Party on the Socialist Leftists' "pop list." But the Socialist Left Party's nearest neighbor is thus the Labor Party, which is only beaten by the Liberal Party on the points of willingness to cooperate, environmental protection, and work for defense, peace, and disarmament.

Liberal Party: Good Policies, Ineffective

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 March 1983 p 4

[Text] For a party that calls itself liberal, the Liberal Party has a remarkable profile in the voters' eyes: Very little confidence in the party itself, but great support on particular issues. Most other liberal parties have the opposite problem, namely with general confidence as a middle party and big problems with marking out their position on individual issues because the positions often become unclear from taking things into account in all directions.

Part of the explanation for this probably lies in the Norwegian Liberal Party's road from Røros. To survive among the party flora it consciously chose to rely one-sidedly on the environmental protection line at the cost of the traditional liberal profile. Viewed against the background of the Liberal People's Party's fate, that was a successful strategy as far as it went. Afterwards the Liberal Party tried to a certain extent to create a broader profile for itself, but for better or worse it is still essentially the "green" face that people recognize most.



Minus

The Liberal Party thus gets minus scores for all general characteristics, whether it is a matter of listening to the grassroots, holding a fixed course, or showing willingness to cooperate. The last point really hurts; for a party that has historically distinguished itself as a cooperation party.

Plus

But in specific fields, there is, as mentioned above, a strong score for the environmental protection policy. Good marks for the party for equality, too, and a "passing grade" for social security and for peace and freedom.

On the other hand, there are few voters that feel themselves in line with the Liberal Party on economic policy. The party gets its very weakest mark for combatting bureaucracy and restrictions. It looks here as though the liberal profile had washed out in the party that for many years had "focus on man" as its main battlecry.

Toward the Left

Many who have been elected to positions of trust in the Liberal Party have wanted to put the party to the left of the Labor Party. That strategy has been successful to a great extent. The voters in both the Progressive Party and the Conservative Party do view the Liberal Party as "farther out" than the Labor Party.

But the Socialist Left Party voters for their part still view the Liberal Party as further from them than the Labor Party. Even so, it is the Socialist Left voters that give the Liberal Party the best marks.

Labor Party Best

The Liberal Party voters themselves give the Labor Party the best character after their own party. And the Labor Party is the only party that Liberal Party Voters treat to a positive average character.

Those who vote for the Liberal Party are thus very critical of other parties. But they do not always like their own party best, either. For example, it seems the Conservative Party has more capable leaders than the Liberal Party, and the Labor Party gets better marks than the Liberal Party for social security and equally good marks for economic policy.

Socialist Left Ahead of Conservatives

The Labor Party, on the whole, is the party the Liberal Party voters like best after the Liberal Party. What is somewhat more surprising is that they prefer the Christian People's Party to the Center Party, and some will be still more surprised that Liberal Party Voters, taking it all around, put the Socialist Left ahead of the Conservatives.

8815

CSO: 3639/92

KJELL MAGNE BONDEVIK 'VICTOR' IN CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY STRUGGLE

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 19 Mar 83 p 18

[Interview with Kjell Magne Bondevik by Inger Bentzrud]

[Text] Who is the ambassador of the heavenly kingdom in Norwegian politics with the qualities appropriate to that role? Who can overthrow a party leader in the Christian People's Party? Who can demonstrate enough Christian charity to offer his outcast brother a job as parliamentary leader? Who can get a national council to turn down government seats out of fundamental loyalty to the Tonsberg resolution?

Who can get the national council to say yes to the same seats if a "special situation" arises?

Kjell Magne Bondevik would probably not give the right answers to these questions, but even the most ardent disbelievers now feel sure that he is the victor in the struggle for power and glory in the Christian People's Party. "Whast struggle?" he would ask and then he would shake his head and say, "Media sensationalism."

For Kjell Magne Bondevik is no power-hungry manipulator. If he had been the one to decide what the world was like, everyone would have given each other a pat on the back, everyone would have had lofty ideals and would have laughed openly and heartily at pastoral witticisms. It would be quite wrong to say that he seduces chapel-going women behind the coffee cups and the knitting. But one may be allowed to believe that he charms them.

He is the answer to the prayers of all mothers-in-law. A nice young man who has had a prominent political career before reaching the age of 36. A conscientious father of three children who for reasons of principle tries to take the bus home to Prinsdal before evening sessions of Storting and becomes really upset when he is away so much that he only sees his children in pajamas in the morning and in the evening. A husband who nods when asked if his wife has a fulltime job and adds: "She works at home."

And in the middle of all this success, he reveals a portion of human weakness: "The last period has been very difficult. I do not mind an external conflict with political opponents. But internal disagreement in the party is more difficult. It is stressful. It is difficult to have a discussion in a political party today, for the media immediately present it as a split. That is why I am relieved to be able to reinstate solidarity in the form of restructured solutions," he stated firmly.

Who is Kjell Magne Bondevik really? Is he a bitter pill with a sugar coating, as Tove Nilsen suggested before she invited him to have a private conversation with her in front of an open microphone last summer? The press--true to its custom, as Bondevik would undoubtedly think--has refused to buy the "restructured solutions" from the Christian People's Party's national council meeting. Double talk, it has been called.

[Question] Kjell Magne Bondevik, when you said no last fall to re-election as party vice chairman, it was interpreted as an attempt to annihilate Kare Kristiansen and his eagerness to share in government responsibility. Was it the idea then that you would have both posts, that of party leader as well as that of parliamentary leader?

[Answer] I was already open at that time to the solution we now have--a divided leadership. I am glad that we have been able to keep Kare Kristiansen and I would not have thought much of being elected on a split ballot, especially if the same thing happened with regard to the government question. But I have never concealed the fact that Kare Kristiansen and I disagree on some things. This may be because we belong to two different generations and have different geographic and cultural backgrounds. In the Christian People's Party we have widespread agreement on value standpoints, but there is a spread in views on economic conditions, that is to say on a scale from right to left. Issues in this latter category are increasing tension in the party. An example of the opposite can be found in the Conservative Party, where tension is mounting in the debate on values. But when that explanation has been made, I must add that Kare Kristiansen and I have always managed to maintain a personal friendship.

[Question] Solidarity in the party may have been achieved at the expense of clarity in its statements. How long will the abortion resolution from Tonsberg stand in the way of a nonsocialist three-party government?

[Answer] The consequences of the Tonsberg resolution will remain in effect until the abortion issue is debated. In any case, we cannot go into a government and issue a free abortion document. When the debate is over, we can take the consequences of the fact that we find ourselves in a country with a minority government. Then we will feel freer to step in if a difficult parliamentary situation arises.

[Question] Regardless of the outcome of the abortion issue? Is that not "selling your birthright for a bowl of pottage," as your uncle Kjell Bondevik once said?

[Answer] I have not regarded our stand on the question as a permanent principle. It was a response to a concrete situation in the last election. In the meantime, we have seen the Conservatives abandon their abortion view and move in a more liberal direction. This produces a political situation on which we must take a new stand when the issue comes up. Our view on abortion remains firm and we are showing restraint on the government question in order to stress the seriousness of the Tonsberg resolution.

[Question] The national council has appointed a committee to evaluate KRF [Christian People's Party] as a "party of Christian ideas in a secularized society." Is that due to a recognition of the vastness of the gap for you between your ideals and practical politics?

[Answer] Yes, there is a conflict there. There has been a remarkable backsliding in society, the abortion issue is just a symptom of that. We have had a decade dominated by the ideals of false freedom. Free upbringing and cultural liberalism are both going bankrupt and society has been laid open to speculative forces.

[Question] Where will this debate of ideas lead the party?

[Answer] Perhaps in the direction of self-criticism, an admission that we have not been good enough at presenting ourselves externally. It has been said of us that we want to "Christianize Norway with the help of laws." Perhaps we have not sufficiently displayed the love, warmth and caring in God's message. Here I would like to remind you of a story from the New Testament about the woman taken in adultery who was to be stoned. Jesus then said: "He who is without sin can cast the first stone" and no one did. Then Jesus said to the woman, "Go and sin no more." Such an attitude should characterize us as Christians and also as a party of Christian ideas. One is caring and responsible and does not reject people even if they have sinned. But along with the care and forgiveness, one must make it clear that one still stands by one's ideals.

[Question] Finally an admission that tolerance has not been very widespread in Christian circles, in other words?

[Answer] I do not agree with that. I myself come from an Inner Mission environment in Vestlandet, something that is still associated with dour people. That is not true, there is just as much openness and exuberance there as anywhere else. I must admit that during a period in my own youth I felt it was somewhat narrow and I longed to go to what I thought was cultural openness and freedom in Oslo. Well, I came here, found interesting things but was struck by the indifference. Actually I ran into more condemnation here than in my own environment. Intolerance is probably evenly distributed. I can mention an example from the fortress of cultural radicalism, DAGBLADET. A professor on the congregational faculty came across an article in DAGBLADET on church issues. It displayed a fundamental lack of knowledge. He marched into the editorial

office and asked for a vacant job as sports journalist. "Do you know anything about sports?" asked the editor. "No," replied the professor, "but isn't that the principle around here?"

[Question] Is it a problem for a party like KRF that is based on the family as its very foundation in our culture that a city like Oslo has a divorce statistic of 54 percent? Is this caused by the "false freedom"--including women's liberation?

[Answer] Well, Oslo is not Norway. The strong centralization, the crowding of people in impersonal satellite towns, should probably bear some of the blame. It is the same with the economy, that some people are forced into paid jobs against their will. Both men and women must have greater freedom of choice as to whether to work outside or at home, perhaps in part-time jobs. I am not saying that we must go back to the sexual role models we had 20 years ago, but I react to the fact that some women now feel oppressed because caring for people at home is no longer treated with respect.

[Question] It is not valued in terms of kroner and ore either.

[Answer] But KRF really does have a clear policy there. Upgrading the economic status of workers at home is a vital element in the nonsocialist joint stand. What we should have done, of course, was to go in for a direct payment for care provided. But it is probably not the right time to launch that idea just now. I am open to other proposals, such as the 6-hour day. There are many indications that we must share the work in the future.

[Question] We know that the age for initial sexual experiences is decreasing. You are against a liberal abortion law and at the same time you do not support giving preventive guidance in the schools. Such an attitude does not exactly contribute to reducing future social problems, does it?

[Answer] Marriage instruction, including information about contraception, belongs in the schools. But personal preventive guidance should occur on an individual basis, not in the classroom. We cannot ignore the fact that it might invite some people to make an early sexual debut.

(Kjell Magne Bondevik rolled his eyes. And then it came.) Why is the question of KRF's policy always reduced to questions about sexual morality? We almost never get to present the positive aspects in our political involvement over the entire spectrum. You love to present Christian circles as identical with everything strict and sad and gray in the world.

Well, we will take Kjell Magne Bondevik's word for it when he says that humor is well-developed in his circle. A ministerial story that is supposed to be pretty good deals with the minister who married a couple who showed

obvious signs of having broken the seventh commandment. Of course the minister got his rituals mixed up and asked: "What is the child's name?"

Bondevik, who keeps his theological expertise up to date as a vacation minister in Fraena every summer, recommends the book, "Lutheran Smiles and Joy," for more jokes about ministers. He keeps his figure in shape on the soccer field, where perhaps he has shown his mastery by dribbling in such a tactical way that it puts his opponents out of action. "We meet a team headed by Gunnar Prestegard and play soccer at the Christian Gymnasium every Thursday morning. Things really get wild, concussions are by no means an unknown phenomenon on that field," he said with a satisfied burst of laughter.

Exactly, we knew there was something under the sugar coating. But what? God knows.

6578

CSO: 8139/1105

CONSERVATIVE DAILY COMMENTS ON DIFFERING POLLS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 29 Mar 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Just what we thought: After the Market and Media Institute's poll for February showed a quite remarkable decline for the Labor Party of 4.7 percent, we have just received a new poll from the same institute in which the Labor Party made a forward jump of 2.7 percent at the beginning of March. These violent swings, now up and now down, are doubtlessly suited to make political life exciting, worth noting if one were to take such investigations absolutely seriously. But we would not be surprised if more and more people gradually lose faith in such activity. And this is too bad, because Norwegian polls have previously had a good name. Compared with the election results, the political polls have given a fairly close picture of the strength relationships between the parties.

If one studies the recent polls, so much movement can be seen -- at least as far as one institute is concerned -- that trustworthiness comes into question. To be sure, it can happen that certain important events directly bring about strong opinion changes, even if we still doubt that the jumps can be so great as MMI has been able to show from one month to another. And we must admit that the suspicion becomes stronger when such incomprehensible jumps are simply a continuation of corresponding, but still somewhat smaller jumps -- up and down -- from month to month for several years.

Let's take an example. In October 1982 MMI showed a support of 43.2 percent for the Labor Party. This support had then gone down to 40.3 percent in December 1982, gone up again to 42.2 in January 1983, and then down to 37.5 percent in February. For the Center Party, MMI showed a support of over four percent in October 1982, and poor Johan J. Jakobsen was naturally asked what the Center Party had been up to! A month later the party was up to its usual level, namely about six percent.

We will not attempt any expert criticism of the trustworthiness of opinion polls. But with the great swings -- and the corresponding discrepancies -- we have been witness to from month to month, we think that anyone with a knowledge of Norwegian politics will have some doubt about the trustworthiness of the opinion polls. Now we know, on the other hand, that one should never be misled by a

single poll or by movements from one month to another, but that one should rather try to observe the tendencies over some time. Only then can one form a solid opinion on the party strength relationships. One can obtain further information by comparing the polls of the various institutions with one another.

The value of opinion polls lies in the mapping of changes in opinion, and here it is the long-range tendency, the so-called trend, that gives an approximately correct picture. As an example and illustration of this, we refer to the Norwegian Opinion Institute's polls of the Labor Party's support through the past seven months (September 1982 to March 1983): 40.0, 38.0, 37.7, 37.5, 37.1, 37.5, 37.2. Here the trend is quite clear.

9124

CSO: 3639/97

CUNHAL CLAIMS CRITICISMS OF PS ARE POLITICAL

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 14 Mar 83 pp 5, 7

[Interview with Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] "The criticisms the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] is making of the PS [Socialist Party] leadership are political criticisms," PCP leader Alvaro Cunhal said in an interview granted to DIARIO De LISBOA. He added that the PS, on the contrary, is pursuing "a systematic and very violent campaign against the PCP, not on the basis of a political analysis, but of the most primitive slanders and insults." The electoral slogan "a solution to the crisis is only possible with the PCP in government," Mota Amaral's proposed meeting of all the parties, the alleged APU [United People Alliance] electoral ceiling, and Soares as a candidate for the Belem post were other subjects discussed during the interview.

A conversation in person (possibly more interesting) with the secretary general of the PCP was prevented by a "crowded schedule." This was regrettable. We sent our questions, and the answers came back. Below we present both, with our own subtitles.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: The great slogan in the electoral campaign of the PCP, within the APU context, will, as is known, be "a solution to the crisis is only possible with the PCP in the government."

Pending the predictable policy of alliances of a future executive branch headed by the PS, will this not be a deceptive slogan, or one likely to meet with failure, as to some extent happened with the old concept of the "leftist majority?" Or is it that this will be an essentially electoral slogan?

Alvaro Cunhal: "The PCP in the government" is not an electoral slogan but a proposal offered to the Portuguese people, that is to say, as the elections approach, to the electorate. The other parties have already demonstrated that not only are they completely incapable of resolving our national problems, but they have even seriously aggravated them. The policy which both the PSD [Social Democratic Party] and the CDS [Social Democratic Center

Party], as well as the PS, propose will continue the basic lines of the policy of monopolistic reestablishment which has been pursued in recent years and which led the country to the brink of disaster. The PCP is proposing a new policy to the people. It is indicating the measures needed in order to emerge from the crisis and to ensure economic development, the material and cultural well-being of the people, a democratic regime and national independence. It asserts, on a solid basis, that to resolve our national problems, the participation of the PCP is not only necessary but indispensable. We are speaking to the Portuguese people. It will be for them to provide the answer.

Dependence 'Is Not a Calamity'

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Accepting the hypothesis of a government with the participation of the communists, to what point would that executive branch have a possibility of success, specifically in resolving the crisis, given our extreme dependence on the economic and financial system of the capitalist world, the loans from the IMF, World Bank, etc.?

Alvaro Cunhal: Without a doubt, the policy pursued in recent years by successive governments (from that of the PS alone to the AD [Democratic Alliance]) created strong ties of economic and financial dependence for Portugal. But dependence is not a catastrophe, but rather an unacceptable situation which a national and patriotic policy must courageously jettison. The secretary general of the PS, in his press conference on 8 March 1983, stressed the disastrous nature of a policy of national dependence and catastrophe. What he proposes is a continuation of the basic aspects of the AD policy: limiting production, rising prices, inflation, elimination of social benefits, devaluation of the escudo, an increase in the unemployment rate, a rise in interest rates, bankruptcies, cuts in public investments, abandonment of national projects, and, naturally, new loans under burdensome conditions, agreeing at the outset (and it is almost inconceivable that he should say this) to devaluation of the escudo and the sale of our gold reserves! This policy is outdated, resolves nothing and can only aggravate the situation. The PCP (see the "Electoral Proclamation" approved at the recent national conference) is proposing to the country a policy which can guarantee a solution to the crisis. Completely unlike those policies which submit to the IMF conditions, what is required is the mobilization of our national resources and energies, promotion of projects of national interest, an increase in production, the dynamizing of all sectors of the economy, making credit cheaper and expanding the domestic market.

It is not dependence which should determine the national policy. A national policy has the duty to undertake to assure independence.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Although it does not regard the PS as the "main enemy," the actions it has already undertaken and the PCP's electoral proclamation itself reveal harsh and systematic criticisms of that party. Do you think that this will benefit the APU from an electoral viewpoint? If so, do you not think that this will make the possibility of an understanding between the PS and the PCP, insistently urged by the communists, still more remote?

Alvaro Cunhal: The "main enemy" of the PCP is obviously the reactionary bloc, and specifically, the AD and the parties which make it up. What we criticize most in the leadership of the PS is precisely the fact that they do not combat the "main enemy," but ally themselves with it and propose to the country a policy which cannot be distinguished, in its basic aspects, from the AD policy. This criticism is basic to an understanding of the political situation, the positions of the various parties, and the prospects which really exist, so that each voter can decide in good conscience which vote is needed to ensure a democratic alternative. We would also like to stress that the criticisms which the PCP directs toward the PS leadership are political criticism, while the PS is pursuing a systematic and very violent campaign against the PCP, not on the basis of a political analysis, but of the most primitive slanders and insults.

Not only are our criticisms of the PS leadership not in conflict with our insistence on an agreement between the communists and the socialists, but they represent a contribution to the achievement of such an understanding.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Former members of the PS secretariat have, in one way or another, defended a dialogue with the communists, unlike the party leadership. With this component of the PS removed from the parliamentary bench, and since they further lack effective means of acting within the party apparatus, isn't it a fact that the possibility of a future understanding between the socialists and the communists is still farther off?

Alvaro Cunhal: The removal of the former members of the secretariat from the PS slates and benches in the Assembly of the Republic increases the number of Soarist deputies. But it reflects the existence of a strong democratic faction in the PS, opposed to the alliance with the reactionaries, and one which the PS leadership will have to take into account if it does not want to become gradually isolated and to create new factors favoring a change in the party structure as it presently exists. Mario Soares violently rejects any future agreement between socialists and the communists. But what Mr Soares does not want may come to be a reality, to the extent that a sufficiently strong democratic and socialist faction does want it.

New Parties?

DIARIO DE LISBOA: The PCP has come to consider the existence of political and social conditions favoring the emergence of one or more forces in the Portuguese party arena. Given the present situation, specifically the splintering of the AD and the much-vaunted possibility of an electoral success for the PS, do you believe that these conditions are still favorable?

Alvaro Cunhal: The profound crises in the PSD, CDS and PS are providing new proof that the present parties fall far short of responding satisfactorily to the political choices of the people of Portugal.

Some of those disillusioned with the PSD, CDS and PS may turn to us. Others will certainly not. Therefore the empty social and political space of which

we have so often spoken not only continues to exist, but is enlarging. There continue to be objective conditions favoring the emergence of new parties and movements.

The relatively low percentage of abstentions in the last elections for the self-governing bodies and that which may be seen in the coming elections does not alter this view of ours. The people of Portugal won the right to vote with the events of 25 April. They became accustomed (and this is very positive) to exercising it. They vote for the parties which exist. They may also vote for others which may be created.

As to the attitude of the president of the republic toward the new parties, we are not in a position to predict what it will be. We do not see how a president of the republic (while he remains in office) could become the head of a party. But we see it as natural that a party could support a president of the republic.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: What do you think of Mota Amaral's proposal for a meeting among the main party forces, under the sponsorship of the president of the republic, to discuss our national problems?

Alvaro Cunhal: In the political system and political life of Portugal, the main party forces have numerous opportunities to examine, debate or discuss national problems. They do this in the Assembly of the Republic. They do so behind closed doors in the Council of State, in which all are represented. They may also do so in public in discussions in the mass communications media, as will happen on the 31st of this month via the RTP [Portuguese Radio-Television System], in which we, for our part, have agreed to participate. If the president of the republic should take the initiative to call the leaders of the principal parties together to set forth for him the measures they propose to resolve the crisis and our national problems, and to be able to discuss the measures proposed together with the president of the republic as well, we would certainly view such an undertaking favorably. If this is Mota Amaral's proposal, it seems to us an interesting one.

Erosion of Power in the FRG and France

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Couldn't the results of the local elections in France and the legislative elections in the FRG, representing a setback for the more progressive forces, influence the Portuguese elections? And how do you assess these results in the European, and for that matter, the international, context?

Alvaro Cunhal: These results reflect electoral phenomena which are now classic in countries in which parties which because of their policies prove incapable of resolving the national problems alternate in power. It is for this reason that there is talk of the "erosion of power." In the FRG and France, now, it falls in particular to the social democrats and the socialists to pay the electoral price of such "erosion." It is therefore a question of a swing to the right which will certainly not produce positive results in international life.

As to the possible influence on the Portuguese elections, we believe that it will not be great. These results are not enough to revive the spirits of the PSD and the CDS. And those of the PS are dampened only a little. The Congress of the Socialist International, which the PS is promoting in Portugal during an electoral period, has lost a good bit of the electoral wind with which an attempt was made to inflate its sales.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Do you believe that the alleged APU "electoral ceiling" of 20 or 21 percent can be "punctured" in these coming elections? If so, what factors lead you to believe this?

Alvaro Cunhal: The APU has no "electoral ceiling." For long years our adversaries have claimed that the APU and the PCP have insurpassable "electoral ceilings." Leaders of other parties have claimed in their electoral campaigns that the "ceiling" was 15 percent, or 12 percent, or 8 percent, and even 6 percent (Mario Soares, sic!).

In the final analysis, the APU won 21.0 percent in the last elections for self-governing bodies. It can naturally rise even higher. The reception of the stands we take and the abundance of our initiatives seem to suggest that it will.

Soares: "Polluted Water"

DIARIO DE LISBOA: Could the PCP state at the outset that Mario Soares can never be a candidate for the Belem post which the communists could support?

Alvaro Cunhal: Although a popular saying has it that one should never swear "I will not drink this water," the truth is that in this specific case, the "water" is politically so polluted that it can be stated that Mr Soares does not meet the conditions for support by the PCP if he should run as a candidate for the presidency of the republic.

DIARIO DE LISBOA: How do you interpret the change in the PSD leadership? Do you think that this might point the way to a future PS-PSD alliance? And what about the change in the leadership of the CDS?

Alvaro Cunhal: The alliance which is to be negotiated and worked out is not just an alliance of the PS with the PSD. It is an alliance of the PS with the PSD and the CDS.

The secretary general of the PS and the other PS leaders have announced that the PS is abandoning "isolationism" and opening up toward a "consensus," with what it calls "the democratic parties," i.e., the PSD and the CDS. Mota Pinto, in his speech at the presentation of the PSD candidates, said that if the PSD and the CDS achieve a majority, the "consensus" should be extended to the PS, and if the PSD and the PS achieve a majority, it should be extended to the CDS. One of the main statements made by Lucas Pires after he was designated president of the CDS, for his part (apart from the attack on the "central bloc"), was that his party "would begin to talk more, better and directly with the president of the republic and with the PS."

It can be seen that the PCP was right in foreseeing that the danger in the coming elections is not so much that the AD and the parties which make it up will not be defeated (they are already defeated at the outset), but that, thanks to the PS, we might have a "government of consensus" with the PS and a "majority of consensus," also with the PS, in the assembly of the republic.

This is the reason for our statement to the effect that under these circumstances, the so-called "useful vote" in the PS might be "extremely useful" to the PSD and the CDS, so that, thanks to Mr Soares, they can continue in power precisely at the moment of their defeat.

This is the reason for our statement that the PS is not an alternative and that it is necessary significantly to strengthen the number of votes for the APU and of deputies elected by the APU.

This is the only kind of vote which can exert an influence to open the door toward a democratic alternative, that is to say a government with a policy which can guarantee a solution to the crisis and the consolidation of the democratic regime and its conquests.

5157

CSO: 3542/103

ALVES DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

Oporto O PRIMEIRO DE JANEIRO in Portuguese 22 Mar 83 p 6

[Text] The actions taken against the sovereignty of Angola and Mozambique, "whatever their source, merit the keenest rejection and the most categorical condemnation on the part of Portugal," Lt Col Vitor Alves said yesterday.

In an interview granted to the Angolan News Agency ANGOP, Vitor Alves, who is president of the Conference on Solidarity With the Front Line States, said that "the Portuguese authorities, particularly those on the highest level, have asserted this principle with sufficient emphasis."

However, he said that "the existence in Portugal of persons possibly linked with groups pursuing actions against Angola and Mozambique can only occasion repressive legal action, if such persons engage in acts punishable under Portuguese penal law."

Vitor Alves, who serves as an adviser to the president of the republic, stressed that the relations linking Portugal, Angola and Mozambique "are relations among nations, and it is on this level that such relations develop and should be dealt with."

He went on to say that this results in a mutual obligation not to intervene in such domestic political problems as may exist in either of these countries, and to this extent, "the Portuguese authorities do not recognize any but the responsible authorities in the nations with which we maintain relations as legitimate and representative political bodies."

Concerning the Conference on Solidarity With the Front Line Nations scheduled to be held in Lisbon soon, Vitor Alves said he believes the perception that "the main problems of the Front Line African countries can be reduced to and summarized as a situation of conflict between the two great powers, a regional competition or a broader one between the Soviet Union and the Front Line states" is incorrect.

"The real problems, the permanent and unavoidable ones, are the problems of consolidation of their respective domestic political systems and of economic and social development. These problems precisely cannot be resolved if the situation of regional political instability is maintained," Vitor Alves said.

The president of the conference emphasized the need to create political conditions favoring the development of better relations between the countries of Western Europe and the Front Line nations, adding that "there can be no economic and social development or domestic political stability for the Front Line nations without this context of relations."

Vitor Alves expressed the view that "the European nations need these relations as a factor in their own economic stability and regulation, and to demonstrate their will to develop a new framework of international relations on the Euro-African axis, a framework of solidarity and interdependence."

5157

CSO: 3542/103

PINTASILGO, 199 DOCUMENT PROPOSES FUTURE POLICY

'Deepened Democracy' Needed

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 17 Mar 83 p 9

[Excerpts] "Contrary to the apathy and unbelief that surround us, we still think that it is possible to construct a new country through democratic means." This is the conclusion of the document, or manifesto, entitled "For a Deepening of Democracy," which was submitted yesterday at a press conference by Eng. Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo, and signed by 199 citizens from all parts of the country and from all social groups. As was remarked on the occasion by Dr Tereza Santa Clara Gomes, far more signatures could have been submitted, but it was desired, symbolically, not to exceed this number, to prove the commitment of each one who signed the document. There was also the concern that the signers should show a geographical diversity of origin, unlike what is usually the case, with over 50 percent residing outside of Lisbon; that there should be a diversity of sexes and ages, and hence nearly 30 percent are women and the ages range between 18 and well over 70 years; and that the overwhelming majority of signers should not be bound to political parties or be public figures.

This document is the result of anonymous labor over a period of 2 years, materializing from the meetings of hundreds of diversified groups which studied the best types of action to be taken in agriculture, in the cooperative movement, in cultural activity, in the defense of patrimony, in the residents' commissions, in relations with the Third World countries, etc.

This new contemplative document assumes a position on the border between ethics and politics, and joins together persons who are ideologically independent and whose goals are located beyond the elections: "Through our many activities, we are involved in restoring to political practice its moral and patriotic dimension; we are involved in lending dignity to the living conditions and everyday activity of all citizens; we are involved in making the transformation processes that are germinating in Portuguese society coordinated and acquiring an active expression."

"This document is what it is and nothing more than that," emphasized its author, Eng. Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo, in response to a question of its possibly being considered a starting point for the formation of a new political party. It was also denied that Gen Ramalho Eanes is linked with it, although it advocates some values that coincide with the ones that the president of the republic has been

upholding since his first term. The fact of its appearing and being launched during an election period is explained by the fact that it is at such a time that people's civic consciousness is most marked.

Document Considered Insignificant

Porto O PRIMEIRO DE JANEIRO in Portuguese 18 Mar 83 p 7

[Text] The "manifesto" made public at the beginning of the week and signed by 199 persons, the majority of whom are associated with Belem Palace (it is claimed that the leading one is missing deliberately), without a shadow of doubt, represents another significant proof of the critical ability that the Portuguese have, generally speaking, along with the most distressing inability to provide constructive ideas and, particularly, a capacity for achievement.

According to the statement made by the signers (apparently "commanded" by Henrique de Barros and Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, but actually members of a "troika" that is perhaps less "abashed" than that of PSD [Social Democratic Party], but particularly, more hierarchical than the latter), everything is bad: "Extensive strata of the population are finding their living standard declining, unemployment is spreading, affecting women and youth especially, the social privations are worsening, and the dependence on foreign countries caused by the growing indebtedness is becoming alarming, with risks of having the entry of essential goods into the country prevented."

No one would disagree with this picture of the current situation. Where the "crux of the matter" lies is in the panacea for resolving the ills that beset us.

According to the signatories, it has become essential to "deepen the democracy," with a "vast mobilization for democratic participation, far removed from improvisation and amateurism," etc., etc.

Little or nothing remains beyond the words. Perhaps even so little that there is reason to fear that the democracy will "sink" before the new party succeeds in "deepening" it. Let's hope not.

2909

CSO: 3542/102

SOARES SEEN COMPELLED TO DISCARD SOCIALISM IN GOVERNMENT

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 17 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Manuel de Portugal]

[Excerpts] With the forthcoming outburst of another springtime election campaign, which is not very exciting to the spirits of the Portuguese, fed up with sordid politics, we are again experiencing, with its easy rallying, the bandying of platitudes, the assuming of airs and instinctive oratory. Soares, the top-ranking in the Socialist Party, is hearing sounded the possibility of becoming prime minister. If he wins, he will be happy, more on account of the honorariums associated with the post than the money; don't say a word: the fellow is well off.

A century after Marx' death (in London, on 14 March 1883), socialism is beginning to be thrown into the trash bin of history: shelved by some, defeated by others and abandoned by many. The great goals of the socialists: the secular state and the eradication of religion, the deifying of sexuality, the preeminence of state education, the nationalization of the large and medium-sized business firms, the progressive socialization of rural life, the self-managing company, the galaxy of emasculated mini-communities disguised by an ostensibly strong regionalism, the disintegration of the family and the subversion of traditional morality, and workers' assemblies as a source of decisions to the point of complete abolishment of management in business firms are beginning to demonstrate the total failure of the socialist ideology; a fact which must underly the recent shifts that have occurred in the French and German elections; wherein socialism, instead of being a creator of progress, has shown itself with the negative aspect of eroding the standard of living, reducing purchasing power and constricting the future.

Dead and Quite Dead

In 100 years, Marx has died 100 times. He died in the prophetic forecasts. He died in the concept of the class struggle, which the left is gradually starting to "forget." He died in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which even certain communist parties are beginning to abandon. Today in Portugal, no one knows better than Mario Soares how totally and technically impracticable the implementation of socialist structures is in view of our economic structures, our political structures and our social structures. To propose to the disillusioned electorate the purity of the socialist ideology means simultaneously aggravating the utopia and mocking the associate. Dependent on American money, dependent on American technology, dependent

on American military protection, only with electoralist chatter could Soares dare talk about socialism in a poor, small country which has had such an unfortunate, bitter experience with socialism in its recent past. In order to reach the height of power, Soares will have to sweat a lot. And, once he has arrived there, if he does arrive (which I sincerely doubt), he will be forced into a capitalist practice of a reactionary type, relying on private enterprise, which he fought so much during the early times of the April uprising, and relying on the international banks to finance his ambitions.

2909

CSO: 3542/102

CDS SEEN SATISFIED WITH FUTURE OPPOSITION ROLE

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 17 Mar 83 p 12

[Article by Alves de Oliveira: "Far Right Demarcates Itself From CDS"]

[Test] Ostracized by the more radical sectors of the right even before the election campaign that is about to begin, at the present time CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] is perhaps the only democratic political party that is offering itself to the voters with a truly new proposal. And if, internally, everything has not yet been resolved in the Largo do Caldas party (though the clashes among the various personages are considerably fewer than many had expected) externally, the strategy proposed by CDS poses no great doubts. Seeking to set themselves up as the only valid alternative to socialism in Portugal, the Centrists are already putting themselves in the role that they will assume after the elections of 25 April of this year: that of a principal (not to mention only) force of the democratic opposition to the future, almost inevitable "central bloc."

Although the main Centrist leaders are still appearing to favor the relaunching of the AD [Democratic Alliance] plan (in its positive aspects), the move of CDS to the opposition at this time is virtually certain, inasmuch as one cannot discern any great possibilities for PSD [Social Democratic Party] and CDS, jointly and running separately, to obtain the absolute majority of deputies in the future Parliament. Nor are the Social Democrats expressing the slightest interest at present in revitalizing the coalition which occupied the government for the past 3 years.

Being Government and Opposition

Already packing bag and baggage to move to the opposition, CDS is currently in the slightly ludicrous position of a party which is about to form a "shadow government," while it still has its ministers in office in the executive branch. However, this situation should be interpreted taking into account the fact that the CDS which emerged from the Fifth Congress has little in common with the CDS which formed the Balsemao government.

In terms of medium-term future strategy, the move to the opposition appears extremely feasible for CDS, because in that position it will be easier for it to reorganize and to consolidate its new image. But, to some extent, this is also a political imperative, because the Centrists are refusing to recreate the coalition with PS [Socialist Party] and are also rejecting any possibilities of participating in a Government of National Salvation, also comprised of Socialists and Social Democrats,

claiming that this solution might prove to be dangerous, because it would leave the Communists in the comfortable role of the only opposition force.

But moving to the opposition (pushing PSD into the arms of PS through the establishment of the widely publicized "central bloc") will enable CDS to set itself up as the only democratic alternative to the socialist plan; and hence, within a few years, to occupy the position and, if possible, the political space previously defined by AD.

And this, in fact, appears to be CDS' great political ambition: to appropriate for itself the plan of the Democratic Alliance which, despite everything, is continuing to encounter great receptiveness among the national electorate

The Eanes Question

However, this "transformation" of CDS into AD cannot happen unless there occurs a correction of what the current Centrist leaders consider the chief mistakes of that coalition. And one of those mistakes, perhaps the most serious one, in the opinion of Lucas Pires, is that of the relations with the president of the republic.

According to the current CDS leader, AD had two options when Eanes was reelected in 1980: either to reach an agreement with the current president of the republic, or to give up the power, because of the absence of conditions for exercising it. Neither of these positions was assumed, and the leaders of the Alliance chose to keep up an institutional dispute which by no means lent prestige to the regime but, on the contrary, fostered its discreditation.

However, the proposal to end the institutional dispute caused the radical right to view with distrust the CDS which emerged from the Fifth Congress. Evidence of this is the invitation for the "development" of MIRN [Independent Movement of National Reconstruction]/PDP [Progressive Democratic Party], "which would convert it into a great political force capable of assuming power," published this week by Kaulza de Arriaga in a capital newspaper, calling for a useful vote for Mota Pinto, the unsuspected perpetuator of the guerrilla war with Eanes.

The loss of some votes among sectors more to its right may be offset by CDS through the attraction of many votes among the younger strata of voters, among whom Lucas Pires has a very special audience. It only remains to be seen whether the Centrist Youth will prove to be equipped, or even decided to engage itself in this battle with determination.

Rehabilitation of the Defeated

In fact, the CDS leadership emerging from the Fifth Congress has succeeded in congregating around it two well defined generations of the electorate, leaving out only the "April generation," if we care to consider it such: in other words, the one situated between those who already have a political past before the revolution (Adriano Moreira) and those who are only now in a position to assert their views successfully (Lucas Pires).

Contrary to what many observers (more or less influenced by the statements muttered by Luis Barbosa's backers) have tried to make us believe, there have not yet been any clashes between these two generations of Largo do Caldas. And, at the present time, if any problems occur between supporters of either of them, they would more readily arise on the level of Gomes de Pinho/Vieira de Carvalho/Azevedo Soares than between Lucas Pires and Adriano Moreira. And this is because, while the authority between the two leading CDS personages is well distributed, this is not the case between Azevedo Soares (chairman of the Managing Commission), Vieira de Carvalho (secretary general) and Gomes de Pinho (vice chairman of the Political Commission), who have together inherited the functions which, for the most part, were those of a single person: Eng. Miguel Anacoreta Correia, former chairman of the Executive Commission. And from a statutory standpoint, there has been no concrete demarcation of leadership status among them.

Meanwhile, the rehabilitation of Luis Barbosa's backers has been taking place with some normality, not only through their inclusion on the lists of deputies and in the resultant activity in the election campaign, but also through their participation in other tasks, a good example of which is the appointment of Morais Leitao to the vice chairmanship of the Governmental Commission. However, this has not precluded the continued holding of weekly meetings in Luis Barbosa's office which, however, according to our sources, are seldom attended by the elements most opposed to cooperating with the elected leadership.

And What About Freitas do Amaral?

Freitas do Amaral's reaction to Lucas Pires' victory caused dispiritedness among some individuals on the losing list in Congress, who were hoping that the former Centrist president would express his displeasure at the results which occurred. This did not happen, and according to certain sources close to him, Freitas do Amaral may make his contribution, even though slight, to the next election campaign. In any event, it is now virtually certain that he would be backed by CDS if he were to run as a candidate in the 1985 presidential elections.

Until then, the future of the Centrists is heavily dependent on the results that the party accrues in the next elections. At Largo do Caldas, the expectations point to 15 percent, or perhaps even slightly higher. But this has not prevented some of the few excluded by the Congress from continuing to wait for a special Congress.

2909

CSO: 3542/102

EURICO DE MELO: RETURN IN FORCE

Porto O PRIMEIRO DE JANEIRO in Portuguese 1 Mar 83 p 6

[Text] After "crossing the desert," from the time the national council was defeated on 13 December 1980, and having maintained for over two years a marginal and highly critical position with respect to the leadership of Pinto Balsemao, Eurico de Melo, the northern industrialist who was elected vice president of the political committee of the PSD [Social Democratic Party] last weekend, now returns in force to the leadership of his party.

Together with Nascimento Rodrigues and Mota Pinto, Eurico Silva Teixeira de Melo, who is 55 years of age, constitutes the winning "troika" of the tenth social democratic congress. He was born in Santo Tirso, has a degree in chemical engineering from the engineering school of Porto where he taught textile chemistry and was minister of internal administration under Sa Carneiro.

He joined the then PPD [Popular Democratic Party] when it was created and was appointed vice president and then president, of the political district committee in Braga.

He was governor of Braga from 1975 to 1976, was then elected member of the national political committee of his party in 1976, and re-elected for the next three years.

Eurico de Melo always was close to Francisco Sa Carneiro, who confided to friends that his minister of internal administration "could one day become prime minister should Ramalho Eanes win the presidential elections."

This is why, when Sa Carneiro died the night of 4 December 1980, it was accepted that Eurico de Melo should succeed him.

When the national council of the PDS was defeated on 13 December 1980, Eurico de Melo refused to join the government of Pinto Balsemao, claiming exhaustion.

At the beginning of the crisis in the first Balsemao government, the prime minister called him to Lisbon to invite him again to join the government, but the response was again negative, and Eurico de Melo came to advocate publicly Pinto Balsemao's resignation.

This time, in light of the dissolution of the National Assembly, Eurico de Melo declared, in an interview published early this month, that the PSD should become the opposition party if it would not get a majority vote in the forthcoming elections.

For Eurico de Melo, the AD [Democratic Action] "died for all practical purposes when certain individuals in the CDS [Center Social Democratic Party] became receptive to the possibility of participating in Pinto Balsemao's second government."

Thus, in his opinion an administration came to be constituted "in which there was no mutual personal trust--nor had there ever been any--between the prime minister and the deputy prime minister."

As for Pinto Balsemao, whom he regards as a leader devoid of any charisma, Eurico de Melo felt that he should have not only resigned as prime minister, but as president of the party as well, in which case "everything would have been cleared up" and "a suitable solution to the problem of leadership within the party and the government" would have been found.

He was part of the group of "notables" who endeavored to find a collegial solution to the PSD leadership--a "troika"--and he expressed from the outset his availability to participate in a solution such as the one that was finally chosen.

12342
CSO: 3542/72

NEW PSD LEADERSHIP LISTED

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 28 Feb 83 p 13

[Text] The following are the new PSD leaders elected yesterday at the Montechoro Convention:

President of the Convention [in boldface] -
Leonardo Ribeiro de Almeida.

Vice Presidents [in boldface]:

Alberto Jao Jardim and Helena Roseta.

Secretaries [in boldface]:

Cardoso de Andrade; Reinaldo Gomes and Antas de Barros.

National Assembly [in boldface]:

Mota Amaral; Barbosa de Melo; Oliveira Dias; Rui Amaral; Armenio Matias (replacing Helena Roseta); Joao Salgueiro; Alipio Dias; Fernando Amaral; Artur Mota; Pedro Santana Lopes; Mario Raposo; Miguel Veiga; Braulio Sousa; Meneres Pimentel; Marques Mendes; Brochado Coelho; Cabrita Neto; Jose Vitorino; Branco Teixeira; Maria de Lurdes Brue; Arme Santos; Conceicao Monteiro; Pedro Pinto; Ribeiro da Silva; Pedro Vasconcelos; Jose Veludo; Calvao da Silva; Luis Menezes; Luis Fontoura and Cardoso Ferreira.

National Political Committee [in boldface]:

Members of the Board: Nuno Rodrigues dos Santos (Chairman); Mota Pinto (Vice Chairman); Eurico de Melo (Vice Chairman); and Nascimento Rodrigues (Vice Chairman).

Permanent Commission [in boldface]:

Secretary-General - Antonio Capucho.

Members - Amandio de Azevedo; Angelo Correia and Vitor Crespo.

Alternates:

Albano Pais de Sousa; Loureiro Borges; Vaz Portugal; Eugenio Nobre; Leonor Beleza; Mariana Perdigao; Montalvao Machado; and Rui Almeida Mendes.

National Jurisdiction Board [in boldface]:

Antonio Sande Lemos; Jose Coelho dos Reis; Bernardino Costa Pereira; Cardoso Martins; Antonio Maria Pereira; Costa Andrade; Guedes da Costa; and Joao Salgado.

COMMENTS ON ELECTION OF PSD'S MOTA PINTO

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] From the confusion of the "44," the "notables," the "troika," from all this scholasticism that lay beyond the grasp of ordinary voters and through which the politics of the majority party in the now dissolved parliament had to tread its way in recent times, there finally begins to emerge something intelligible to the uninitiated: Mota Pinto was the name chosen to give countenance to the PSE and a prime minister to the country, should the social democrats win the elections.

Will the new solution be a definitive one? Or will it be a precarious one, as it claimed by the subscribers to the theory according to which the "feudal" atmosphere of the party will not allow a true leader to assert himself? It is too soon to venture any predictions, all of which must rest perforce on a figure such as Mota Pinto, whose political profile includes, along with a degree of willfulness, a certain amount of inhibition and even incoherence with respect to personal strategy. To evaluate the solidity of the compromise that was reached would not only require the ability to foresee Mota Pinto's capability to change it into a platform for true leadership, but also a firm belief in the backing given to him by his principal supporters. However, in light of the party's recent history and of the part that each of the individuals involved have played in it, it is doubtful that such an evaluation could be made on solid grounds, not to mention the predictable activity among many of those defeated at this congress.

Speaking merely on the basis of what could be seen at Montechoro, the results may well, in fact, end up in Mota Pinto's victory. A conditional and momentary victory, his adversaries may say. Could it have been otherwise? Perhaps, if the new leader had not been until practically the last minute, mired in a sea of hesitation and doubts, as had occurred with earlier candidates. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that this victory may become a decisive one. It has prevented already the break-up of the party and has enabled it to participate in next month's electoral campaign with a modicum of cohesion and vigor. As for the rest, the best course is to wait for the votes to be counted in the legislative elections, where Mota Pinto's approval will be tested under conditions that have perhaps never been faced by any new party leader, at least in terms of timing.

There are, however, some options that already raise some problems. To begin with, of course, there is the formation of the next government, in which the man most likely to be appointed prime minister, Mario Soares, would like to have the social democrats participate, as he noted only a few days ago. Would Mota Pinto be the ideal figure to negotiate a possible agreement with the socialists? And will the negotiation of an agreement with the socialists be the most advantageous option for Mota Pinto to assert himself as leader? All these are questions that hovered over the congress, and to which the electorate did not get a clear, perceptible response. Nevertheless, these are issues of such importance that the fate of the PSD and Mota Pinto's own fate depend on them.

12342

CS0: 3542/72

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

'GREENS'-APU 'INDEPENDENT' ALLIANCE

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 28 Feb 83 p 31

[Text] The so-called Portuguese Ecological Movement--the "Green" Party--announced that it will run in the legislative elections on the APU [United People's Alliance] lists, as "independent." Thus its connection to the PC [Communist Party] is confirmed, the latter having, moreover, contributed its structure, as well as the militants of the MDP [Peoples Democratic Movement] to the launching of the new party. This is the case, as indicated in a "Green" Party communique, for the circles of Lisbon, Porto, Setubal, Leiria, Aveiro and Viana do Castelo.

The party intends to conduct an autonomous electoral campaign, and to assume "independence in the National Assembly vis-a-vis the PC parliamentary group," although, naturally, "after prior consultations and negotiations" with the Communist deputies.

The communique mentions, in addition, that requests for an urgent meeting with the democratic parties (PSD, PS, PPM, ASDI) [Social Democratic Party, Socialist Party, People's Monarchist Party, Social Democrats Independent Action], to study "the best approach to have the voice of the ecologists also heard" in Parliament, made two weeks ago, have had no response.

Only the PC and MDP/CDE acceded to the request, and a meeting with the UEDS [Union of the Socialist and Democratic Left] is to take place, although no definite date has as yet been set.

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BRIEFS

EANES' RISING QUOTA PRAISED--While the three major political parties (PS, PSD and CDS) [Socialist Party, Social Democratic Party and Center Social Democratic Party] endeavor at all costs to heal their internal wounds and prepare for the 25 April elections, the president of the Republic, Gen Ramalho Eanes, continues to increase his prestige and call attention to himself both in the national and the international arenas. An example of this is the victory of political leaders who advocate a concerted action by parties and cooperation with Belem (Lucas Pires and Adriano Moreira, of the CDS, Luis Fontoura and Meneres Pimentel, of the PSD); the selection of Lisbon by Pope John Paul II for a technical stop-over on 2 March on his flight to Central America; and the frequent laudatory references to Ramalho Eanes in the world press, specifically a recent editorial in the reliable British paper, FINANCIAL TIMES, not to mention the visits that he will make in the latter part of March to Greece and Egypt, after repeated invitations from the governments of those countries to visit them. [Excerpt] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 24 Feb 83 p 10] 12342

CSO: 3542/72

BASQUE LEADER TO RESHUFFLE CABINET

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 30 Mar 83 p 15

[Article by Tonia Etxarri: "Garaikoetxea Will Revamp His Cabinet After the Resignation of the Industry Council Member"]

[Text] Vitoria--The president of the Basque Government, Carlos Garaikoetxea, will be forced next week to offer a revamping of the cabinet. Javier Garcia Egotxeaga's resignation as industry and energy council member, and the introduction of the culture council member and government spokesman, Ramon Labayen, as a candidate for mayor of San Sebastian, have caused two major gaps in the autonomous cabinet. The vacancy created by Garcia Egotxeaga will be filled by Juan Carlos Isasti, member of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) directorate.

Javier Garcia Egotxeaga, who has been holding positions in public office for 5 years, says that he is tired, and had been considering retiring from the Basque Government for some time. Nevertheless, the individual who was managing director of the Tubacex company and general director of iron and steel-metal industries in the Ministry of Industry, does not conceal his intention of diverting his career to private enterprise. In this connection, one of the options that the council member is apparently considering is the presidency of a recently created association which includes various firms in the iron and steel sector.

It would appear that "lendakari" Carlos Garaikoetxea, who is very hesitant when it is time to admit a cabinet crisis and have to appoint new collaborators, has already decided on the future of the cultural council in the Basque Government, inasmuch as Ramon Labayen is running in the next municipal elections as a candidate for mayor of San Sebastian. And he had considered a solution of the same type as that applied nearly a year ago, when two council members submitted their resignations to him: the merger of the affected department with another council.

In May 1982, when two members of the executive council, Jose Luis Robles, from transportation, and Carmelo Renobales, from justice, submitted their resignations, the former owing to differences with some members of the Basque Government, and the latter for personal reasons, the "lendakari" insisted that what was involved was a readjustment being undertaken, and not a crisis in his cabinet.

Now, Carlos Garaikoetxea is considering doing the same thing: in other words, merging the culture department, most likely with that of education. But he was not counting on Javier Garcia Egotxeaga's announcement, at that very time, just a few

weeks before the election campaign begins, of his irrevocable decision to resign. And there can be no readjustment in that major Basque Government cabinet entity, because the activity in the aforementioned department (which has to withstand the burden of problems as serious as the conflict relating to the Lemoniz nuclear powerplant, or the exploration for gas in the Basque Country, among others) requires dynamics of its own, independent of any other council.

Actually, the appointment of a substitute to head the industry and energy department could be a test of the work that the "lendakari" will have to do, within a year, in the forthcoming autonomous elections, in the event that he is again elected as president of the autonomous government. Some of his collaborators will not hold seats in the government again, owing to their desire not to repeat the experience.

2909

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EFFORT TO RENEW BASQUE PEACE TALKS COLLAPSES

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 30 Mar 83 p 16

[Article by Jose Luis Barberia: "Another Attempt by the Basque Parties to Resume the 'Peace Table' Fails"]

[Text] San Sebastian--Hours before thousands of persons take to the street in San Sebastian to express their repudiation of terrorism, the acts of which have increased during the past week, the Basque political parties are maintaining their differences regarding the establishment of a joint plan that would allow for the normalization of Euskadi. The possible formation of a second "peace table" was brought up again, unsuccessfully, during the course of a meeting at which the Basque political forces approved the issuance of an appeal to the population to demonstrate at 1930 hours today with the unified slogan "no to terrorism."

The latest attacks carried out in the form of kidnappings, assaults on the forces of public order and explosions in bank offices and business establishments seem to have evoked a mood of indignation among extensive sectors of the populace. Yesterday, the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party] leader, Gerardo Bujanda, stated that many members of his party had attended the funeral on Monday for the national policeman, Aniano Sotil Pelayo, who was killed the day before by the explosion of a bomb that he was attempting to deactivate. The death of this artificer, whose body was pulverized by the shock wave, made a remarkable impression on many citizens of the San Sebastian district of Gros, the scene of ETA's [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] latest attack.

In an act for which there are no immediate precedents, a group of residents and merchants from the Gros district published a note in the press yesterday, describing the victim as a "worker for the security of the Basque people." Juan Jose Martinez Aguiriano, the artificer from the same corps, who was injured by the same bomb, set at the door of a business establishment, experienced a definite improvement yesterday, which dispelled the fears that the doctors had harbored at first.

PNV Issues Instructions

PNV has issued instructions to its municipal boards to have the members attend today's demonstration, according to a comment made yesterday by Gerardo Bujanda. The nationalist leader is of the opinion that we are witnessing a clearcut reaction from the Basque people against terrorism, a view shared by the PSE [Basque Socialist Party]-PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] senator, Enrique Casas. Gerardo

Bujanda stressed: "This popular reaction will increase progressively, provided the forces of public order do not make further mistakes"; then going on to explain: "It must be admitted that there has been a certain change in the treatment given to those held in the police stations."

Enrique Casas claims that the Basque Government must devote more effort to the antiterrorist battle, while at the same time citing the need for a joint plan among the institutions and all the parties which truly desire peace. Whether or not Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity] participates, and the scope of the talks per se have marked the differences between PNV, PSOE and Euskadiko Ezkerra [Basque Left] when it was time to discuss that joint plan for normalization of the Basque Country. PSE-PSOE notes that it will sit down to talk only with the parties which demonstrate that they want peace; an assertion that appears to exclude HB, whose presence at the talks is regarded as necessary by both PNV and Euskadiko Ezkerra. Moreover, PNV mistrusts any other initiative that would not give direct leadership to the "lendakari" Carlos Garaikoetxea; and, in any event, it claims that the creation of the "peace table" could take place only after the elections are over.

Roberto Lertxundi, member of the Euskadiko Ezkerra executive body, is of the opinion that the popular mobilizations against terrorism, albeit essential, in turn reflect the current impotence of the Basque parties to combat the violence.

2909

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HB OPPOSED TO MADRID STAND ON NORMALIZATION LAW

Guipuzcoa EGIN in Spanish 12 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] San Sebastian--The HB [Herri Batasuna] coalition, like the other political groups in Euskadi, publicized a document yesterday attacking the recent position adopted by the socialist government opposing articles of the Euskara Normalization Law. It calls this position "a new mockery of the will of the majority of our people." The HB document indicated that the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], like its predecessors, "cannot conceal its deep-rooted and heartfelt anti-Euskaldun phobia. Although at times it tries to disguise it, it becomes increasingly more obvious. The masks worn during the elections are falling off and revealing them as they are. The party in government in Madrid knows well that there is no danger--to the chagrin of all of us who fight for a Euskaldun Euskadi--of displacing Spanish or even making Euskara the dominant language of our people. They use the alleged argument of defense of Spanish speakers to hide what is really motivating them: their visceral and historic hatred of Euskara. The PSOE is aware of the basic role that Euskara plays in the Basque national reconstruction process. It is well aware, as a recent article by Del Burgo recognized publicly, that the recovery of Euskara means great progress in the search for our identity. Therefore, it is basic for it to eliminate any form of promotion of our language."

It added: "One law on the use of Euskara which, in our opinion, is inadequate and is limited to ambiguous terms stating the most elemental democratic rights of any oppressed language has led the government party to declare open war on our people and rudely and boldly attack the most intimate feelings and values of the Basque people."

HB asked: "Does anyone still have any doubt about the interests that those in power now defend? The PSOE grows bold against Euskara today because, by accepting an autonomy statute void of content and without any effect on true Euskaldunization--as daily practice is demonstrating to us--the progressive disappearance of Euskara was authorized. Three years have passed and each day it becomes more obvious that the statute is failing spectacularly. Actions like these are brazen stabs in the back."

It stated further: "Today the historic enemies of Euskara are living dangerously. The Basque and Navarro regional governments have done the impossible by isolating, when they could not extinguish, all pro-Euskara organisms the people had set up in their hard fight against Francoism. The necessary

normalization of Euskara is endangered by internal dissension in the party. They have mocked and discredited the popular mobilizations for Euskara."

This coalition stated: "It is very clear to HB. When the defense of a people fighting for their identity is immobilized, when staunch fighting positions are abandoned, it is not at all unusual that frantic attacks against the right to exist as a people would intensify. Lastly, it must be remembered and understood that all these situations lead the HB to reaffirm that it is impossible to advance in the indispensable process for Euskaldunization without a democratic break. In order to reconstruct our people and recover our identity, we need a national framework, we need valid and effective political instruments. We also need to express our profound conviction that the process of Euskaldunization strengthens all the popular organisms that work for Euskara--the AEK [expansion unknown], Euskal Herrian Euskaraz, UZEI [expansion unknown], etc. In short, it is not possible to carry out that process except through the direct participation of the people."

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CSO: 3548/292

MENCHACA ON PROSPECTS FOR CONTROL OVER GIBRALTAR

Madrid ABC in Spanish 15 Mar 83 p 40

[Commentary by Antonio Menchaca: "'De Facto' Sovereignty in Gibraltar"]

[Text] The Spaniard, inventor of the art of bullfighting, paradoxically adopts the attitude of the bull instead of the bullfighter when he goes out into the international arena. That is, he charges the cape instead of wielding it. Something similar has occurred traditionally with our claim to Gibraltar. The latest example of that metamorphosis is the "siege" of the last 20 years that some of us--actually, very few--questioned where it would lead in 1965.

There was no other alternative than to correct this. Based on the Lisbon Agreement--that, for Sir Joshua Hassan, will require nonstop negotiating until making "the incompatible compatible"--the pedestrian gate has opened. Minister Moran stated it well: The people of Gibraltar have turned materially to the other side of the gate. However, I do not believe it has been stated that, with this, the economic crisis of the Rock has worsened. Our government's intention was not to penalize the people more subtly than before; I am convinced of that. However if the situation persists, it could, according to Sir Joshua, wreck the reconciliation between the inhabitants of the area, brothers for those reasons.

The consolidation of these brothers is not only necessary for humanitarian reasons but also to enable the Rock to return to Spanish sovereignty, given the leading role the British have conceded to the Gibraltar people in the dispute. It is already time to suggest something about Operation "Sovereignty," included somehow on the timetable of the Lisbon Agreement. It apparently will be pursued this spring with already announced talks.

If only I am wrong but I have the impression that the problem of sovereignty will not be resolved to our liking in those talks since there are no indications to assume the contrary. Perhaps it would not be too much to embellish this sovereignty which, to the simplest souls, consists of striking national colors in order to hoist other colors at the sound of the bugle. The question is obviously much more complex. To begin with, we know the limitations, conditions and obligations of the concept of sovereignty in the world today. We all know that "de jure" sovereignty does not always coincide with "de facto" sovereignty. Therefore if the first is revealed to be inaccessible in our case, it would not be too much to contemplate some factors that can lead to the second.

In my opinion, the question could be presented in three briefly summarized sections: defense, Spanish presence in Gibraltar and identity of the people on the Rock.

In the defense section, Spanish strategic needs coincide with those of NATO, giving priority to the Canary-Straits-Baleares axis. Assuming Spain decides to join that military system, it has been said--although I do not know with what basis--that NATO would be willing to group the three areas of that axis in a single nucleus under Spanish command. This means Iberlant (Saclant) for the Atlantic, Gimbed for the Straits and the old Medoc for the Mediterranean. Although in peacetime each country retains command of its own forces, unquestionably there would be some Spanish influence over the British military base on Gibraltar. It is necessary to know what value our government and people attribute to this factor favorable to integration in the overall situation as well as the eventual resistance that could crop up in the countries affected by the alliance. It would have to consider, among many other things, Spanish articulation of that area, within the current restatement of the military regions, as a unit with adequate capacity for immediate and amphibious dissuasion, topics which I cannot expand on here.

The Spanish presence in Gibraltar--the second point--would have to be an element of definite reconciliation with a people unjustly penalized by the "siege" and, therefore, opposed to it in order to permit mutual and general interdependence in the region. The goal would be the assimilation of Spanish values by a natural process of osmosis. Spain has enough substance to offer the people of Gibraltar something more than the traditional manpower. It will interest them if it is offered appropriately. From the cultural sector to the economic and passing through the health, scientific, technological, educational at all levels including university, commercial, industrial and tourist sectors, etc., there is such a wealth of content that it would be impossible to complete this very brief list. It should be suggested, to clear up ideas, that "mutatis mutandis" the work would not be very different than what the Institute for Iberoamerican Cooperation proposes for that area. To give only one example, the reader can imagine the effects of gradually assimilating the British advanced education system--the only one there now--with the Spanish, thus giving the leading classes of the Rock a gradual identification with our university system through scholarships, expansion of studies, etc. The most suitable schools could even be established in the region. Its promotion would not just be economic. Now, this Spanish presence assumes an infrastructure or--what is the same--some economic investments from us that are equivalent to radiating sources of influence. However, the present Gibraltar structure makes it difficult, dominated as it is by the public sector. In any case, it would be necessary to study at depth our peaceful entrance into a market based on British colonialist parameters that is being replaced by some genuinely Gibraltar ones, supported by Spanish cooperation. Think, for example, about the multiplying effect that the acquisition of the shipyards by a Spanish enterprise would have if that were possible.

This leads us to the third and last section: Gibraltar identity and its institutionalization. To begin with, let us say that it was a mistake to consider the Gibraltar people "object" and not "subject" of the dispute and to

ignore so many phases of their existence like their special psychology. I feel it is wrong to see them as "British" when they are subject, in my opinion, to the sociological evolution of any colonial structure with the reaffirmation of their own identity as a differentiating factor. Spain must not hinder that crystallization but support the currents of self-determination that arise, adopting the position of liberator rather than aspirant to replace the colonizer even if it does not quickly achieve a conventional rapprochement. With time, a self-determining Gibraltar, even perhaps a "de jure" member of the Commonwealth, would eventually consider Spain its main partner if we use a little intelligence, respect, disinterest and generosity in shaping our common destiny.

The result of a project conceived from the viewpoint of the bullfighter and not the bull, which is the underlying philosophy here, could lead to what I have called "de facto" sovereignty although I realize that it is impossible for me to demonstrate this. It will not be possible to prove the opposite either--that is, that it will not lead to that. The only thing I can add is that if the bullfighting metaphor still serves, the intelligence of the most evolved being will always be superior to the other's attack. Therefore, we never lose man's terrain. Only in this way will the Rock be a fruitful Socratic gadfly instead of a virus of frustration.

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CSO: 3548/292

MADRID ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA BASED ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Madrid EL ALCAZAR in Spanish 10 Mar 83 p 9

[Report on Yanez Comments Before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Congress of Deputies: "The Socialists Will Increase Their Influence in Spanish America"]

[Text] "The basis of Spain's relations with Latin America and with the world is human rights, and the Institute for Iberoamerican Cooperation (ICI) will alter the implementation of its programs depending on whether those human rights are respected," said the president of the ICI, Luis Yanez, during an informative session held yesterday by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Congress of Deputies.

Yanez (who justified--in answer to a question asked by the representative from the Center, Marcelino Oreja--his participation as a member of the Honor Committee in the recent meeting held in Madrid by the self-designated Permanent Tribunal for Nations Against Guatemala, stating that "we cannot wash our hands of a situation like the one in that country.") said he agreed with the statements made by the socialist spokesman Angel Martinez about "the Puerto Rican culture, clearly threatened by the stronger organizational force of the Anglo Saxon culture, which is poisoning the Hispanic way of life." Martinez went even further than the leader of the ICI in stating "we see little distress at being led by the United States where aggression emanates precisely from the Yankee world.

Luis Yanez said that an increase of 60 percent in the budget of the Institute for Iberoamerican Cooperation, from 1.2 billion to 2.021 billion, was necessary; he disclosed having gotten in touch with the present directors of the state agency EFE, "which can play an important role in the struggle for the freedom of information that the Latin American countries should enjoy"; and announced a series of substitute and alternative programs for the existing one, "300 million" [television program broadcast throughout Latin America] which is about to be cancelled. Regarding the concern shown by Duran, the representative of the People's Group, in relation to the French initiative in the matter of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, Luis Yanez said he believed that the actions of the neighboring country were more fitting to France's cultural offensive in Latin America than to the celebration of the 500th anniversary.

Among other things, he mentioned that:

"It is necessary to facilitate the sojourn of university students from Latin America in Spain because in 20 years' time they will be the governing class in their countries and we run the risk of having this governing class educated in other countries and not in Spain.

"More exchange of information is necessary so that our country's ways can be felt in the Latin American countries and vice versa.

"In the field of scientific cooperation priority will be given to three concrete aspects; cooperation in matters of primary health, education and food production.

"There is a plan for sending to Latin America willing Spaniards who are graduates or post-graduates and are unemployed, and this could be considered a type of civil service in lieu of military service.

"A center for higher Latin American studies will be established with the objective of creating a proper climate for cooperation among the Latin American countries and for the meeting of intellectuals."

In response to Yanez, Antonio Navarro, member of the People's Group, accused the ICI of following a policy of paternalism and protectionism and asked several questions about its presence in the Tribunal of Nations, about the creation of joint businesses and about whether the human rights policy applied by the government was selective. The president of the ICI answered that "we cannot remain aloof on the subject of human rights." Concerning the cooperation with France he said that "this will be on specific matters." However, there is no common strategy between the two countries because it will not be well understood by the Latin American countries either. As regards human rights Yanez said that "if we had to stop the flow of cooperation every time human rights are violated in some country there would be no cooperation. What we will do is to make it conditional.

9907

CSO: 3548/274

REALIGNMENT PUTS AP IN CONTROL OF GALICIAN PARLIAMENT

Madrid YA in Spanish 10 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by Benjamin Vazquez: "Popular Alliance Gets Absolute Majority in Parliament"]

[Text] Santiago de Compostela--Galicia's Council was officially restructured once 12 Galician representatives of the defunct UCD [Democratic Center Union] decided to give unconditional support to the autonomous government headed by the Popular Alliance. During a ceremony held at Rejoy Palace, the council's headquarters, the new councilors took their oath of office before the heads of the Galician governing body and the government's general representative in Galicia, Dr Garcia Sabell.

By virtue of this restructuring the Galician government increases its portfolios by an economic vice presidency, which subsumes the Ministry of Economics, and a political vice presidency, which falls to the person of the secretary to the presidency. The new council members coming from the defunct UCD are Carlos Mella Villar (the council's vice president for economic affairs and minister of economics), Juan Luis Pia Martinez (minister of justice and of the interior), Victor Vazquez Portomene (minister of education) and Francisco Javier Suarez-Vence Santiso (minister of health). Professor Carlos Otero Diaz keeps only the Ministry of Finance (up to now called Economy and Finance) and Jose Luis Barreiro Rivas remains as secretary to the presidency and is also designated the council's vice president for political affairs.

After the official ceremony the new council held its first meeting, which lasted for an hour and in which general matters of a political nature were discussed. To this effect, Jose Luis Barreiro stated that at this meeting important aspects of specific subjects of great importance to Galicia were negotiated, such as the approval of the application for a special loan of 957 million pesetas to plan the campaign against unemployment in Galicia, as well as the resolution to send information to the central government about the reconstruction of the marine sector of the region of Vigo and the accompanying social conflict it is currently suffering.

In relation to other matters, the spokesman for the autonomous government, Barreiro, said that the inclusion of more members in the council would not

mean a change in its program, which will remain "practically unchanged", although from now on it will have "greater stability, more ability to anticipate and greater capacity to act in each of the departments and each government activity, since it now has a parliamentary majority."

Regarding the creation of the two vice presidencies, it was reported that these have the purpose of establishing coordination between the two major areas: the political and the economic. It was strongly felt that the subject of economics was going to assume greater importance in the council's actions, centralizing all planning in the vice presidency held by Carlos Mella, whose office will be at the Rejoy Palace.

Regarding the centrist origin of the new councilors and the possible ideological differences with the doctrines of the alliance, Suarez-Vence and Vazquez Portomene responded that although they all came from a common origin they were joining the cabinet as an "independent group", since the political party to which they belonged has disappeared as such. In this regard, they stressed that "when facing the responsibility for solving Galicia's serious problems, the ideological differences are set aside." Barreiro interrupted to say that "a distinction must be made between a party's program during elections and the program of a government that has a direct executive function."

9907

CSO: 3548/274

TXIKI BENEGAS ON APPROACH TO ETA, COMPLEXITY OF ISSUES

Madrid ABC in Spanish 24 Mar 83 pp 48-49

[Interview with Basque Socialist Party-PSOE Secretary General Txiki Benegas, by Pilar Ferrer; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Born in Venezuela to a family of Basque nationalist exiles, Jose Maria (Txiki) Benegas, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Euskadi-PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], is a key figure in the Basque Country's present and future, crucial to any attempt at understanding between the two leading ideological movements that have polarized Basque society politically since the concurrent rise of nationalism and socialism in Vizcaya at the turn of the century. He is a staunch defender of dialog as opposed to machine guns, and as courageous in the denunciation of terrorist violence as he is with respect to PNV's [Basque Nationalist Party] ambiguity.

He is unbending when the time comes to sit down at a "peace table at which ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] is in command and at which they fling corpses at us, as the talks go on." He is categorical in claiming that, with the storming of a Basque autonomous police barracks, "ETA has declared war on the 'ertzaina.'" An authorized representative of PSOE abroad and a decisive spokesman between the "apparatus" and the UGT [General Union of Workers] trade union federation, this is a man who, at the age of 34, claims to be in politics "because what attracts me in politics is peace," and who is not afraid to say that "if one is against ETA, one must be on the side of the police."

'Death and Violence Marked Me'

Txiki Benegas shows a constant expression of obvious pleasure in what he does (the serious, but mischievous look of an inveterate trickster). He is, above all, a Basque who does not tolerate human misery; but he is also a discreet, astute and clever fighter, possessing a visceral shrewdness softened by charm. His delightful, seductive smile, always identical, even in its minimal expression, livened by the same degree of intensity, has a certain tinge of sadness. He was 28 years old when he was interior councilman for the Basque General Council. He lived very close to death, experiencing a brutal, gory escalation in the Basque Country, and observing human suffering at many, many funerals. "Death and violence marked me; since then, I have had a certain amount of sadness, and an obsession with peace. Wherever I may be, I shall fight for peace." There is something spontaneous and innocent about Txiki Benegas, an embellishment that has been delightfully assumed. His

seductiveness, like his voice, emerges in an engaging manner with deliberate insistence. But that does not mean that Txiki is self-satisfied. All that apparently matters to him is "to overcome dogmatism and fanaticism, to make the Basque people emerge from the tunnel of history, and to eliminate the tragedy of a people who do not know how to live together in freedom."

[Question] ETA has disarmed the Basque autonomous police at a San Sebastian barracks. This is a bad beginning for the mission of the "ertzainas."

[Answer] The matter is very serious, the storming of a police barracks, the fact that a terrorist organization has so easily stolen over 100 pistols and uniforms from the Basque police. It is an unprecedented act, entailing serious consequences for the future. Now, the terrorists can commit an attack dressed as autonomous policemen; they have the latter's weapons and uniforms. The attitude of certain Basque Government authorities, that, when actions occur which can hardly be explained on the basis of nationalist logic, there should be an attempt, at the outset, and without real information, to divert the blame to violent groups dissociated from them, is incomprehensible. There is a spurious approach, believing that certain functions, if exercised by the Basque Government, will benefit from immunity from ETA. This spurious notion has already occurred in Lemoniz: the members of the Basque Government themselves believed that ETA would not attack Lemoniz, just as in the case of the holdup of the Bank of Vizcaya, and the kidnapping of Miguel Ignacio Echevarria. They talk about common criminals, and extreme right wing groups, unwilling to admit that in the Basque Country nothing is safe from ETA.

'Police Are Not Improvised'

[Question] No one doubts the individual ability of the Basque police. But does this corps have sufficient experience; is it prepared to come in confrontation with the terrorists?

[Answer] At the present time, I don't believe that it is prepared to come in confrontation with ETA. There is no specific training; things have been done too fast. A good Basque police force cannot be improvised. I have no wish to take advantage of this regrettable matter by voicing criticism, but a good police corps is not improvised for the sole purpose of replacing another one. The important thing now is to correct the mistakes and to adopt all measures; because it is better to delay longer about being in the streets than to have to regret the consequences later. ETA has declared war on the "ertzaina," and it will not end here. No one should think that this is a sporadic act.

[Question] What do you think of the Ministry of Interior plan to set up municipal police in a single local police corps in the autonomous communities which, in the case of Euskadi, would be recombined with the autonomous police?

[Answer] That idea seems good to me; it is impossible to defeat a terrorist without very good police information. We have a great human element that must be vastly improved, and given more technical and material facilities. The battle against a terrorist is always a police battle with maximum coordination. In the ETA phenomenon, there must also be an economic strangulation of the sources of financing, a social isolation and the development of an overall plan. It is not a problem

that can be solved overnight; the nationalist terrorism is the most difficult for a state to combat, and requires great cooperation among all the social forces, in order to bring medium term results.

PNV Ambiguity

As early as October 1978, Txiki Benegas was making a diagnosis of the Basque society which went beyond the ordinary analyses. He was talking about a "front for peace," a gathering of Basque political parties. Three years later, he said that the Basque Government should foster a moral rearmament against violence. Five years thereafter, the so-called "peace table" has been broken up, and the leader of the Basque Socialists has refused to take a seat until all violence ends.

[Question] What has happened during the past 5 years? There is the impression that the so much desired peace in Euskadi is always a lost peace.

[Answer] My "front for peace" has nothing to do with Garaicoechea's proposal. The fact that his convocation has failed does not mean that peace is impossible. We can never falter in the face of violence. I would like to believe in the sincerity of Garaicoechea's proposal, but I told the president of the Basque Government that we would not sit down at a table at which ETA was in command and at which they were flinging corpses at us as the talks went on. Garaicoechea's proposal had the serious flaw of granting Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity] the key to peace. And the path to peace is a different one; it is that the entire society should form a clearcut bloc against ETA.

[Question] You have often denounced PNV's ambiguity. Is the position of this party so critical in putting an end to ETA?

[Answer] PNV's position is very significant, and could affect the speed in putting an end to the terrorist violence; but the state has resources and expedients for putting an end to ETA. The position of PSE-PSOE is also very important. We must not forget the minimal difference in votes from PNV in the last elections. PNV condemns the violence, but it rips its garments when a police station is opened in Renteria; it engages in subliminal or indirect propaganda to the effect that the national police or civil guard must leave Basque soil. The same thing holds true for Euskadko Ezquerria [Basque Left]: it claims not to be on the side of ETA nor on the side of the police; in other words, in the kingdom of heaven. Let's stop joking: if one is against ETA, one must be on the side of the police.

[Question] The Nationalist-Socialist confrontation is a constant element; it appears to be merely a scourge that is difficult to surmount.

[Answer] Among the Nationalists and the Socialists, the confrontation with the nationalist idea is championed by PSOE, but there have been many historical approaches to this issue. The solution to Euskadi's problems entails agreement between these two parties, but during the transition this agreement has proven impossible. The major breach has been opened by PNV, when it rejects the Constitution. To maintain the nationalist essence, PNV must keep up a confrontation with the state, and the enemy is not Madrid; the enemy is at home. In taking a stand against the

Constitution, PNV has recreated an artificial division detrimental to the Basque people. By becoming aligned with EE [Euskadiko Ezquerra] and HB [Herri Batasuna], essentially for electoralist reasons, in a kind of anticonstitutional front, PNV has rekindled the flame of the "Abertzalists [Patriots] versus Espanolists [Spanish-oriented]" confrontation. That division, which put us Socialists and Communists together with UCD [Democratic Center Union], and PNV together with EE and HB, proved to be totally artificial with respect to the real problems confronting Euskadi at that time.

'Our Contacts With ETA Failed'

[Question] When you were interior councilman for the Basque General Council, you had occasion to come in contact with ETA. With what results?

[Answer] At the beginning of the transition to democracy there were, in fact, attempts at negotiation, with the consent of the minister of interior, Martin Villa, and of President Suarez. Those attempts failed, owing to ETA's demand that the contacts be made public from the outset. There were also internal problems in ETA: The assassination of Argala, who favored the negotiations, precluded the possibility of pursuing that course of action. Concurrently, the atmosphere of visceral confrontation that was created around the constitutional debate acted as a breeding environment for the terrorist escalation. In my opinion, once the path of negotiations was closed, there was no solution remaining other than direct combat against ETA, and its total social and economic isolation. Those who do not understand this are largely to blame for the deterioration of the situation.

[Question] You dealt very closely with former Ministers Martin Villa and Roson during very difficult periods. I would like to know your opinion of the work of both interior ministers and of the policy of the current head of the ministry, Jose Barrionuevo.

[Answer] I have enormous respect for the interior ministers, whom I have known intimately. I know the harshness, the constant anxiety in which they live. Martin Villa happened to experience the hardest period to occur thus far, owing to the level that the terrorist activities reached. In the end, the situation itself overcame him. Roson was a good interior minister. Barrionuevo will be the minister to achieve what the other two failed to achieve; not because they performed poorly, but rather because he belongs to a different party, a different government. He is willing to undertake an extensive reform of the police, and to put an end to ETA during the term of this legislature. He wants to improve the status of the police in the Basque Country, and to provide them with more facilities. On the other hand, the status of the two ETAs is far worse than previously; they are experiencing a time of disintegration, and of internal breakdown.

[Question] PSOE has constantly accused the UCD governments of weakness in the policy with France. What has the Socialist government done thus far in this area, and what has Mitterrand done that Giscard failed to do?

[Answer] In a year and a half, the Mitterrand government has done more than Giscard did in 7 years, although it is necessary to continue demanding. When the Socialists

won the elections in France, and UCD will still governing here, we told our French Socialist comrades that, in the antiterrorist battle, there was no room for ideologies, and that there is no room for distinctions in this regard. The lives and rights of a people are at stake. Now, there are good relations and, without being overly optimistic, things have improved, and the encirclement in the south of France is becoming tighter.

[Question] Did your sudden trip to Paris have an effect on the release of the inudustrialist, Saturnino Orbeago, a few hours later?

[Answer] No, I went along with the director of state security. I had no leadership role on that trip. Orbeago's release was the result of marvelous police work, and of the investigations conducted by the civil guard units.

[Question] In this connection, what is your opinion of the incidents in Valmojado?

[Answer] These incidents are regrettable and reprehensible; they should not have happened. It is impossible to shift all the blame to the civil guard corporal; there is a political liability on the government's part. Sometimes the civil guard is required to discharge functions that do not belong to it, and these incidents can be brought on. There may be abuse of authority, and some inspections that are not conducted well; and painstaking precautions must be taken. The government has taken over the situation, and the interior minister has given explanations to Parliament, giving assurance that there will be a clarification of the incidents, a demand for blame to be assigned and a correction of mistakes.

2909

CSO: 3548/313

POLITICAL PARTIES' YOUTH GROUPS LOSING MEMBERSHIPS RAPIDLY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Anita Sjoblom: "Center Greatest Loser--Youths Desert Politics"]

[Text] Young people are deserting the political youth organizations. During the past 3 years nearly 40,000 youths have left. Of these, half have left the Center Party Youth Federation, which lost almost one-third of its members.

One of the causes of the decline could be that it is difficult today for youths to be politically active and to stand up for a cause. Another could be that the organizations have not kept up with the times, and can not compete with all the other things which are offered to the young.

The political youth organizations have lost more than other youth organizations in recent years. In 1978 there were 204,000 youths affiliated with the 5 largest youth federations. Now the figure has sunk to 161,000. That is a net figure, as many more youths have left the organizations. But at the same time a lot of new members have joined. This turnover of members is such a great problem for all the organizations that the National Youth Council is going to investigate the issue.

Losers

The Center Party Youth Federation (CUF) is the greatest loser, with 44,600 members today, but with 20,000 more 3 or 4 years ago. The federation had its best days during the 40's, when it was called the Swedish Country Youth Federation, with 120,000 members. Later the number of members declined in step with the loss of population in the countryside. During the 1970's CUF regained a little momentum when the Center Party moved into the large cities.

"One explanation for the decline of membership could be the general decline of the Center Party among the voters," said the 30-year-old chairman Yngve Sunesson. "It is also difficult for us to retain members who move from the countryside or the smaller towns to the large cities."

Yngve Sunesson also believes that the presence of the Center Party in the government has been a burden for the youth federation.

"It was bothersome for the members to be constantly blamed for the actions of the Center Party in the government. It was difficult, for example, for a 16-year-old in school to learn the background of a decision. Many members had rather unrealistic expectations of what the Center Party would be able to accomplish in the government, and were disappointed that everything took so long."

Hard To Keep

The Social Democratic Youth League (SSU) also had a very large membership during the 30's and 50's, with about 130,000 members. Today the number is down to 54,900 members, after a decline in recent years of 13,000.

"It is easy for us to get new members, but hard to keep them," said 33-year-old league chairman Jan Nygren. "Most who leave the youth league will surely continue to be Social Democrats, but their involvement will be weakened."

Jan Nygren considers that the SSU follows the membership strength of the party, except after the election defeat in 1976, when the number of members increased.

"I think that is a problem for all organizations today, to find new ways of working," he said. "We must be able to compete with the commercial offerings, and be able to draw from them whatever is appropriate for a people's movement."

"The youths must realize that politics pays. A political organization should not be a collection agency, but must have something to say about its surroundings."

At the end of the 1960's SSU had almost only school children as members, and then it concentrated instead on the youths in skilled labor. That left the field open for the Conservatives in the schools.

"Around the middle of the 70's the climate at the schools became rather difficult for the SSU, which perhaps caused some of them to leave us," said Jan Nygren.

Straw Hats

The Liberal Party Youth Federation (FPU) had its growth period during the 1960's during the so-called straw hat days. But inner conflicts and hard confrontation with the Liberal Party caused member support to decline. Today FPU has 14,300 members following a temporary increase after the Liberal Party Government in 1979.

"We have been overshadowed by the decline of the Liberal Party," said Peter Orn, 29-year-old federation chairman. "But I do not believe that for example discussions about party leaders following the election have meant anything for us. Mainly there has been a change in the political climate. There is a breath of egotism in the entire society. There is not the same commitment and interest as there was at the end of the 60's, when such things as the Vietnam question stimulated many youths.

"It was also painful for many members when the nonsocialist government was forced to begin saving."

Peter Orn also criticized the youth organizations.

"We have not kept up with the times. FPU is therefore trying new activities such as the theater, exhibitions and summer camps."

Strong in Schools

The Conservative Youth League (MUF) has also retreated a little, despite the advances of the party in the last election. Today there are 27,600 members, which is 4,000 less than several years ago.

"We would have grown more if the Conservatives had continued in the opposition, or alone as the governing party," said the league chairman Gunnar Hokmark, age 30. "But most of the members realized that the party must compromise in a multiparty government. Traditionally we are strong in the schools, but we lose members when they move or change their lives in other ways."

Gunnar Hokmark concedes that MUF has surely acquired a number of members in the schools because membership has sometimes been a requirement for attending school dances.

"But it does not matter if in the long run they do not have an interest in politics," he said. "I do not believe there is anything wrong with having widespread social activities, for example dances, for generating contact between youths."

KU Grows

The only youth federation of those which are tied to the five Riksdag parties which has not declined in numbers is the Communist Youth League (KU), the youth federation of the Left-Party Communists. On the contrary, it has increased a little during the entire time, and now has 19,500 members.

"Our league was broken apart by inner conflicts at the end of the 1960's, and the work of reconstruction is not yet complete," said 25-year-old league

chairman Stellan Hermansson. "Now it will be difficult to grow larger, as the youths today are politically uninterested. It has even become more difficult to be communists. We are now devoting our time mainly to keeping and schooling our membership.

Christian Democratic Youth (KDU) has also consistently shown increasing membership, and now has 4,600 members.

All the youth federations are active in the schools. But today there is almost a two-party system in the schools--Social Democrats and Conservatives.

"Conservatives and nonconservatives," said Stellan Hermansson, KU.

The activity of the youth federations is also limited by the economy. They are all having a hard time today, and have had to reduce their personnel and take up collections from their membership.

"Now we borrow school rooms for our conferences, instead of using conference hotels as before. It is both pleasant and useful to adapt," said Peter Orn, FPU.

All the youth federation chairmen believe that the federations are a driving force on their mother parties.

"But it is not an end in itself to be adversarial," said Jan Nygren, SSU.

Junior Bureaucrat

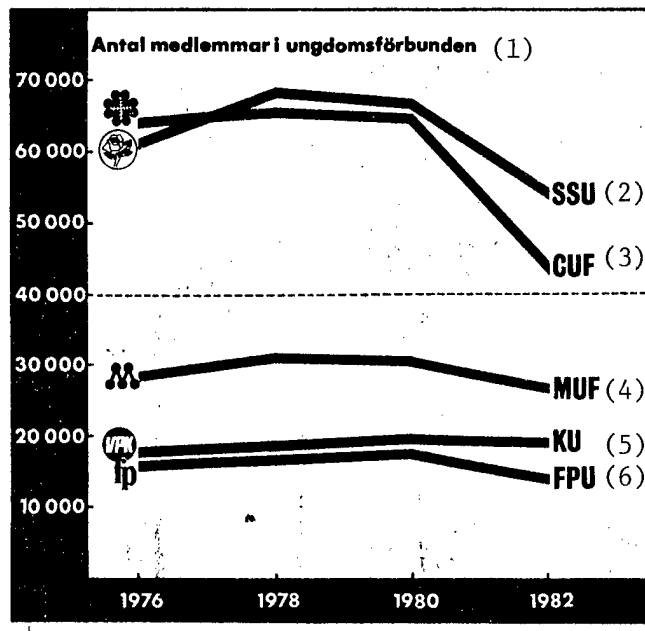
No youth federation today considers that it has a great conflict with its mother party, even if they do not agree on all questions.

The five chairmen do not agree on whether it is important who sits in their position.

"It is rather important, for example, how much one is seen in the mass media, and which post one holds in the party," said Gunnar Hokmark, MUF, who is in addition a Conservative member of the Riksdag. "I see no conflict between these two jobs. I vote as a Conservative and speak as the MUF chairman."

The others believe that a chairman can influence the voting in his federation.

"My job is to travel around and meet members, not to be a junior bureaucrat," said Stellan Hermansson, KU.



Caption: The Center Party Youth Federation (CUF) and the Social Democratic Youth League (SSU) have, as shown by the diagram, lost many members in the past 2 years. The Conservative Youth League (MUF) and the Liberal Party Youth Federation (FPU) have declined less, and the Communist Youth League (KU) is unchanged.

- Key:
1. Number of members in the youth organizations
 2. Social Democratic Youth League
 3. Center Party Youth Federation
 4. Conservative Youth League
 5. Communist Youth League
 6. Liberal Party Youth Federation

9287

CSO: 3650/154

CONSERVATIVES OBTAIN THIRTY PERCENT IN POLL FOR FIRST TIME

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 28 Mar 83 p 6

[Text] The Conservatives have the support of 30 percent of the electorate, according to a Sifo [Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls] study made public on Sunday. This is the first time that a conservative party has reached the 30-percent level. In the poll made by DAGENS NYHETER and IMU [Institute for Market Research] a few weeks ago the Conservatives received only 24.5 percent of the support.

In Sifo's latest study the Social Democrats got 44.5 percent (-1.5), the Conservatives 30.0 (+1.0), the Center Party 14.0 (+2.0), the VPK [Left Party - Communists] 5.0 (-0.5), the Liberal Party 4.5 (+0.5) and other parties 2.0 (-1.5).

According to the IMU's study 2 weeks ago, the Social Democrats received 44.0 (-2.0), the Conservatives 24.5 (-0.5), the Center Party 14.5 (+0.5), the VPK 5.0 (+0.5) and the Liberal Party 4.5 (+0.5).

Thus, it is only for the Conservatives that the figures differ greatly. In a large number of polls Sifo has had considerably higher figures for the Conservatives than the IMU, something which has caused political scientists to debate the reliability of the polls.

However, there are no plans for cooperation between Sifo and IMU to analyze why their opinion polls are so different when it comes to data on the Conservatives. This was stated by the head of Sifo, Hans Zetterberg. At the same time election analyst Soren Holmberg in Goteborg called for just such cooperation.

"The differences in the opinion polls are damaging the credibility," were the comments of Soren Holmberg, who believes that IMU and Sifo should meet to discuss the discrepancies in their results. The polling methods are very similar, but somewhere there is something which must explain why the results turn out so differently.

He thinks the explanation is that many small differences in each poll taken together could give the different results.

Sifo does not provide the voters with preprinted ballots for the small parties, which is what IMU does. Those polled must themselves write in the name of a small party and consequently go to a certain amount of trouble. Holmberg is of the opinion that this could also explain why before the election IMU had much higher figures for the small parties than Sifo.

The two institutes have different samples in order to achieve a miniature Sweden, and in this area chance may play a certain role as well.

But Hans Zetterberg does not at all want to recommend the polling methods or results of the IMU.

"The election barometer deals with approximate values," he says.

"We would welcome a discussion with Sifo in order to analyze why the figures can turn out so different," says IMU chief Hans Olof Alfredson.

He emphasizes, however, that the election barometers should not be compared with each other, but the important thing is long-range trends within each election barometer.

Hans Olof Alfredson's explanation for the varying figures for the Conservatives is that a number of differences in polling methods interact with each other. But he does not know why the discrepancy is so large just for the Conservatives.

He cannot understand election analyst Soren Holmberg's demand for greater openness by the polling institutes:

"It is a misconception that our material should somehow be secret. Those researchers who want to can look at the results."

11949

CSO: 3650/150

MIDDLE-OF-ROAD DAILY CAUTIOUS ON POLL RESULTS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 28 Mar 83 p 2

[Editorial by Olof Kleberg: "The Drea(m) Limit?"]

The Conservatives [m] have reached the goal of their dreams--30 percent of the voter support!

However, it could be a fly in the ointment that the voter support may not exist in reality. The announcement that the party has reached the 30-percent level comes from Sifo [Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls], which for a long time has reported very high opinion poll figures for precisely the Conservatives. In the most recent study, conducted in February-March, the Conservatives gain one percentage unit (from 29 in the January-February poll).

Inbetween the two the IMU [Institute for Market Research] presented its poll, taken in February. There the Conservatives receive only 24.5 percent. Sifo was also considerably higher in its election prognosis than both IMU and the election result.

Discrepancies as large as four-five percent between various opinion institutes seem unreasonable, although they contribute to a healthy scepticism of the importance of these measurements. The methods should be reviewed both inside and outside the institutes. Some leads may perhaps be supplied soon by a group of researchers at the Institute of Mathematics in Goteborg which is studying how the measurements are carried out.

Other than that, the news of the Sifo study this time is that the Center Party, which usually gets a low figure at Sifo, has a secure increase to 14 percent.

Politically one may wonder whether 30 percent is really a dream limit for the Conservatives. Although the level is probably too high, the middle parties should be affected psychologically. Up to now they have, understandably, aimed at criticism of the new Social Democratic government.

But in the interest of self-preservation they should now demonstrate to the public, not only in parliamentary bills, that they stand for something different than the Conservatives. This applies to foreign policy, employment and the view of the public sector, for example.

11949

CSO: 3650/150

SOVIET VISIT AT TIME OF TURKISH-EUROPEAN FRICTION

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 7 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Zafer Atay: "Why Did Kornienko Come Here?"]

[Text] Secrecy lies at the heart of the Soviet system. Everything is done behind closed doors. Even power changes hands in the USSR after 13 old men known as the Politburo lock themselves up somewhere and argue it out. Foreign policy, above all, is monopolized by a privileged few.

We saw a prime example of this recently when Soviet Foreign Ministry First Deputy Kornienko paid us a sudden visit, stayed two days and then left.

To figure out precisely what lies behind all of the secrecy in Soviet policy, the West has developed a branch of expertise called 'Kremlinology,' the science of the Kremlin. Western experts sit down and try to decipher the real meaning behind the words of Soviet government officials. They look at photographs and endeavor to determine whether a government official has fallen in esteem by seeing where he is in the photograph, i.e., on the right, on the left or behind Soviet leaders.

Of course, we have no such expertise, but as far as we can determine, the new Soviet administration has every intention of proceeding with its series of peace initiatives by approaching each of the NATO countries individually.

It is interesting that Kornienko's visit here should take place at a time when certain European countries want to force us into a corner for a variety of ridiculous reasons. Turkey is a country which has fallen victim to the petty political games of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. It has been cut off from credits it deserves; its exports have been blocked; it has been complained about to the Human Rights Commission for false reasons.

The inclination to force Turkey into a corner is increasing in the U.S. as well. Despite all of the persistence of the Reagan administration with regard to providing aid to Turkey, the Armenian-Cypriot lobbies have already begun to make noise in Congress to block such aid.

Soviet leader Andropov may be taking all of this into consideration hoping to get some support from 'Disheartened' Turkey.

Andropov is especially trying to prevent the deployment of U.S. medium-range Cruise and Pershing II missiles to certain NATO countries which is scheduled to take place at the beginning of this year. If he can do this, he will be able to maintain the Soviet threat over Europe, because NATO does not have a single medium-range missile there at the present time. Moscow, however, has lots of them. This is why Andropov says, "Let me reduce the number of missiles I have; let me reduce mine to the number which the British and French have."

These are easy traps to fall into. In fact, some of the churches in the West have fallen into this trap. They've been holding marches and trying to influence politicians by saying, "Men want peace; we don't need missiles."

Regardless of how much the Soviets reduce their missiles, they will still be able to wipe out Europe with the ones they have left. The "outmoded" missiles of the British and French are no match for the Soviet SS-20's. Numerical equality won't change a thing. It doesn't take a prophet to be able to guess what would happen if you were to match ten world champion boxers against ten men brought in from the streets.

Another Soviet deception is their proposal for a Non-Agression Pact. This is being used to catch Western groups that have fallen off guard. We saw this same thing happen in recent history when Hitler first swallowed up countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland with which he had signed a Non-Agression Pact. Moreover, the Soviets are still fighting with the people of Afghanistan in spite of their Non-Agression and Friendship Pact.

From the very beginning, Turkey said that the Soviet proposals were "worth considering." There has been no change in its view on this. Turkey supports Reagan's 'Zero Option Plan' for doing away with all medium-range missiles. It likewise insists that Cruise and Pershing missiles will not be deployed on its territory. Finally, Turkey is discontent over being kept out of all of the loud bargaining over the Soviet missiles aimed at its territory.

In spite of everything, Kornienko's coming here was a good thing. Perhaps his visit opened the eyes of some of our European and American friends and allies. Moreover, we got to hear it once again 'from the horse's mouth' that Moscow's views on the Aegean question have not changed, regardless of what Papandrea has been trying to spread around.

1279

CSO: 3554/189

PURCHASE OF NEW TERRAIN VEHICLES FOR ARMY

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 23 Feb 83 pp 32-33

[Article by Frank de Moor: "Mercedes and Putorius Vulgaris -- The Army Gets New Terrain Vehicles"; passages enclosed in slantlines, printed in italics]

[Text] There is no stopping Belgium on the military market. After the 44 F-16 reconnaissance and interceptor airplanes, they will not first buy new guns and helicopters, but in the coming weeks 2,500 Jeep type terrain vehicles will be purchased, in the amount of approximately 2.6 billion francs. As a matter of fact, the acquisition of light four-wheel drive (4x4) vehicles is part of the /continuing vehicle park program/ (about 10 billion francs) which, in turn, is one of the six priorities included, since May 1981, in the /Ten Year Plan for Defense Purchases/. The other priorities, as they have slowly become known, are: artillery pieces, high frequency radios, helicopters, the replacement of the Mirages (with F-16's) and very high frequency radios.

Hence, in this regard the government decision of 9 February, which was still being challenged in the House last week, is only an intermediate step concerning three of these six priorities. It also represents proof that the government wants to spread the economic repercussions of the Ministry of Defense orders equally over the regions.

In view of this approach, the parties involved knew long before the so-called /globalization study/ landed at the Council of Ministers meeting of 23 July 1982, that the socio-economic compensations related to the acquisition of the terrain vehicles, just as for the guns and helicopters, would primarily have to benefit Flemish industry.

As a matter of fact, the process leading to the purchase of new terrain vehicles is older than the orders of March 1982 would lead one to suspect. The lighter terrain vehicles of the army, which are nevertheless of vital importance for quick movement over all terrains, are at least 30 years old and attract collectors of Willys and Minervas rather than the military who have to use them.

Furthermore, Belgium is not the only country which, for years, has been looking for a replacement for the Jeep (this word comes from the abbreviation "gp," that is to say "general purpose") of the American Willys Overland. The Minervas are, after all, more of a replica of the British Land Rover.

All of this resulted in the fact that, originally, there were several candidates for delivery to the Belgian army. In any event, the (original) choice was between the Mutt of A.M. General, the Jeep of American Motors, controlled by Renault, the Fiat-Campagnola, the Volkswagen-Iltis, the Land Rover and the P-4 or 230 G, depending on whether preference was given respectively to the Peugeot or the Mercedes emblem.

Of the seven candidates, in the end the army retained for its /private purchase following consultation with the suppliers/, only the British Land Rover, the Mercedes-Benz 230 G and the Iltis, which in the meantime is no longer produced by Volkswagen-Audi, and the licence and factory of which were sold in early 1982 to the Canadian group Bombardier, of the family of the same name.

Several contacts with the three candidates and other parties involved showed that Mercedes offers the strongest and most comfortable, but also the most expensive vehicle, and with the least socio-economic compensations. What is more, Daimler-Benz has threatened to phase out some of its activities via its subsidiary Uclide-Europe in Belgium, to the disadvantage of sub-contractor BN [expansion unknown], if the Ministry of Defense does not buy any series G terrain vehicles.

This is a matter of style, regardless of whether it is appropriate for the army now to be rumbling and bumping along in prestigious Mercedes vehicles costing about 1 million francs each.

As a matter of fact, one of the disadvantages of the Mercedes terrain vehicles is their clientele. Thus, it is true that several versions were sold to the Norwegian, the Argentinian and the Cypriot governments, and that the sophisticated 23 G series provided headlines for Pope John Paul II and some sheiks, but the military officials who purchased the series G do not precisely belong to the most tactical units.

All of this does not prevent the Mercedes from being a first rate terrain vehicle. As a matter of fact, it is too good and is comparable with a Range rather than with a Land Rover. Hence, socio-economically speaking there are difficulties related to the Mercedes. If they want to assemble our army vehicles in Belgium, primarily to please Van Hool, then they would immediately cost 20 percent more, according to people in charge at Mercedes. On the other hand, if these vehicles are supplied ready-made in Belgium, then Mercedes-Benz would be able to compensate this purchase almost exclusively in the automobile sector. This would be accomplished through new orders for Uniroyal (tires), Seyntex (tarpaulins), Tudor (batteries), Lippens (paint), etcetera: in total, about 100 percent of the value of the defense contract spread over 3 years. The people in charge at Mercedes also mentioned a number of indirect compensations, and they like to draw attention to the orders of nearly 1.5 billion francs per year placed by Daimler-Benz in Belgium as well as to the 2,650 workers they employ in our country in their production and sales. As is further noted at Mercedes-Benz Belgium, it is precisely because of their (sound) relations with Belgian ancillary producers that they have "nothing spectacular to offer."

This, however, is something the representatives of Iltis do offer, even though it is limited to (mostly wild) promises, a not very expert public relations approach.

Iltis gets its name from a small but brave little mammal, also called /putorius vulgaris/, but is in fact the descendant of the Kubel- and Schwimmwagen, of the pre-war Volkswagen and of the later Munga of the Auto-Union-DKW. When Volkswagen-Audi wanted to get rid of the Iltis a few years ago -- even though nearly 10,000 of them were sold to the Bundeswehr at the time -- the division for logistics materiel of the Canadian Bombardier company took over the product and allowed it ultimately to be represented in Belgium by Autoproducts: a small cog which, in addition to the importers of Toyota, Rolls Royce and other car products, is part of the inextricable mechanism of the British multinational /The Incheape Group of Companies/.

The Iltis is unquestionably -- and this in contrast with the Mercedes series G, for example -- a true military concept.

As the French 4x4-MAGAZINE (in June 1981) noted, the Iltis is so Spartan that the back seats, for example, can hardly be reached. Be that as it may, the Iltis is, still according to that extremely detailed test, "one of the best (and most economical) 4x4 vehicles in the world, a real trial vehicle."

However, Iltis' problems in Belgium are of a completely different nature. First of all, it could be argued that it does not meet the requirements of the order which stipulates (in article 18.3) that "the vehicle proposed must necessarily be a vehicle the development of which has been completed and production of which has begun." Well, strictly speaking, the production has been at a standstill for a couple of years and the actual restarting by Bombardier has not yet been completed. Aside from the Bundeswehr, there is not a single army in the world which has bought the Iltis, except perhaps the Canadians for a few months. On the other hand, in terms of socio-economic compensations it appears that Bombardier is rather generous with a vehicle which, after all, remains the second most expensive after the 230 G, but these are still only promises about which the Canadian government still has to have its say.

In order to compensate for the purchase of 2,500 Iltis vehicles, to be assembled in Belgium in any event (by Hocke, MOL [expansion unknown], LAG [expansion unknown], Volkswagen or Henschel?), at the promised rate of 160 percent, they are thinking primarily of indirect compensations in addition to the usual direct Flemish suppliers.

Thus, BN would be able to participate in the adjustment of (the doors of) 825 subway cars for New York; Bekaert (even though, according to the parties involved, it was never consulted) would receive orders for the German Krauss-Maffei, which had been promised earlier to the Canadian government in compensation for the purchase of Leopard II tanks; the Herstal National Foundries would also be able to sell its Minimi rapid-fire rifles to the Canadian army; and the Canadian Montel Montmagny company would get its supplies from Belgium (for example from Pauwels Trafo in Malines) rather than elsewhere.

All of this, however, /if/ the army does buy Iltis vehicles and highly conditional upon Bombardier being able to force third parties to do business with our country, and especially (for more than 60 percent of the value of the contract) with /Walloon/ companies.

In short, an approach which apparently does not take into account the general plan of this administration to the benefit of Flemish companies. Beherman-Demoen drew that card from the very beginning: if only to restart its business in Malines. As is well known, this involves the rather successful Ragheno-Beherman Auto-Transports [BAT], which imports Saabs and Mazdas as well as Range and Land Rovers into Belgium, but which has up to now lost hundreds of millions of francs on the /BDX [expansion unknown] armored police vehicles/, when it turned out that certain parts supplied by Asco-Zaventem were faulty. Everything, however, points to the fact that this time Beherman-Demoen has kept all the trump cards, including the political ones.

First of all, there is the aluminum Land Rover itself, which certainly needs more gas (and upkeep?) than its two competitors, but which, even assembled in Malines, is much cheaper. In the final analysis, everywhere in the world, and also in the Belgian NATO sector, the Landy remains /"the prototype of the 4x4 world"/, as the German trade periodical OFF ROAD wrote in March 1981, in an exclusive report based on nearly /2 million kilometers/ of (also unpleasant) Land Rover experience in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The BDX armored police vehicle finally became a second trump card; the original Irish design was sold to the British Vickers group and is currently returning to Malines as the British-Belgian Valkyr, for possible co-production and offer on the world market.

The third and not the least important trump card for Beherman-Demoen is its exceptionally large and firm package of socio-economic compensations: a total of 180 to 200 percent of the value of the contract.

This is possible because Beherman-Demoen does involve all possible ancillary suppliers in the world production of the Land Rover, which is going to present a modernized version this year, but 2 million units of which have already been sold over the last 35 years.

All of this means additional orders for Sidal (aluminum), Monroe (shock absorbers), Sidmar (steel), Splintex (glass), Lippens (paint), Seyntex (tarpaulins), Michelin (tires), etcetera, not to mention the several billion franc contract which will allow Bekaert-Zwevegem, through the intermediary of Beherman-Demoen, to supply approximately 5,000 additional tons of steel cord to Dunlop and also to manufacture certain parts for British-Leyland trucks.

Hence, those people at Bekaert who, in July 1982, "after giving it careful consideration," thought they should give up on possible cooperation with Beherman-Demoen and British Leyland relative to the manufacturing and promotion of the Land Rover 4x4, may have been right in terms of the manufacturing, but not in terms of the promotion.

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UNNECESSARY ARMS PURCHASES FOR POLITICAL REASONS

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD in Dutch 12 Mar 83 p 21

[Report by Jan Schils: "Martens Government: Superfluous Arms for Political Peace."]

[Text] Fitting in entirely with Belgian political tradition, the Martens Cabinet has pulled a stunt which could have no other objective than to save its doomed political life through Flemish/Walloon compromises. The cabinet decided to buy superfluous arms worth 5.8 billion guilders in order to provide both regions with an equal amount of compensation orders. Over half the amount that Belgians had to pay up last year was at stake.

Belgium is one of the weak brothers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which simply can't manage to achieve the agreed upon annual increase of 3 percent in the defense budget. Just as in a number of other countries, one cannot even speak of growth in Belgium, especially not in the current year. Expenditures have to be kept so tight that the former Belgian chief of the air force, General Desmedt, even had to decide to let his pilots put in less than the required number of flying hours. There wasn't even enough money available for fuel. . .

Robert Close, another general, not long ago called the Belgian army a rubble heap; that situation certainly hasn't improved -- now that economizations have also left deep scars at Defense. General Close wrote in his controversial book that the Soviets and their allies will need barely 48 hours to cross the Rhine. In that framework we won't have to explain in detail the powerlessness of the Belgian army in the Federal Republic of Germany in keeping a 60 kilometers wide corridor under control as a component of the Western defense.

Belgium is making it a habit to let the foreign spectator slip from one surprise to another, especially when it is a matter of finding compromises in the tribal disputes between Flanders and Wallonia in which one expensive blunder follows another. Then was it actually so surprising -- against the background of the defense economizations -- that the Roman Catholic aristocratic coalition government in Brussels decided to purchase 44 additional fighter planes of the F-16 type (2.8 billion guilders altogether)?

Precipice

When the fifth Martens Cabinet of christian democrats and liberals took office, it created the impression that an end had come to the "Belgian disease" which had brought the country to the edge of the precipice. In practice, the contrary turned out to be true. There was another shower of political appointments and, as before, there was finagling with state orders and state moneys, and the most foolish compromises were made with the principal goal of keeping the government in the saddle. The constitution and parliament were entirely or partly pushed aside whenever it suited political interests, and after a period of governing by proxy, a second, similar attempt is in the program of the current cabinet.

Just as was already the case in the Netherlands previously, a drastic wage curb and disguised tax increase was imposed on the Belgian population. In this bleak economic climate the order for the 44 F-16 machines came into being. What was strange in that respect was that the Belgian air force staff has repeatedly stated during the last 2 years that the replacement of the current Mirages would not need to take place before 1990. Minister of Defense Vreven (christian democrat) stated even very recently that the purchase of new fighter planes was out of the question in view of the budget situation. The minister revised his opinion at Martens' command. The NATO leadership showed surprise but was of course quite satisfied with the Belgian decision.

This wasting of billions had been preceded by a year-long squabble between supporters of Marcel Dussault's "Mirage" and others who preferred General Dynamics' F-16. Former Prime Minister Paul VandenBoeynants, who initially was a fervent supporter of the "Mirage," ultimately changed to be in favor of the F-16 because he realized that it was primarily the Walloon airplane industry which would benefit from the compensation orders. Thus dissension arose at the last moment in the Martens Government. Vice Prime Minister Gol from Liege (liberal) and Minister of the Budget Maystadt from Charleroi (christian democrat), tied as they were to their election promises, demanded a rapid decision in favor of Wallonia.

Injection

The next crisis surfaced when the Flemish ministers thwarted the cabinet (after they had suffered a humiliating defeat due to the appointment of the Walloon agitator Jose Happart as mayor of the Flemish municipality of Voeren). It bothered these ministers that the Flemish industry would hardly benefit at all from the airplane transaction while Flanders still had to contribute two thirds of the purchasing costs through its treasury. Provoked by the Happart story and the prospect of an injection of billions into the Walloon steel company Cockerill-Sambre (which will shortly be a fact, unless the Martens Cabinet perishes on the steel front), the Flemish ministers, led by Mark Eyskens, threatened to quit. Martens grew a little pale but, as champion of the typical Belgian compromise, he soon came up with a solution. This saved the Flemish honor and simultaneously the order files of Flemish companies which work for defense.

As to the purchase of the 44 F-16's, it will be divided in such a manner that 58.5 percent of direct compensation orders will accrue to the Walloon and Brussels airplane industry, while advanced technology industries in Flanders are being

compensated indirectly for 22.5 percent through General Dynamics. In order to find a balance and grant an equal part to Flanders, the cabinet decided to purchase, besides the fighter planes, 46 helicopters, 500 anti-tank missiles and new field artillery for 3 billion guilders in the United States.

All that for the sake of compensation orders or, in other words: in a period of full economic crisis and without military necessity, this cabinet decided to "simply" purchase arms worth 5.8 billion [guilders] with the sole objective of being temporarily delivered from the tribal disputes. Of course Martens was not able to sell the expensive decision for that reason, so he said: "The purchase of the 44 fighter planes is a component of the 10-year plan of the Department of Defense and a carrying out of the Belgian obligations within NATO."

Juggling Trick

To claim such things with impunity, one certainly has to be convinced that he is on firm political ground. Those NATO obligations are out of the question for the next few years, and the 10-year plan for Defense, which was drawn up under one of the many one-day cabinets, was not included in the current government accord. Thus Martens pulled the motive for the purchasing decision out of his hat, and the only intention which was disguised by that juggling trick was that of extending the life of his cabinet. The argument that 2,500 workers in the Walloon airplane industry will now be able to work again for a while is also far from convincing. In fact, Minister Vreven of Defense confirmed that for the sake of financing these gigantic arms purchases and obligating the state budget, 5,000 career soldiers will be dismissed. And in view of the composition of the army, no doubt these will be mainly Flemings . . .

The opposition in parliament called the course of events "scandalous and immoral." But the oligarchy in Brussels, which pushes the most important policy decisions through by proxy, wipes its feet on those statements. Martens and his people have little to fear, for parliamentary elections -- if this cabinet should sit out its full period -- are far in the future.

The Belgian population, which in 1982 had to pay out an additional 11 billion guilders, meanwhile might wonder, however, whether it wouldn't be utter waste to spend, after only a few months, over half (5.8 billion) of the total amount for largely superfluous arms. Possibly the Martens Cabinet will still burst like a soap bubble in the next few months, for knives are being sharpened on all sides for the coming fight on the steel front. There the Flemings again threaten to be tricked, not only by the Walloons, but also by a few of their own ministers, who are just as much interested in saving their doomed political life.

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FRG, SWEDISH FIRMS COMPETE FOR SUBMARINE ORDERS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 24 Mar 83 p 21

[Text] Compensations to Danish industry are expected to be of decisive importance when Denmark will be purchasing three new submarines. The total cost will probably exceed 1 billion kroner.

The firms favored for the construction of Danish submarines are the Kockum shipyard at Malmø and the West German Kieler Howald Werke. The possibilities have been looked into by the Materiel Command of the Navy Department, which has also made inquiries about compensations.

The result is on its way to the Defense Ministry. But, as far as AKTUELT has learned, the West German offer of compensation is believed to be the best one. Especially in view of the structure of Danish industry.

An entirely different possibility has been suggested by the defense policy spokesman of the Social Democratic Party, Knud Damgaard. He proposes the possibility of renting the submarines. For the reason, among others, to protect oneself against throwing away 1 billion kroner on submarines which the technological development will soon render obsolete.

Defense Minister Hans Engell (Conservative Party) does not want to reject the idea of a rental arrangement. The Armed Forces, certainly, are not unfamiliar with such arrangements. Indeed, all of the rifles of the Armed Forces have been rented.

The Defense Ministry is in the process of finding out where submarines may be rented. Norway has a large fleet of submarines, but the submarines are ocean-going and unsuitable for the shallow Danish waters. The interest now concentrates on West Germany.

Rental arrangements eliminate the possibility of compensations to, and thus of employment in, Danish industry. That is why the compensations offered may prove decisive when the politicians will have to decide on the matter.

A compromise--renting with the option to purchase--is also conceivable. In that case, the Danish Navy will first make sure, through the use of the submarines in question, that they really are worth purchasing. The question is whether the shipyards will agree to such an arrangement.

The first 100 million kroner have been earmarked for submarines under the 1984 budget. If the submarines are ordered for construction next year, the first one may be delivered for the Danish Navy in 1988.

The three submarines may be followed later on by another two submarines.

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SAAB-SCANIA INCREASING WEAPONS EXPORTS TO FINLAND, ASIA

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 31 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] Saab-Scania's newly formed company Combitech has recently brought home orders worth more than 500 million. The largest order was for an unknown number of RBS 15 sea-target missiles for Finland. That order is reported to be worth about 300 million kronor.

To Malaysia, Saab has sold aircraft sights worth 15 million kronor. The sights are to be used on A-4 Skyhawk aircraft for missile and cannon attack against ground targets.

As a subcontractor for an American firm, Combitech has received orders for the servos and sensors for the control system on the JAS 39 Gripen. Together with other orders for the Gripen this amounts to a sale of about 200 million, but stretched out over a 10-year period.

Control System

The daughter company Saab Automation has also reached a cooperative agreement with General Electric which will give the firm faster access to advanced techniques to automate workshops.

Saab Instruments will sell control systems worth 30 million to the Norwegian Navy's new submarines, and Saab Marine Electronics will sell equipment worth 9 million to South America, including level-measurers for tanker ships.

Within Combitech Saab has built up a daughter company which works on high technology products and systems, often developed from the manufacture of aircraft. The group employs 1,700 persons, and sales this year will be about 700 million kronor.

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LEGAL IMPROPRIETY IN PUBLICATION OF LOCAL ELECTION LAW

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Mar 83 p 14

[Article by Javier Angulo: "Constitutional Court Feels 3-Day Term Before Promulgation of Laws Absolutely Obligatory"]

[Text] Madrid--The Constitutional Court issued a decree yesterday in which it agrees to hear the prior appeal of unconstitutionality presented 20 days ago by the Popular Group and Catalan Minority. This concerns the organic law that amends certain articles of the 1978 local election law and suspends its Articles 6 and 7 referring to the election procedure for provincial deputies. In its decree, it states that the prior appeal of the law was presented within the established legal term of 3 days and that the fact that this legal term was not fulfilled in publishing the appealed law in the BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO "constitutes an illegal action."

Referring to the appeal presented by the two parliamentary groups against the initial decision of the fourth section of the Constitutional Court--which did not agree to hear the first appeal--the decree includes the allegations that the government made in opposition. The government attorney who acted in the name of the executive branch referred to the haste with which the appealed law was approved and published in the BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO. According to the decree, he alleged "that the term of 3 days for appeal is nothing other than a maximum term, not a minimum one because otherwise the legitimate constitutional possibilities of immediate publication would be limited."

In the first point of the paragraph on legal bases, the Constitutional Court recalled the differences between the prior appeal of unconstitutionality against organic bills and the other possibilities for challenge that do not have that prior nature. Concerning the term of 3 days established in the second paragraph of Article 79 of the organic law of the Constitutional Court, the court stated: "We are not facing a simple, unimportant formality but, quite the contrary, a precept whose observance is impossible to ignore. Nothing less than the validity of an appeal established in an organic law depends on it. Those who could legitimately present an appeal could be deprived of that right, reducing precepts meriting absolute compliance to a dead letter."

The Constitutional Court stated in its decree that the term of 15 days for the approval of laws set forth in Article 91 of the Constitution "is a maximum term

whose observance is fully compatible with the 3 days in Article 79/2 of the Organic Law of the Constitutional Court for prior appeal. A systematic interpretation of the ordinance integrates both precepts, understanding that the legislative branch must not pursue the enactment of the final text of the bill until 3 days after that text is completed."

To the full Constitutional Court, the statement that the 3-day term established for presentation of the prior appeal is only a "maximum" term "does not withstand the most superficial examination." The court stated: "The establishment of a term always means the determination of a period of time between two exact moments so that the planned activity can be carried out not before or after but at that time within the period." The Constitutional Court revealed that the publication of the law in the BOLETIN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO without waiting for the legal term of 3 days for appeals "presents the problem of determining whether the object of appeal has disappeared and it must act based on its inadmissibility."

The court stated: "Not waiting for the legal term of 3 days because of the understanding, according to the brief presented by the government attorney, that Article 91 of the Constitution supported the solution adopted constitutes an illegal action based on the systematic interpretation expressed above."

It added: "The solution can only be the reestablishment of legal order through the application of Article 79/2 of the Organic Law of the Constitutional Court." The court reached the conclusion that "it is correct to consider the appeal presented within the legally established term."

Refusal to Totally Suspend Law

Justifying the suspension of only Articles 6 and 7 of the appealed law, the court stated that "the peculiarities of the very singular situation, the consequence of not having observed the mentioned 3-day term, cannot be ignored." In strict legal compliance, it would have to suspend the entire law. It stated: "However, the court must evaluate in this concrete case in which the objective question of examination is presented for the first time, whether it is possible to embellish this conclusion--the court was referring to the presentation of the prior appeal within the legally established term--based on the principle of preservation of legal acts of special importance in public law, given the general interest in it."

An evaluation of the consequences of the application of that principle cannot be made, in the opinion of the Constitutional Court, except through a careful analysis of the appeal. It stated that "this makes it possible to identify the constitutional aspect used in defense, an aspect that must be preserved." From examination of the appeal, the Constitutional Court agreed that "the only constitutional aspect questioned corresponds to the provincial elections since only Articles 5, 6 and 7 of the new text are challenged."

After stating that the first of these articles affects only local elections, it concluded: "It suffices to suspend the precepts of the final text published prematurely relating to the provincial elections, bearing in mind the principle of preservation of legal acts to which we just referred."

NEW REGULATION GOVERNING DETENTION APPROVED

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Mar 83 p 13

[Article by Bonifacio de la Cuadra: "Full Congress Approves New Law on Provisional Detention with Sole Opposition of Popular Group"]

[Text] Madrid--Yesterday the full Congress of Deputies approved the draft organic law that amends Articles 503 and 504 of the Criminal Procedure Law. Its main effect will be establishing precise legal requirements for the judge so that he can decree provisional detention. It will also release from jail several thousand people held under preventive detention who have fulfilled the maximum sentence. Because it is an organic law, there was a full vote. The result was 199 votes for, 88 against and 10 abstentions. Only the Popular Group opposed the entire law.

The minister of justice, Fernando Ledesma, presented the draft law. He pointed out that it fulfills the commitments made by the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] in its election program by establishing a new provisional detention system better adapted to its nature as a strictly preventive measure. It is aimed at insuring the presence of the accused at the trial and guaranteeing effective compliance with the sentence imposed. He revealed the need to oppose provisional detention as "a credited sentence or anticipated sentence." He also felt it was necessary to adopt solutions based on the superior values of the law--liberty, justice, equality--and respectful of basic human rights.

The minister of justice devoted a large part of his speech to criticizing the amendments introduced into the Criminal Procedure Law by a nonorganic law of 22 April 1980.

Fernando Ledesma attributed the situation of crowding experienced by the penitential establishments and the situation of anxiety, demoralization, neglect, degradation, depersonalization, sexual disturbances, animosity and aggressiveness produced in the jails until now to the 1980 law. The judges can do little to remedy that situation while the mentioned law remains in effect. It states the obligation of the judge to decree preventive detention in cases of crimes punishable by sentences greater than major arrest.

Compliance with Constitution

To correct this situation, the minister of justice pointed out that the new law establishes, as a general rule, that the crime must have a sentence of

more than 6 years to require provisional detention. The law establishes three concrete exceptions to this rule. Another change that he pointed out was the maximum duration of provisional detention: 6 months when the sentence is minor imprisonment or less; 18 months in other cases; and 30 months under exceptional circumstances like when the crime seriously affected collective interests, produced serious national consequences or the trial proceedings are extraordinarily complex.

As complementary measures of the bill, Fernando Ledesma referred to the immediate reform of the organic law of the judicial branch that will increase implementation of new courts of proceeding throughout national territory as well as the start-up in June of 52 new courts and 100 new positions for judges and magistrates during the remainder of the year.

Other than the minister's speech, yesterday's session was a repetition of the debate held in the Justice and Interior Committee last week. None of the opposition's amendments succeeded. Socialist deputy Javier Barrero opposed all of them unenthusiastically in a monotone. Apart from the Popular Group, no other minority in the chamber showed open opposition to the law. However, communist Fernando Perez Royo, Juan Maria Bandres--the deputy from Euskadiko Ezkerra-- and Basque nationalist Marcos Vizcaya insisted on defending the amendments defeated in the committee.

One was Perez Royo's attempt to replace the reference in the bill to the circumstances of the deed and the background of the accused in order to decree provisional detention. He wanted a paragraph stating that the decision would only be made when there were concrete reasons to feel that the accused would hide from the action of justice or would make the investigation of the crime very difficult.

For the Popular Group, Jose Maria Ruiz Gallardon aimed his statements at returning the power to the judge to decide on provisional detention. This deputy criticized the minister of justice for not having made any reference to the serious social problem that this law will present due to its obligatoriness that the judges release criminals. Gallardon stressed that this point was supported by the findings of the counsel general of the judicial branch. He wanted to expand the term of 3 months in the law to 6 months for the beginning of the release of the prisoners who have already fulfilled the maximum sentences of provisional detention set by law.

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