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# West Europe Report

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10 August 1984

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

### CONTENTS

#### ARMS CONTROL

##### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

- Danish Expert Haagerup on European Security  
(Niels Haagerup Interview; KNACK, 2 May 84) ..... 1

##### FINLAND

- Foreign Minister Vayrynen Urges Arms Talk in Vienna  
(HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 2 Jul 84) ..... 5

##### NETHERLANDS

- Lubbers on Cruise Missile Decision, Economy  
(Ruud Lubbers Interview; DE STANDAARD, 30 Jun-1 Jul 84) ..... 6

#### POLITICAL

##### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

- New IEA Director Sets Priority on Oil Market Mechanisms  
(Helga Steeg Interview; WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, 8 Jun 84) ..... 10

##### AUSTRIA

- Poll Shows Loss of Confidence in Socialist Party  
(Josef Votzi; PROFIL, 9 Jul 84) ..... 14

##### BELGIUM

- Van Rompuy on Euroelection, CVP Policies  
(Eric van Rompuy Interview; KNACK, 27 Jan 84) ..... 18

DENMARK/GREENLAND

Home Rule Government's Ability To Deal With New Problems Viewed  
(Various sources, various dates) ..... 24

Problems From EC Withdrawal, by Victor Andersen  
Parties Bitter Toward Copenhagen  
Minister Stands Ground, by Michael Ehrenreich  
New Coalition Submits Program  
Premier on Foreign Relations, by Julut  
Nuclear-Free Zone Urged

FINLAND

Sorsa's Tense Relations With Media Examined  
(Erkki Pennanen; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 14 Jun 84) ..... 37

Briefs

Conservatives Establish GDR Ties 40  
Finnish, Soviet Youth Festival 40

FRANCE

CIEL Denounces Government Communications Policy  
(LE MONDE, 29 Jun 84) ..... 41

Young Communists Send Workers to Nicaragua  
(Jean Santon; L'HUMANITE, 30 Jun 84) ..... 43

Codene, Peace Movement Refine Campaign  
(Bernard Umbrecht; REVOLUTION, 18 May 84) ..... 45

GREECE

Western Comment on Yugoslav, Bulgarian Distrust of Greece  
(Cross-reference) ..... 48

PORTUGAL

Eanist Movement Seen Ripe for PCP Infiltration  
(O DIABO, 10 Jul 84; A TARDE, 10 Jul 84) ..... 49

Eanes 'Trial Balloon'  
Confirming PCP Statements

Poll Shows Pintasilgo Still Ahead in Presidential Elections  
(O JORNAL, 13-19 Jul 84) ..... 53

Interview With Principal Eanist Movement Supporter  
(EXPRESSO, 14 Jul 84) ..... 56

Differing Views of Hunger-in-Nation Issue  
(O JORNAL, 21 Jun 84; DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, 16 Jun 84) ..... 59

Poverty Seen National Problem, by Clara Pinto Correia  
Hunger Seen Demagogic Issue, by Alfredo Barreto

MILITARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Weapon Systems for Armored Combat Troops in the 1990's  
(Heinz Kasch; WEHRTECHNIK, Jun 84) ..... 70

FINLAND

Poll Finds Widespread Youth Support for Military, Peace Groups  
(HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 28 Jun 84) ..... 79

SWEDEN

Armed Forces Readiness Strength Reduced in Summer Months  
(Erik Liden; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 11 Jul 84) ..... 81

ECONOMIC

DENMARK/GREENLAND

Briefs  
EC Communications Net Loan ..... 85

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Restructuring, New Export Markets Revive Textile Industry  
(DER SPIEGEL, 25 Jun 84) ..... 86

FRANCE

Progress in Ninth Regional Development Plan  
(LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE, 2 Jul 84) ..... 89

Funding Supports Businesses, Technology, by Claude Bunodiére,  
Patrick Coquide  
Commentary by Planning Official, Jean Le Garrec Interview

SPAIN

CEO, UGT Proposals for New 'Social Pact'  
(Carmen Parra; YA, 14 Jul 84) ..... 95

Survey of January-June Budget Deficit  
(Javier Ayuso; ABC, 14 Jul 84) ..... 98

Union, Political Opposition to Union Liberties Law  
(M. Luisa G. Franco; YA, 14 Jul 84) ..... 100

ENERGY

DENMARK

Increase in Demand Seen Solving Natural Gas Sale Concerns  
(INFORMATION, 30 Jun 84) ..... 103

Briefs

First Gas From Tyra Field 105

Eighty Percent Support NATO Membership 105

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Human, Economic Costs of European Environmental Degeneration  
(Rudolf Eickeler; HANDELSBLATT, 6/7 Jul 84) ..... 106

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Clear Evidence of Airborne Agents as Cause of Forest Death  
(Bert Hauser; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 1 Jul 84) ..... 114

Senior Federal Environmental Official Expresses Pessimism  
(HANDELSBLATT, 6/7 Jul 84) ..... 116

Briefs

Ozone Concentration Curbs Sought 119

## DANISH EXPERT HAAGERUP ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 2 May 84 pp 42-53

[Interview with Niels Haagerup by Kris Lelievre-Damit: "Security Is More Than Defense Alone"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The problems of peace and security have received very little attention in the European parliament thus far. In 1982, however, the Dane Niels Haagerup made a report on these issues.

The European Community has no legal authority in matters of defense and security. That is not so strange. After the failure of the European Defense Community in 1954, the treaty of Rome wisely did not include any stipulations on security. And since then there have been no large-scale attempts to expand the task of the Community to include issues of defense and security.

In practice that means for instance that the European Commission in Brussels has no specific commissioner involved with problems of defense and the the European ministers of foreign affairs only consider security aspects of specific matters of foreign policy in the framework of European political cooperation. Separate consultation on European security and defense is taboo.

In the past, the European parliament in Strasbourg has also adhered to this agreement. But with the first direct elections in 1979 changes took place. The taboo of European security was suspended late in 1982 with a noteworthy report on European political cooperation and European security. The author of this report was the liberal Danish member of parliament Niels Haagerup. The purpose was to finally arrive at a more readily recognizable concept of security for all ten member states regardless of whether or not they are members of the Atlantic alliance. Yet it was definitely not intended that strictly military aspects of European security be dealt with. Here is what Niels Haagerup has to say about it.

"In my opinion we were able to carry on this debate for two reasons. First and foremost the European people's interest in security issues has increased tremendously in recent years. The tensions between East and West and the increasing turmoil in various regions of the world have resulted in a greater involvement of the masses in security policy. That is the basis.

"A second important factor which led to the report on peace and security is that the question of security has gradually won over the European political circles at the highest levels. Thus there has been an enormous change in attitude among both the people and the authorities in Europe. Consequently it

is not surprising that the European parliament asked me to compile a report inquiring into the relation between European political cooperation and European security. This was the very first time in the history of Europe that this question was discussed frankly."

[Question] Of course that immediately brought out the great differences of opinion, didn't it?

[Answer] When I accepted the task as a representative to the European parliament, I wanted above all to avoid the differences of opinion that there currently exist within the European parliament. Otherwise the report would not lead to anything. No, in my report I wanted to arrive at an inventory of generally accepted starting points which the European parliament could then develop further later on. Therefore I had to try to get the support of as many blocs in the European parliament as possible. And really I was quite successful at that. For my report I received the support of the conservatives, the liberals, the communists and the socialists, with the exception of the French socialists.

[Question] Because the report was too Nato oriented?

[Answer] That first report of the European parliament on peace and security exudes an obvious sympathy for the Alliance. That was unacceptable to the French socialists. Still, I found that unfortunate, since in the report I stressed the concept of European security as much as possible rather than defense. Defense is a matter for the military, a kind of practical execution of the concept of security which has to be developed by politicians. Incidentally, there are a lot of non-military aspects related to the security of a country or continent.

### Slippery Ice

[Question] Was the reaction of the French socialists really that stupid? Obviously security is impossible without defense?

[Answer] I have always warned against concentrating too much on the military aspects in the initial phase, and I shall continue to do so. Instead, we should concern ourselves with investigating our general needs for security. By the way, we cannot even deal with strictly military matters, since we have neither the knowledge nor the experts at our disposal. For instance, the European Commission does not have a European commissioner to deal with it.

[Question] Isn't there a danger that you will not get beyond the general inventory, without doing anything more fundamental for security in Europe?

[Answer] Starting out with military aspects of the issue is not very valuable, in my opinion. I just mentioned the lack of experts, but there are various other points that lead to the same conclusion. Military aspects have always been dealt with by Nato, which most of the European member states belong to. Consequently there is no reason for us to do their work over again. Furthermore, it would have a strongly counterproductive effect within Europe. Right and left would immediately rise up in opposition to each other in the European parliament, which would keep us from accomplishing anything.



And then there is the fact that approaching the problems from that angle would immediately raise the question of whether Europe needs its own army. No sovereign state is eager to give up authority. That is why it is better start by outlining a general policy, going into detail later on. On the other hand, that does not prevent immediate discussion of some aspects of military cooperation. Military-industrial cooperation, for example, or arms sales. In my opinion, however, all the rest is not realistic at the moment. Leave that up to the Nato for the time being.

[Question] Where the Europeans are almost completely dominated by the United States?

[Answer] Obviously the Americans carry a lot of weight in Nato. However, the big problem is that the European countries have not yet succeeded in adopting a common standpoint on any issue at all. If that were possible, we would be in much better shape. But we should not blame the United States for that. Above all, it is up to the Europeans themselves to speak unanimously. And that will never be possible if we do not reach mutual agreement on the basic ideas, on general guidelines. That is why what happened in the European parliament with regard to my report is so significant. For the first time in our history, more than fifty different parties in Europe listed the starting points for a separate European way of thinking about peace and security. That surely amounts to something. We now have to continue to elaborate on it.

[Question] In other words there will be other reports?

[Answer] A new report, this time by the German christian democrat Egon Klepsch, will probably be discussed during the last session of the European parliament in late May. As vice-chairman of the parliament's political committee, I had that matter voted on by the committee quite recently. The general meeting will probably follow suit now in May. Moreover, we have now adopted a resolution to establish a permanent sub-committee for peace and security issues starting with the next legislative session. So there will be progress made now. In such matters Europe should not dare to tread on slippery ice. If we immediately grab the bull by the horns, we shall never be able to overcome the supposed dominance of western thinking on security by the United States.

#### Double Resolution

[Question] You have a very high estimation of the importance of your report. Some people consider it vague and meaningless, don't they?

[Answer] That is claimed mainly by people who think that they serve the cause of peace by going out into the streets to demonstrate and shout. They however are forgetting one thing and that is that you have to start working within present-day reality. Within a system. Furthermore, they forget that military power will also play a very important part in the preservation of peace, no matter what. I do not believe in defense for the sake of defense either, but as long as the Russians continue to build up a strong military power, we obviously cannot abandon our own defense.

[Question] What is the difference between your report and the one by Egon Klepsch to be discussed soon?

[Answer] In that report a specific list is presented of security interests of the Community, in contrast to those of the United States. For example, we have a completely different attitude toward the African countries. The Americans see everything through the glasses of global strategy. We are more interested in economic and political developments, which can contribute to the stability in this region and the world. Economic security is another thing that is discussed in this new report. In that regard we are much more vulnerable than the United States, since we do not have any real clout. So you see that security really goes far beyond strictly military issues.

[Question] Is nothing said about such things as intermediate range missiles?

[Answer] I have already said that those issues do not yet belong in the European parliament. Those are matters for Nato. The double resolution was made by Nato in December 1979. Here in Europe we cannot undo that. What we can do is make general preparations so that such decisions cannot be made in the future.

[Question] How important do you think the issue of peace and security will be in the upcoming European elections?

[Answer] In some countries it will be very important, but not in all ten. There will nevertheless be an obvious difference compared to the 1979 campaign. The people want something done about it now more than ever before. In that regard then the peace movements have had a strongly positive effect. They have awakened the middle class.

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## FOREIGN MINISTER VAYRYNEN URGES ARMS TALK IN VIENNA

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 2 Jul 84 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Foreign Minister Vayrynen Wants Disarmament Matters Included on CESC Agenda"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen (Center Party) hopes that headway can be made in all areas of Europe's Conference on Security and Cooperation so that the follow-up congress in Vienna in 1986 will be successful. Finland hopes in particular that disarmament questions are included on the CESC agenda, Vayrynen said on Tuesday in Helsinki at a congress of the PTTI [Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International].

Foreign Minister Vayrynen feels that the Stockholm conference will create a new dimension in the CESC process. Its task is to reduce the danger of military conflict in Europe through the most effective measures for promoting trust and security.

According to Vayrynen, Finland continues to push for the creation of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries. Speaking about the European situation, he stressed that security should be sought by restricting and reducing nuclear weapons.

Negotiations among the leading nuclear states have stabilized the situation both in Europe and worldwide, according to Vayrynen. Finland hopes that the suspended dialogue of nuclear states throughout the world can continue soon.

The PTTI's eighteenth European congress is taking place for the first time in Finland. In addition to international questions of disarmament and security the congress is discussing matters in connection with labor protection, the work environment and seniority. The Finnish organizers are the Postal Union of the SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] as well as the Postal Officers' Union and the Telephone and Telegraph Union of the TVK [Confederation of Salaried Employees].

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## LUBBERS ON CRUISE MISSILE DECISION, ECONOMY

Brussels DE STANDAARD in Dutch 30 Jun / 1 Jul 84 p 4

[Interview with Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers by Hans Muys and Paul van Velthoven: "'Our Missile Decision is a Hook in the Cliff'"]

[Text] Rudolph Frans Marie Lubbers. Son of a Catholic businessman. Schooled by Jesuits in Nijmegen. Cum Laude Master's degree in economy from the University of Rotterdam. Businessman with a progressive image, known as "Mr Ruud" in the family business. Millionaire. Minister of economic affairs in Den Uyl's cabinet. Afterwards controversial because as a politician-businessman he profited from a tax loophole which he himself had designed and because he was said to have mixed politics with business.

After having resigned as minister for political reasons and served briefly as a regular member of the CDA [Christian Democrat Appeal] block in the Second Chamber of parliament, he succeeded Willem Aantjes as leader of that block in late 1978. Four years later, when Dries van Agt suddenly left "big politics" behind him, he became the youngest prime minister of the Netherlands ever at 43 as head of a coalition of christian democrats and liberals.

[Question] Concerning further unification of Europe, minister Eyskens recently argued in favor of the Benelux countries' acting as promoters of closer cooperation, in view of the relatively great success of the Benelux. Do you also envision such a role as example for those three countries?

[Answer] Yes, and it works, too. At this moment it is the case that the Federal Republic of Germany is examining elements of Benelux cooperation to determine which are suited for expansion to the Federal Republic as well. That started quite spontaneously between Helmut Kohl and me. In consultation with my Belgian and Luxemburg colleagues we gave him a catalog of the Benelux cooperative efforts. Now the ball is in the Germans' court. Kohl is very much interested and he reconfirmed that at the Fontainebleau summit. It is my impression that French-German contacts, specifically regarding border traffic, have been improved in part by our joint efforts with Kohl. I think that is not bad. Adopting something extra that is already being used elsewhere does not necessarily lead to a Europe with two speeds - in that regard I agree with Eyskens. By the way, I also do not support the idea of a Europe with two different speeds. I think that we should work together on every matter of concern to the politics of the Community. Still, it is possible for you to do something extra in some areas. The European monetary system or the Benelux

initiative toward the Federal Republic do not involve all of the EEC countries, but I still say go ahead with them. Nevertheless, as soon as the normal work of the EEC is concerned, then we should not work at two different speeds.

#### Missiles

[Question] Back to the Lubbers cabinet's domestic policies. One question about the nuclear arms debate which is just now behind us. Why did the Dutch cabinet hesitate so long before making a decision on the cruise missiles? (The final resolution constitutes postponement of the decision until November 1985; then the Netherlands will station either all of the 48 cruise missiles unless the Soviet Union decides not to expand its arsenal of SS-20's or else a proportional number of them within the framework of an arms control agreement between the superpowers.) Didn't such a long hesitation play into the hands of the peace movement?

[Answer] As far as we were concerned, we did not take too long, why shouldn't we do it that way? In 1978, the Netherlands was the only NATO country to express reservations about the double resolution, originally for two years, and people will say that it took a lot longer. But that is an incorrect conclusion because it ignores the reason why we wanted to decide later. Because we disagreed with the order of decisions to be made, we first wanted to have a perspective on the negotiation process and then make a decision. Both the allies and the Soviet Union assumed that the Netherlands would be one of the countries that would simply go ahead with stationing the missiles. That was not the case. Incidentally, that did not mean that the Netherlands would always go its own way. In that case, we would simply have had to say no.

Consequently, in the 1982 governmental declaration we said that we would go ahead with the administrative preparations up to the moment of actual construction. That would then be linked to the decision making process. When was that to be? This summer (editorial note: if the Dutch government intended to keep up with the original NATO deployment schedule). What happened then - it is an extraordinarily interesting matter, because all the world was watching - people kept on asking us what we were going to do. Make a decision in June of 1984, and it turned out to be 1 June. Wasn't the undesirable result of this that the forces in society opposed to stationing increased? I doubt it. I believe that there was little difference between the situation in 1979 and the years following, up until the debate in June. I incidentally believe in and am not at all afraid of giving democracy a chance.

[Question] You disagree with the people who say that your resolution was intended primarily so you could have your cake and eat it too, that is, to keep the coalition together and prevent the peace movement from getting out of hand?

[Answer] Having your cake and eating it too sounds negative, but of course the resolution does have certain national overtones. It is not only an instrument to influence international politics. I consider it important to win over the greatest number of people possible to an approach which is intended to make a contribution to weapons control within reasonable limits of the alliance, but of course in a manner that is consistent and clear.

[Question] How do you imagine a signal to influence international politics in concrete terms?

[Answer] The immediate significance of the resolution is primarily symbolic. The first element has been achieved. In going to Moscow, Mitterrand could say that there is unity in the western camp. Every country wants dialogue without weakness. The short-term significance as a signal is that the Netherlands is conforming more. In the medium term - say a year from now - the Dutch resolution can assume significance of content. It makes it somewhat easier to arrive at intermediate phases between the superpowers' complete lack of agreement and a complete treaty. It is like a hook in a cliff that makes it possible for you to scale it. Whether it will be used is of course not up to the Netherlands alone. The immediate significance of the resolution is almost exclusively symbolic. Later on we shall see what happens in practice. In Fontainebleau Mitterrand predicted that late this year or early next year there will be a new basis for discussions, without predicting the results, obviously. Then the files will be reopened and our resolution may serve a purpose.

[Question] The second main political topic for your government is the economy, which has the greatest importance for you. Are you satisfied with the results of the policy of spending reductions?

[Answer] Thus far I am reasonably satisfied. Our first task was to reverse a number of unfavorable trends. Government finances, restoration of competitiveness, more flexibility and deregulation. Our famous "third track", reorganization of labor, is part of those efforts. It now appears that there is a reasonable chance that we will achieve our quantitative goals, which are in turn preconditions for continuing economic recovery. Unorthodox methods, reorganization and distribution of work are also part of the picture. In that regard we are a bit different from Belgium, I believe. We want to leave the responsibility for that up to the employers and employees. That third track (in addition to reduction of government deficits and increase in competitiveness of businesses) is already underway, even if it is slow in getting started. Still, there have been encouraging signs in the past few months.

It is now essential for us to adhere closely to the line that we have drawn. Favorable developments can now be discerned. Dutch exports increased 16 percent in the first four months of this year. You can subtract a price component of 6 percent from that and you still have a nice development left over. Of course, you sometimes also have to count your blessings.

[Question] In an interview six years ago, you appeared somewhat pessimistic about the future for a confessional party. Is such pessimism even more called for in light of the results of the European elections?

[Answer] The European elections did not increase the pessimism. Of course, there was a tangible decrease vis à vis 1979, but as far as the Netherlands is concerned, the elections demonstrated at the same time that there is a strong electoral support despite fairly severe measures. Now for the long-

term view. There are two objective factors which decrease the support for the christian democrat parties. There is the decreasing role of church in society - to be sure, church and christian democracy never were completely identical, but there was so to speak a christian democrat family which had ties to the churches. The second factor is that the specific organizations in all sorts of areas which are part of the movement have lost some of their visibility.

Now for the remedy. I do not believe it would work to revive those organizations. I do however believe that there is a strong chance to continually reassert christian democrat ideals. The most important thing is that man must be at the center so to speak of all developments. I mean man as a neighbor, that is, people with a responsibility toward each other. You should not get bogged down in endless economic analyses, you have to take a more fundamental position and refuse to say: after all, the dilemma is the choice between capitalism and socialism. The analysis of what has to be done in politics should not be made from an abstract position on the basis of reports, but it also has to be nourished by people who are living in the larger society, with a strong accent on the idea of living together.

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## NEW IEA DIRECTOR SETS PRIORITY ON OIL MARKET MECHANISMS

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 8 Jun 84 pp 20,21

/Interview with Helga Steeg, former head of foreign trade section in Federal Ministry of Economics; date and place of interview not indicated/

/Text/ Helga Steeg brings good credentials into her job as executive director of the IEA. She speaks English and French fluently, worked during the 1960's as deputy director at the World Bank, and directed the trade committee of the OECD for 8 years. She knows the problems of the oil-producing countries from her membership in various German-Arab commissions. And while making preparations for seven world economic summit meetings, she gained an intimate knowledge of the economic problems of the major industrial countries. At mid-year the former director of the foreign trade section of the Federal Ministry of Economics, Helga Steeg, will assume her new position as executive director of the International Energy Agency (IEA) in Paris. In a discussion with WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE she outlines her future task.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Frau Steeg, you are assuming your new office at a time when the military conflict between the oil nations Iran and Iraq is becoming more heated.

/Steeg/ To be sure, I could conceive of myself beginning my term in office at a more propitious time than just now, considering the situation on the Persian Gulf, which is certainly very serious. No one can predict at the moment how the situation will develop further. At the moment, however, I see no need for us to take any actions in the energy sector.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Nevertheless, the price for crude oil on the spot market have jumped by up to \$2 during the past few days.



/Steeg/ The crude oil prices have calmed down considerably. However, the price development with crude oil is similar to exchange rates. Anyone having a national or international function who expresses an opinion on this subject can trigger a new price escalation or a new price decrease. For that reason I would prefer for now to reserve further comment. We must continue to watch the political situation very carefully and perceive as early as possible what consequences are taking shape for the volume and price structure on the international oil market.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Aside from the conflict on the Persian Gulf there is calm on the oil front. The creation of the crisis mechanism of the IEA has been completed. Actually, you could sit back and relax in your desk chair in Paris.

/Steeg/ I believe that that is the wrong perception of the IEA. In actuality, the organization was founded after the first oil crisis in order to create a crisis mechanism which would enable the industrial nations to cope with similar crises without attendant drastic economic downswings. Furthermore, the IEA is not an anti-OPEC organization. The mechanism did not have to be set in motion in the second oil crisis in 1979. And in the meantime the situation on the international oil markets, with respect to both quantities and prices, has eased off up to the present. As a result of the efforts of consumer nations, energy is being used today in a significantly more economical manner, and the market situation, particularly with oil, tends rather to be characterized by an oversupply. This illustrates that the responsibilities of the IEA cover a broader spectrum. As an international agency, its job is to coordinate the national energy policies of the consumer nations. That will become a very important area of my activity in Paris. We must strive to reduce dependence on oil and to continue to break the link between energy consumption and economic growth.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Does this also include an intensification of the dialogue between the oil-consuming industrial nations and OPEC?

/Steeg/ This dialogue with the oil-producing nations is defined in the statutes of the agency. To be sure, there are many informal contacts with political personages and high-ranking officials in the OPEC countries. However, based on my experiences with the so-called North-South dialogue, with its lack of effectiveness, I feel that, for a dialogue with the oil-producing nations as well, the global dialogue route should not be chosen. The IEA is ready at any time for substantive talks. It is the concrete contacts and talks that are decisive.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ It is said, however, that you have very good contacts to the Arab countries.

/Steeg/ From my former bilateral functions, I have a whole series of contacts, relationships and associations with both oil-producing and non-oil-producing developing nations. I will certainly not let these contacts be dropped (lie dormant), but on the contrary will use them in my new capacity.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Frau Steeg, we get the impression that--like your predecessor Ulf Lantzke--you will be active as a world traveler in energy matters.

/Steeg/ I will decide how I will organize my work once I have taken up my duties in Paris--on 1 July of this year. Most assuredly, though, my work will be performed in two categories. One task will be to direct the work of the secretariat of the IEA with its approximately 120 employees. As the second task, I will definitely sound out the current interests and options among the member nations of the agency, in order to bring about a coordinated energy policy. This cannot be done by sitting at a desk. To do that one must travel to the member countries.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Precisely in the "coordinated energy policy" addressed by you, there is considerable potential for conflict. You are considered an advocate of a relatively free world trade. Do you also plan to apply these principles in your new post?

/Steeg/ I am not an advocate of a relatively free world trade but of free world trade. The fact that world trade cannot be conducted on a completely unrestricted basis at this time is due to the economic circumstances of the individual trade partners which comprise GATT, but also results from organizationally and recession-caused adaptive processes with which our industries are currently having to cope. My basic view, however, it seems to me, is not very far removed from the principles of the international energy policy. In my study of many energy documents, I have been happy to note that the basic economic direction, and the objective of resolving crisis situations largely through the mechanism of the marketplace, are in principle accepted in the energy field, which is not to be confused with laissez faire. In grave crisis situations (supply shortages or prices), which impact on the economy of the member nations in such a way that the mechanism of the market is ineffective, there is a justification for measures which make the market fully functional again. However, my basic view that the price mechanism is the decisive controlling factor in the energy market will also not change in the future. Only then can we maintain the necessary tempo in the restructuring of the energy markets and the economical use of energy.

/WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE/ Among the IEA members, there are, however, definitely varying positions, which range from crisis control via the price mechanism to the regulation of quantities and prices.

Steeg I shall strive to iron out the differences between the various interests of the members. It is not unusual in international organizations for the members to begin the discussions with very controversial positions. It is then up to the skill of the international secretariat to bring about a compromise.

12689

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## POLL SHOWS LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN SOCIALIST PARTY

Vienna PROFIL in German 9 Jul 84 pp 14-15

[Article by Josef Votzi: "As You Say Goodbye, Say Softly 'Friendship'"]

[Text] OeVP [Austrian People's Party] population experts are proclaiming the inevitable end of the red-blue coalition and are putting their money on a black-green majority.

The two OeVP opinion researchers should really know what they are talking about: "The whole thing probably took place last in a similarly dramatic fashion in 1968-1969. The administration not only lost election after election; it also gradually lost competence and confidence on all substantive topics."

The administration we are talking about here was the first and only administration that was run by the OeVP alone and it then managed to maneuver itself out of power in the spring of 1970.

The "slow farewell from power" of the red-blue coalition of the year 1984 is something which the black [conservative] soul research team of Fritz Plasser and Peter Ulram can detect from a rather fat "interim population balance sheet" (for further details, see OESTERREICHISCHE MONATSHEFTE, July-August issue), covering the first year of the administration. "Our study is based not only on the regularly detected party preferences, where the SPÖ [Austrian Socialist Party] or the OeVP alternately have a slight lead," declared Peter Ulram. The permanent low of the Sinowatz-Steger team is supposed to be much deeper right now. "The loss of confidence--and this surprised even us--extends very far into their own camp."

For instance, as far as the protestations of the administrations are concerned, there would be no other package of tax measures to follow last year's, for the rest of this legislative term: It is no surprise that 90 percent of the OeVP supporters no longer believe this recurring statement by Salcher and Sinowatz; this black [conservative] distrust is followed rather closely by 76 percent of

the SPOe supporters and 86 percent of the FPOe [Austrian Liberal (Freedom) Party] fans.

The OeVP people naturally maintain to the extent of 77 percent that the administration is simply pushing important issues and problems ahead of itself, while just about half of the SPOe people go along with this charge.

And so we come to the rather moving refrain of the old Viennese song: As You Say Goodbye, Say Softly "Friendship."

"About one out of every ten SPOe voters during the last National Council elections felt that current administration policy no longer represented him," maintain the two professional Cassandras, "and he reports an ever greater readiness to pick the OeVP during the next elections as the 'better party of employed people.'" If that is true, then a quarter of a million SPOe voters are constantly ready to switch.

The voter movement studies after the four trips to the polls during the first year of the coalition administration document that it is not only the rather changeable new middle strata which are moving out of the white-collar employee and civil service environment; more and more workers are also breaking with their many decades of unshakable voting patterns. During the last National Council elections, the SPOe lost among white-collar employees and workers at a ratio of 1:3; during the so far only--conditionally comparable--nationwide test, the Labor Chamber elections, blue-collar workers and white-collar employees dropped out almost equally. Said Peter Ulram: The penetration into the core layers of the SPOe came off faster than expected."

As far as Plasser & Ulram are concerned, some longer-lasting shifts in the climate provided the decisive impetus for the short-term low-pressure areas: In 1979, two-fifths of the Austrians agreed with the statement that the "economic crisis abroad" is the thing that threatens domestic jobs most of all; in 1984, they only accounted for one-third. During that same period of time, half of the Austrians instead of the earlier one-third agreed with the OeVP propaganda slogan to the effect that it was above all taxes and contributions that constituted the biggest burden on the economic situation. Reported Plasser & Ulram: "In contrast to what happened in the past, this time administration policy is being blamed primarily for this."

While the OeVP was successfully nibbling away at the right fringe of Socialists, a rather diffuse fourth political force--which no longer fits very well into the Right-Left pattern--proved to be far from satiated. "Although the green and alternative movement, which was organized along party lines, suffered a brief setback after its failure in the National Council election campaign," observed the party population experts, "The voter potential represented by it only partly is still present and is, so to speak, standing by, waiting for the call."

Depending upon the survey, that would show a rather considerable strength of 10-15 percent of qualified voters. This potential is also being increasingly utilized. Although still not represented in any state assembly, the Green and Alternative groups during the last three regional elections on the average came rather close to the 5-percent mark. By way of comparison, during the 1983 National Council elections, they only got a little more than 3 percent of the votes.

Among college students, for example, who are frequently used as barometer for society, preference last year was constantly distributed as follows: 47 percent for the OeVP, 27 percent for the Green-Alternative, 19 percent for the SPOe, and 3 percent for the Liberal Party.

Plasser & Ulram are warning their own party bigshots that especially the OeVP is in no way immune to the Green voter vacuum cleaner. The Blacks [conservatives], just barely ahead of Socialists, are harboring the biggest Green potential but so far, as the only established party, have not been forced to allow themselves to be pulled along to any great degree. "This is certainly to a great extent due to the fact that the OeVP is not in power," admitted OeVP public opinion researcher Ulram, "and individual factors, such as Busek in Vienna, are certainly also having a stabilizing effect here."

Here is the final passage in the farewell symphony for the red-blue administration: "The social-liberal value, interest, and voter coalition, which fashioned Austrian politics during the 1970's, is in a process of full dissolution. This erosion process is taking place in two directions: First of all, in favor of the traditional opposition party, the OeVP; and, then, in favor of the new political groups and movements."

Said Peter Ulram: "The goal of the OeVP would have to be a black-green coalition. Of course, not in the parliamentary-mathematical sense but in terms of the content of the policies being offered. A black-green majority as a counterpart to the social-liberal majority during the 1970's."

#### Who is Threatening Our Jobs

	1979	1984
The economic crisis abroad	39	36
Burden on Austrian economy due to taxes and contributions	30	47

(Figures in percent of all Austrian voters)

What Bothers You About Administration Policy?

	1983	1984	83-84
Rising unemployment	26	40	+14
Environmental pollution and destruction of natural landscapes	15	27	+12
Waste of public money	50	48	- 2
Increase in VAT and new taxes	46	47	+ 1
Am satisfied with administration as a whole	29	16	-13

(Figures in percent of all Austrian voters)

Who is Flirting with the Green-Alternatives?

Question: Can you visualize the election of a Green Party during the next National Council Elections?

All Austrians	17
First-time voters	43
20-29-year olds	32
30-34-year olds	17
45-49-year olds	11
60 years and over	8
OeVP supporters	14
SPOe supporters	13
FPOe supporters	11
No-response voters	18

(Figures in percent of particular group)

5058

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## VAN ROMPUY ON EUROELECTION, CVP POLICIES

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 27 Jan 84 p 19-25

[Interview with Christian People's Party member Eric van Rompuy by Kris Lelievre-Damit and Chris de Stoop: "Welcome to the Desert"; date and place not specified]

[Text] He no longer has a seat, no job, no wife: Eric van Rompuy, former coryphaeus of the CVP [Christian People's Party], but now once again on his way out.

In the political arena there are, in addition to winners and losers, also winners who lose: to wit, Eric van Rompuy, enfant terrible of the CVP, has bitten the dust for the second time in a row, in spite of a more than respectable score in preferential votes. No wonder that the 34-year-old fighter was almost whining in the television studios on the day after the European elections, but when we called on him several days later ("is it to bury me?"), he had recovered a good deal of his swagger. Consequently, it does not seem likely that a drifting CVP will not fish up this vote-getter again sooner or later, even if it is only for purely opportunistic reasons.

Question: Since 1977, you have incessantly made headlines with your strong statements. Was that only hot air, or did you achieve anything through it?

Answer: It is indeed noteworthy that the CVP Youth is the only youth organization being reckoned with. All the rest is fauna and flora, but we have always exercised much influence in terms of content. First of all, on a socio-economic level. Beginning in 1978, I led a war against the policy of that time which was driving our country straight to the precipice. My main theme has always been that we had to lighten the mortgage being taken out on the future of youth through rising unemployment and the burden of debt. I was the first to propose a savings plan. There had to be a change, but that wasn't possible with the socialists. My assessment is that the policy introduced by me earlier is now being pursued.

A second concrete result is that I did stimulate awareness of the EC within the CVP. I started with the campaign against the Egmont Pact, I had



the FDP [Democratic Front of Brussels Francophones] voted out of the government at the famous Heizel congress in 1980, I had the CVP accept the federalization of the large national sectors at a following congress in 1982. Perhaps the most concrete thing that we achieved was that the FDF effectively withdrew from the government 2 days after that congress. After that Heizel congress we had 52 percent of the voters in a poll, the People's Union no longer existed, but through a number of blunders since then--Cockerill-Sambre, Happart, and so on--we allowed them back in again.

A third point that I have wanted to bring into Belgian politics is that one must have a concept and must fight for it, even if it's at the expense of one's own career. It's just a little sad now that "saints" such as Ulburghs and Staes are sitting there in their cushy positions while I, who have been depicted unjustly as a go-getter and a careerist, am now like the Roman emperor Cincinnatus out of office.

Q: Is that not your fault? After all, you were His Mater's Voice for Leo Tindemans, the hard rightist course, which you defended so radically that the labor wing of the CVP is now ready to take you on?

A: That about Tindemans is a myth. We had the same policy, but we practically never had contact with each other. I've never chosen the easy course, I brought a strong message, and when that is the case, one has to clash with certain decisions, even if they come from one's own party. That has left marks behind. The breakdown in communication between me and the ACW [General Christian Workers' Union] was that I was pegged with a rightist, neoliberal label while I was simply proposing measures to put right everything that was askew. I do now see, by the way, that such a policy within the party does not stir up many tensions.

It is supported by the ACV [General Christian Labor Union], Houthuys is even called the godfather of it, the strikes were a failure. But they apparently continue to resent me for a number of things in the ACW. That is what hurts me most in politics, that sometimes they have an image of me which is in no way true, because I have done everything precisely out of social concern. Fighting for the future of youth is indeed the nicest theme you could dream of. In Zaventem, the ACW even opposed me with a splinter candidate list, and that did no one any good.

Unemployed

Q: How does it feel to lose time after time?

A: I have never suffered a personal defeat, because I have always scored well electorally, but I am the dupe for the party's failures. It's a terrible blow when you get 80,000 votes, more than those ahead of you on the list, but you still lose out. My campaign was very successful. I was still able to mobilize for many hundred of youth--and if it hadn't been for the exams, meaning that students couldn't go out and pup up posters and campaign for me, then I certainly would have crossed the 100,000 vote mark.

I feel a little better now because I'm being snowed under with expressions of sympathy. But I know that within a month the blow will really hit: no one remembers that you got 80,000 votes, they only know that you were the loser, I no longer have a seat, am no longer in any party organ, and thus can have no dealings with national politics. No one will invite me to come speak anymore, not a single journalist will be interested in what the magistrate of Zaventem has to say, I no longer have a forum. There remains only the desert, as Helmut Schmidt said, "Welcome in the desert."

Van Rompuy couldn't be a lead candidate because he would split up the voting public into proponents and opponents. Agreed, but why in God's name should I, who had gotten 65,000 votes last time as number two candidate, be put in fifth place, while everyone knew that it was a risky position? I regret that, but I took it sportingly and conducted a fierce campaign. I have now decided that I will attempt to make a comeback, preferably in the Belgian parliament.

But if I run in the 1985 national elections, then I will have to be given an electable position, I won't take part in something like this again. My fate is thus in the hands of the party, and I don't know yet what it is going to do.

They can hardly drop me like a cold fish, because then an entire generation of young people, which after all came into the party through me, threatens to split from the CVP. I have always fought for my ideas, and I must now pay the price for that; I've been saying for years that I would some day be made to disappear. It won't be easy to reorganize my life. I'm not married, and after 29 July I'll be unemployed. A head hunter has already called to offer me a job, but politics remains indeed my only passion. You only live once, and I have always dreamed of a total commitment, and for me that was politics.

Q: The CVP and PVV [Party for Freedom and Progress] are both now at a low point. Should the cabinet now draw conclusions from that?

A: Then you still have to consider that we score on the average five percent higher in European elections than in parliamentary elections. The causes are entirely national in nature. I continue to support Marten's policy, but a few blunders have indeed been committed: fiscal amnesty, the moveable advance levy, now the linear payments of two percent, without taking fully into consideration the capacity to pay, as far as I'm concerned that drove retirees to the socialists en masse. Also those demonstrations by the handicapped, you hear about that continually during the campaign: a party just can't touch that one, the handicapped, that's sacred.

Global policy is going in the right direction, but there has been waiting for so long that intervention now must be too deep. There are indeed favorable economic indicators, but that is a purely intellectual approach, no one knows what the balance of payment means, nobody reads IMF studies

to see how things stand. Nor should there be illusions that it will be possible in this legislature--thus before the end of 1985--to present tangible results to the people. A lot of good it does the 800,000 who are unemployed, together with their families, that the statistics decrease by 10,000 units, nor are the employed who have made large payments into the system convinced by a drop of a couple of percentage points in government debt. The government needs a decade, but in the meantime it has to come before the voter regularly, where that dissatisfaction then finds expression.

The only reproach to be made of the government, in addition to the fiscal amnesty blunders and so on, is that it has neglected to translate its long-term policy for the public; the system of full power has meant that one no longer took the trouble to explain to the people what was being worked on. It's a large technical operation, of which people experience the direct drawbacks, but not the indirect advantages. In my opinion, a floating mass, who voted liberal in 1981 because they promised a tax cut, has now voted socialist because they don't want any payments into the system.

Charisma

Q: Is that lack of communication not in particular the trademark of your party?

A: Yes, the opponents of the CVP do indeed work with genuine, direct communication--which is often pure political bamboozlement of the people--that is a new political given of the past few years. The CVP speaks too often still a bourgeois language, in terms that don't get the idea across, tries to present nuances to death, so that people no longer know what this party exactly stands for now. That is why my style simply did not suit the party, because I took exception to those vague, ambiguous, compromising positions. To appoint Happart or not, new money for Cockerill or no new money, to deploy missiles or not, one has to take clear positions.

Ten years ago, the CVP didn't need that, at that time it was still supreme, the opposition didn't really represent anything, De Clerq had taken to demagoguery, Claes and Schiltz were ever eager to rule, and the CVP was rather well profiled with figures like Tindemans and Martens, the first as an incarnation of an idea, the second as an excellent manager who had finally--after a little two-sided rivalry--converted that idea into policy. For me it remains a priority that CVP evolve in the direction of clearer language. I want it to still stand strong in the year 2000, and I believe that a revival is still possible, and that I can fulfill a role in that. After all, it is not possible to govern Flanders without a Christian Democratic center. We must simply adapt our style and communication, that is the greatest lesson of the elections.

Q: Is it not also a matter of a lack of charismatic figures?

A: What is that, charismatic figures? The winners, Van Miert, Happart and Nols, aren't they going to lend the European Parliament more esteem?

Everyone said that Van Miert was getting some wear on him, but he brought a clear message: strong together for peace and work. Only, he has an attendance rate of scarcely 50 percent in the European Parliament, and I've never heard him speak there about missiles or unemployment. The CVP should unmask its opponents more, if necessary by playing up to the individual.

Is Verhofstadt a charismatic figure? He is personally the cause of the liberals' severe defeat, he is too young to verbalize such radical positions so crudely, he is the incarnation of a set of ideas which simply frightens the people. Cut the fat from the state, people know that this means 100,000 government workers on the street, thus they don't vote for him. It is said that I'm jealous of him, but it's anything but that; I feel at my best as an underdog, and not as a glamor boy who has everything lavished upon him.

Or Paul Staes and his Greens? In a debate, they are shown up for what they are after 5 minutes, they have no alternatives whatsoever, but apparently that's not even expected of them. The standard of living will drop by 50 percent if you let Agalev have power for 2 years. With a company that revolves around wind energy and waste paper recycling, you can employ perhaps 5,000 people. The other parties hope to recoup that by holding an environment day or installing a Green minister, but that is a false analysis. It's a question of an anti-societal current resulting from unemployment, from the crisis of the system which offers no more perspectives.

Another such star is Andre Leysen, who in my opinion is largely a party to the defeat of the government parties, especially of the PVV, because he has associated with the liberals as a model. What he is doing is politically hazardous to his health, he is in the process of creating a socialist society through his statements, and through this he is putting a mortgage on the good policy of this cabinet. Saying that the mines must close is the best way to give the socialists an absolute majority everywhere in Limburg. That statement made a deep impression, and was more responsible for the socialist victory there than was the charisma of Jef Ulburghs. Incidentally, it is a farce that we politically tolerate someone like Ulburghs, someone who declares laconically on television that if he had to choose between his seat and his priesthood, he would opt for his seat!

Q: The socialists are now the biggest party in Belgium, the government is still only supported by a minority; does that not cause tensions in the cabinet? In the drawing up of the budget now?

A: If we draw the right lessons from these elections, and play out well Martens's trump next year, things might be completely different. We have to restore a relationship of confidence, because people are going off in all directions in the voting booth. But are we going to get the time for that? I'm not afraid of the budget, because it is already to a large extent fixed by the savings plan, and a government has never yet stumbled over a budget. The cabinet will not fall over social and economic affairs, but perhaps indeed over EC affairs. Namely Happart, who just got 250,000

votes, will bring about a serious stalemate this autumn if the decisions by the Council of States are released.

The question is whether the government will survive this through one compromise or another, that will be the moment of truth. Gol already has a bill ready to settle the whole procedure, and if he introduces it, the CVP cannot and may not talk about it. But there's no turning back for the Walloons now that Happart has such a following, nor can the CVP budge a millimeter in that area any longer. Whatever the case, this policy cannot be further pursued by again taking ship with the socialists. Martens himself said: I will never be prime minister of a Roman Catholic-Red cabinet. The day that something like that happens, I'll leave the party. Personally, I think that the time has come in fact to enter into the opposition.

12271

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## HOME RULE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO DEAL WITH NEW PROBLEMS VIEWED

## Problems From EC Withdrawal

Copenhagen WEEKENDAVISEN in Danish 6-12 Jul 84 pp 11-13

[Commentary by Victor Andersen]

[Text] On New Year's Day next year Greenland's home-rule government will take two giant steps toward independence. It is leaving the EC and taking over factory operations, fisheries, and exports from the Danish government. Is the home-rule government ready for this task? A WEEKENDAVISEN correspondent has visited the leaders of Greenland. Here he tells what is really happening behind the facade of a well-functioning home-rule government.

All license numbers in Greenland begin with the letters GR. This seems like a growl, even to those who are not avid comic book readers. Greenland has growled and grumbled for the past 20 years. On New Year's Day next year this grumbling will begin to yield major results. First of all, Greenland is leaving the EC. Secondly, Greenland will take over the production and export operations of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company, i.e. most factory production, sheep raising, trading in seal skins, and Greenland's fishing industry. Can the young North Atlantic democracy (home rule began on 1 May 1979) deal with two such large steps on the road to freedom (and perhaps into an administrative jungle) to be taken on the same day? Now, sometimes emerging countries hire outside help during their struggle for liberation--not necessarily mercenary troops, but perhaps mercenary managers and mercenary department heads. The home-rule government is clearly doing something of this kind.

Herein lies part of the answer to the question above. It has to do with the way in which the struggle for liberation has taken place so far. It has occurred primarily by the grace of Denmark or as a result of threats and demands made by Greenland, then administrative skills in Greenland probably have not kept pace with its liberation. If, on the other hand, it has occurred in a calm and understanding spirit of Danish-Greenlandic cooperation, then the Greenlandic administration probably has kept pace with events. We will now examine the situation in broad outline.

The history of modern Greenland began one day in 1948, when Hans Hedtoft, half laughing and half crying, joined the Greenlanders in the singing of Lille Peter Edderkop. Hedtoft was happy because he was a man who like ceremonies. He was sad, however, because he knew from personal experience how mistreated Greenland was from the standpoint of social benefits and healthcare. Tuberculosis was raging and the average life expectancy was 32.4 years.

Hedtoft decided that the level of social and healthcare services in the region would be raised. In addition, he made cautious inquiries among Greenlandic politicians as to whether they were open to a general Westernization of the island. As he said after the negotiations in a private conversation with K. B. Andersen, "I'll be damned if they did not go for it."

After that, the Danes began reshaping the Greenlanders in their own image.

As long as the Danes had a guilty conscience, the improvements could not come fast enough. Workmen, technicians, and administrators were sent up in droves. It never occurred to anyone that the Greenlanders should be trained to use hammers and nails in the new construction projects or to install carburetors in the many new automobiles that would be needed. First of all, there was no time for this if the spirit of Christmas giving was to be maintained. Secondly, belief in the Greenlanders' willingness to learn and in their work discipline was not the greatest among the ruling Danes. They totally ignored the fact that their definition of culture and civilization may not be the only acceptable one up here in Greenland.

The overall result of this Danish charity was that the physical well-being of this little nation advanced (the average life expectancy of Greenlandic men is now 57.2 years), while the psychological well-being declined. Many Greenlanders resented being relegated to the status of observers in their own country.

Anti-Danish sentiment erupted. A concrete issue to rally around was the relative wages of Danes and Greenlanders. In order to entice Danes to move to Greenland, they were offered higher wages than Greenlanders with the same skills. A so-called birthplace criterion was introduced to make the system work. Being born in Denmark meant high wages, while being born in Greenland meant poor wages. Of course, Greenlanders were happy in 1953 when the new constitution raised the island's status from colony to county, but the birthplace criterion managed to spoil this happiness although, in reality, it made a difference in only a few cases. With their highly developed sense of verbal imagery, the Greenlanders said that the elevation of their status in the constitution was like receiving a medal of honor made of tin.

Later, the situation became even worse. As yet another manifestation of Denmark's good will, an effort was made, based on the so-called G 60 report, to concentrate the population in four major towns in southwest Greenland, where the waters are navigable throughout the year.

The idea was that, if Greenlanders were to achieve a European standard of

living, it would be too expensive to have the population (23,000 at that time) spread over 145 towns and outposts.

Unfortunately, however, numerous families were thrown out of psychological and social balance when they exchanged their free life of hunting and fishing near Thule for a life as a factory worker in Godthaab with fixed working hours and an apartment on the third floor. Drunkenness and depression increased as a result of this collective culture shock.

Another part of this modernization policy was that the Danish language was given a higher priority in the schools. Many Greenlanders believed that, if this continued, only a skeleton of their original culture and identity would remain. One of their responses was to present the leading Dane on the G 60 Commission, Mogens Boserup, with a kayak frame with no covering.

A third Danish measure that angered Greenlanders was that Greenland was forced to become a member of the EC, although the idea was rejected in a 1972 referendum.

The youth revolt that swept through Europe during the 1960's coincided with the arrival in Greenland of a young, enlightened elite of trained teachers and university graduates. You might say that there was no shortage of propaganda material available, had they wanted to incite a revolution or liberation struggle. But the situation never developed to the point that harbors were mined, such as in Klaksvig on the Faeroe Islands in 1956. The only eggs and stones that were thrown were directed at Anker Jorgensen during a visit in 1977. But the Danes could make no mistake about it--a striving for freedom had been awakened among the Greenlandic people and, equally as important, there was a need to protest against the foolish, albeit well-meaning, treatment they had received from the great naalagaq, Denmark. This resulted in the demand for home rule in 1979 and for another referendum on EC membership in 1982.

Relations between Greenland and Denmark have been thought-provoking in every respect. The label "greedy colonial power" could never accurately be applied to Denmark. To be sure, the state deposited revenues from the cryolite mines into its treasury but, at the same time, large grants were sent to support Greenland. According to government calculations, over the entire period of 1911 to 1938 Denmark had a net profit of 7,000 kroner from Greenland. Subsequently, to assuage Denmark's guilty conscience, large Danish subsidies to Greenland became the rule. At present, they amount to about 45,000 kroner per Greenlander per year.

Although the Danish rulers were free with their money, they lacked even the most elementary understanding of how a primitive people could best adapt themselves to the new situation. Prominent Greenlandic politician Moses Olsen of the Siumut Party [moderate leftist party favoring greater local autonomy] summed up the situation as follows: "Development that does not pass through the people's own hands is not good development."



It is that simple, but neither the government, parliament, the departments of sociology, nor the commentators in the press understood what Greenland actually needed.

Only later did they come to realize that the principle of "learning by doing" would have been the only proper model in our underdeveloped region of Denmark. By then, however, it was almost too late. For too long, Greenlanders had been permitted only to stand and watch as workers from Denmark performed even the simplest tasks. There was little else for the Greenlanders to do than have a beer in the meantime. Eventually, this meant having many beers. Today Greenland has a vocational school, a navigational school, a metallurgy school, and others. Hunting and fishing families are no longer encouraged to exchange their nature paradise for a city slum. But the thirst for alcohol has taken hold of the people.

The present Greenlandic affairs minister, Tom Hoyem of the Center-Democratic Party, is one of the few Danish politicians who is not embarrassed when the misguided Danish policies are brought up. He said:

"I am not outraged by what we have done. After all, the life expectancy has increased by 1 year annually. In addition, we were not the only ones involved in population concentration. Tage Erlander had a similar program in Sweden. This is why so many Danes are able to acquire abandoned farms in Sweden today. It is true, however, that there is another side of the coin in Greenland, where drunkenness and maladjustment are commonplace."

On the other hand, the mass media have promoted a guilty conscience among the Danish parties through the years. To be sure, the communications difficulties are no longer as great as they were just after World War I when, in the spring of 1919, Greenland learned that the war had ended in November of the previous year. But there was still such a great distance between Denmark and Greenland that a Stanley-Livingston atmosphere pervaded news reports from Greenland. There often was an air of revelation in these reports and since, almost without exception, the journalists were strongly on the side of the Greenlanders, there was no doubt as to which side enjoyed the support of public opinion. There was a strong belief that, at the very least, Greenland should not be short of money. In the wake of this public opinion wave, one proposal after the other sailed unopposed through the finance committee of parliament.

As a result, it is understandable that parliament was tolerant toward the idea of Greenlandic home rule in the 1970's.

It is more remarkable, however, that the political apathy in Denmark continued, even after Greenland decided to hold a second referendum on its EC membership. To be sure, the nonsocialist parties wanted to send a white paper to the Greenlanders describing the concrete results of withdrawal from the EC. But Anker Jorgensen's government did not wish to "interfere in the internal affairs of Greenland." As a result, the People's Movement against the EC was given free reign to influence public opinion. Today, Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem does not hesitate to say that the People's Movement "seduced" Greenlanders into voting for withdrawal from the EC in February 1982.

At the same time, it is probable that the decision to withdraw from the EC helped the Greenlandic people vent their anger toward outside forces--anger that remained even after the introduction of home rule. It is possible that, if Greenland had not spent its energy in the struggle against EC membership, anti-Danish sentiment may have led to a situation similar to the one that arose in Klaksvig.

Now that the air has been cleared on the EC matter, there seems to be an overwhelming majority in Greenland that opposes severing all ties with Denmark.

The Atassut Party [centerist party favoring close ties with Denmark] is included in this group. Even such a former revolutionary as Moses Olsen of the Siumut Party said, as he opened a bottle of beer with his steel comb: "Ties between Denmark and Greenland will never be severed entirely. We will also remain in NATO. It is possible that, after the year 2,000 when the healthcare sector becomes the final administrative system to be transferred from Copenhagen to Godthaab, we could seek an arrangement similar to the one now existing between Denmark and the Faeroe Islands. But you will have to ask my daughter about that when the time comes."

Of course, Atassut and Moses Olsen do not speak for all Greenlanders but, despite receiving an increased number of votes in last month's elections (and despite being included in a governing coalition with Siumut), the anti-Danish Inuit Ataqatigiit Party [Marxist-Leninist party favoring total independence from Denmark] holds only three of the 25 seats in the Greenlandic parliament. And the Greenlandic fishmonger at the popular shop called Braedtet in Godthaab, whose parting gesture to Danish customers is to turn his back to them and pretend to pull down his pants, probably does not represent too many Greenlanders, either, although his fishermen friends loudly voice their approval.

Thus, Denmark's political contribution to the development of Greenland has been a combination of charity, a guilty conscience and, as a result, tolerance bordering on apathy.

Today a Danish member of parliament would probably be more interested in the long historic and romantic TV program on an expedition to find the remains of those who died long ago in northeastern Greenland than the brief glimpses of current problems in Greenland, broadcast by the same Danish television station.

There has been no lasting cooperation between Danish and Greenlandic politicians on the problem of how Greenland could best develop into a full-fledged democracy. There were constructive negotiations on this issue in the home-rule commission, but the negotiations were not followed up in practice. Of course, during Greenland's negotiations over its withdrawal from the EC the Danish Foreign Ministry, under the leadership of the foreign minister, used all its negotiating expertise. This was because, whatever Greenland got out of the EC from these negotiations, it would not later attempt to get from Denmark.

The real safety net under the young Greenlandic democracy during its first

test flights is something entirely different. It consists of a staff of civil servants that includes numerous Danes. Thus, the home-rule government has established an effective office for Danish affairs in Copenhagen under the leadership of Danes who negotiate with other Danes at the Greenlandic Affairs Ministry, etc.

In Godthaab there is also exemplary cooperation between the permanent staff of the home-rule government (also with a massive contingent of Danes in top positions) and the staff of the "rigsombud."

The rigsombud, as we know, is a kind of governor, although his job differs in some respects from that of the governor in Odense, for example. After all, the governor of Funen is not preparing to surrender, on behalf of the state, 70 percent of his power over the island's production and exports. This is precisely what Governor Torben Hede Pedersen and his personnel are doing, however.

Torben Hede Pedersen is facing this task in the right frame of mind. He is even advertising this fact on the outside of his shirt by wearing a Greenlandic tie. "Of course, we are working with the home-rule government as closely as possible," he said. "For example, we are administering loans to Greenlandic shipowners. It would be foolish for us to give loans for ships other than those the home-rule government will invest in next year when it takes over the production and fishing divisions of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company."

It has been reported that the governor's office, under Hede Pedersen, has become less of a government office than it is a service organization for the home-rule government. The time has passed when a county governor's wife can make a splash in Godthaab's high society by saying, "My husband was born to rule." The present governor seems more comfortable serving than ruling.

Regardless of how fine and remarkable a job these civil servants are doing, it reveals much about the degree of political maturity in Greenland that the nerve center of the system seems to be the civil servants rather than the politicians. This is true even though some politicians have made great progress. In particular, the leading government party Siumut has developed some skilled people who have gradually become able administrators. The sharpest of them, such as Moses Olsen, Lars Emil Johansen, and Jonathan Motzfeldt, were young ideological lions during the European revolt of the 1960's. Now they have become political pragmatists.

It serves no purpose, however, to conceal the fact that their success as leading figures in the home-rule government is based on a significant increase in the number of Danes in Greenlandic municipal and home-rule positions--from 7,200 to 10,800 since home rule was introduced. This is demonstrated by the want ads in the Danish newspapers. There is a constant demand for Danes to work in municipal offices and at home-rule headquarters in Godthaab.

Paradoxically, the home-rule system that was intended to strengthen the identity of the Greenlandic people has been able to function only by calling for the help of the masters from whom Greenland wanted to break away. The difference, of course, is that the former masters are now in the service of Greenland.

Perhaps most remarkable of all is the fact that, so far, Greenlandic politicians have said practically nothing about the problems that will arise next year when the home-rule government takes over the public production apparatus.

The campaign leading up to the parliamentary elections on 6 June seemed like a natural forum for such a debate. But these topics were hardly mentioned. The politicians sought refuge in more glamorous topics such as renegotiating the fishing agreement with the EC and the postponement of oil exploration in East Greenland. These two topics were certainly exhausted even before the campaign began, since Greenland cannot abrogate the EC agreement if it wants to be considered a reliable negotiating partner in the future and because Greenland actually would like very much to receive the revenues that could be generated by oil production in Jamesonland.

Among the real and pressing problems, on the other hand, is the type of industrial policy Greenland wants in the future. Under Danish control, industrial policy often has been mixed with elements of social policy. This has occurred, for example, when the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company has paid much more for seal skins than it could hope to receive on a market that has been destroyed by Brigitte Bardot. It also has occurred when fish-processing plants have employed more workers than they needed, in order to reduce unemployment. Will the home-rule government continue these policies and, if so, where will it find the money? Another concrete question is the following: will trawlers be forced to have their catches processed on land? This requirement helps workers on land, but it is more profitable for the ships and their crews if the fish are processed on board while the ships are still at sea.

These, and many more, problems have been obscured for Greenlanders in the past, since the Danish government has subsidized unprofitable enterprises. Beginning on 1 January next year, however, they should all be self-supporting. Greenlandic politics is now facing a difficult process in which everyone must learn that if someone is to be given more, then someone else will usually receive less.

At present, the Greenlandic politicians have a dream, according to which decentralization of business decisions will be a panacea that will provide profits. A holy trinity of workers, fishermen, and city council members will make decisions on the local level. Even if this system works, however, other questions will come up that must be dealt with during the transition from what can only be called state control to a modern Western European mixed economy.

One area of conflict that has already cropped up involves certain people who will manage to make enormous profits, even in this new economic system. Greenland has lived under a long succession of such magnates--usually Danes. The

Greenlanders have a custom of giving them nicknames. Helge Dohrmann was called Helge the Fair when he was acting as potentate in Sukkertoppen. During the election campaign the possibility of introducing a progressive tax system was discussed as a means of recovering some money from the profiteers. There seems to be a lack of agreement, however.

Considering the lack of political preparation for the task at hand, some have proposed postponing the takeover of production, fishing, and exports. This has already occurred at the beginning of two previous years, however, and it is believed that now is the time to act.

Nevertheless, former director of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company Jens Fynbo and others have maintained that the home-rule government should assume responsibility for all aspects of the company's activities at once, instead of the piecemeal transfer that will soon begin. Production activities will be transferred first, followed by navigation and supply responsibilities. Fynbo's advice will hardly be followed, however.

At least initially, however, the transfer of industrial responsibilities to the home-rule government probably will be similar to the transfer of cultural activities in the past. The Danish administrators will keep their old jobs at the same wages as before, although formally the political leadership will be Greenlandic.

In addition to the intricate economic and political issues the home-rule government must soon face, it also must deal with the alcohol problem. The problem is serious and widespread. Some Greenlandic politicians understand the problems intimately, when matters become too complicated or journalists' questions are too tactless.

Brugsen's store in Godthaab has become a watering hole for drunks who stand on the front steps of the shop at all hours of the day and relieve themselves in the direction of the town square. The nice Danish women in the Bikuben shop across the street have learned to see this a local color. But alcohol has a total grip on many young people. While Hans Egede's church stands empty, the Kristinemut pub next door is like a magnet. If the street is viewed from above during the Arctic twilight--which is possible, for example, from the top floor of the Hotel Gronland--the scene is reminiscent of the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Young people flock toward the Kristinemut from all directions.

Inside, in a haze of tobacco smoke, the customers consume rivers of beer at 21 kroner each and dance to blaring disco music performed by bands from Denmark. Meanwhile, a young Greenlander plops down on the floor, consumed by drink, and must be carried out. The next customer already has his foot in the door to take his place. Of course, there is little in the way of entertainment in Greenland and the identity crisis is a personal burden on everyone. But Greenland cannot continue to devote itself so totally to the consumption of alcohol as a daily form of recreation.

A home for alcoholics has been opened at a place called Asluk. The name refers to a hole in the ice where seals come up for air. The name seems to have symbolic significance. If Greenland continues to stagger around in a constant stupor, its prospects for the future will freeze over.

People in Godthaab tell the story of the legendary figure Lille Jakob. One day he went up into the mountains. A messenger returned and told his wife that Jakob was dead. The word in Greenlandic is "ugpigpok." She said, "God, what will become of the poor children?" A short time later Lille Jakob came walking back, as alive as ever, with an owl in his hand. Everyone in the neighborhood broke into laughter. This often happens in Greenland where there are many double meanings, although the language is highly developed. Curiously enough, ugpigpok can mean either "he dropped dead" or "he has caught an owl."

Certainly every friend of Greenland, and there must be many among our readers, hopes for the sake of Greenland's home-rule government that it will return home from its excursion into the serious problems of the near future with an owl in its hand--a very wise owl--ugpigpok.

#### Parties Bitter Toward Copenhagen

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 2 Jul 84 p 10

[Article: "Greenlandic Parties against Danish Demand"]

[Text] The closing debate at the Constituent Assembly of the Greenlandic parliament reflected perhaps the worst atmosphere between the home-rule government and the Danish authorities was introduced in 1979.

All three Greenlandic parties were united against the ultimatum presented by Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem in connection with the home-rule government's takeover from the Danish state of the production and export divisions of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company (KGH).

The Greenlandic affairs minister has offered to increase Danish block grants to Greenland by 62 million kroner in connection with the transfer, although he admits that the actual expenditures exceed 100 million kroner annually.

The 1978 report from the Home-Rule Commission stated that "the state shall neither decrease nor increase its expenditures during the transition to home rule. This means that state subsidies for functions that have been transferred to the home-rule government shall be based on the level of expenditures previously allocated by the state for that function."

Tom Hoyem has now informed the home-rule government that if it does not accept his offer, the KGH will simply remain under Danish control for several more years.

## Minister Stands Ground

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 2 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Michael Ehrenreich]

[Text] Greenlandic Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt will gain nothing by turning to Prime Minister Poul Schluter in connection with the Greenlandic takeover of KGH, according to Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem.

Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem will not modify the government's economic offer to the Greenlandic home-rule government in connection with the Greenlandic takeover of the production and export divisions of KGH beginning in January of next year, even though the Danish plan has met widespread opposition in Greenland.

At the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly of the Greenlandic parliament, all three Greenlandic parties were united in their opposition to Denmark's offer to increase allocations to Greenland by 71 million kroner, since the actual expenditures incurred because of the transfer would be 105 million kroner.

"But Greenland must understand that it must operate KGH under the same conditions as Denmark. Thus, it must make up the 34 million kroner difference by making cuts in expenditures," said Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem.

Tom Hoyem said he was surprised that the Greenlanders were dissatisfied, since an additional 10 million kroner had been allocated for Greenland because of changes in the composition of the population. He had also announced previously that Denmark would invest 40 million kroner in a shrimp-processing plant, out of respect for the sovereignty of the home-rule government over KGH after the transfer. Greenland would lose both these sums if the home-rule government did not take over production and exports on 1 January, as planned.

"In my opinion, there is no need to build the new plant. Eliminating it would be my first budget cut, if I were to retain responsibility after 1 January," said Tom Hoyem.

In this connection, Greenlandic Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt has said that he would sidestep the Greenlandic affairs minister and ask for a meeting with Prime Minister Poul Schluter later in the month. But that does not worry Tom Hoyem.

"It seems strange to me that Greenlandic politicians see this as my own one-man show. Of course, this plan has been discussed in detail within the government. I understand that the Greenlanders want to try every possibility, but I have the prime minister behind me and I know that Jonathan Motzfeldt will gain nothing from a meeting with Poul Schluter," said Greenlandic Affairs Minister Tom Hoyem.

## New Coalition Submits Program

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 Jun 84 p 3

[Article: "Plan for Cooperation Between Siumut and IA"]

[Text] Siumut and IA (Inuit Ataqatigiit) presented a 10-point program, which Arkaluk Lynge called the best results that could be achieved during negotiations leading to the formation of the government. The program may be summarized as follows:

1. IA and Siumut will appoint a four-member committee to make preparations for reopening negotiations on land-ownership rights. No date or year has been set for completion of the committee's work.
2. Greenlandic interests will be given the highest priority in questions of oil exploration in Jameson Land.
3. A plan will be worked out for industrial development during the next 5 years, especially in connection with marketing possibilities. The municipalities, fishermen, and production workers will be involved in the planning.
4. The EC fishing agreement will not be renewed after the first 5 years. After that time, the remainder of the quota that cannot be caught by Greenlandic fishermen will be sold to EC fishermen.
5. Greenland will have full control over the 216 million kroner the EC will pay for Greenlandic fish. Representatives from both the governing parties in Greenland will be sent to negotiate the block-grant agreements.
6. Cooperation among the North Atlantic nations shall be created in the area of fishing.
7. Price supports for sealskins will increase and work will continue to create understanding in Europe for sealers.
8. The tax laws will be revised, in consultation with the municipalities. The new rates will take effect on 1 January 1986. Discussions will be held during 1985 to determine if it will be possible to increase tax deductions for individuals.
9. The battle against unemployment will continue. The home-rule government will seek ways to establish joint ventures and similar enterprises.
10. A fund will be established to protect fishermen, sealers, and sheep farmers. The fund will provide support in case of sickness and when climatic conditions create difficulties for these workers.

The statement is signed by Jonathan Motzfeldt of Siumut and Arkaluk Lynge of IA. It is dated 18 June 1984.



## Premier on Foreign Relations

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Julut]

[Text] "We know our limitations, both political and economic. But with an open and positive dialog with Europe and our neighbors, we will be able to benefit our society," said Jonathan Motzfeldt.

"I have no doubt that the new government is prepared to accept the challenges of the future in our society with openness and a belief in cooperation that will last the next 4 years."

"We know that such cooperation is necessary, but we also know our limitations, both political and economic. But with an open and positive dialog with countries in Europe and elsewhere, we can benefit our society and our younger generation," said Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt in his first speech in parliament after being reelected.

### Detailed Program This Fall

"We do not have a clear program to present to you today on behalf of the government," Motzfeldt continued. "But in addition to the agreement between IA and Siumut, I promise that the two parties' program, which will be based in part on the 10-point statement, will be presented in detail during the opening debate of the fall session of parliament."

Jonathan Motzfeldt concluded: "I would like to congratulate the new government that has been elected. It is interesting work that awaits you. Greenland is a large and exciting country that is in a period of rapid development. At present, nature is against us. I hope, however, that we will soon see better and more fruitful times. This period of economic decline compels us all to make an extra effort."

"I would like to ask all members of parliament to help us make reasonable and correct decisions during the coming year," said Jonathan Motzfeldt.

### Nuclear-Free Zone Urged

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 Jun 84 p 20

[Article: "Greenland as Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] The Greenlandic peace movement Sorsunnata will propose that the newly elected parliament make Greenland a nuclear-free zone. This resolution was approved by the movement's general assembly in Qasigianniguit on Tuesday.

After its national congress next month, Sorsunnata will call on parliament to

resolve that under no circumstances, neither during times of peace nor in a war situation, may nuclear weapons be deployed on Greenlandic territory. A similar resolution was passed by the Faeroe Islands' parliament in Thorshavn.

The Norwegian parliament, on the other hand, refused to pass such a resolution, in order not to tie its hands during a possible future war.

During the summer, Sorsunnata will send representatives to peace rallies throughout Scandinavia. The movement recently applied to the home-rule government for funds to send representatives to a North Atlantic peace rally that will be held in Reykjavik in August. At the same time, Sorsunnata is calling on the ICC (Inuit Circumpolar Conference) to participate in this peace rally, since ICC is working to make the entire Arctic region a nuclear-free and demilitarized zone. Sorsunnata believes that Greenland should be represented, since this is to be a North Atlantic peace rally.

Sorsunnata has asked why a Nordic nuclear-free zone should end between Iceland and Greenland, as has been proposed, since Greenland should be included and be a part of this zone.

The Sorsunnata national congress this year will be held immediately following the Aasivik rally in the municipality of Qasigiannnguit. In addition, a day will be set aside at the Aasivik rally for Sorsunnata to explain its work for peace in Greenland.

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## SORSA'S TENSE RELATIONS WITH MEDIA EXAMINED

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 14 Jun 84 p 12

[Commentary by Erkki Pennanen: "The Fear Behind Sorsa's Attack on the Press: Information Society Leading Voters Away from Parties"]

[Text] Why have the Social Democrats, along with Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa, attacked the press so vehemently? It is much more than a question of election tactics or a reflection of Sorsa's attempt to stop smoking: it is a matter of a deepening sense of frustration and the imminent weakening of the positions of the political parties.

Sorsa himself expressed his fear in polemical form at the closing festivities of the party congress of the SDP [Social Democratic Party]: "Parliamentary democracy in the information society is being challenged by the infocracy, the information force." By information force he meant the press, which he described as democracy's rising power and a threat to the position of the party institution.

The stimulus for Sorsa's speech and the entire attack of the SDP party congress on the news media has been, as far as we know, the speech by Social Democratic information researcher Matti Oksanen about the diminishing influence of political parties in the information society (see HELSINGIN SANOMAT, bottom of page, 13 June).

According to the traditional view, in a parliamentary democracy the voters and the political leaders are in contact with each other specifically through the agency of the political parties. The parties are considered to bear the responsibility for drawing people into politics and for shaping election themes.

In the current information society it is no longer necessarily that way. The influence of the parties is diminishing along with the changing nature of television and the news media. The news media are more centrally involved than previously in the interaction of voters and political leaders.

According to the positive interpretation, the growth of the news media's role is suited to advancing the multilateral interaction of politicians and citizens. The Koivisto phenomenon and the rise of Mauno Koivisto to the presidency are one example of this.

## Alarming to Parties

From the viewpoint of political parties, however, this kind of development is alarming. It appears to be especially problematical for an administrator party like the current SDP. In order to protect its position the SDP has found itself making adjustments to its own profile for the benefit of the policy of mutual understanding. Along with continual compromises, its political red has turned into dull gray.

It is not a good starting point at the ballot box. For the time being the SDP has preserved its backing incredibly well, even if the 30 percent of support projected in years past seems utopian.

The opinion polls indicate rather that many Social Democratic voters may, for a change of pace, cast their ballots for the Greens, who are complete amateurs in politics, or then again for Arvo Aalto, who has become an exciting alternative on the Left.

During the previous three years the SDP's membership dropped despite the Koivisto phenomenon. Politics and party work do not interest people, especially youths. The esteem enjoyed by politics and politicians has been in sharp decline, although people say in the news media that they are interested in politics.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the SDP's leadership has come down so bitterly hard on the news media and made a scapegoat out of them.

Great nonintellectualism, avoidance of discussion of social and other problems, turning political questions into personal ones, and an utterly uncritical attitude toward its own activity are, in Sorsa's opinion, characteristic of the infocracy seen by him as a rising threat to parliamentary democracy.

## Which One Mirrors the Other?

In the opinion of many the criticism is right on target. But in the opinion of many the same criticism can also be directed at politicians and political activity.

Our political life is marked by a general lack of alternatives, the parties' unwillingness or inability to present clear-cut programmatic and functional alternatives, and a lack of interest in intellectual and social debate.

The low profile is in vogue. At most, individual politicians, not parties, can raise their profile occasionally.

Exceptions have been the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] during its period in the opposition and the Green movement, which refuses to even recognize itself as a political party. The publicity they have received has not been especially positive, but this has not decreased the voters' interest.

"A great party cannot resort to mere tricks," said party secretary Erkki Liikanen in defense of the SDP's line at the party congress. It is the administrator party problem which the SDP would like to turn into the media's problem.

Up until now presidents and prime ministers have made known the news media's responsibility mostly in connection with foreign policy. The SDP's recent charges about the role of the news media in Finnish society can be crystallized by imitating the high-level communiques of Finland and the Soviet Union:

"The news media have the important task of serving in the continual consolidation of trust and friendship between the people and the political parties by promoting this important matter conscientiously and in a businesslike manner without harming the favorable development of friendly relations between the people and the politicians."

Bypassing the party, Mauno Koivisto created his popularity in large part through the news media. As president, he has purposefully striven to dissociate himself from the news media in order to prop up the parliamentary democracy proclaimed by Sorsa against the rise of the infocracy. The president's invisibility in recent months is an indication that the infocracy in Finland is not a particularly aggressive threat to the buttresses of parliamentary democracy.

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CSO: 3617/186

## BRIEFS

CONSERVATIVES ESTABLISH GDR TIES--The Conservative Party has now expanded its relations with East Germany. The party's three-member delegation leaves after Midsummer Day on a three-day trip to the German Democratic Republic on an invitation from the local National Democratic Party. The target of the visit is the GDR's capital of Berlin. Deputy Chairman Tapani Morttinen, Representative Liisa Hilpela and Secretary for International Affairs Pasi Natri belong to the Conservative Party's delegation. The Conservative Party has previously had official contact with the socialist countries Hungary and Romania, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not yet at least established official friendly relations with the Conservative Party. On the other hand, Conservative Party youths have visited Moscow on an invitation from Soviet youths. In Moscow these trips have been characterized somewhat derisively as "political tourism." [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Jun 84 p 6] 12327

FINNISH, SOVIET YOUTH FESTIVAL--The fifth friendship festival of Finnish and Soviet youth will be organized in Finland in May of next year. A committee of Soviet youth organizations and a working group of Finnish youth organizations have come to terms on the matter. The protocol of cooperation containing the decision was signed when a Finnish delegation visited Moscow at the beginning of the week. The working group chairman Olli Mattila led the delegation. The first friendship festival was organized in Finland in 1977. After that the festival has been held at two-year intervals alternately in each country. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Jun 84 p 10] 12327

CSO: 3617/186

## CIEL DENOUNCES GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS POLICY

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Jun 84 p 25

[Text] The Intellectuals' Committee for Free Europe\* has just issued a "Freedom of Information Manifesto", which is a violent indictment of the government's communications policy, written or audiovisual. CIEL reminds us that since 1979 it has "been waging a campaign to abolish the government monopoly of radio and television"; it believes that "the present French government is putting structures in place for strengthening government control over the new media, as it has controlled the traditional media."

On the theoretical level, the Committee noted among other things: "Our history demonstrates that everything else follows from free information--democracy first of all. That initial freedom comprises all of them...A freedom that can only be exercised by state-controlled means is no longer a freedom." But, says CIEL, "the government control of information, which also existed under the previous 7-year terms, today exceeds all bounds and is literally blinding."

Among the manifesto's critical comments on legislation that has been passed (the 29 July 1982 audiovisual communications law) or is under discussion in Parliament (the law concerning openness and diversity for the written press), we find: "Local radio and television cable stations, contrary to the initial statements, are being subjected to the system of preliminary authorization, which means the government monopoly is being reestablished...Freedom of communication was confiscated as soon as it was proclaimed: television is under the supervision of the government and trade unionism, and the new media are impounded."

The bill concerning the written press proposes a special law, since it is intended to suppress a particular press group's right to do business and is augmented by a special jurisdiction, a commission that is ironically called the commission in charge of openness and diversity, and which becomes the appeals court for diversity."

CIEL proposes: a "constitutional amendment" to prevent the legislative branch of the government from "legislating freedom of information and freedom of being informed"; "the suppression of all monopolies of television stations, radio stations, the press, publicity, printing, billboards and all new media and

the technologies that serve and will serve as support for information and production"; a "rule of play that is equal for all" for publicity, government assistance, distribution of fees, the rights of personnel; that trusts and abuses of dominant positions be repressed "by the judicial authority, on the recommendation of a commission" that is independent by virtue of its make-up.

The first signatories of the text are: Florin Aftalion, Louis Arbessier, Alexandre Astruc, Jean-Marie Benoist, Roberto Benzi, Gen de Boissieu, Claudie and Jacques Broyelle, Louis Cane, Jean-Paul Carrere, Jean-Claude Casanova, Jean Cazeneuve, Pierre Chaunu, Pierre Clostermann, Michel Crouzet, Michel Crozier, Jean-Louis Curtis, Jean Davy, Catherine Deneuve, Jean-Marie Domenach, Pierre Emmanuel, Francois Fejto, Henry Frenay, Raymond Gerome, Roger Gicquel, Francois Goguel, Eric and Tania Heidsieck, Rene Huyghe, Eugene Ionesco, Lucien Israel, Alain Laurent, Jacques Lautman, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Alain Malraux, Maria Mauban, Gen Guy Mery, Jean Negroni, Philippe Nemo, Jean d'Ormesson, Andre Pieyre de Mandiargues, Olivier Poivre d'Arvor, Bruno Pradal, Micheline Presle, Jean-Francois Prevost, Alain Ravennes, Dominique Rolin, Andre Roussin, Pascal Salin, Philippe Sollers, Francois Terre, Jean-Marc Varaut, Jean-Pierre Wallez.

(This manifesto is part of the opposition's campaign for a "total" liberalization of means of communication in France. It calls for a few comments.

1. There is a contradiction, in pure "liberal" thinking, in criticizing government influence on the media while at the same time considering fiscal and postal aid to the media as normal.
2. CIEL's statements are not supported by irrefutable facts. Thus, their statements concerning the "state monopoly" of local radio stations and future cable television channels are devoid of any foundation. Just as "impounded" or "under supervision" with regard to television and new media are contrary to the observed facts. The right to do business, which is not contested by the press bill, cannot, on the other hand, be confused with a limitation on that right (antitrust-type legislation).
3. More basically, the CIEL believes that the state, that is to say the representative of the people as a whole, should not establish any control over the means of communication. This is to forget that, in this field as in all others, every person's freedom can be victimized by someone else's freedom; no system, and certainly not the wildest capitalism, can intrinsically guarantee the rights of expression and information of the citizens as a whole.

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## YOUNG COMMUNISTS SEND WORKERS TO NICARAGUA

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by Jean Santon: "School for 'Muchachos': 120 Youths Leave for Nicaragua to Build the Louis-Aragon School in 4 Months"]

[Text] On the initiative of France's Young Communists Movement, this summer 120 young people are going to build a school in Nicaragua. A gesture of solidarity with the young revolution, which is to begin Sunday with the departure of 30 youths for that country, which is being threatened by mercenaries. "We are going into action," the young people affirmed at the last JC [Young Communists] congress. In 4 months, the Louis-Aragon School will be built.

"We are going to clear the land and then, after the excavation is done, we are going to build the foundations." Marie-France Gherzi is one of the 120 young people who will be sent to Nicaragua this summer by the Communist Youth Movement, to build a school complex there.

One hundred km from the capital, Managua, the three villages of Mayor, Ceiba and Ilena are awaiting the French "squad members." Where there is undergrowth now, each village will have its building entirely constructed in 4 months.

The complex will be called "Louis-Aragon" and the French and Nicaraguan flags will fly side by side from its peak.

Marie-France is not accustomed to handling a pick and shovel. "We are not going on vacation. We will make a material contribution to show our solidarity with the young revolution." She will stay there a month before handing over to a new team.

Food and lodging will be provided by the inhabitants, but the JC is taking on all the expenses of the trip, the stay in Nicaragua and the building materials. Since its congress, the movement has thrown itself into collecting the needed 110 million centimes.

The first squad of 30, which will take the plane next Sunday was introduced on Thursday in Arcueil (Val-de-Marne). To enthusiastic applause, Danilo Luadrigal,

the first secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy, explained that the site for the schools had been selected by the Planning Ministry. He called the JC's initiative "extremely moving," explaining that the Nicaraguan people had "absolutely needed a school."

Echoing him, Michel Clerguet, one of the "squad members", reminded the audience that "a people that does not know how to read cannot develop " and that 4 years ago "nearly half of all Nicaraguans were illiterate."

Education is one of the priorities of the Sandinista people's revolution. Health is another, and there too the Young Communists gave material support to Nicaragua last year. For a period of several months, Dominique Dejour, a physician and a member of the National Council of the JC, stayed in Nicaragua to provide health care and instructions.

Addressing the young squad members, Jacques Perreux, the general secretary of the JC, said among other things, "The school you are going to build will be as valuable as a military victory over the mercenaries. And I hope that when the weapons are worn out, the children will continue to occupy the place you are going to prepare for them."

Maximé Gremetz, a member of the PCF politburo, which is supporting the initiative, emphasized that "in the face of the danger of intervention, there is no more urgent task than to put up a wall of international solidarity around Nicaragua, as we did yesterday for Vietnam."

Indeed there is urgency, and in a few hours 30 young people are going to call out, on Nicaragua's soil, "Greetings, muchachos!"

8946

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## CODENE, PEACE MOVEMENT REFINE CAMPAIGN

Paris REVOLUTION in French 18 May 84 p 14

[Article by Bernard Umbrecht: "Pacifism: Neither Dead nor Red"]

[Text] Three initiatives taken at the end of last week make it possible to evaluate the situation of the peace movements in this post-Pershing period, the new quality of the discussions and the search for convergence. Although they resented, of course--how could it be otherwise?--the installation of the new American systems in Europe as a "serious failure," many variations may be introduced to change that feeling. They continue to develop and, as was brought out at the meetings of the Peace Movement, the degree of vitality cannot be limited to the number of people who take to the streets.

The question of positioning the missiles is still not settled for the Netherlands and Belgium, while the Danish Parliament has just refused to vote for the additional credits to finance NATO infrastructures. On the other hand, it is easy to see that positioning has solved absolutely nothing, having contributed no extra security but, on the contrary, having thoroughly strengthened "collective insecurity" in Europe by unleashing a new stage in the arms race. The governments favoring the installation, by the way, owe some explanation of what is going to happen now.

The peace movements are thus being driven to refine the debate. The first initiative, in chronological order, was that put forth by representatives (mostly from the SPD [West German Social Democratic Party] sphere of influence) of the West German "pacifist" movement who came to Paris to present a "memorandum to the French Left", which was meant to provoke a French-German discussion in favor of security in Europe and in favor of a "second phase of Ostpolitik and the detente policy." This was also a way of reminding that the "German question" has for several years been at the center of the debate that the right handled by causing the geopolitical mode to operate against aspirations for emancipation.

On the anecdotal level, the German initiative could be taken up by indicating that the peace movement in the FRG is confronted with an offensive by Andre Glucksmann, who has intervened. It is being presented to them as the philosophy of the French Left, glorifying nuclear arms. It is no more than fitting that they respond in the same way by demanding to be told whether or not Glucksmann is the ideologist for the French doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which is regarded very negatively on the other side of the Rhine. They are very

shocked over there by the strong French intervention in the German debate and the distrust with which de Gaulle's heirs are treating a demand for greater autonomy.

To the French intellectuals they are saying, "In the past you have reproached us for our anticommunism and anti-Sovietism; what does it mean that you are turning that criticism around today?" To reunification fantasies they retort that, for them, the question of a national German state has been bypassed by history. Although REVOLUTION is concerned over this accumulation of incomprehension, obviously our weekly does not feel insulted in the same way that others must by this address to "the" left.

The present state of the debate going on in the FRG on security in Europe and the means of attaining it justifies the necessity for a Franco-German dialogue and it is hard to see why it would be the prerogative of reserved domains. Planning security on the overall European level (and not just confined to West Europe), the German "pacifists" are proposing the idea of "contractual security" to resolve a question that has been the subject of debates, as much in the Codene symposium as in the Peace Movement meetings. In fact, every country today has its own unilateral definition of security and the balance of power. As Roger Mayer used to emphasize, the effect of this is to perpetuate the escalation of the arms race, creating, not threats that compensate for each other, but threats on top of threats.

The Codene symposium centered on a topical question: "Which defense for which Europe?" It is hardly possible to produce a summary of the discussion. For the moment, we focus on the demonstration by Dominique David of the French Institute for the Study of War: wanting to build a European defense is tantamount to claiming to have solved the problem of squaring the circle, if only because there is no strategic space common to the different countries and because the "Soviet threat" is not enough to provide coherence for it. The same problem applies to the search for alternatives to militarization and raises a series of complex questions. They are the result of the basic inequity in the situations between the various European countries with respect to their defense systems. If convergences are to be found, no impasse as to defining these disparities is possible. On the other hand, the arms question cannot be dealt with apart from the political questions. Any solution that would confirm the logic of the blocs leads to an impasse, an idea that it was possible to bring up at the Codene as well as at the Peace Movement meetings.

The policy of the right and of NATO, moreover, has never consisted of anything but confirming the division of Europe and imposing the dogmatic vision of a world divided into just two camps. It is on the basis of that kind of oversimplification that it is attempting to sabotage the president of the Republic's trip to the USSR.

The Peace Movement, which was celebrating its 35th anniversary and was pleased to have some new forces in its ranks, said it also believed that the present tendency would have to be reversed and "the logic of the blocs would have to be stopped." It also recalled the essential role played by the negotiations, emphasizing, as did Helene Langevin, that "35 years have demonstrated, failure after failure, that negotiation was made not easier but harder by the advance

search on every hand for an improvement in the balance of power with the adversary, whatever the true or presumed value of that balance."

Although it has been possible to affirm that public opinion was the acknowledged recourse for making headway on these questions, that also presupposes that it is fighting for more light on the elements of the debate and that it is appropriating them.

8946

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POLITICAL

GREECE

WESTERN COMMENT ON YUGOSLAV, BULGARIAN DISTRUST OF GREECE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Jul p 12

For the text of the above article, see JPRS-EPS-84-097 of 8 August 1984  
EAST EUROPE REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs, pp 35-37.

CSO: 2300/563

## EANIST MOVEMENT SEEN RIPE FOR PCP INFILTRATION

## Eanes 'Trial Balloon'

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 10 Jul 84 p 12

[Text] The Eanist movement which Cunhal has defended so much is ready for the miracle of being infiltrated and controlled by the PC [Communist Party], under a more subtle and useful cover than the exposed MDP/CDE [Portuguese Democratic Movement/Democratic Electoral Commission].

The new Eanist movement, promised nearly a term and a half ago, for which some of the best-known political figures in our marketplace have fought unsuccessfully since 1977, came into existence in Abrantes. For years on end, Eanes has been asked to sponsor a political movement or party, and has never done so. Even when the tone of the expectations heightened, during the third, fourth and fifth constitutional governments, the president hesitated. A year and a half into the final term, which cannot be extended, had to arrive before the president would expressly agree to start the new movement. Despite the precautions with which Belem has publicized, or influenced press organs, with the claim that the president is unaware of what is going on, and even opposes the new movement, the fact is that other sources claim that, although Eanes will not become totally identified with it, he knew in advance the plans for launching it, and gave the necessary go-ahead for it.

Herminio Martinho did not start up by chance, just as it was no coincidence that a man in whom Eanes has great confidence, Major Bernardo, was in Abrantes and is associated with the movement that has now been initiated.

Nor was it a coincidence that there has been a retrieval of individuals who had disappeared from the political scene and who have now shown up with great alacrity.

## Sa Borges, More Surprising Than Vasconcelos

One of the names which caused the most astonishment, but which does not fail to be symptomatic, is that of the former PSD [Social Democratic Party] leader, and later MSD [Social Democratic Movement] leader, Jorge Sa Borges.

Sa Borges has made a journey with an increasing shift to the left, even joining the government of Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo. The positions that he has assumed embarked upon the fellow traveler line of the Portuguese Communists; although they have always had a different, pseudo-Social Democratic quality.

His appearance in the movement is intended to combine the useful with the pleasing: the pleasing being that "affliction" of the status of a follower of the Social Democrats; and the useful being his chronic political position in the area of the leftist independents, which is rather beneficial for the Communist Party, one in which the Eanist circles have been operating in recent years.

Moreover, Sa Borges seemed more surprising than Jose Carlos de Vasconcelos or even Salgueiro Maia. Vasconcelos has always been associated with Eanism and with the naive belief that the regeneration of Portuguese political life can be achieved from Belem. As for Salgueiro Maia, his name lends itself to objective use as one of the symbols of 25 April, and hence of the military component of the civilian movement that it desired to launch.

#### A Trial Balloon for the Future

Therefore, Eanes knew in time what would take place in Abrantes. For this reason he cannot be dissociated from what would follow up until the meeting in Santarem, 90 days hence; and it may be said that all of this involved a genuine "trial balloon."

Obviously, many analysts or advisers from Belem will attempt to publicize the claim that they do not agree with this new movement, and consider it an aberrant and adventurous undertaking. But this "trial balloon" is essential for Eanes: he needs to test the political space for the creation of a new force. It has not yet been proven whether or not that space exists. He must confront the Portuguese people with the possibility that this force may sponsor a presidential candidate, something that has also not been proven yet. Through the movement, he will attempt to lure more moderate areas, with the camouflage that this is a force that has no association with the Socialist left, much less an orientation close to the PC's.

However, the movement is ready for a thousand miracles, even on the basis of its incipient structural form, to be infiltrated by the Communists and to be remote-controlled by them, under a more subtle and useful cover than an obvious MDP/CDE.

Hence, we have a trial balloon for President Eanes, launched in time for him to be able to know, 6 months hence, whether or not he has any chance of influencing the presidential elections through the new movement.

#### The Old Strategy of Two Military 'Horses'

The movement could prove very useful if the response to these questions is positive, owing to the old Eanist strategy of the two military "horses."



Eanes would wager on the left, not on Pintasilgo (who would serve as the "rabbit," such as is used in 5,000 or 10,000 meter races, to give up or fall behind at the proper time), but on a military candidate who has his support.

Hence, there would be that leftist candidate assigned to gather possible votes from the PC, from part of the Socialist electorate and from some of the so-called leftist independents; while at the same time the president is not concealing (or at least his backers are not concealing) the usefulness of finding the one who would play the otherwise unpleasant role of a military candidate to lure the right.

Obviously, there are certain prestigious military candidates who would never lend themselves to this, even if only for reasons of profile. For example, this would hold true for Lemos Ferreira or Rocha Vieira, who at present have no association with those erroneous ploys of pleasing the left, the center, the right and all quadrants.

But, clearly, this type of candidate is not the type that would benefit the Eanist strategy. For this, there is required, rather, a more graying and less obvious candidate, with an ostensibly more redundant guise, but one who would prolong Eanism for another 5 or 10 years.

#### The First Counts Will Be Taken in Santarem

These 3 months are bad for the new movement: Summer is intervening, people are starting on vacations, the Abrantes meeting was not taken very seriously, the press gave it less prominence than its promoters had expected, and radio, and television in particular, virtually ignored it.

Nevertheless, 3 months is more than enough time to find out whether the district structure is at the ready, whether there are new affiliates, or whether the new movement, which is not really a party, nor can it fail to be one, is an outright failure.

If it proves to be a failure, Eanes will simply say that he never had anything to do with it. People will not believe it, the president will attempt to proceed ahead, but then he will feel that he has little maneuvering space.

If, on the other hand, there is some success (even minimal) in this Abrantes ploy, Eanes will feel encouraged, and will try to hamper further still the work of the jeopardized "central bloc" government. And, in particular, he will start planning and putting into effect this presential strategy of adhering to the left and the right.

If this should be the case, starting in September or October we shall experience a rather complicated period, with the president reassuming a critical position that he has disguised, attacking the government and the public administration in the responsible areas related to the parliamentary majority, and attempting to stimulate, using all possible means, the two candidates who may appear on the left and the right to fulfill their historic function.

Three months from now, in Santarem, we shall see whether this ploy, which is Eanes' trial balloon, is successful. At first glance, the most obvious prediction is that it will not meet with the desired success. But, as in the case of every illogical situation in this country, it is better to wait until later to make a statement.

#### Confirming PCP Statements

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 10 Jul 84 p 8

[Text] If there were any doubts about the connections that have been mentioned between the PC and the "new political force" based on the CNARPE [Eanist Movement], the mere reading of the Communist press would suffice to dispel them.

Berating the fact that the PS [Socialist Party] leadership has advised its members against participating in the meetings which the CNARPE has been sponsoring, the newspaper asks indignantly on which statutory principle or legal provision the Socialist leaders based their entitlement to such a decision. Furthermore, it remarks, the CNARPE is "a non-partisan organization which has confined itself thus far to sponsoring debates on the national socio-political situation."

We would still like to know the reaction of the PC leadership upon learning that its members have been involved in initiatives of a "non-partisan" organization whose purpose is the creation of a "new political force" aimed at gaining the bulk of its followers from the present Cunhal forces. Obviously, we are not referring to the formation of the apparitional "Green" party, or to the accomplishments of the many small groups in which the PC "changes its garb."

Elsewhere in the brief article, O DIARIO accuses the PS, with this decision, of having denied its members "freedom to move about on national territory," asking: "For what reason must a Socialist, invited to witness a meeting of the former CNARPE, refrain from entering the room in which that meeting takes place?"

When O DIARIO cites "freedom to move about on national territory," we must agree that it is the same as talking about rope in a case of hanging. But these people do not usually have problems when it is a matter of concealing themselves. What they don't always succeed in avoiding is leaving their tail outside.

2909

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## POLL SHOWS PINTASILGO STILL AHEAD IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 13-19 Jul 84 p 14

[Text] Lurdes Pintasilgo's presidential share continues to rise, having even undergone a four-point increase during June in comparison with the 20 percent already noted during the 3 preceding months; and, should the former prime minister run against Mario Soares in a run-off election, she would probably defeat him by an eight-point difference (43-35).

The attached chart, noting the relative changes in the votes for the four presidential "candidates" that O JORNAL has been following since the beginning of the year shows that the Portuguese engineer best known in international circles increased the advantage that she already had over her leading "rivals," namely, Freitas do Amaral, Mario Soares and Mota Amaral.

Hence, at the present time and under the current circumstances, Lurdes Pintasilgo could receive nearly twice the percentage of the founder and former leader of CDS [Social Democratic Center Party], leaving at a considerable distance the current prime minister, Mario Soares, and the president of the Regional Government of the Azores, Mota Amaral.

For example, Lurdes Pintasilgo's 24 percent would be countered by 13 percent for Freitas do Amaral and 11 percent for both Mario Soares and Mota Amaral. However, either of the two Amarals would raise the respective "score" during May, whereas Soares would retain the 11 percent tallied in that month.

Among the potential candidates with fewer chances, one notes a slight rise for Firmino Miguel, who is now capable of obtaining 4 percent of the votes being contested. Mota Pinto, on the other hand, has found his chances declining, having achieved only 2 percent in contrast to 4 percent in May.

Through Marktest, O JORNAL asked the electorate what might happen if, in a run-off election, Lurdes Pintasilgo and Mario Soares found themselves face to face. Based on the results of the poll, Pintasilgo would defeat Soares by a comfortable margin, having for this purpose the votes of 44 percent of the PS [Socialist Party] electorate (the same percentage that would vote for the present prime minister), 25 percent of CDS, 12 percent of PSD [Social Democratic Party] and 93 percent of APU [United People's Alliance].

Also backing the Mario Soares hypothesis would be 44 percent of the PS electorate, 58 percent of PSD and only 4 percent of APU.

Technical Notation

This study is representative of the population on the continent with an electoral capacity (over 18 years of age), residing in localities with over 10,000 inhabitants.

During the week of 8 to 15 June, 502 individuals were interviewed in 16 localities.

The selection of the individuals to be interviewed was made using the quota method, with sex, age and region used as control variables.

The extrapolation of the results for the universe was made taking into account weighting coefficients for each region.

In processing the results, the variable mean process was used for the last 2 months; in other words, the February figures are the result of the mean of the January/February figures, the March figures are the mean of the February-March figures, etc. With this method, an attempt is made to correct possible time-lags and to lend the results greater consistency.

For the total sample, the maximum error is 4.5 percent (probability of 95 percent).

The journalistic treatment of the results is the responsibility of O JORNAL.

In an imaginary run-off election, "candidate" Lurdes Pintasilgo would beat Soares by 8 points:

Lurdes Pintasilgo: 43%  
 Mario Soares: 35%

Pintasilgo would double the backing for the other "candidates":

	Feb.	Mar	Apr	May	Jun
Lurdes Pintasilgo	18	20	20	20	24
Mario Soares	10	10	13	11	11
Freitas do Amaral	14	12	8	12	13
Mota Amaral	10	10	8	9	11

Votes of the PS electorate would be distributed equally between Soares and Lurdes Pintasilgo:

	Mean	Previous vote for Assembly of the Republic			
		PS	PSD	APU	CDS
Lurdes Pintasilgo	43	44	12	93	25

[continued from previous page]

	Mean	Previous vote for Assembly of the Republic			
		PS	PSD	APU	CDS
Mario Soares	35	44	58	4	48
Did not vote	13	4	24	1	26
No opinion	9	8	6	2	-

'Lesser' candidates: Firmino Miguel rising:

	Fermino Miguel	Salgado Zenha	Garcia dos Santos	Mota Pinto	Would not vote for anyone	No opinion
Feb	2	2	1	-	15	26
Mar	2	2	1	-	14	27
Apr	2	1	1	2	17	28
May	3	1	1	4	17	21
Jun	4	2	1	2	14	19

2909

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## INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL EANIST MOVEMENT SUPPORTER

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 14 Jul 84 p 10

[Excerpts] It is definitely not yet time to make concessions to the capital of the realm. Herminio Martinho agreed to have lunch with O EXPRESSO, but he made a point of having the meeting take place in Santarem. Hence, last Tuesday, we went to meet him on a pleasant terrace in Portas do Sol, in the Ribatejo city which has thus far been the "heart" of a new Eanist movement, finally ready to gage forces with the parties that entered the stage 10 years ago.

The Abrantes meeting which recently launched the "movement" introduced as its visible "face" this 38-year old agronomist, owner of an agricultural business and the site of a multinational firm located next to Santarem; a former militia captain who was in Africa until February 1975; a former independent councilman in the local chamber elected on the PS [Socialist Party] ticket; and representative of CNARPE [Eanist Movement] in 1980.

Half laughing and half seriously, Herminio Martinho admits that he has "some suspicion of the Lisbon political perversity," and in particular "more confidence in the ability" of people from the provinces. And the reason is simple: "The assymetry that exists in the country (between Lisbon and the rest of the country, it should be understood) is the cause, one of the causes of the crisis that we are undergoing"; just as the failure of the present political forces is due, in his opinion, "to the lack of relationship between those forces and the reality which the country represents," caused by the "great preponderance that people from the capital have over them."

## Eanes' Image

We attempted to turn the conversation to concrete areas difficult to address with vague comments. For example, what is the timing for the conversion of the movement into a political party?

Our guest is of the opinion that "the decision will have to be made before the presidential elections," because if "the materialization of the plan results from the debate that will be held, this will naturally entail a harmonious response to a presidential candidate, and that is an acquired condition."

Herminio Martinho is quite willing to describe the profile of such a candidate: It will have to be "the image that the president of the republic has at present in the eyes of the Portuguese people," in other words, "an image in which the ethical values of austerity, integrity and competence are the fundamental values."

A civilian or a member of the military? Herminio Martinho meditates carefully on the answer, and ends up expressing the view that a presidential contest between civilian candidates "would be good and desirable, and would have been possible if so many mistakes had not been made." However, he notes, "under the present conditions, this will be impossible."

He immediately repeats that it is his "personal conviction that, among the personages who have shown up in the first polling places," the potential candidates to be backed by the new party have not appeared: a delicate way of denying right now backing for Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo.

With regard to the support that the present occupant of Belem Palace will necessarily have to give publicly to the new political group, Herminio Martinho starts by saying: "During this phase of the process, General Eanes' position will depend on us, on our ability to find out what the country needs." Then, the Santarem leader admits that "the movement will not forge ahead or attain the goals that it has proposed without General Eanes' backing."

Understandably, we want to know how Ramalho Eanes is going to reconcile his institutional position as president of the republic with the materialization of such support. However, our guest confines himself to commenting that, for the present, "it is important for Eanes to continue at Belem."

Moreover, his remarks very clearly stress the notion that the fate of his movement and the fate of Eanes are and will be one and the same thing.

While the Ribatejo politician thinks that his movement "has a majoritarian calling," he admits that this goal can be attained only "with the clearcut, unequivocal support of Gen Ramalho Eanes." And he does not fail to ask us directly, "Would the Portuguese ever allow Eanes to become politically reformed in December 1985?"

#### 'A Government Which Governs Is Needed'

Herminio Martinho also admits that the more or less rapid development of the movement is also associated with "the way in which the present government behaves," a government in which he ceased to have confidence a long time ago.

But only at our great insistence does he reveal his thoughts on the political changes that are predictable during the near future.

It is the "concrete facts" themselves (for example, the behavior of the PSD [Social Democratic Party]) which, in his opinion, lead to the assumption that

the government will not last much longer, or at least "it will not last until the presidential elections of 1985." Herminio Martinho insists that they are "concrete conditions" and not "anyone's desire," although he claims that the country urgently requires "a government which governs and not a government which confines itself to administering the crisis," and which is "applying cosmetics" with "a certain number of conditions that are positive in the eyes of the public."

However (and this is essentially what we want to know), his movement "will have to be prepared to be an alternative if the government falls." This is because (and Herminio Martinho never tires of repeating it throughout the entire luncheon), one of the main reasons for the rise of his political movement is "precisely to destroy the notion that there is no alternative" to the present coalition.

He claims not to preclude the possibility of early elections being held. He even asserts his "personal conviction that there will be no elections in Portugal again without the participation" of the movement.

'It Is Not Yet Time'

Nevertheless, the question is posed inquiring the reasons for the absence, during the starting phase of the process, of virtually all the national political figures considered to be Eanists in one way or another.

Herminio Martinho smiles. He must certainly have expected this question. "We would not subject a plan for serving the country to a few national figures," he replies, adding however that his movement has not been formed in opposition to any of those figures, "not even against any party." He adds: "In September, a program will appear which is identified with the country's different regions as much as possible; and, at that time, there will be contacts with those national figures, and then it will be up to them to choose."

2909

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## DIFFERING VIEWS OF HUNGER-IN-NATION ISSUE

## Poverty Seen National Problem

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 21 Jun 84 pp 20-21

[Article by Clara Pinto Correia]

[Text] "My God, why do they exist?" wrote Raul Brandao, and that was his conclusion to the somber and damp fresco, smelling of the muddy waters of the docks and the rain in dark back streets, that he called "The Poor." It has been a long time since we talked about the poor. But now the corner of the veil has been discreetly lifted by a conference on poverty that was held in Lisbon, renewed attention by the media, and recent books. Oh yes, they exist. And how their numbers have been increasing over the past 2 years!

They exist in Sao Domingos de Rana, for example, where, behind the prosperous facade of Cascais, 4,000 people live in 900 shanties and another 4,000 are crammed into outbuildings, garages, and chicken coops with green roofs and extravagant ornamental tile on the walls, while 3,000 illegal houses have been built since 1976. To house all those people, it would be necessary to build 12,000 homes.

In Campolide in Lisbon, they are all around. Shanties are bought, sold, and rented. Recently, even parts of shanties have been rented.

They are in Pampilhosa da Serra, where there are still boys who have never seen the sea, and where the most recent survey placed the level of illiteracy at around 40 percent. There are villages that can be reached only on foot or by jeep at the end of gravel paths and ravines. "And yet people live there!" says the social worker telling about the case, and she says it with the same frightened obstinacy with which Galileo must have stamped his foot and said that all the same, the Earth does move.

They are in Setubal, that modern fable of the calamity that has settled in with a sardonic smile since the days glorified by flourishing proletarian affluence. The "barons of the south shore" are now experiencing hunger that affects over 1,000 people, unemployment that goes beyond the 7,000 "officially" unemployed, the unavailability of first-time jobs that affects more than the 10,000 who wander from place to place looking for work, and the spreading tragedy of newlyweds--now 75 percent of them--who must live with their parents.

Farther south, in Sines, peasants from all latitudes have flocked to the pipes and cranes in search of better times; 12,000 of them are now experiencing a crisis in values and principles. They have been cut off from their rural roots but are still insecure in the face of that monster with the mouth of a cement mixer which now, to top it all off, is beginning to betray them by closing doors, withholding wages, and pushing them into the arms of every kind of parallel economy, where all work is always done with no guarantees whatever. And even the old standby--which may still be available to cannery workers in Matosinhos or glassworkers in Marina Grande--is no longer open to them: here there are no vegetable gardens around the houses where one can grow at least a minimum of vegetables for food. You can't grow lettuce in asphalt.

#### Sad Fate

All those scenes were put on parade at the conference on "Economic Crisis and Poverty," which various institutions ranging from Caritas to the Red Cross and UNICEF sponsored in Lisbon to bring everything into the light of day. Social workers spoke at length of heads of families, mothers, and children being arrested for stealing food, of the growing number of applications to the Social Welfare Department for help in paying utility bills or even buying groceries, of sick people who barely return home before their condition worsens and who wind up back in the hospital the following week, of how everybody has stopped taking injections because in addition to the cost of the medicine, it is also necessary to pay someone to administer it or pay the cost of getting to the nearest medical clinic, of how it is becoming commonplace to hear of the sad fate of abandoned wives, young husbands going astray, and now even young mothers leaving home with no explanation--with the result that more and more elderly people are being left with minors to take care of and finding it increasingly difficult to do so--as well as children sleeping in cars and not attending school and little 10-year-old "men" already surviving completely on their own.

Alfredo Bruto da Costa, former superintendent of the Misericordia charitable institution and minister of social affairs in the Pintasilgo government, says: "Poverty is a very old problem. The study I made in 1973 and 1974--which was even before the big crisis--showed that 40 percent of the population on the mainland and the islands was living below the poverty line. Since then, living conditions have grown considerably worse. This deterioration may have helped bring people to start talking publicly about the problem--that, along with a few political factors and the fact that poverty was becoming visible in areas where it was not usually encountered. Independently of the partisan issues, I feel that the country has awakened to reality."

#### Not Even the Illusion Remains

General indicators--such as changes in real wages and pensions and the stationary earnings per family--have not left much room for doubt concerning the deterioration of the situation. In the rural areas--especially in those places where the urban world exists only in the imagination or has only been glimpsed during a short trip down lighted streets in a truck or bus--there may still be an illusion that migrating to the city would make everything better. That

illusion no longer exists in the growing peripheries of the cities. Television series and magazine photos display a world increasingly filled with exultant beauty and playful affluence. The standard of success of life is gradually rising, while reality is collapsing at its feet. And Bruto da Costa recalls: "There is always a perception of a living standard and of living conditions that humanity considers more or less appropriate to mankind."

Luis Franca, a Dominican who is an attentive onlooker and a member of the Institute of Studies for Development, knows that in the villages, there is still the consolation provided by the oldest people, who continue to enjoy respect and an audience and have someone to listen to them. They say that this is nothing compared to the war years, when one sardine was shared among three people and people had to eat weeds. But the immediate comment is: "What have things come to if we have to take what happened during the war as the standard of comparison?"

To top it all off, as Bruto da Costa points out, the level of aspiration is now much higher, with the result that frustration today is much more violent. Especially since there was a revolution in the midst of all this and a brief view, or preview, of happy days. I don't know if you remember. And for some time, there was no more talk about the poor.

Bruto da Costa says: "There were three basic reasons for the silence. The idea prevailed for some time that economic growth was automatically going to do away with poverty and that social security would resolve the most difficult cases. That was the philosophy of the 1950's, and it is being amply contradicted in these final years of the century, although many people continue to consider it valid. Another factor in societies like the Portuguese one is fatalism--the idea that things have to be the way they are as a matter of course--and it is very strong. There is also a selfish component in our culture which makes us feel that what is at issue is not a very serious problem of social justice or a distortion of human rights. Political behavior has also made its contribution: one of the blots on the period following 25 April [1974], but one that is now losing some of its force, was that the various pressure groups were concerned with using their strength for their own benefit rather than that of those who had no way of exercising power. And the impossibility of exercising power is a situation which, more than any other, characterizes poverty."

#### Return of Industrial Revolution

In the 1960's, when Michel Herrington wrote "The Other America," he was using the only possible means of talking about the poor in a wealthy society that would have found it difficult to tolerate such a subject. In our country as well, people have fooled themselves concerning the existence of the "other Portugal," says Luis Franca. And in his opinion, regardless of what may have happened before, the thing that has laid everything bare is the matter of unpaid wages.

"I recently attended a nationwide meeting with priests who live in working-class surroundings in Santo Tirso, Lourosa, Lavradio, and Unhais da Serra. They

all brought up the question of unpaid wages, a problem that no longer exists just in the south. In Lourosa, there are firms that have not paid their employees for 15 months. But at the same time, new firms with better technology are springing up alongside them. Those new firms are much more profitable than the old ones--and it turns out that their owners are the same people who have stopped paying their employees next door! This procedure is spreading alarmingly. Control by government authorities does not exist. People are working overtime, and on Saturdays they work until 5 pm, but all at straight time rates. The worst thing is that the employment of children as young as 12 years old has started to reappear!"

Alongside all this, those prospering from the escalation of "anything goes" are settling down in luxury and comfort. It is a situation in which shame disappears and the scenario of the inequalities and sufferings of the industrial revolution returns at a gallop. Poverty is inequality, and the trend is one of a retrogression toward what we thought was confined to the days of Charlie Chaplin and Steinbeck's California vineyards. "People exploit each other as much as they can, since there is no punishment for not observing labor laws and social obligations. There was more control even in the days of the New State than there is now! What is happening has the approval of the members of the government, who say that the state must not intervene in social issues."

#### Sins Crying to Heaven

The state's creed is "every man for himself," and it says so explicitly. The last link in this chain is the inertia of public officials, who do not see why it is necessary for them to function, seeing that nothing functions. "As an intervening body, the state has been the scapegoat for the past 3 years. Let it leave the field open to free enterprise--the entire field and any kind of enterprise. It is a deterioration of the very idea of the state that is at issue."

The result is as sure as the effect of the sea beating on rocks: many families in Lourosa have been eating only broth for lunch for over a year and have forgotten what meat and fish look like. The grocery stores have even stopped selling on credit, and in-laws and cousins are no longer able to help. As a precaution, bakers have started delivering bread much later because thefts of the bread hanging in sacks outside people's doors have become a reality. Luis Franca concludes: "It is a chain reaction that ends in social disintegration. Employers take money out of the firms and invest it abroad, the situation becomes general, and the sense of shame is lost. It is a matter of concerted action by the businessmen and some economists to break the backs of the workers. Nonpayment of wages is even more devastating than unemployment, because it leaves people tremendously dependent. If they leave, there is a possibility that they will never receive all the money due them, and there is no way out of the situation."

The old catechism had a list of all the sins that cry to heaven. Murder and homosexuality were on that list. And so was the inadmissible heresy of a master refusing to pay his servant.

Oh, sinners!

### Shamefaced Poverty

After the people working in large firms, those mentioned in all the stories as being drastically affected by the new poverty are the men who work in construction, which is in crisis everywhere except in illegal undertakings, and the women who work as day maids--because their employers are also feeling the pinch and have started doing their own housework instead of employing maids. Or, if they have not yet reached that stage, they are at least at the stage of postponing payment or paying only part of the wages due.

That is what happened to Maria do Ceu:

"It was I who told her that I was quitting because she had not paid me for 3 months, and I could see that she was never going to pay me. I felt bad about it because I had been there a long time. But the worst thing is that I have not been able to find another job. Here in the Odivelas and Loures area, where I have always worked, no one is looking for a maid. Some of my neighbors have already started applying for welfare to support their children and get medicine, but I haven't done that yet. I have never asked for help before, you know? It makes a certain impression when you do that, and people know that you are in need."

It is shamefaced poverty, and that makes everything more difficult. Neighbors in the same building are all going through the same difficulties, but they are ashamed to let the others know it. Each one feels that it is happening only to him and views the hard times that have knocked on his door as a personal problem. When it becomes obvious that misfortune is common to all, as is happening more and more and has long been happening in the shanties and illegal houses, it is not unusual for the reaction to be fierce selfishness.

"There is a housing cooperative that builds houses. The agreement is that whoever moves into one of the new houses will leave his shanty for someone more needy--someone living in even worse conditions. But many people tear down their shanties so that no one can ever live in them again!"

If "the joy of poverty lies in that great treasure of being able to give and be content," there are broad social areas where that joy stopped existing long ago. The inability to show solidarity is also a form of poverty, say social workers. Isabel do Carmo has still not come across that feeling in Barreiro or Setubal, where she sees patients as an endocrinologist and regularly encounters heartrending cases of poverty.

"Here, perhaps because we are in a proletarian environment that was already perfectly organized and defined, there is great solidarity. When it is learned that a firm is going to pay something, the bachelors tell the married men to

go collect their pay first, and those who have no children give priority to those who do."

#### Meat for Dogs

First it was the metallurgical workers and then the construction workers. Wages are currently in arrears at Novobra, EQUIMETAL, LISNAVE [Lisbon Shipyard], SETENAVE [Setubal Shipyard], and Parrison. Employees live under the worst kind of strain and in the worst kind of uncertainty. They occupy their workplaces with nothing to do and with the great fear that the near future may bring even lower wages, bankruptcies, and layoffs. Over the neighborhoods inhabited by satisfactorily prosperous people who have installed wall-to-wall carpets as a setting for "old-style furniture" and bought freezers and Japanese cars, there now hovers a similar specter at QUIMIGAL: it is felt in a confused way that when wages start being late here too, it will be the end. And paydays are already falling farther and farther behind.

In Isabel do Carmo's medical office, extremely serious cases of depression are appearing in women whose nerves have reached their breaking point. Because they are the ones who must administer and manage a nonexistent reserve of cash, beg for one more purchase on credit at the grocery store, and feed their children. They fill up on bread, and more than that they cannot do. They are told that their children ransack garbage cans. And there is always the shame.

Isabel do Carmo says: "Even a proletariat such as this, which dates back a long time and whose families have experienced major crises, great hunger, mass layoffs and exploitation at every level in every generation of their history, is ashamed of poverty. The dominant ideology is that of the rich, with the result that poverty is seen as a kind of sin."

Suzaninha da Mafalda says with an air of great condescension that it is not the poor--those poor things--who are at fault.

Infectious diseases are spreading, and tuberculosis is beckoning in the background all along the way. "I used to put people on a diet, telling them to eat meat, fish, vegetables, and dairy products, and they would say that it was very expensive. Now I have the feeling that they are happy because I give them prescriptions for pills to take away their appetites!"

At the butcher shops, meat is now bought for dogs. "I went to buy meat for my dogs, and the butcher asked me if it was for stewing."

#### Wealthy Have no More Money

Everyone is talking angrily about the trips taken by Mario Soares, and public events are being attended with less and less enthusiasm. It is felt that it is not just the balloon that has burst but also confidence in the existing models, the forms of traditional behavior, and the reality of the economy and of the forms of production. Isabel do Carmo says: "It is probably necessary to find a real alternative, but it would have to be a radical alternative. It is no longer enough to say that the rich should pay for the crisis, because it is

quite obvious that even the wealthy no longer have the money with which to do so!"

In Bruto da Costa's opinion, "the first condition for eradicating poverty is to recognize it as poverty. It is a national problem, and contrary to what some members of the government claim, its solutions cannot depend exclusively on the individuals concerned.

"Historically, poverty was originally viewed as something for which the poor individual himself was to blame. But in today's society, it is obvious that there must be intervention by the public authorities. We are facing a political issue in the broad sense, and it is a structural problem, not a short-term economic one."

#### Hunger Seen Demagogic Issue

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jun 84 pp 7-8

[Article by Alfredo Barreto, secretary of state to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and leader of the task force appointed to coordinate a series of emergency measures in the Setubal District]

[Text] 1. I consider it abusive and demagogic to assert that there is hunger in Portugal--and, more specifically, that there is hunger in the Setubal District. The specter of hunger is being used in some cases for the sole purpose of stirring up political and social agitation--of agitating the masses. It is not being used in its strict scientific sense--with its real meaning.

There are certainly situations of poverty and precarious economic circumstances resulting in serious need, specifically as far as food is concerned. There are undoubtedly cases of malnutrition due to the lack of one or more food items considered essential to an adequate and proper diet.

But there is no hunger or malnutrition in the overall and progressive sense that could lead to death from starvation--as some people have claimed without corroboration.

The heralds of hunger have been proclaiming it for 3 or 4 months--but they have not put forward any specific cases or presented any perfectly identifiable examples. And the truth is that 3 or 4 months of hunger would, unfortunately, be more than enough to cause a situation of tragedy and catastrophe in the country by producing tens, hundreds, or even thousands of fatal cases. Fortunately, it has not happened and is not going to happen in Portugal!

The reason is that it is not true that hunger exists in Portugal as in fact it does exist in vast areas of Africa, Latin America, or Southeast Asia--where, unfortunately, certain evangelical institutions and certain world powers (specifically the Soviet Union), despite their proselytism, influence, and power, have been unable to prevent or forestall real tragedies and catastrophes due to hunger and the progressive desertification of vast areas where human beings are dying by the thousands!

## Consumption and Growth

2. Because of this, I persist in saying that Portugal today is not a country in which, despite the crisis, a situation of generalized poverty is being experienced--much less a situation of catastrophe caused by hunger.

Portugal is a country that has achieved relatively high consumption levels over the past two decades, but those consumption levels have not been matched by levels of production, productivity, growth, modernization, and technological innovation capable of supporting them.

What this means is that the country is living increasingly beyond its means and that, for that very reason, it has wound up suffering particularly harshly from the effects of the economic crisis--which is not only national, but world-wide!

The economic crisis--and this should not be forgotten--was caused primarily by the drastic rise in petroleum prices and the drastic rise in the price of other raw materials on the international market, but also by the heedlessness of those incapable of timely planning for the country's economic development in the 1960's and 1970's.

As everyone knows, Portugal is highly dependent on other countries for both energy and food products--it is forced to import a great deal of petroleum and a great deal of food.

Some responsible individuals and organizations now crying out against the government and against the indispensable policy of containment and austerity seem to have forgotten those facts and those causes of the crisis affecting us.

They have also forgotten the tremendous effort the country has had to make to cope with and absorb the return of almost 1 million Portuguese citizens from the former colonies and their integration into the mainland.

They have also forgotten the long periods of drought that the country has experienced in recent years and their extremely serious effects on our agriculture (which was already archaic and not very productive) and, as a consequence, on our capacity for producing food. The result has been that we have had to increase our imports significantly, with a corresponding increase in the foreign debt and in domestic prices.

And they have forgotten that Portugal can no longer rely on a factor as important as emigration to offset its unemployment, since the richer countries that absorbed our emigration in the past are also struggling with serious economic crises and unemployment and cannot absorb any more immigrants. On the contrary, they are encouraging their immigrants to return to their countries of origin!

It is essential--for the country's political and social stability and for the peaceful building of our future--that such important institutions as the church, for example, and such activist organizations as Intersindical and the Communist Party, for example, be concerned not to ignore the real causes of the crisis--



and they are indeed real--and have the courage to admit publicly that this government, like any other government, cannot perform miracles or feed the citizens with homilies, ideologies, and demagogic proclamations.

#### Emergency Measures

3. The crisis in Portugal, as in many other countries in the world, has seriously affected certain sectors of industrial production that provided and still provide employment for many thousands of workers. This is true of the ship-building industry, the steel industry, and the petrochemical industry--to mention only the most obvious cases that everyone is aware of.

The Setubal District--where a good many of those industries in Portugal are concentrated--could not fail to be seriously affected by the crisis. It is known that the municipalities in this district hardest hit by the crisis are basically areas where people have settled just recently and that they are highly industrialized (Almada, Barreiro, Moita, Montijo, Seixal, Sesimbra, Setubal, and Sines, for example), but there are also a few rural zones where the economic problems are affecting the oldest inhabitants in particular.

The government recognized the need to implement a serious of emergency measures--the general outlines of which have already been announced--with the objective of dealing with the most serious situations of need in which certain sectors of the population find themselves--due to inadequate incomes caused by unemployment, underemployment, wages in arrears, and other more acute problems of an economic-social nature.

In general outline, those measures can be summed up as follows:

- a) Food support for children and the elderly when their situation of need has been established by the social security departments.
- b) Economic support for family units whose incomes have deteriorated and become inadequate for ensuring minimum dignified levels of subsistence.
- c) Support for assimilation in the field of labor, with the objective of stimulating and increasing incomes through the promotion of profitable small business.
- d) Support for preserving jobs in small and medium-sized firms which are experiencing difficulties but which are recognized as viable.
- e) The stimulation of actions for vocational training of the young in the Setubal District.
- f) The rapid--and, as far as possible, immediate--adoption by the government of measures of indisputable economic and social usefulness.

In this area, I would like to emphasize:

- a) The early call for international bids relative to the fishing port of Sesimbra (which had been scheduled for 1985).

b) Measures of a social nature concerning the system of free passes on public transportation (these will soon be announced by the Ministry of Public Services and will apply to a few zones in the Setubal District such as Seixal and Alcochete).

c) Rapid approval of the necessary credit operations for completing the bulk carriers under construction at SETENAVE (this has been made possible by joint action by the Ministry of Finance and Planning and the Ministry of Industry and Energy).

d) Financing for the construction of low-cost housing in the Setubal District.

These are obviously emergency measures that will have to be accompanied more generally by basic overall reforms in such important areas as the conversion of industry, the modernization and restructuring of state-owned enterprises, the establishment of guidelines, and the reaching of decisions concerning the Steel Plan and the National Energy Plan in particular.

The government has already made important decisions in some of those areas-- I will mention the cases of QUIMIGAL and the National Steel Mills (the Seixal unit), which were announced a few weeks ago--and is preparing, as it has announced, to hold a broad and thorough debate on the National Energy Plan (1984 version) beginning this July.

4. Through its union organizations, the Portuguese Communist Party has already challenged and rejected the emergency measures announced by the government, saying that they amount to no more than distributing "soup to the poor."

But the series of emergency measures to be implemented in the Setubal District is far from being what the PCP scornfully and disdainfully calls a program for distributing soup to the poor. One has merely to look at the emergency measures that have been announced and are being implemented to realize that this is not a matter of "soup kitchens."

In any case, it is certainly odd that the PCP should reject what it calls a distribution of soup to the poor. Because one of two things is true:

Either the PCP wants to withhold soup from the poor so that it can continue using them--the poor--as a banner in its demagogic political demands;

Or the hunger that the PCP talks so much about does not in fact exist and it is not necessary to distribute soup to the poor because nobody needs it to eat and thus survive.

#### Social Solidarity

5. In any case, I would like to emphasize that the tasks of national reconstruction and social solidarity--in an open and democratic society like ours--are not the sole responsibility (and must not be the exclusive responsibility) of the government and the state. They are also the responsibility of civil society,

the latter's associations and organizations, the economic agents, businessmen, workers, and citizens in general.

Solidarity cannot and must not be based solely on laws, rules, procedures, and plans drawn up by governments and their agents--by government departments and their bureaucracy. It must also have a voluntary dimension that is eminently social and civil. Justice cannot be exclusively legal, and social morality must not be totally absorbed by and embodied in the law. To think the opposite would be to nourish a dangerous illusion that is reflected in the tendency to view the state as a secular provider of all welfare.

An example of what has been happening in British society in recent years is particularly significant and interesting. The British have formed neighborhood associations--which are associations for mutual assistance, the mutual rendering of services, and barter at the community level. Those associations already have a total of about 6 million volunteers and even an organization for providing information on the spread of initiatives of that type. It is called the Mutual Aid Center, and it functions as a center for information about the movement's experiences. Its philosophy is simple: its members start from the principle that there are some areas in which it is better for the citizens to take care of themselves--to help each other--than to always rely on a remote, overburdened, and bureaucratic government to solve a number of their everyday problems.

The results have been highly encouraging. Precisely in a period in which the economic situation in Great Britain was worse than in any other developed European country, the growth of that form of mutual social help enabled British society to limit the shock effect of lower purchasing power in monetary terms (a decline that amounted to 30 percent in 7 years).

Those peaceful, voluntary, and active associations for mutual aid have undoubtedly constituted an important means of social defense. But in the future, they may turn into a genuine vector of social development.

In this time of crisis, it would seem important for us in Portugal to reflect on an experiment as interesting as the one in Great Britain! It would help us to eliminate for once and for all the old habit in this country--so ingrained in minds and mentalities--of expecting everything, demanding everything, and insisting on everything from governments and, especially, the state--that state which unfortunately continues to be viewed by most citizens, who paradoxically criticize it and appeal to it, as the employer-state, the patron-state, and the welfare state!

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## WEAPON SYSTEMS FOR ARMORED COMBAT TROOPS IN THE 1990's

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Jun 84 pp 46-52

[Article by Lt Gen Heinz Kasch, Bundesheer deputy chief of staff]

[Text] The West German Army possesses well-equipped armored forces with high combat effectiveness in its tank, armored infantry and armored reconnaissance units, in addition to the anti-tank units. Now the Army faces the problem of keeping existing forces up to date and to replace, where necessary, aging equipment with new weapon systems. This was the topic of a speech by the Deputy Inspector of the Army, Lt. Gen. Heinz Kasch, before the Annual Convention of the German Union for Military Engineering. This speech is presented below in slightly abbreviated form.

We are assuming that the task of the Army remains unchanged. The Army in the 1990s will have to make a viable contribution to deterrence through its evident ability to conduct an effective frontal defense.

Therefore, it is important to be able to defeat attacks on our territory quickly, severely and decisively at the border, in order to maintain the barrier between Baltic Sea and Alps in cooperation with our Allies and other branches of the Armed Forces, so that access to our land and population is denied to the enemy and so that air and naval forces can operate from their bases. Thus we create the fundamental prerequisites for a successful deployment of overseas reinforcements--provided our perseverance is sufficient.

This mission becomes more important when viewed against the background of the political requirement to enhance conventional combat effectiveness. A successful conventional defense of Central Europe is only possible by modern-equipped ground combat forces and with the participation of air forces.

#### The Threat

The threat is the maxim to which our considerations are primarily aimed. If one evaluates the threat, i.e. the potential abilities of the enemy, then the following conclusions result for the foreseeable future:

- his continuing quantitative superiority
- an increasing quality of his engineering; in some areas an equivalence in capabilities should probably be assumed

- his emphasis will continue to be placed on armored combat troops, and
- his retention of offensive warfare theories with the use of chemical and nuclear weapons as an integral component.

Overall, in any conflict on the battlefield in Central Europe, one must expect the following scenario:

- the attack of massed, helicopter-supported mechanized detachments with the goal of quickly achieving deep penetrations and breakthroughs,
- the uninterrupted continuation of operations by day and night while using the "echeloning principle" with employment of forces in terrain promoting mobile operations,
- a high concentration of artillery at thrust points, and
- strong air support.

For the Army, this means that combat against armored enemy forces is still of primary importance. In addition, increased efforts will have to be made in improving our ability to defeat enemy combat helicopters and to neutralize his artillery.

Furthermore, we will have to get used to the idea that the enemy too will have "intelligent" ammunition and continually seek to improve the survivability of his weapon systems.

The attacker will endeavor to underrun the improved effect of artillery fire against armored targets by advancing his battletank and motorized infantry detachments through covered terrain as well.

#### Technical Developments

From our own technology we do not expect any revolutionary advances, but considerable evolutionary improvements in many areas. Most weapons carriers will have only limited improvements in capabilities. The emphasis of military developments will be placed on sensors, weapons and ammunition, or on an increased fire effect. Characteristic of this is e.g. terminal-phase guided artillery ammunition, target-seeking mines and AT missile systems using the Fire and Forget principle. But in addition, an improvement in survivability of our own weapon systems must not be left out. Efforts in the development of new weapon systems are thus more than ever directed toward a weighted increase in weapons capability together with improved reliability, including also simplified operation, maintenance and repair.

#### Limits of Personnel and Funding

The available resources of personnel and finances do set limits to our planning. The pool of draftees in the 1990s will be smaller. This applies in particular to the personnel-intensive Army, whose mission and the resulting, necessary presence of our assigned brigades will not permit any drastic reduction in the scope of the army. Nonetheless, we will have to use all potentials offered by personnel-saving weapons and equipment. Our considerations must not be aimed at the maximum, but at the optimum.

The technically possible is not the goal, rather the attainable under consideration of the demands of combat, of the quantity and quality of personnel, and of the available funding.

Space and terrain form an essential criterion for evaluation. The compulsion to cover the territory in combat strips, to hold our own territory, always requires a minimum number of weapon systems and soldiers for all improvements in quality.

#### Alternative Concepts are Not Acceptable Solutions

Let me turn now to the direction of Army planning under these framework conditions. High firepower, survivability of systems, and operative mobility of our detachments are the underpinnings of a successful frontal defense. From the point of view of the dominant effect of fire, these capabilities can be attained significantly only on the basis of mechanization of Army combat effectiveness. These basic components are set in a composite with an appropriately powerful command and reconnaissance system.

But if one evaluates the alternative defense concepts for the 1990s currently in public discussion against the background of warfare at that time, then these assertions represent in our opinion, an unrealistic and thus unacceptable solution. They leave out the unalterable geography of our territory and its narrow shape, insufficiently utilize the dominating effect of technically possible, high firepower and assign too low an importance to survivability on the battlefield. Almost all alternatives leave out the fact that we are part of an alliance.

#### Firepower of Armored Combat Forces

Firepower must be composed of various weapons with different objectives and effectiveness. In combat, no "gaps in effect" may be allowed. The enemy must be offered no potential for optimizing his armor either against hollow charge or KE projectiles.

The frequent discussion of whether a cannon or rocket is better for engaging tanks, is well-known. Both weapons have their advantages and disadvantages and are necessary together. The rocket is light, recoilless, has long range, but slow flight speed, and is relatively easy to disturb. The cannon with shorter range but higher projectile velocities, higher rate of fire, reacts faster and is already today a "fire and forget" weapon. And not least, the costs have to be viewed and evaluated.

In general: Rocket weapon systems are relatively inexpensive to procure, but their ammunition is expensive. For tube weapons we find exactly the opposite cost factors.

The cost-intensive "fire and forget" requirement for AT rockets which is so favored by alternative strategists, will require an inexpensive mass production of rockets, which is not possible in the foreseeable future.

The terrain conditions with average 80% visibility in the range of 2000 m and less, speak for weapon systems with short flight times and fast cadence. They thus affect the mix of AT weapons tube/rocket. Special emphasis must be placed on investigations of the effects of so-called Dirty Battlefields on the capability of our weapon systems. These are namely: fog, dust, smoke, fires and not least, ECM. But our considerations are not yet finished here.

We know that these factors cause significant reductions in the performance of weapon systems and thus greatly affect their effectiveness.

#### The Protection Factor

Anyone who has to move on the battlefield in spite of the expected force and density of fire--and as the numerically inferior protagonist we cannot leave this out--will need appropriate protection. In this case the improvement of ballistic protection in the roof area becomes increasingly important under consideration of modern artillery ammunition coming into possessing of a potential enemy in the future. The survivability will continue to be determined by armor protection and by firepower and mobility. It should be further increased through a smaller silhouette, by camouflage in the visible and IR range, and by radar-absorption ability. It is certain that infantry cannot do without armor protection. But it is illusory to assume--for cost reasons alone--that the same level of protection can be given them as to the battletank.

#### Increased Mobility

One important strength of our command principles, of our structure and equipment, is the ability to conduct mobile combat of combined arms using the principle of mission tactics. Primarily in this manner will we compensate for the numerical superiority of a potential attacker. The expected, faster sequence of combat actions must be taken into account through the utilization of modern, effective command systems.

A stationary, rigid defense can be figured out and easily penetrated through appropriate thrusts to which we will then be unable to react flexibly. Thus, in future it will be especially important to retain our mobility and to increase it wherever possible. The technical mobility attained with the Leopard 2 battletank, is viewed as sufficient for the future as well. But whenever improvements can still be implemented on a cost-effective basis, e.g. in acceleration, they should also be implemented.

#### Two Phases of Further Development

The implementation of objectives in refinements to armored combat troops is characterized by two phases. The first phase contains an adaptation of our present weapon systems to the probable threat by increasing combat effectiveness. The second phase--from about the mid-1990s--comprises the new procurement of weapon systems for the armored combat troops.

## Increasing Combat Effectiveness

By increases in combat effectiveness, we mean initially any necessary, normally relatively low-cost actions to adapt to an increasing or changing threat, but also actions to keep weapons economically in service for a longer period of time. In times of short funding, increases in combat effectiveness are of particular urgency. But this must not lead to such increases going beyond the original intent and substituting for urgently needed new developments and procurements. Such a solution would not be reasonable nor economical from the viewpoint of the affected, combat soldiers.

We have performed critical investigations on this topic and have found that our armored weapon systems can probably meet the threat until the mid-1990s through increases in combat effectiveness.

This goal is to be reached by several measures, primarily among them are improvements in the:

- first shot hit probability and ammunition effect on the target,
- ballistic protection
- jamming resistance of our AT missile systems.

Again, it is important to keep existing limits in mind, so that increases in combat effectiveness will still be both technically and economically reasonable.

### Leopard 1

Regarding the Leopard 1 battletank, new vision and aiming equipment using heat imaging, and a new fire control system will improve not only its night combat effectiveness. Another advantage is attained by bringing the Leopard 1 to the level of the Leopard 2 with regard to reaction time and first-shot hit probability. Likewise, the introduction of improved types of ammunition for the 105mm onboard cannon will bring the weapon effects up to the level of the Leopard 2. Thus, through quality enhancement we will be able to compensate to a considerable degree the numerical superiority of any potential attacker. Not least, we can simplify crew training. Additional improvements, e.g. in ballistic protection, are inherently necessary and possible, but their implementation will depend on available finances.

The question of whether and how the Leopard 1 is to be equipped with a 120 mm cannon, will be intentionally left open. Before such a decision can be made, the results of the evaluation on the configuration of the "Future Soviet Tank" are needed.

Naturally, regarding the funds needed for improvement of the Leopard 1, the question arises whether they might be better spent on procuring additional Leopard 2. Here I return to the mentioned, minimum number of weapon systems needed to cover the combat strips based on terrain considerations. The procurement of a comparatively small number of additional Leopard 2--measured against the total number of Leopard 1--cannot approximately make up for the



loss in combat effectiveness which would occur through failure to increase the combat effectiveness of all Leopard 1. Such an attitude does not take into account sufficiently the threat from a quantitatively superior enemy and the law of numbers.

#### The Marder

In the investigation on combat effectiveness improvements of our APC Marder by adding on-board AC of large caliber and improving the ballistic protection, there are still questions pertaining to the time planning of these actions which will have to be answered in this year, if possible. The questions are concentrated on two problem areas:

- Will the larger caliber automatic cannon provide the needed and required performance to destroy the enemy BMP expected by the end of the 1990s at a satisfactory engagement range?
- Is the unavoidable increase in weight from improving the ballistic protection compatible with the system?

#### The Jaguar

Regarding the Jaguar 1 and 2 AT vehicles, we believe the planned increase in combat effectiveness by adding vision and aiming devices (using heat imaging) will be considerable. Only with this equipment will these systems attain full night combat capability. For the Army this means another step toward increasing AT capability and thus in compensating for the quantitative superiority of a potential aggressor.

So much for several increases in combat effectiveness to be implemented to keep our armored weapon systems up-to-date through the mid-1990s. No later than at that time will decisions have to be made on replacing armored weapon systems in service for such a long time, by new procurement.

#### Combined Arms Combat

The intellectual conceptions for weapon systems needed today have to be formulated as tactical requirements. Ten to 15 years is a long time in our fast-paced society. Decisions made today must therefore be correctable in steps and must allow alternatives in order to adapt to refinements and changing conditions. But the needed flexibility of all participants need not lead to a loss of continuity in overall planning.

The Army does not intend merely to procure successors for replaced weapon systems. The Army conducts combat with combined arms, so it needs a combination of all parts in the system of a large detachment whose effectiveness is greater than the sum of its parts. The goal is thus the refinement of armored combat troops into a subsystem in which the functions of the individual elements better supplement each other and the strengths of one weapon make up for the weaknesses of another.

The armored combat troops are being incorporated into an existing and proven concept; that of combined arms combat of a brigade capable of independent combat action as an autonomous, large unit, is coming into favor again and is being pursued vigorously. The proven, traditional command style--mission tactics--will continue to increase in importance. The concept requires large units organically containing all command, reconnaissance and weapon systems. Their dependence on superior, centralized systems should be kept as small as possible.

#### New Orientation Values

The refinement of weapon systems for armored combat troops of the 1990s should no longer be oriented to extremely high performance capabilities with regard to individual parts which often can be used only in rare cases. Rather, efforts should be aimed at achieving high performance with optimum reliability, improved time availability, simple training, low reliance on logistical capacities and lowest-possible costs.

Efforts are being made to achieve cost reductions in individual areas--e.g. in electronics--by application of new, low-cost technologies and by standardization of as many components and assemblies as possible (greatest problem: Generation time in electronics is only about five years.)

Not only from a technical and financial viewpoint, but especially for tactical reasons, the path from complex to more sophisticated weapon systems should give a greater overall effectiveness.

All this does not preclude a search for technological advances as in first-shot hit probability and ammunition effects. In other areas the present state of technology is sufficient in our opinion.

#### Leopard 3

Within the framework of armored combat forces of the 1990s, the battletank will continue to play an important, central role in our defense conception. Under consideration of the public discussion on the alleged offensive character of the battletank, please allow me to make the following point: The battletank would only be a genuine weapon of attack when the entire system--and this includes the needed, extensive logistical support--would permit long-range operations and when an offensive strategy underlay it, instead of the defensive strategy of NATO. Neither applies in this case. For the Leopard 3 battletank which is to replace the Leopard 1 in the field army at the end of the 1990s, the tactical requirement is evident. We are currently in the concept phase. We expect a battletank with a 120 mm on-board cannon whose power is viewed as satisfactory beyond the year 2000. Whether this weapon system will be an enhanced Leopard 2, a Leopard 2 chassis with a new turret, or a completely new battletank, is still an open question.

## Successor to the Marder

A significant step forward is planned in the area of the successor to the Marder APC. Our planning is aimed at unravelling the present system of combined components and instead, to introduce separate systems optimized to their primary roles. We intend to have the individual components of the armored infantry--APC with on-board automatic cannon, AT system and infantry unit--simultaneously employed in the terrain best suited for them. Thus it is assured that not all three components will have to be exposed if only one is to be employed or if only one can act. Not least, the commandability factor of a weapon system is an important reason for our planning. The intended unravelling however, cannot replace the necessary experience of the commander. This can only be assured through longer service times of commanders and by high-quality corporals.

The new weapon system of the armored infantry--which will have modern rockets and an elevated platform--promises to be an extremely effective AT weapon through its improved utilization of long ranges and multiple combat attitudes.

The mortar as a directly available steep-angle fire weapon, is to be retained by the armored infantry in the 1990s.

In the present planning stage, the question of wheeled or tracked vehicle cannot be answered. In working out tactical requirements, and above all in the concept phase, the question of wheels or tracks is examined for every weapon system. But it is considered final that besides the battletank, the vehicle used by the armored infantry for transport and combat, should be a tracked vehicle.

## MICV

The tactical requirement for the MICV is now available. The armament should be an automatic cannon to destroy the successor to the enemy BMP up to medium range, for use against soft targets, and also against aircraft. A decision on the caliber of the gun will have to be oriented toward which weapon will best perform the tasks. The intention is to have only one caliber for on-board automatic cannon in the army. The crew of ten soldiers, dismounted strength eight soldiers, is to be transported under armor protection.

The degree of protection for the MICV is a special problem. At first it is not easy to see that the battletank with three or four-man crew should have so much more effective protection than the MICV with ten soldiers. But since protection requirements of this extent are not easy to implement, an appropriate survivability of this weapon system and of its crew has been assured through appropriate tactical principles.

## Armored Anti-tank Vehicle

The "twin brother" of the MICV will be the armored AT vehicle. It is intended to ensure the AT capability of armored infantry to medium range and will operate closely together with the MICV (present in every armored infantry company).

The preparation of tactical requirements was recently begun. It is still undecided whether this weapon system will have a rocket armament or tank cannon. On this decision will depend whether it is a lighter vehicle, perhaps with wheeled chassis and two-man crew, or a heavier, tracked vehicle with three-man crew--a type of light cannon-equipped AT vehicle. The decision on armament for this vehicle will require careful weighing of advantages and disadvantages of rocket or tube weapons.

#### Anti-tank/Helicopter Defense Vehicle

This problem does not apply to the long-range AT/helicopter defense vehicle. The ranges needed for this combat vehicle can only be satisfied by a rocket system. The framework conditions of our planning have led to only one primary task being handled at a time. For this weapon system, the present tactical requirement calls for the ability to defeat helicopters as a secondary role. The intention is to perform anti-helicopter combat with the same guided missile--fire and forget--as is used for AT defense--i.e. to use the third generation AT missile system. If the performance of this missile should prove to be insufficient, then equipping with a specially developed missile for anti-helicopter action will be needed.

The significant increase in the effectiveness of this weapon system is to be achieved by modern rockets, and by equipping it with a retractable platform for sensors and weapon system. But using this technology, we double not only the engagement potentials to longer range, but also increase the potential emplacements for this system by a multiple. Thus, engagement of the AT/helicopter defense vehicle will be a much more difficult problem for an enemy than is the case today for our armored AT vehicles.

#### Self-propelled Mortar

The armored combat forces of the 1990s shall continue to have their own steep-fire component of SP mortars in the armored infantry detachments. A new SP mortar is not possible with present finances, but an increase in the combat effectiveness of the existing 120 mm SP mortar on the M-113 chassis is intended. In this case, we are considering an increase in the performance of the ammunition, increasing fragment protection, and a faster reaction time.

9280

CSO: 3620/352

## POLL FINDS WIDESPREAD YOUTH SUPPORT FOR MILITARY, PEACE GROUPS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Jun 84 p 8

[Unsigned article: "Youths Support Army and Peace Movement, Split on Civilian Service"]

[Text] The greater part of Finnish youths between 18 and 25 supports both national defense and the peace movement, according to a recent opinion poll. Finland's foreign policy and the YYA [Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance] Treaty likewise receive the backing of the majority of youths. On the other hand, opinions are divided on civilian service.

Finland's Gallup, Inc, conducted the opinion poll on commission from the planning council of national defense intelligence. Roughly 500 youths were interviewed for the poll at the beginning of May.

The defense forces are considered necessary by 81 percent of the youths. Nearly half feel that the army is poorly equipped and unable to provide for Finland's security. Fifty-seven percent of those who answered consider it too expensive. Sixty percent do not believe the defense forces reduce the possibility of war. Almost three-quarters of those who responded to the inquiry saw the peace movement as positive, and two-thirds believed it acts in the best interest of all the people. Then again, one-third considered the peace movement to be in conflict with national defense.

Belief in the administration of Finland's foreign policy has increased. In the poll now published 88 percent considered foreign policy to be well managed, whereas 77 percent arrived at a corresponding judgment in 1975.

On the other hand, support for the YYA Treaty has dropped a shade, although the bulk of those interviewed still considers the treaty favorable to Finland. Ten years ago 80 percent gave the YYA Treaty a positive grade, while 74 percent were now of that opinion.

Fear of a clash between the great powers is easing. Eighty percent of those who answered consider a clash unlikely in the course of the next year. Sixty-three percent held the same view three years ago.

The answers differed the most when the people were asked about their relationship to civilian service and conscientious objection. One-third consider conscientious objection honorable, and two-thirds are of a different opinion. A slight majority views conscientious objection as shirking and a hazard to the country's security.

Opinions on the easiness or difficulty of civilian service are nearly split down the middle--a slight majority, to be sure, finds it too easy. Then again, 51 percent consider admission to civilian service too difficult.

Young women take a noticeably more positive stand on civilian service than men of their age. Then again, young men favored increases in defense appropriations. Thirty-eight percent of the men and 23 percent of the women would support increases.

Eighty-seven percent consider civil defense necessary. On the other hand, close to 70 percent of those who answered are of the opinion that civil defense creates a false sense of security.

12327

CSO: 3617/186

## ARMED FORCES READINESS STRENGTH REDUCED IN SUMMER MONTHS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 11 Jul 84 p 5

[Articles by Erik Liden]

[Text] The Defense Staff Responds: The World Situation is Calm

The summertime readiness of the Defense Forces is low. The Defense Staff acknowledges this openly, but notes at the same time that the world situation calls for no more forces than those recommended by the Supreme Commander of the Defense Forces.

"The personnel will take their statutory leave during the summer," says staff editor Bertil Lagerwall. "This means that we must reduce the number of aircraft and ships which are in current use. At the same time, using alert lists we can quickly raise the readiness level if anything militarily unsettling happens around us."

The Defense Staff is unwilling to comment on individual readiness measures, but, in addition to the fact that the Air Force wings over the entire country have staggered leaves so that at least half of the air squadrons can fly, the Navy is also restricting its exercise activity.

One patrol boat squadron and one torpedo boat squadron are on leave, and a maximum of four submarines are available, unless other steps are taken.

#### The Air Force Helps

The Air Force can support the Navy's surveillance of the Norrland coastline by moving, for example, the Spaningsviggen [reconnaissance Viggen] to F 15 in Soederhamn.

"The costs of maintaining a high level of readiness over the entire year are very high. For just the weeks when we beefed up anti-submarine warfare at Karlskrona, the personnel costs ran into the tens of millions of krona. We must therefore take advantage of the summer and the long holidays which the other nations around the Baltic also observe."

Normally the Coastal Artillery keeps no fixed batteries manned, but it can dispatch newly trained draftees to them on short notice. Important mine stations

and bottom coils [sonar] are manned, however, in order to prevent new submarine incidents. At these units the draftees divide up the summer vacation in order to ensure that readiness will not slacken.

#### Lowest Readiness Level

The Army is on the lowest defense readiness level, and during off hours, i.e., after 1600 hours [4 pm] on weekdays and from Friday evening till Monday morning there is only an emergency force of barely 20 draftees per regiment who could react to, for example, foreign aircraft making an emergency landing. In principle, these draftees perform monitoring tasks and have a fire-fighting role to play as well, in both civilian and military contexts.

During the summer months the majority of the readiness forces are armed only with batons since weapons training is not conducted. In Stockholm only the main guard of 40 men and K 1's readiness platoon of 20 men are issued firearms. This is Sweden's first-line defense against coup.

The best known military symbols of readiness are the two Drakenplan [Dragon aircraft] which are ready to scramble at all times throughout the year at some wing, most often one in Southern Sweden. With 20 seconds' notice the pilots can taxi out onto the runway to conduct aerial identification of unknown military aircraft and warships operating near Sweden's borders. Where the Air Force stations this readiness file [pair of aircraft] is a secret. The signals, radar and other types of intelligence [SIGINT] obtained from the Defense Radio Facility, FRA, with its ships, aircraft and ground stations are also very effective.

#### Leave An Address

In order for it to be possible to contact the military personnel, all 40,000 permanent military and civilian personnel as well as 16,000 reservists have a duty to leave an address and telephone number where they can be reached if they leave their regular residence or summer residence for more than 1 day.

It is particularly emphasized that visits to foreign countries must be reported to the appropriate military authority. Reserve officers may give their employers' names for telephone number changes, etc. if the employer has current information.

#### [Second article]

#### 'Holiday Defense': 25 Percent of Full Readiness

During the summer months, Defense Forces' combat capability and readiness are reduced to 25-40 percent of the maximum strength which is available when all draftees have completed their training and all aircraft and ships are in service.

Right at this moment 53 of the Navy's 125 larger ships are manned; these include missile-carrying boats, patrol boats, PT boats, submarines, picket boats, mine-layers, mine sweepers, auxiliary mine sweepers (fishing boats) and support ships.



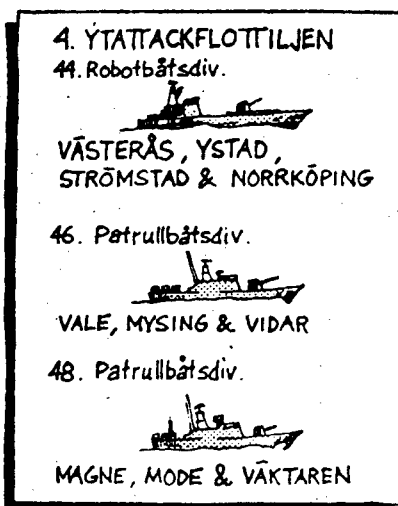
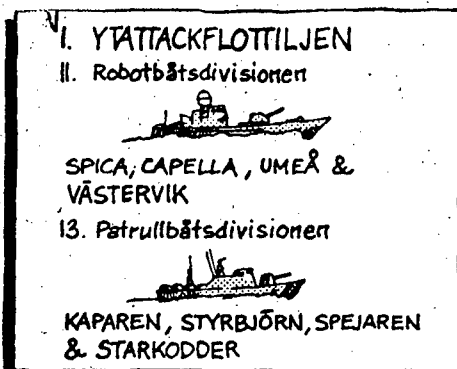
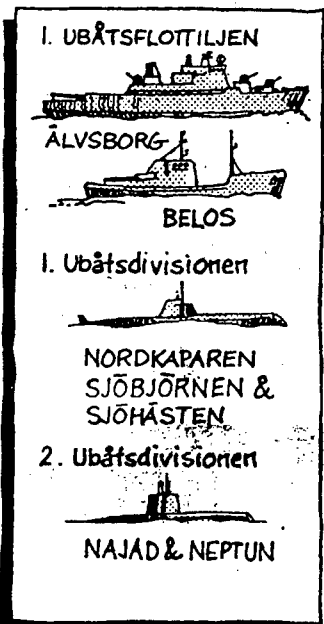
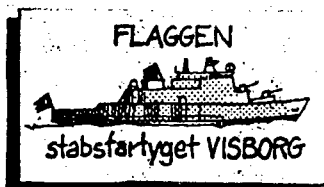
This means that they are able to leave a dock or naval base with just a few hours' notice if they are not already at sea. The other 72 vessels are in moth-balls and would take up to a week to outfit.

Of the Air Force's 450 combat aircraft, 125 are completely operational, with 75 aircraft in reserve; however, these need pilots. Two hundred fifty aircraft can be manned after an alert is declared if the pilots are recalled from leave.

Radar monitoring and command and control operate somewhat below par compared to the spring and fall, when exercise activity around our borders is at its peak.

In the summer 20,000 draftees serve in the Army and the Coastal Artillery; of them, 7,000 separate from service in August after 10-15 months' command training as commissioned and noncommissioned officers. At present, these draftee officers and NCOs can command a 40-man platoon in combat. The other 13,000 have 1-3 months' training.

At the end of August, another 11,000 draftees enter the ranks, to be followed by an additional 11,000 in October.



Key:

[First Column]

Flagship, staff ship Visborg;  
1st Training Flotilla, 112th Training Squadron, Carlskrona, Tjurkoe and Ornoe;  
1st Submarine Flotilla, Alvsborg, Belos;  
1st Submarine Squadron, Nordkaparen, Sjoebjoernen and Sjoehaesten;  
2nd Submarine Squadron, Najad and Neptun;

[Second Column]

I Surface Attack FLOTILLA, II Missile Boat Squadron, Spica, Capella, Umea and Vaestervik;  
13th Patrol Boat Squadron, Kaparen, Styrbjoern, Spejaren and Starkodder;  
6th Mine Clearing Detachment, 61st Mine Clearing Flotilla, Thule and Skafthoe  
212th Mine Sweeper Squadron, 412th Mine Sweeper Squadron, Sparoe, Aspoe, Arkoe and Naemdo, Hassloe and Styrsoe;  
614th Mine Sweeper Squadron, Gilloega, Roedloega and Svartloega;  
615th Mine Sweeper Squadron, Hisingen, Blackan and Daemman;  
616th Mine Sweeper Squadron, Viksten, Gasten, Norsten and Blackan;  
1st UDT Squadron, Styrsoe, Galten, Lommen, Spoven and M21;

[Third Column]

4th Surface Attack FLOTILLA, 44th Missile Boat Squadron, Vaesteras, Ystad, Stroemstad and Norrkoeping;  
46th Patrol Boat Squadron, Vale, Nysing and Vidar;  
48th Patrol Boat Squadron, Magne, Mode and Vaektaren;  
1st Service Squadron, Achilles and Ajax;  
3rd Service Squadron, Haegern, Pelikanen and Pingvinen.

[Caption to the preceding drawings] These are the vessels which are outfitted in peacetime in the coastal fleet. There are 110 combat and service vessels in all. The main mission of the coastal fleet is to train ship crews for Naval wartime units.

Drawing by Mikk Noodapera

CSO: 3650/255

## BRIEFS

EC COMMUNICATIONS NET LOAN--The European Investment Bank has just granted a loan of 29.3 million kroner for expansion of telecommunications in Greenland. The loan, which has a maturity of 15 years, will be used by the Ministry for Greenland Affairs for improving of radio links, telephone communications, expansion of local transmission lines and telephone exchanges, as well as for establishing of a data communications network. The project, which is budgeted at 71 million kroner, is the fourth in a series of telecommunications projects in Greenland to which the European Investment Bank has contributed. [Text] [Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 18 Jul 84 p 48]

CSO: 5500/2747

## RESTRUCTURING, NEW EXPORT MARKETS REVIVE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Jun 84 pp 69, 71

[Article: "Eliminating Deadwood. Already Given up for Dead, German Textile Industry Makes Comeback"]

[Text] Ernst-Guenter Plutte, president of the Textile Industry Association, has pricked up his ears and heard an entirely "new sound." "The woeful despair" within his branch of the economy, he said, has been overcome. "Confidence has returned," he rejoiced.

And how. The Girmes Company, located in Grefrath on the Rhein and the leading company in the textile industry, announced "pleasing profits" for 1984. Fuessener Textil noticed a "clearly more lively market." The Mehler Company of Fulda in Hesse wants to increase investments significantly. After five years of substantial losses Dierig in Augsburg will even be paying dividends soon.

Germany's textile industry, so it seems, is back. On the stock exchange, market prices for Augsburger Kammgarn, Dierig, Stoehr and Verseidag increased almost threefold within the past year and a half.

The weavers and spinners, once ravaged by depression, are now pleased to note considerable growth rates. In the first quarter of 1984, sales in this branch of industry rose by 6.5 percent over last year, production grew by 7.1 percent and orders increased by 9.5 percent. The upswing is affecting nearly all phases of the industry: fibers and threads, satin and silk, corduroy, felt, yarn and twist.

This turnabout in the fabric business is strange to say the least. For many years the German textile industry has been considered to be on its way out, having even less chance of survival than the crisis-ridden coal and steel industries. Sales were too low, costs too high and foreign competition seemingly unbeatable. As recently as two years ago the Association in a "catalog of ills" described the difficulties within this guild of keeping up with international competition.

Their loud lamenting was not entirely unfounded. Foreign suppliers were indeed flooding the domestic market with imported goods. Textile imports

have more than tripled since 1970. Today the FRG is the world's largest importer of fabrics.

In the 14 years from 1970 to 1984, 1000 out of 2400 companies closed down. A seemingly almost endless series of bankruptcies shook the textile industry; such illustrious names as Gloeggler, Nobilis and van Delden disappeared.

Wages in Germany were too high, said cloth manufacturers, bemoaning their troubles. Instead of DM19.53 per hour, the standard here in the FRG, the Japanese were working for DM13.19 and the British for DM11.96. Workers in Hong Kong were even satisfied with DM3.93 per hour. Thus, enticed, many manufacturers moved their production facilities to presumably less expensive parts of the world: Portugal and Morocco, Ireland and the Phillipines.

In Germany, the local manufacturers were not able to make many more sales. Apparently the West Germans already have enough sheets, blankets, curtains and clothes. Their closets are full. Additional demand is due almost exclusively to the dictates of fashion or, sometimes in any event, to moths.

Textile exports on the other hand became obviously more difficult. More and more countries closed off their markets in order to protect their own industries. And many nations provided substantial aid to their own companies to support them in their fight for survival.

And almost none of this has changed. Wages are still high. The British, Belgians and Italians subsidize more than ever before. Domestic sales are stagnant. In a recent poll by the Ifo Institut [Institute for Economic Research] 80 percent of retailers complained of dropping sales; one in two said business was bad.

The upswing is originating where the textile industry least expected it, outside the FRG. Companies are now able to be competitive in international trade. During the first three months of 1984 textile exports rose by 15.5 percent and foreign orders increased by 22 percent. Nearly all of the growth exhibited by spinning and weaving mills has come from outside West Germany's borders.

The Germans can be doubly thankful to the foreigners for this development because, due primarily to being "spurred on by international competition," said president Plutte, the industry has been completely reorganized in the past few years. The results are paying off now.

Because they could not keep up with high domestic wages, textile-related industries laid workers off at the factories. Outdated machines were scrapped and ultramodern automated equipment, computers and robots were ordered. The number of employees has fallen from just under 500,000 to 240,000 since 1970.

Now "the deadwood is gone and company structures are more open," rejoiced Walter Ferner, chairman of the board of Nino in Nordhorn. Whoever has "made it through the drastic measure of restructuring" like his branch of industry, said the head of Nino, "came out of it stronger and more capable."

Several firms which had moved their production facilities outside the country are now returning to the FRG. Nino, for example, closed a plant in Ireland, and Odemark, a clothing company, halted production in Tunisia.

In factories devoid of humans, differences in wages do not matter any more. Moreover, many manufacturing plants overseas proved to be located too far from the consumer centers. Fashionable goods must get to the stores quickly, but air freight is still rather expensive and moving goods by ship halfway around the world makes quick reactions to sudden changes in consumer tastes impossible.

Fabrics "Made in Germany" are again considered chic and beautiful, seldom inexpensive but usually of better quality. High quality, ready-made garments by the Bogner Company of Munich or the Swabian garment manufacturer Boss are carried in the best boutiques in Paris and New York. Many made it by having "the courage to specialize", something to which Viktor vom Baur, the head of a small mill for narrow weaving in Wuppertal, attributes his success.

At one time making hat bands in his factory was very labor-intensive. But who buys hats with hat bands these days? The owner discovered new products and therefore new markets: technical belting and banding products. And he found brand new machines which could run without human operators during the graveyard shift. "It was," said Baur reflectively, "our only chance for survival."

And perhaps even something more than that. "To a certain extent, increased competitiveness," believes association president Plutte and along with him nearly everyone in the industry, "produces its own market at the same time" but "only in foreign countries", as well as overseas.

Following a fact-finding trip to east Asia, leaders in the textile industry are now planning a coup. Said Plutte somewhat presumptuously, they want to open up the markets in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan.

12552  
CSO: 3620/366

## PROGRESS IN NINTH REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

## Funding Supports Businesses, Technology

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 2 Jul 84 pp 44-49

[Article by Claude Bunodiére and Patrick Coquide: "Regions into Which Manna from the State Goes"]

[Text] Twenty-one variations on the Ninth Plan.  
The regions have chosen two major agreements: assistance for businesses and technology.

Whew! It's done. It will take 15 months of negotiations and running back and forth -- 24 meetings in Brittany! One-hundred thousand elected officials, company officers, union officials, farmer representatives, academicians, researchers, etc. on the one hand. Thirty-three ministers, 22 regional prefects and their teams, DATAR [Delegation for Territorial Development and Regional Action] and all of the state's regional services on the other. Whipping into shape the "1,000 projects" that are supposed to blaze the trail for the Ninth Plan in the regions will begin with a general mobilization. A real pointilliste canvas signed Le Garrec in the style of Seurat.

## Ecumenism

But in return and unlike the European elections, there is a fairly exceptional consensus: Of the 20 contracts entered into since 27 February -- Lorraine will sign its in early July -- there have been abstentions like the PC [Communist Party] in Midi-Pyrenees or the PS [Socialist Party] in Pays de Loire, but no vote "against" doing so.

An ecumenical virtue of manna from the state? Or the pragmatism of elected officials once they have been restored to the concerns of their local bailiwicks? There will be only one false note, Corsica. Not for lack of money: With 1.12 billion francs for the government alone -- 4,870 francs per inhabitant, five times more than for Nord! -- the Corsican planning contract prances far ahead of all the others. But for lack of participants in the dialogue: When it came time to vote, the Corsican Assembly preferred the subtle joys of its internal quarrels to the thankless job of the planner....

There remains the essential. From the modernization of roads to the renovation of rundown neighborhoods through vocational training, research, agriculture, leisure time activities, etc., nearly 64 billion francs are going to be invested in the regions from now to 5 years from now. Four times more than the total amount of investments in the new nationalized companies last year. Or, 16 times the total amount in incentives paid to industry by DATAR between 1974 and 1980 (in 1980 francs). Not an insignificant sum, all the more so since it is only the tip of the iceberg. While the 35 billion contributed by the state have "entailed" 27 billion from the regions -- or vice versa -- the chain does not stop there. With the share contributed by the departments, municipalities and chambers of commerce, the sum total of credits will be doubled.

#### Shot in the Arm

Enough to permit more than one inhabitant of Lorraine or Auvergne to "run into" the Ninth Plan in his district or municipality. The 133 million that will serve to link the old port of Dunkirk with the new one will not go unnoticed, no more so than the 620 million devoted to the construction of a wharf for USINOR [Northern Mills] at which 250,000-ton ore-carriers can dock directly.

The shot in the arm given the backward regions or those undergoing a crisis is undeniable. The traditional priorities of regional development have not been completely forgotten, but the order of urgency has been slightly modified. The disinherited West officially comes after the North and the East and retraining before the obsession with the French desert. But, according to the Eighth Plan reports, during the last 7-year term Nord and Lorraine drained off 35 percent of the employment incentives. As much for two regions as for the five of the West and Southwest.

Asked to demonstrate audacity and imagination while bearing in mind the 12 priorities of the Ninth Plan defined at the national level, the exercise of coordinated planning -- in plain language, controlled freedom -- proposed to the regions has required quite a bit of ingenuity of the negotiators. Pressed by elected officials' passion for roads and concrete, the state has largely yielded... all the more so since it in this way made them foot part of the bill: witness, the completion of the Brittany road network plan. On the other hand, the state's choices have resulted in an uneven draw: All the regions have gotten excited over aid for skilled workers, the development of small and medium-sized industries and tourism, and almost all of them over the modernization of farms, but only 15 over energy economies, 13 over charitable institutions, 11 over universities and only one over improvement of the functioning of the justice system. The only one to respond to the wishes of Mr Robert Badinter, Languedoc-Roussillon, will devote 2 million francs to aid for victims.

#### Leitmotifs

The spectacular operations do not have a monopoly on economic relapses. Among the regions' leitmotifs, assistance for businesses wins out over all the others. Thus Champagne is devoting 20 million to advice and Franche-Comte twice that amount. In Brittany six "technical advisors" are going to pave the way for



small and medium-sized businesses to improve their technology and upgrade their innovations. This is a matter of efficacy and pertinacity; the operation will not cost much: 12 million. In time that amount could bring in a big return.

Another of the national government's key words picked up by the regions on the wing: technology. Whether it be "promotion," "competence," "excellence" or "specialties" -- this list of descriptive terms is not exhaustive -- almost all the regions have decided to create or develop technological centers. With miracle instruments to which it is a matter of attaching specific importance, like the CRITT, the "Centers for Research, Innovation and Technology Transfer." Regular "multipowered representatives of innovation," they will have the difficult job of persuading researchers to orient their efforts in terms of the needs of businesses. In Champagne, where machine industries and smelting employ half the industrial labor force, one CRITT will devote itself to new techniques for processing surfaces and another to automation, in the hosiery industry in particular. The same reaction in Lorraine for the lumber industry, in Midi-Pyrenees for the wool industry, in Montpellier for medical automation, in Limousin for the ceramics industry, etc. Among the services offered: pilot workshops where small and medium-sized industries can engage in their research or tests. Businesses that agree to play the game will receive extensive aid.

#### Identity

The fields of "time-frequency" in Franche-Comte, of "medicines" in Centre, of "meat" in Auvergne -- in their actions the regions have tried to link training, research and businesses. Thus in Besancon the CNRS [National Center for Scientific Research], the Piezo-Electric Company (a subsidiary of Thomson) and the National College for Mechanical Studies will together attempt to dream up new measuring instruments that could put more wind in the sails of the watch-making industry. Another field, but with an identical strategy, is involved in Tours, where the Institute for Medicines, located at Rabelais University, will serve as a link between the 60 or so pharmaceutical laboratories established in the region (including subsidiaries of Rhone-Poulenc, Lafarge, SANOFI [expansion unknown], etc.) and basic research. In Auvergne concern for "keeping up with the beef" runs from the training of slaughterhouse managers and staff -- a first -- to a testing platform to test new meat-cutting machines, a sector in which the German and Italian competition is formidable. For 21 million francs Clermont-Ferrand in this way hopes to become the meat capital in 5 years from now.

A paradox: The lot that has fallen to vocational training. Ile-de-France has not breathed a word about this: not a franc, not a centime. On the contrary, Nord is rushing headlong into it: "I want 10,000 microcomputers in the secondary schools, schools, associations, etc. by 5 years from now," Mr Noel Josephe, the regional president, said. A choice largely influenced by several meetings between regional elected officials and Mr Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. But one also dictated by experience.

#### Fashionable

"Boussois, which had decided to set up a modern plant at Aniche, has abandoned its project for lack of skilled labor," Mr Philippe Hemez, a former academy

inspector who put together the file, reminded us. Mr Bernard Stasi has made his choices: A third of the regional budget will go into training and a third of the planning contract as well. For good measure, the region is offering scholarships to those who would like to teach in Champagne-Ardenne and will devote 19 million to the retraining of teachers!

As concerned as they have been with employment, the regions have rarely made it a priority "per se." With few exceptions, like the computers offered the ANPE [expansion unknown] by Nord, two special panel trucks in Aquitaine and about 15 experimental studies on the reduction of working time. As a rule, to maintain employment elected officials have chosen to first of all aid businesses. One way of establishing a fashionable "mixed economy society."

Commentary by Planning Official

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 2 Jul 84 p 50

[Interview with Mr Jean Le Garrec, secretary of state to the prime minister for regional planning and development, by Claude Bunodiére and Patrick Coquide: "The Nation and the Regions, the Same Fight"; date and place not given]

[Text] LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE [LNE]: The nation has its plan. The regions have established theirs. You invented the national-regional planning contracts. What more do they contribute?

Jean Le Garrec [JLG]: I negotiated and signed them, but I didn't invent them. These contracts are the fruit of the planning reform conducted by Michel Rocard in 1982. The idea of contractualizing relations between the state and the regions was quite innovative. In light of the experience, it's really a good idea.

The regions have been induced to gradually go beyond their traditional concerns — infrastructures, roads... — to interest themselves in new areas: technological innovation, economic development, aid for businesses, etc. The decentralization law has provided them with these new jurisdictions. The planning contract exercise has stimulated elected officials to go all the way in their responsibilities.

I add that the search for funding encountered for the benefit of projects corresponding to both the wishes of the regions and the will of the state has enabled it to attain a not insignificant critical mass: over 35 billion francs in 5 years time for the state and about 40 percent of the regional investment budgets!

LNE: Haven't all the regions made more or less the same choices, in the present case those of the state? Where are the new ideas?

JLG: Your question is an indirect homage to the Ninth Plan. Do you think that the regional presidents, half of whom belong to the opposition, would have engaged in actions consistent with the priorities defined by the state if they did not correspond to realities and needs of their regions? Locally,

the degree of involvement in the Ninth Plan is considerably greater than the debate in the assembly might lead one to think.

LNE: The regions have become very unevenly involved. The state too. Why these differences?

JLG: There are three explanatory factors: the importance of the infrastructures, the involvement of the regions themselves and national solidarity with those regions badly hit by industrial changes, specifically Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Lorraine.

We've always said that the state's involvement would also depend on that of the regions. Their more or less great boldness can be sensed in the final result. But if I had to analyze the differences in behavior of the regions, I would instead distinguish between those that began to operate as of 1982 -- Provence, Auvergne -- and those that discovered how the exercise was of interest to them later, when they negotiated with the state.

LNE: Didn't certain regions succeed in bending your own choices?

JLG: Yes, Alsace, for example. In the fields of research and technology this region demonstrated a kind of drive and determination that have induced us to go farther, financially included, than we imagined we would at the start. Very well! We too have here or there accepted a bigger volume of infrastructures than planned.

In the opposite direction, I sometimes had to use my powers of persuasion to get certain regions to consider the policy of rehabilitation of rundown neighborhoods.

LNE: You're in the habit of saying that the planning contracts mark the central administrations' discovery of the microeconomy.

JLG: That's precisely what makes these contracts effective. I prepared them and I personally went into almost all of the regions. I always had a feeling they were doing a good job: aid for skilled workers in Bourgogne, the development of production in Champagne-Ardenne, vocational training in Nord, etc.; I could cite 50 examples for you.

LNE: The national government has never liked to commit itself budgetarily for a period of several years at a time. What guarantees do you have that the 35 billion francs that have been promised won't escape the ax of successive austerity programs?

JLG: Any freeze will stem from the Ninth Plan itself. For the first time priorities are being funded ministry by ministry and by budget items. The key items to be funded are known by all the regional presidents. "Discreet backslidings" will be impossible. The more people tell me that this practice

is uncomfortable for the national budget, the more I'll fight for it to be really applied. I'll do so with all the more conviction since the national policy of restoration of major balances only makes sense if it is accompanied by innovation and the creation of new wealth.

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CSO: 3519/420

## CEOE, UGT PROPOSALS FOR NEW 'SOCIAL PACT'

Madrid YA in Spanish 14 Jul 84 pp 3-4

[Article by Carmen Parra]

[Text] The meetings aimed at reaching a social consensus began yesterday as Minister of Labor and Social Security Joaquin Almunia met separately with the representatives of the Spanish Confederation of Business Organizations (CEOE) and CEPYME [expansion unknown] and those of the General Union of Workers (UGT). At these meetings, it was indicated that all parties involved are anxious to reach an agreement that would revolve around the creation of jobs. The socialist labor union even believes that a commitment can be made to establish the number of jobs to be created in 1985, through investments in conjunction with local corporations and public agencies, as well as private enterprise. It estimates that 200,000 people could be employed this way.

Yesterday's meetings, which will finish today when the minister meets with representatives of the Commissions, are aimed at familiarizing the government with the positions of the various social participants so that an agreement can be negotiated for 1985 and, if possible, for a 2-year period. The meetings are also designed to reveal what each party will bring to the bargaining table. This is a preliminary step toward the meeting called by the president of the government, which will take place next week. Judging by what was stated yesterday, it can be asserted that the government, management and the UGT are willing to reach an agreement much more ambitious and wide-ranging than the National Employment Agreement (ANE) was.

## CEOE Reticent

The CEOE was not as optimistic as the UGT. Juan Jimenez Aguilar, secretary general of the management organization, stated that "the government must express a willingness to take certain measures in its budget policy to create a favorable climate for investment and employment. Such a climate does not exist at present, and businessmen are demanding it, especially in view of this possible social pact."

Jose Maria Cuevas and Juan Jimenez Aguilar both indicated that if any agreement is reached, they want it to be known as the great pact that opens up a period of investment in Spain, and consequently of job creation. In their

view, the social consensus will make sense if one bears in mind that 1985 is the prelude to our entry into the Common Market, and that requires a series of measures in the labor sphere and in structural terms.

The CEOE has requested that before any "social pact" is signed a far-reaching discussion be held with economic policy-makers concerning budget projections, resources available for public and private investment, and other monetary and budget issues. This meeting has been accepted by the minister of labor and the secretaries of state for economics and planning, Jose Borrel and Miguel Angel Fernandez Ordonez, who were also present at yesterday's meeting, along with the economic adviser to the president of the government, Francisco Fernandez Marugan, the undersecretary of labor and the secretary general of social security. For this purpose, in the middle of next week the leaders of the CEOE will meet with Minister Miguel Boyer and other high-ranking economic officials.

With regard to the conditions necessary for the pact, the CEOE leaders pointed out that it is absolutely imperative to reach an agreement that will enable interest rates to come down, include Social Security reform, and grapple with the issue of labor market flexibility which would have a positive impact on employment.

#### Yesterday's Proposals

The proposals made yesterday by the CEOE and UGT on bargaining issues were accepted in principle by Minister Almunia. The negotiation is to include fiscal matters, the cost of money, prices, the creation of employment, hiring quotas, Social Security (which will be negotiated separately), and investment in the public and private sectors, among other points.

The only thing that cannot be reconsidered by the government is reducing the public deficit beyond the limits set forth, because that would involve throwing overboard all the sacrifices made in recent years. The negotiations are expected to proceed at an intensive pace, because the entire society is following them closely and because the general budgets must be drafted.

Minister Almunia indicated that the proposals made by these two bargaining opponents, in terms of the priority objective of orienting the efforts of the public and private sectors, have major areas of agreement. There are more differences in their specific issues. In his opinion, the CEOE places more emphasis on financial policy, interest rates and preparing the entire Spanish economy for our membership in the European Economic Community (EEC). The UGT stresses seeking concrete formulas for creating jobs, and emphasizes that wage sacrifices must yield results in the same year in terms of the generation of new jobs.

#### Wage Sacrifice

According to Jose Luis Corcuera and Jose Maria Zufiaur, the UGT wants the agreement that is to be negotiated to be more than a mere wage agreement; it wants a pact oriented primarily toward the creation of jobs and the consolidation of existing employment. It also would like to discuss the nature of the

possible loss in buying power, which should not be aimed exclusively at laid-off administrative workers, but rather a "contingency fund" should be established, to which all parties would contribute equally.

That fund would be devoted to helping laid-off administrative workers, providing unemployment insurance, promoting the creation of operative employment, allowing "soft" credit for small and medium firms, and entering agreements with INEM [expansion unknown] and other autonomous agencies that would help workers find jobs in 1985.

Although the UGT did not go into detail about these matters, it did mention issues to be discussed, such as job market policy; pricing policy, focusing on the performance of certain prices that affect buying power so that the burden can be redistributed; interest rate policy; and fiscal matters with a view to making the system more fair.

Specifically, in the fiscal area, the socialist union gave some examples: correct the penalty on family income tax returns, lower the tax rate on the lowest incomes so that the workers' burden can be redistributed, and provide exemptions for job-creating investments.

#### Shorter Work Week

With regard to an agreement for a firm commitment to create jobs, the UGT feels that it should be discussed through two mechanisms: public investment through budget allotments that serve to "motivate" the private sector, and government incentives for hiring workers in 1985 through pacts with the National Institute for the Preservation of Nature (ICONA), IRYDA [expansion unknown] or municipal governments, stipulating the number of workers to be hired on such projects. This labor union wants to avoid couching the employment commitment in terms of a mere statement of intentions, as in the ANE; it wants to establish the economic contribution that will make it possible to create such jobs.

In addition, it wants to negotiate measures to promote the hiring of youths for job experience and training, with specific commitments as to the number of individuals hired, through lowering Social Security costs and even subsidizing these jobs and permanent jobs for the unemployed between 29 and 45 years of age, similar to the program now in effect for those over 45.

The UGT feels that a methodology for reducing the work week must be discussed, along with matters related to overtime, so that the latter can be gradually eliminated and unemployed workers can be used instead. In its view, the wage sacrifices made by workers should be compensated for by giving them stock in public enterprises and giving their unions a role in powerful agencies such as the National Institute of Industry (INI), the National Hydrocarbons Institute (INH) and shares in government assets.

8926

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## SURVEY OF JANUARY-JUNE BUDGET DEFICIT

Madrid ABC in Spanish 14 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Javier Ayuso]

[Text] Madrid--The budget deficit for the period from January to June 1984 was 874.3 billion pesetas as a result of non-financial revenues totaling 1,629,300,000,000 pesetas and outlays totaling 2,503,600,000,000 pesetas. These figures, to which ABC has been privy, will be released next week by the Ministry of Economics and Finance. They reflect a deficit that is more than 100 billion pesetas higher than the government's objectives.

Government revenues and outlays for the first half of the year have resulted in a deficit 16 percent higher than was initially projected. This discrepancy has been apparent since the initial months of the fiscal year, although the Finance Ministry did manage to correct it slightly in May and June. The department under Miguel Boyer's direction is standing by its objectives for cutting the public deficit in 1984, however, as set forth in the General State Budgets. Secretary of State for Finance Borrel himself will stress that in a briefing he will present to explain budgetary developments in the first 6 months of the year. The projected deficit for this year is 1.347 trillion pesetas.

In the first 6 months of the year the government brought in 1,229,300,000,000 pesetas--18 percent more than in 1983--from various sources of revenue. Included in that amount is 625.1 billion pesetas collected in corporate taxes, 200.7 billion from the General Tax on Business Trade (ITE), and 269.5 billion from special and luxury taxes. The rest corresponds to customs and other revenues.

These income figures reflect a major downward trend. For this reason, the Ministry decided in recent weeks to take a series of measures designed to raise tax collections (reducing tax exemptions for exports, increasing audits, etc.) and to straighten out the government's revenue situation. These measures will not yield positive results until the final quarter of the year.

Non-financial payments, on the other hand, are within the government's objectives, having strayed very little from projections. Current transferences and



personnel expenditures are the highest categories of public spending within the limits set forth in the Budget.

Including other non-budgetary operations, the public deficit measured in cash terms amounted to 867 billion pesetas for the first 6 months, 100,000 pesetas higher than official projections for that period.

8926

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## UNION, POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO UNION LIBERTIES LAW

Madrid YA in Spanish 14 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by M. Luisa G. Franco]

[Text] The union liberties bill will win final approval from Congress on 26 July over the opposition of the unions, with the exception of the General Union of Workers (UGT). In the opinion of the Workers Commissions (CCOO) and the Independent Labor Union Confederation, the bill was drafted with the UGT in mind. Passage of the bill will also run counter to the Popular bloc in Congress, which believes that the law consecrates the monopoly of the majority unions and denies a significant number of workers the constitutional right to negotiate and even to elect representatives.

The Popular bloc announced in the Senate, before debate on the bill began in the upper house, that it intended to file a previous motion challenging the constitutionality of the bill because it was an organic law that contained specific aspects not in keeping with such a law. The group reconsidered its position later, however, with the defeat of the transitory provision extending to 1986 the term of the unions elected for 2 years in 1982. This transitory provision will be included in the Workers Statute when the latter is debated in the Senate at the plenary session of the 17th.

In any case, the deputy for the Popular group, Fernando Suarez, is studying the possibility of filing the previous motion on the grounds that the law does not guarantee the right of all workers to join unions.

The amendment approved by the Senate, which enables the most representative unions to use the real property in the unions' accumulated assets, and which is considered by the independent unions to be a formula for the unions elected in 1982 to make use of those assets (especially the UGT and CCOO) and thus exclude other unions that now feel they represent more workers, is, in the opinion of the CCOO, merely a moral recognition of that right. It does not add anything new, and the problem of devolution remains unsolved, since the government still holds title to union assets, in the view of the CCOO.

CCOO: Nothing New on Assets

Antonio Gutierrez, member of the Confederal Secretariat of the CCOO, told YA that a law such as this one, which is organic, should have been negotiated

more carefully and thoroughly with the unions. "Since the beginning," he added, "it has seemed like a law slapped together in order to benefit the UGT." For the CCOO, a law of this nature should serve to develop the current union model, through the actions of workers themselves as well as the legal recognition of the company committees. It should develop a more participative union model, but in this law that aspect is cut short, with more emphasis on top-heavy unions.

According to Antonio Gutierrez, the law is far behind European legislation, especially with regard to one fundamental issue, the development of union activities within companies.

One of the specific areas on which the CCOO disagrees the most is that the law makes an exception for civilian workers of military establishments, and for some State Security employees, such as the National Police.

Civil servants' right to collective bargaining is not recognized in this law or in the Public Operations law. Such a move would mean not only recognizing the rights of a large number of workers, but also taking a first step toward the real democratization of the state.

As for the agreed assessment, the CCOO does not agree with how it is set forth in the law, since if it is based on the need to promote union membership, the labor organization feels that some basic steps should be taken first in this country, such as the devolution of union assets, union participation in certain institutions (current law accords us a role of mere onlookers), and a whole series of measures designed to recognize and support unions, measures which have not been seen before in this country, so that the need for unions will be obvious. Antonio Gutierrez believes that the need for membership will have to be demonstrated in a more positive way, not by imposing more fees.

The alleged voluntary nature of the assessment, in the CCOO's view, is doubtful to say the least; it is determined at the bargaining table, and only after such negotiations can each worker request personally that the rate not be deducted from his pay.

Finally, concerning the postponement of union elections until 1986, not under this law but under the Workers Statute, the CCOO believes that the elections should continue to be held every 2 years because of the wear and tear it means for the delegates to serve as labor representatives this long, and because of the changes the current economic crisis is continually bringing about in working conditions.

Independents: Against Liberties Law

The Independent Labor Union Confederation, as its President Alcazar and Private Sector Secretary Moreno Balmisa stated to YA, believes that the law is actually at odds with union freedom. "On many points," they stated, "a decision can be made in opposition to what the workers have voted, or even without their voting, so if a company does not vote for the representatives of a union, and if the latter is declared the majority union, it will become the representative of that company."

They added that the company committees are the exclusive representatives of all the employees of the company, and that this bill is trying to do away with unionism, since the company committees' functions will diminish as those of the union headquarters increase.

The independents feel that the text of the bill suits the parties that have some unions in their constituencies and can bargain and negotiate on their behalf. Thus, the union activities of the workers are sacrificed to the political action of the parties or their appendices. They pointed out that this is an anti-union law, since the important thing would be for each person to be able to bargain within his own sphere.

They feel the agreed assessment is unconstitutional, since they feel the law is tantamount to requiring mandatory dues.

They claim that there is a series of advantages for the representatives of the largest unions. In their opinion, those elected should have the same representativeness, but the text does not state that. According to the law, the headquarters of the union to which they belong will determine that, so there will be first, second and third category representatives.

With the minimum of 10 percent for national negotiations, according to the independents, in one sector a union may not meet that quota but will still be able to negotiate issues related to that sector.

The postponement of elections, now contained in the Workers Statute, is considered unconstitutional; it is felt to represent a disregard for union representativeness, since these officials were elected for a given term, and in no country do laws have retroactive effect.

The law makes no mention of autonomous workers. In Article 3 it states that they have the right to join but not to found unions, and it is clear to the independents that there are specific conditions.

8926

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## INCREASE IN DEMAND SEEN SOLVING NATURAL GAS SALE CONCERNS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 30 Jun 84 p 7

[Commentary by TM: "Boom in Natural Gas Sales Now Indicated that All Gas Will Be Sold: Industrial and District Heating Customers Now Appear in Large Numbers"]

[Text] Danish Oil and Natural Gas A/S (DONG) reported two days ago that sales of natural gas in May were quadruple the figures for the beginning of the year. DONG is now negotiating sales to industrial users who will require almost as much gas as was purchased by all previous small consumers, industries and district heating facilities for the month of May. This could mean that all of the natural gas which DONG is contractually obligated to purchase during the year-long period beginning October 1 will be sold before that date--which could in turn mean that the newer customers, such as the industrial users, will not be able to obtain natural gas.

The obvious boom in natural gas sales is due to the fact that both industrial and district heating customers have been waiting until agreements were reached with DONG. The negotiations are now completed, and these buyers are coming forward, along with an increased number of private consumers.

#### This Was Not Our Intent

In March DONG contracted with district heating plants for the delivery of 7.2 million cubic meters of gas, in April this figure fell to 4.1 million cubic meters, while contracts totalling 21.4 million cubic meters were signed in May. Corresponding figures for sales to industrial consumers for the same three months are 1.8, 9.6 and 12.9 million cubic meters, while private users accounted for 7.3, 7.4 and 12.1 million cubic meters. This means that 77 percent of the gas DONG will receive during the year-long period starting October 1st was sold as of the 31st of May. A total of only ca. 200 million cubic meters remains to be sold, but since negotiations with individual industrial customers for almost as much gas as was sold to all buyers during the month of May are presently being conducted, and also because there are still four months to go, DONG assumes that they will be sold out by the 1st of October.

In addition, INFORMATION sources indicate that DONG has actually made offers to 87 industrial and district heating consumers with a total annual consumption of 400 million cubic meters.

Despite their often-discussed sales problems, this was not DONG's intent. Indeed, company prognoses did assume that all of the gas would be sold, but at the same time it was assumed that a portion of the gas would be left over to be sold during the period from October 1, 1984 - October 1, 1985. Because of this assumption, among other reasons, DUC has been slow in beginning delivery, so that DONG will not have received the anticipated volume by October. It may become necessary to insist that prospective customers in industry and district heating plants convert to gas capability before ordering.

#### Good Business For Industry

It is in particular the economic advantages which natural gas affords to users in the industrial sector, who have been burning oil up until now, which have led to increased interest in natural gas on the part of industry.

In two years electrical power plants will begin to purchase natural gas. If interest in using natural gas actually leads to more delivery agreements the result may be that there will be little or no natural gas in reserve. This has also affected gas sales in recent times, in that the regional natural gas companies have an incentive to sell gas to buyers other than the electric companies, since contracts with the electric companies will result in a situation where the more gas is sold to them, the less profit the natural gas companies will stand to make on each cubic meter.

#### Refusal To Renegotiate

At Friday's meeting of the National Legislature's Energy Policy Committee, Minister of Energy Knud Enggaard and DONG's Chairman Holger Lavesen refused to renegotiate the contract between DUC and DONG. This refusal was supported by the Social Democrats, who feel bound by the agreement which was reached earlier in the year. Thus, there is no majority in the legislature to force the government to renegotiate the contract.

The renegotiation was proposed by SF [Socialist People's Party] because the large increases in the price of oil over the last five years have caused natural gas consumption to increase drastically in relation to the assumptions which were made when the contract was formulated in 1979, and because a violent increase in DUC's income corresponds to an equally violent increase in DONG's expenditures to purchase the necessary gas. SF has also proposed--and continues to do so--that the Ministry of Energy should map the energy reserves in the North Sea and evaluate the economic situation as it pertains to DUC's and DONG's natural gas negotiations, in order to gain a clear understanding of whether or not a disparity exists between the two companies.

8954

CSO: 3613/192

## BRIEFS

FIRST GAS FROM TYRA FIELD--The first deliveries of natural gas from the Tyra Field in the Danish sector of the North Sea have begun. A. P. Moller has informed us that the valves at Tyra East, 215 kilometers west of Esbjerg, were opened yesterday at ten in the morning. The production facilities in the North Sea stand ready to deliver a total of 55 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Danish Oil and Natural Gas (DONG) over the next 25 years. The contract for the delivery of the gas was entered into at the beginning of 1979, while the legislature sanctioned the natural gas project immediately thereafter. The construction of the production facilities in the North Sea has required five years of planning, projections, construction, installation and preparation, together with an investment of over ten billion kroner. The first delivery of natural gas from the North Sea facility to DONG is right on schedule. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Jul 84 Sect III p 7] 8954

EIGHTY PERCENT SUPPORT NATO MEMBERSHIP--80 percent of Iceland's voters support Iceland's nonmilitary membership in the NATO alliance. 64 percent are in favor of the American NATO base in Keflavik. These figures were published in a new report which was put out by the Icelandic Prime Minister's Commission on Political Security. The figures in the comprehensive opinion poll, which was taken on behalf of the Commission by Professor Olafur Th. Hardarson, do indicate the presence of minor resistance with regard to the question of political security. Even though the overwhelming majority are in favor of cooperation with NATO and the Keflavik base, 70 percent of the voters feel that Iceland should receive payment for the U.S. military presence there. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 Jul 84 p 4] 8954

CSO: 3613/192

## HUMAN, ECONOMIC COSTS OF EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTAL DEGENERATION

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 6/7 Jul 84 p 23

[Article by Rudolf Eickeler: "Europe--Threatened Nature Presents Its Inhabitants With Hefty Bill"]

[Excerpt] Duesseldorf--One-third of the forests in the FRG are biologically dead. In Sweden, 18,000 lakes have "tipped over." In Poland, two-thirds of the rivers are so heavily polluted that the water cannot even be used by industry without prior purification. In the Erzgebirge Mountains, the terminal state of forest death is already a reality: Drought and completely exhausted acidic prairie. Man suffers along with nature. In the FRG, there are increasing reports on respiratory ailments among infants, called "pseudo-croup." It was realized far too late in some places that the natural production factors represented by air, water, and soil are no longer present in an unlimited degree. The presumably reliable discovery that these resources are present quite naturally and in abundance in reality is a fatal miscalculation. Ways out of the ecological crisis are being discussed worldwide. At the Munich Environmental Conference, 18 countries from East and West joined the Ottawa Club. Their goal: To lower sulfur pollution by one-third until 1993.

Air pollution in the metropolitan areas of the industrial nations in recent years decreased slightly for sulfur dioxide and dust; but it increased drastically in the case of nitric oxide. In its latest federal emission protection report, the FRG assumes that the share of nitric oxides, essentially caused by cars, will continue to go up. Here is the consequence: The ozone share of the air will rise.

Nitrates and chlorinated hydrocarbons increasingly threaten the drinking water supply. In the FRG, about 1 percent of the drinking water even now contains more than 90 mg of nitrate per liter throughout the year or temporarily. After the boundary value was lowered to the 50-mg mark within the EC, about 8-10 percent of the river water should no longer be used as drinking water. North Rhine-Westphalian Agriculture Minister Klaus Matthiesen estimates that the avalanche of manure will



take 3-7 years until it has an impact on underground water. Here are some dimensions for comparison purposes: According to the Statistical Yearbook of the United Nations, almost 110 million tons of harmful substances were used in 1980, including nitrates with 52 million, phosphates with 30 million, and potash with 24 million. Here is what that means for Europe: 14 million tons of nitrate and, each time, 5.4 million tons of phosphates and potash--and the trend keeps rising.

The soil is the problem of future environmental policy. Agricultural consumption and heavy-metal enrichments have so far not been stopped by law throughout Europe. The soil's acidification and the attendant possible mobilization push for harmful substances of course in the meantime for example in Sweden has been included in the environmental policy debate; but no agreement is in sight as to ways for effectively countering this threat: Farmers who use manure do not have any guilt feelings, politicians are in doubt, and scientists keep squabbling over restoration concepts.

Damage due to air pollution can be found all over Europe (see the map of Europe). But the actual manifestations differ. According to a survey by the Federal Agriculture Ministry, every third tree is damaged in the FRG. Most of the damage is found in the South. Almost every other tree is dead in the Bavarian Forest and in the Black Forest.

The contamination is illustrated by some statistics on the most frequently encountered harmful substances: In the FRG, for example, the air is charged annually with about 3.5 million tons of sulfur dioxide, about 3 million tons of nitric oxides, and about 9.2 million tons of carbon monoxide (CO). Power plants are mainly responsible for the development of sulfur dioxide which depends on the fuel; the transportation sector is responsible for the nitric oxides and carbon monoxide caused by combustion processes; in that sector, an additional approximately 0.8 million tons of hydrocarbons and 3,000 tons of lead compounds are being emitted.

Considerable harmful substance loads are moreover drifting in water bodies. Annually issued quality reports do indicate a slight improvement but the harmful substance contamination is still high.

The latest Rhine quality report for 1982 shows roughly that 14 tons of cadmium still pass the Dutch border, although this applies only in mathematical terms; in 1982 alone however about DM18 billion were invested by industry (with a share of 3 billion) and communities in sewage-treatment plants. The water management agencies are a good decade behind actual developments when it comes to the recording and treatment of water bodies. During that time, thousands of new chemical substances were developed and piped into the water bodies. Only now are the agencies getting a vague idea about the true extent of this contamination.

14 Tons of Cadmium Drift in the Rhine Each Year.

Detailed statistics on harmful substance contamination are available for Great Britain. There, cars produce about 25 percent of the emissions of harmful substances

(power plants and industry as a whole are essential sources) and 40 percent of the hydrocarbon emissions. The total quantity of sulfur dioxide emissions, according to the United Nations report declined in Great Britain from 6.12 million tons in 1970 to 5 million tons in 1976 but again rose to 5.26 million tons in 1979. Hydrocarbons and nitric oxides from cars go up in each case from 0.27 and 0.23 million tons to 0.36 and 0.31 million tons respectively. Oxidants were not watched but it is probable that they increased likewise.

In Britain itself and in Ireland (8 percent forest share) "no reason for excessive concern" is found officially as regards forest damage. No forest death, such as it is happening in the FRG, is to be reported in Great Britain, according to the British Environmental Ministry. Minor damage is being reported only from small parts of the Scottish Highlands. Powerful maritime winds carry the emissions from British industrial centers across the ocean, all the way to Sweden. Southern Sweden was the first European piece of land which began to be talked about as a result of environmental damage. In Norway, 90 percent of acid rain originate outside the country's borders. In Sweden, 75% of contamination comes from abroad, according to estimates. There is a prevailing Southwest wind blowing in Scandinavia which carries harmful substances from the European industrial centers and metropolitan areas and Great Britain to the thinly-settled landscape of Scandinavia. Sweden itself is today responsible for just about 1 percent of the total sulfur dioxide contamination; that comes to approximately 500,000 tons per year (1980).

The lethal import of sulfur dioxide from Western European industrial areas hits the Swedish lakes first: Out of 100,000 water bodies, 18,000 contain too much acid and 4,000 of them are so heavily damaged that almost all life has vanished in them. Measurements of the acid content (ph-value 5.0) show that these lakes actually do not contain any water any longer but only acids.

Out of the 4,800 water bodies investigated in Norway, more than 1,000 no longer contain any fish. In an area of 36,000 square kilometers in Southern Norway, equivalent to an area larger than North Rhine-Westphalia, water bodies are about to go down the drain. Once damaged by acid rain, the lakes can no longer revive themselves on the basis of their own strength. Lime fertilizing, to neutralize the acid water, in Sweden devours the equivalent of DM16-24 millions each year.

But environmental protection experts are worried not only about "the lakes that have gone down the drain." Recently, 3-5 percent of the forest areas in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have been considered to be damaged. No data are available for Finland. But forest damage has been reported all around Helsinki.

In France likewise the forest death has already assumed threatening proportions although government agencies confirm that the forest death is not a topic for them. Reports from the FRG are being smiled at as teutonically exaggerated. But, in some parts of the country, including the Rhone trough east of Lyon, the Central Massif, Brittany, and in forest regions north of the Loire, there are damaged areas which are

included among the most seriously threatened in Central and Western Europe. This is the result of a survey which was prepared by the Donaueschingen ecologist Guenter Reichelt at the end of 1983.

Reichelt traveled throughout these regions and mapped the damaged areas, using the example of pine trees. It is found in the entire area investigated and provides a reference point for the weakening of other tree species.

#### Dutch Enjoy Atlantic Bonus

In the Vosges Mountains and their foothills, in the Upper Rhine Plain, in the southern and central Black Forest up to Lake Constance, there are no healthy natural forests to be found any longer according to Reichelt's estimate. Worst-hit are the windward and summit parts of the Vosges Mountains. There, pine trees are "critically" damaged. One can expect entire tree stands to die at the latest within 5 years.

According to Reichelt, however, severe damage can also be found at lower elevations. The ecologist was able to prove so-called damage strips around the metropolitan areas of Belfort, Basel, Muehlhausen, Ottmarsheim, and Chalampe. There, trees are obviously influenced directly by the high concentrations of power plants and car exhaust gases. These strips are as much as 50 kilometers long.

In neighboring Belgium, the forest death likewise is "not a current topic." Nevertheless, a relatively high degree of forest damage was reported from the Ardennes. Here, according to experts, vast forest areas have been damaged. In addition to domestic sources, dirty gases and winds from France may possibly also have caused damage here.

The Netherlands (with 8 percent forest area) on the other hand, like France, are enjoying an "Atlantic bonus." According to official data, "the forests are sound"--with the exception of some woods "in the immediate area along the coast." Soil investigation reportedly did not show any excessive acidification.

As in the West, growing environmental pollution in the Eastern European countries is closely tied in with the compulsion to promote industrialization: In many countries beyond the Elbe or the Alps, the limit of industrialization has not yet been reached. This means that, in contrast to some Western countries, environmental protection considerations are on a secondary level. On top of this is the fact that, under the conditions of a socialist economy, the protection of nature is often enough involved in stiff "competition" against plan fulfillment.

With surprising frankness, the press of the socialist states occasionally reports on drastic environmental damage in the East Bloc. Reports from the Federal Institute of Eastern Science and International Studies, dated 9 January 1984, contain an item from the pro-government Polish weekly magazine KATOLIK dealing with environmental damage in Poland. Under the headline "The Forests are Breathing Their Last-- We Were in the Laboratory of Death," we find a description of the shocking extent of environmental destruction. "The forests, one of the greatest resources of our

people, are dying! Experts are warning us that--if the destruction of the natural environment continues at the present tempo--Poland will no longer have any forests within 20 years; at the very least, however, most of the evergreen forests will have been wiped out."

Almost 23 percent of Polish territory are covered with woods; that corresponds to about 7.5 million hectares. This area however is threatened in four ways: The lumberjack teams overfulfilled their targets regularly over the past 10 years by 10-30 percent. Between 1950 and 1980, about 115 million cubic meters of wood were cut above and beyond requirements. The magazine KATOLIK speaks openly of uncontrolled destruction.

In addition, the industrial combines keep spreading their harmful substances without inhibition. KATOLIK describes the situation such as it looks all around Poland: "Nature has died around the chemical factories. What used to be abundant forest, with numerous animals, such as elk and eagles, has now been turned into an Asian desert." Polish environmental authorities are also worried about the contamination of their waterbodies; hardly any river is clean.

While people are still talking about "forest death" in northeastern Bavaria, this is already reality a few kilometers away by air in the Erzgebirge Mountains of Czechoslovakia. The forest of this huge mountain range is dying extremely rapidly: About 100,000 hectares--experts guess that the figure is even higher--are now bare, the trees have been cut or the area is covered by dry wooden skeletons which can no longer be identified as trees.

"The forest in what used to be Europe's most rapidly industrialized mountains are just about gone," writes the Cologne catalysis environmental group in its book "Saurer Regen" [Acid Rain]. Air pollution of unsuspected extent, spewed out by power plants and hydration plants in the Eger Graben in the southern part of Czechoslovakia have defeated the green of the mountains. Experts report that 7,000 kilometers of rivers in Czechoslovakia are so heavily polluted that very few fish from these water bodies can be eaten. Government agencies in the FRG are counting 90,000 tons of sulfur from Czechoslovakia which come down in the FRG. Bonn estimates start with the idea that, conversely, "only" 66,000 tons are blown over to the country's eastern neighbor.

#### All Around Karlsbad: An "Abandoned Battlefield"

As the Sudeten German Council just announced, forest death in northern Bohemia has in the meantime assumed catastrophic proportions. Nowhere else in Europe does it rain as much sulfur dioxide as in the Erzgebirge Mountains, the Riesen Mountains, or the Iser Mountains. In a pamphlet published by the Council, we find the figure of 40,000 hectares of forests which in the Erzgebirge Mountains alone fell victim to acid rain. The landscape north of Karlsbad reportedly resembles an "abandoned battlefield" by now. In the meantime, the government in Prague pays workers in the Erzgebirge Mountains a pollution allowance. Overall, around 700,000 hectares of forest area have been damaged in Czechoslovakia. Government agencies in Prague merely admit that about 300,000 hectares of forest might be damaged by 1990.

The population in northern Bohemia is obviously also affected by air pollution. According to the Prague Labor Union paper PRACE, which is quoted in the pamphlet put out by the Council, the children have 20 percent less red blood corpuscles and leukemia is increasing considerably.

The cause of heavy air pollution is to be found in the fact that Czechoslovakia depends so much on brown coal. The sulfur content of this brown coal is almost 20 percent, in other words, it is six times as high as in the case of Rhenish brown coal. Obsolete power plants without filter systems furthermore contribute to a situation in which the sulfur dioxide gases, which are increased anyway because of the large sulfur share, escape unhindered into the atmosphere. Czechoslovakia thus charges the air with roughly as many harmful substances as the FRG although Czechoslovakia has only one-fourth the population when compared to the FRG.

### "Siberia's Pearl" Is Dead

Rising petroleum prices are partly responsible for severe air pollution in the GDR because the council of state reacted to the oil crisis with a drastic aboutface: Petroleum but hard coal likewise are to be replaced with domestic brown coal wherever possible. This policy may in the short run lead to an improvement in the foreign exchange balance but it has negative effects on air quality. Specifically, plans call for an increase in brown coal mining from just about 250 million tons in 1980 to just about 300 million tons by 1990. The replacement of expensive foreign energy sources applies to households and industry alike, to the 300 power plants and thermal plants of the GDR and to the 21,000 industrial furnaces.

Available estimates from the UN, from the Federal Environmental Bureau in Berlin, and published studies in the GDR as a rule mention sulfur emissions. These sources agree in estimating the sulfur emission due to the burning of brown coal at 2.5 million tons per year. But this figure would appear to be too low because the areas around Halle, Leipzig, and Cottbus alone produce just about 3 million tons of sulfur per year.

The citizens of the GDR are increasingly confronted with the dangerous environmental consequences of this policy. The forest death has assumed dramatic proportions. The forests along the ridges of the Erzgebirge Mountains are in many cases already dead. Fichtelberg has only a thin brown or needleless forest. The effects of the uninhibited "brown coal priority policy" can also be seen in the Saxonian Swiss Country. Respiratory diseases, whose causes according to medical experts are to be found in air pollution, are on the increase in the particularly hard-hit areas, such as in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk.

Definite forest damage has also been reported from Hungary and the Karelian part of the USSR and Romania (Transsylvania). More detailed data are not available. Hungary reports damage of only local significance near sources of emission. The black pine is the most heavily-hit tree species there; whenever news reaches the West about environmental disasters in the USSR--if any--such reports only cover individual cases: for example, the fate of Lake Baikal, the "Pearl of Siberia"; cellulose factories and an aluminum factory were erected along the lake's shore. Waste waters piped into Lake Baikal almost exterminated numerous specific types of fish which exist only

in this lake. Although filter plants have been built in the meantime, the danger of further contamination has not been removed. Lake Baikal is no exception. Lake Ladoga, which supplies Leningrad with drinking water, is about to go down also.

We have almost no data on forest damage and air pollution in Bulgaria and Greece. It is known however that Athens is almost choking in car exhaust gases. In Spain and Portugal we find mostly damage due to extreme weather, forest fires, and disasters. The air pollution, caused mostly by brown coal power plants near the industrial centers, is considered a local problem with typical Iberian nonchalance.

South of the Alps, damage is found only in isolated cases. The surroundings of industrial regions are the exception. From South Tirol we have a report on "the death of fir trees" over several hundreded hectares with pronounced attack from secondary pests, such as bores. North of the Alps, border countries reported forest damage, above all in the Lavant Valley, in the Graz Basin, and around Linz.

In Austria, the damaged surface area doubled since the 1970's. In 1982 it was estimated at 6 percent of the total forest surface. The increase however is also partly traced to improved survey methods. A decline in the white fir stands and a drop in the number of evergreen years for spruce have been observed. Deciduous trees are less damaged. Upper Austria is reported to have a damage area covering 50,000 hectares (10 percent of the forest area). Representatives from Slovenia gave a figure of 22,000 hectares of tree stands directly damaged by immission (2.2 percent of the forest area). Of that number, the existence of 4,000 is threatened and in the case of 16,000 hectares, the situation is critical, while 2,000 hectares would appear to be damaged only temporarily. Fir trees are also dying in Switzerland. Since 1976, according to reports, the white fir tree stands have been heavily damaged in the Churer Rhine Valley, and the same is true of fir trees in the Lake Constance area.

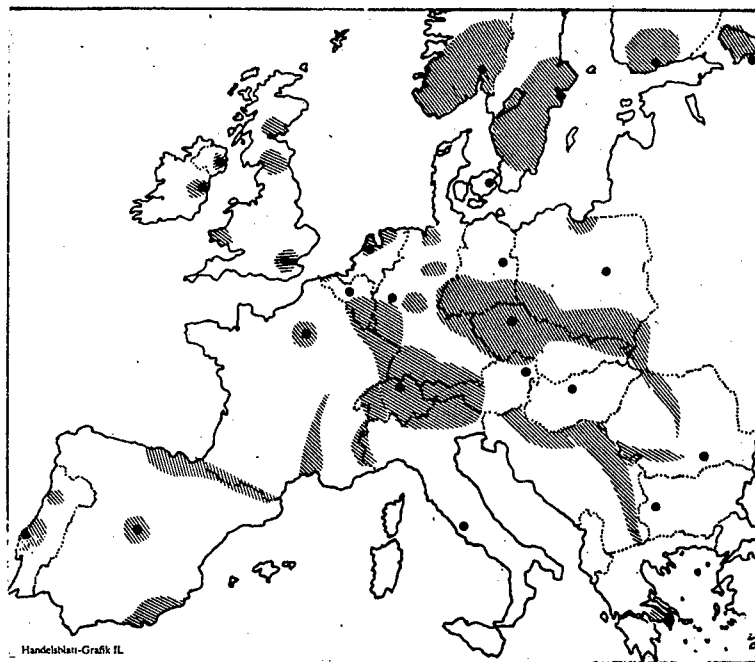
The declarations of intentions from 18 countries at the Munich Environmental Conference to reduce sulfur pollution came only after a tough struggle over the connection between environmental protection and the preservation of peace. But it can be considered only as a "first step on a journey of a thousand miles." The units of measure and the measurement systems in the individual countries are entirely too different.

#### Munich: Conference of "Sulfur Cleaners"

Typical of the conference were also the uncertainties and doubts about the statements on the extent of environmental damage in the East Bloc. The participants deplored not only the damage to forests, lakes, and buildings which is growing into an environmental disaster; many of them also offered grandiose tricks as they came out with their various statistics full of dollars, rubles, tons, pounds, and above all percent. Almost all participating countries turned out to be the "big sulfur cleanup men."

In spite of the generally good climate at the conference, the nevertheless frequently mentioned neighborly solidarity will not get in motion so soon. Delaying tactics, such as those by the United States, Great Britain, and France, which in view of the progressing damage in the FRG nobody dares use any longer here, were openly debated in Munich.

At the start of the conference, the Scandinavians, Austria, and Switzerland gave assurances that they would further tighten up their environmental standards. These countries, as well as the new members of the Ottawa Club--Bulgaria, the GDR, the USSR, Belgium, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein--obviously understood the meaning of the words coming from Parliamentary State Secretary and head of the West German delegation Carl-Dieter Spranger: "For the sake of our citizens we cannot tolerate any further postponement in the environmental problem--perhaps with the justification that we do not know enough as yet; or that we have no money; or that we have other political priorities."



All over Europe there are strips of land which are threatened by air or water pollution.

5058  
CSO: 3620/384

## CLEAR EVIDENCE OF AIRBORNE AGENTS AS CAUSE OF FOREST DEATH

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Bert Hauser: "Most Comprehensive Forest Damage Inventory Yields Statistical Evidence"]

[Text] Stuttgart--Harmful substances in the air are the decisive cause of advancing forest death. This thesis, which has been beyond doubt for quite some time now, must be considered to have been proven after an analysis of what has until now been the most comprehensive forest damage inventory in Southwest Germany. Of course, with statistics you can always prove anything, even the opposite, as the old saying goes. But the result of the detailed and representative survey of 16,000 trees in the Southwest carried out last year allows only the conclusion that the cause of forest death is to be found in the air.

According to the Baden-Wuerttemberg Environmental Ministry, the Freiburg Forestry Experimental and Research Institute in its "very reliable presentation of evidence" analyzed the result of 2,124 area and tree random samples. The test areas were determined mathematically according to a 4x4-kilometer grid throughout all of Baden-Wuerttemberg (this year, a corresponding investigation is to be conducted nationwide). At the grid's intersection points, 34 inventory and site characteristics were surveyed first of all. Another 14 characteristics were then observed per tree in the case of the random tree samples in these areas, covering an additional 13,200 pine trees and 2,720 fir trees. Only at least 6-year old tree stands were used for the analysis. IR overflight missions in this state, to determine the sickness condition of the forests, likewise dating back to the summer of last year, according to currently available analyses only confirmed the results of the investigations on the ground. The rough analysis of the damage surveyed already in October of last year revealed that trees are sick on 50 percent of the total forest surface area in Baden-Wuerttemberg.

The detailed study of the investigations on the ground now confirms something that some of the operators in the field have known for quite some time: forests, which most correspond to the "high standards of forest cultivation," that is to say, the mixed forests, are often much more endangered and damaged than single-crop woods. "That really hurt us," said Ministerial Counselor Weidenbach who is responsible for research in the Baden-Wuerttemberg environmental ministry. But there is no doubting the discovery that evergreen trees in mixed forests suffer



particularly seriously. In the winter, they are much more exposed through the attack of the wind and to harmful substances in the air because the deciduous trees are bare. The investigation showed that damage to fir trees and pine trees in mixed forest is as much as one-third higher than in single-crop forests. Definitely heavier damage was also observed in the so-called forest plantations and in naturally rejuvenated forests where the tree-top umbrella is not uniformly high, as in strict single-crop forests, but rather reveals several steps or is quite loose. Statistical evidence, to the effect that forests on slopes facing to the West are more seriously damaged than those in other slope locations, clearly points to harmful substances in the air; this is observed all the more clearly, the less they are shielded against the prevailing West wind by hills positioned in front of them. As the gradient of the slope inclines, in other words, as the attack surface is enlarged in this fashion, the sickness situation likewise deteriorates. This can be recognized along the slopes of the Black Forest but above all along the edge of the Upper Rhine Plain. But definite gradations of damage are recognizable also along the edges of forests (gutters) or in the case of isolated trees and tree clusters. Trees that are severely exposed to the wind generally revealed the most serious tree-top thinning as the most important sickness symptom. With the help of a mathematical-statistical model of "multivariant analysis" of the almost 190,000 data obtained on the pine trees investigated, the damage due to harmful substances in the air "was statistically secured with an error probability of  $\alpha = 0.05$ ," it says in the Freiburg survey.

Conversely, the forest scientists and statisticians were able to prove that harmful insects and mushrooms are causing sickness among forests just as little as certain soil factors (nutrient supply, water supply, and the soil's layer depths. Mushrooms, insects, injuries to the trees, and breakage due to snow only contribute to the increase in ground damage. Without the action of forest rangers and forest workers--who for the past 5 years have increasingly been cutting down trees that became sick due to harmful substances in the air--the results of the damage inventory would be even worse in the view of the Freiburg scientists.

In the meantime, damage and sickness symptoms are being reported increasingly also in the case of deciduous trees in Baden-Wuerttemberg where until a year ago quite a few forest rangers denied that there was any unusual tree death in their particular sectors. According to the findings of Ministerial Counsellor Weidenbach, many beech trees and other deciduous trees quite clearly bear less or smaller leaves than they should have if they were healthy.

There is therefore supposed to be no alternative to the fastest and most comprehensible fight against harmful substances in the air. In spite of the heavy damage in the mixed forests, the forest industry should increasingly plant mixed forests because they guarantee a healthier forest stand in long-range terms. The harmful substances supposedly are a problem that can be solved in medium-range terms, providing there is good will to do so. It is said to be becoming increasingly clearly that this involved not only the forests as such but above all the health of mankind.

## SENIOR FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICIAL EXPRESSES PESSIMISM

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 6/7 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] Berlin--The 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Federal Environmental Bureau in Berlin is no special reason for celebrations for its president, Dr the Baron Heinrich Lersner. Something has indeed been achieved for the protection of our environment over the past decade but the problems have by no means become any smaller.

On the contrary: In view of the ever faster spreading forest damage, the continuing high degree of air pollution or the threat to our water bodies and soils by many different kinds of harmful substances, this anniversary does not provide an opportunity for self-satisfaction. In spite of the not exactly rosy environmental conditions, Lersner judges the prerequisites for successful environmental protection to be not bad enough to call for an attitude of resignation. Everybody, of course, would have to realize clearly that responsibility for the environment rests not only with government agencies and administrations but with all social groups and each individual citizen.

All in all, he indicated, there has been a noticeable change in awareness over the past several years in this respect. For example, industry has not only become more eager to go for innovations but also realized that it must meet environmental requirements for its own sake and on its own responsibility.

In Lersner's words, the problem of environmental protection is also due to the fact that, oddly enough, "we put the cart before the horse." At first an attempt was made in the context of passive protection to distribute or channel the developing quantities of waste and harmful substances over large areas. After this sort of thing could not be allowed to go on, because the environmental media cannot absorb all of these stresses in the long run, efforts were made to reduce the pollution at the source. Only as a third step are we now gradually getting around to something that quite logically should have been done in the first place, in other words, prevention. The correct environmental policy approach would be to try to figure out how one can prevent environmental pollution from developing in the first place or how one could design a plant or system in such a way that the residues could be reused.

So far, German industry however proved to be rather heavy-footed here and hardly ever took the initiative itself. By way of example, Lersner mentioned the flue gas purification in power plants or the discussion about the introduction of cars with catalytic converters. Industry's "stonewalling" had a definitely negative effect in the case of flue gas desulfurization. Since then however nothing moved in this field of German technology. Because, in this case, the energy enterprises were in agreement and preferred to stick to the old technology, the plant builders did not get any orders. The same thing happened in the case of the denitrogenation plants. "Now we must buy the corresponding licenses from the Japanese who very politely point out to us that the basis of their knowledge comes from the German plant builders."

The courage of moving on to the next technological generation, according to Lersner, was often lacking in the past. This is why an effort must be made to provide this incentive through publicity work and through examples or also specific aid. The best law could not alter the state of the art; the only thing it could do would be to make this technology the rule.

#### Middle-Level Industry Attempts More Environmental Projects

To advance the state of the art and to reduce the risks inherent in everything that is new, funds are also being made available for demonstration plants from the kitty of the Federal Research Ministry. It is often middle-level enterprises that attempt such projects while big industry frequently reveals a certain "defensive solidarity."

Both politics and the economy must clearly realize that the degree of proper environmental conditions is at the same time a degree of innovation, Lersner emphasized. Especially an export-oriented country, such as the FRG, is now in trouble because it failed to keep up. Of course, the degree of environmental safety which is presently being demanded worldwide is in widely differing stages. India is now supposed to be in a phase with which the FRG was concerned at the end of the 1960's, that is to say, it is working on dust removal. In view of a market of DM730 million, capable plant builders have great sales opportunities here.

Because the Federal Environmental Bureau does not have any formal instruments of its own with which it could prevail, the agency's success or failure depend above all on the quality of the work, that is to say, the technical competence, of its staff members. In general, however, at least so far, the statements issued by the bureau can be considered to be objective. In view of the constantly growing sphere of activities of the UBA [Federal Environmental Bureau], it is however running into personnel limitations at this point. "Over the next 2-3 years, we would have to get about 200 new staff members" in order to be able to take care of all of the additional tasks and in order not to slip into amateurism, Lersner said.

The Bureau's work is characterized very much by current daily events anyway. But for effective environmental measures it would also be important to design a long-range policy on chemicals. By the way, Lersner above all would like to have more people working in the publicity division. The fact that there is a considerable requirement here is documented last but not least by the about 60,000 inquiries which are addressed to the bureau annually from citizens who seek advice and information.

5058

CSO: 3620/383

## BRIEFS

OZONE CONCENTRATION CURBS SOUGHT--Berlin. According to information supplied by the Federal Environmental Bureau in Berlin, there is increasing damage in the FRG to forest trees and other plants which can be traced back to growing air pollution coming from "photochemical oxydants." The latter are generated due to the influence of sunlight from nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons for which, among other things, motor vehicle exhaust gases are responsible. High concentrations of oxydants cause damage not only to plants and certain minerals "but also endanger the health of man and animal," it says in the report submitted by the agency yesterday. Oxydants include ozone and other compounds. Ozone is considered the "guiding substance" for the formation of these photo-oxydants. To prevent damage to vegetation but also to avoid any possible threats to the health of man and animal, the ozone concentration should not exceed a maximum average hourly value of 200 micrograms per cubic meter of air; this was demanded by the Federal Environmental Bureau. For this purpose, nitrogen oxide and hydrocarbon emissions however "would have to be cut at least in half." Plants react particularly sensitively to photochemical oxydants which get into the plant through the crack openings in the leaves and which can cause manifold damage there, the Environmental Bureau explained. The following are to be considered particularly sensitive to ozone, for example: larch and pine, but also cereal crops such as rye, wheat, barley, and oats, as well as other important crops such as potatoes, tomatoes, and wine. To be able effectively to protect very sensitive types of vegetation, it would be necessary to attain values of no more than 100 micrograms of ozone per cubic meter of air over a large area. The peak pollution rate in industrial regions on the other hand is more than 400 micrograms and in some cases 600 micrograms were recorded according to figures provided by the agency. [Text] [West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 29 Jun 84 p 2] 5058

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