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# West Europe Report

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# WEST EUROPE REPORT

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### POLITICAL

### BELGIUM

#### FLEMISH PARTIES MANEUVER ON POSSIBLE COALITIONS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 20 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Guy Duplat in column "Facts and Rumors": "Western Politics in Flanders, for a Few Additional Votes..."]

[Text] In Flanders, Western politics is going at full speed. Everyone keeps his finger on the trigger of his sixshooter. And even though there are no bullets flying, murderous words are. The government has 6 months more to "pull through" before the elections. Given the state of mind which prevails in the PVV [Party of Liberty and Progress (Flemish)] and in the CVP [Social Christian Party (Flemish)] one might wonder whether we are not going toward 6 sterile months of electoral pre-campaigning punctuated by statements which the voters will no longer understand at all.

Once again this weekend, the president of the PVV, Guy Verhofstadt, renewed his submachine gun attacks on the SP [Socialist Party (Flemish)]. In his desire to be "the sole dam against the red wave," he did not spare the CVP either. The latter reacted immediately by speaking of "inopportune" statements, "marked with dishonesty toward a loyal government partner." By attacking the social Christians, the PVV can only weaken its partner and by appearing ultraliberal it can only frighten away the left wing of the CVP while closing the door to any coalition with the SP.

The same nervousness can be found within the CVP. Like the Flemish liberals, the Christians from the northern part of the country are afraid of losing the upcoming elections and of not being able to pursue the Martens V policies afterwards. While, in order to save the furniture, Mr Verhofstadt attacks the socialist movement, the president of the CVP in turn is definitely making sheep's eyes at the People's Union [VU]. But in a manner which looks like a blunder.

True, for several months now some political strategists within the majority have had their eyes on the Flemish nationalists.

Manu Ruys, the editorial writer for the STANDAARD, pleaded openly for such a rapprochement. The transfer of Wilfried Martens' former spokesman Lou De Clerck to the management of the strongly Flemish nationalist if not pro-People's Union newspaper GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN only magnified this idea. The plan was as follows. If the current majority no longer were to have enough

seats to govern, then the VU would provide outside support to a Christianliberal government in exchange for the presidency of the Flemish Executive (which would go to Hugo Schiltz) and a few key positions in Flanders which would be allocated to the People's Union.

Martens V would be able to continue its policies and the VU would have found the dreamed of opportunity to stand out better in Flanders. Martens, who deliberately chose not to govern with the socialists anymore, would thus be able to save the furniture and the country would be able to avoid a long and costly political crisis.

Those noises, that building up, were they anything but dreams? Today Mr Swaelen, the president of the CVP, claims that the People's Union has made very clear covert advances. The VU denies it, and Mr Schiltz says publicly that he never proposed such bargaining. Who is lying? Who is cheating? Hard to know. But Mr Swaelen committed a blunder. This weekend, he officially mentioned this possibility of support from the People's Union. Which was not very clever, because it demonstrated his fear of the post-election period and his pessimistic prognoses of the coalition's electoral score. But in addition, Mr Swaelen who has never been a strong federalist, spoke of the People's Union with great reserve: "the VU must come out of its ambiguity," he said, "and answer three questions. Is it ready to turn its back on the socialist trends which manifest themselves within it? Is it willing to stand aloof with regard to separatism, which is rejected by a large majority of the Flemish? Is it ready to support an effective policy of social recovery and to give priority to the fight against unemployment and to budgetary problems? If the VU wants to be a candidate for government participation, it will have to answer those questions." The PVV reacted by saying that it read with astonishment the invitation to collaborate launched by Mr Swaelen. The People's Union itself reacted harshly. It rejected all pre-electoral agreements and, even though it did not exclude particiation in a government, it stated that it is not a petitioner. Whatever the case, such participation would imply such conditions as "an active policy toward peace" (we know that the VU was against the missiles) and "greater autonomy for Flanders."

The People's Union is divided between an older and more participation oriented wing (including Schiltz, Baert, Anciaux, etcetera...) and a young, pacifist, more radical, more separatist rank and file. While the former could support a national government which lacks the two-thirds majority necessary to take a significant step in state reform, but which would content itself with a few "easy" reforms (end of the double national and regional parliamentary mandate, creation of an autonomous Walloon council and an autonomous Flemish council, etcetera...), the latter, the young, would probably not accept it.

As if this whole muddle were not enough, the left wing of the CVP, with people such as Luc Dhoore, Luc Van Den Brande, even Jean-Luc Dehaene, does not exclude a reversal of alliances to the benefit of the socialists, against the advice of Martens. Even though this movement does seem very much in the minority within the CVP.

8463 CSO: 3619/77

POLITICAL

DENMARK

CONSERVATIVE MP WANTS DANISH INDUSTRY ROLE IN SDI RESEARCH

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Thorkild Dahl: "Conservative Folketing Member: Danish Industry Must Join in Space Research"]

[Text] Conservative Folketing Member Viggo Fischer fears that Danish industry will be isolated if it does not involve itself directly in the American project known as Star Wars.

Danish firms must get moving and involve themselves directly in the American space research program, SDI. It is technologically necessary and will be able to prevent a brain drain from Danish industry.

This is the opinion of Conservative Folketing Member Viggo Fischer. He says to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that "political narrowmindedness among a Folketing majority" must not result in the fact that industry holds itself back from high-technology development.

Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen reports to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that he has not received inquiries from industry with the desire to take part in the American space research project.

"It would also be terribly superfluous, because nothing prevents a Danish firm from entering into the joint venture it wants to," the foreign minister says.

Viggo Fischer thinks that although Denmark cannot involve itself politically in the new space research Danish industry must not hold itself back.

"They do not do this in other European countries where there is political aversion to the American space research program. There is no doubt at all that colossal scientific conquests, which can also be to the benefit of civilian industry, will be gained through research in connection with the SDI program," Viggo Fischer says, who fears that reserve in Danish industry as a "consequence of the political uncertainty in the Folketing" can mean a risk that Danish industry will be isolated in West Europe. A majority consisting of the Social Democratic Party, Socialist People's Party, Radical Liberal Party and the Socialist Left Party has enjoined the government in the Folketing to work actively in NATO for Denmark's opposing the deployment of weapons in outer space and research and development work on them.

8985 CSO: 3613/163

POLITICAL

FINLAND

PALMGREN, PRAGMATIST FORCES DOMINATE CHRISTIAN PARTY CONGRESS

### Almgren Attacks Greens, Homosexualism

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Jun 85 p 10

[Article by Kari Huoviala: "Ronkainen Chalks Up Points by Getting Congress Delegates to Sing"]

[Text] The challenger in the chairmanship race, Olavi Ronkainen, chalked up points for himself by getting the audience to sing and have fun at the Christian League (SKL) congress which began in Tampere on Friday.

Ronkainen's singing act clearly enlivened the congress delegates, who had just listened to current chairman Esko Almgren's lengthy review of the political situation.

Ronkainen's song told the story of a wise man who had built his house on a rock and of a stupid man who built on sand. After the song, Ronkainen spoke of the achievements of the party's three-man parliamentary delegation. At the request of the television film crew, he repeated his singing act after the speech.

The SKL will decide today whether Ronkainen is to be promoted to become the new party chairman or whether Almgren, who has served as chairman for 3 years now, will be allowed to continue.

Almgren, 52, is a teacher from Kotka. Ronkainen, 53, from Savonlinna is a pastor and the director of the Christian Adult Education School. Both are members of Parliament.

The chairmanship race will probably be decided by which candidate gets more opinion shapers - for example, former members of Parliament - to support him.

Green Fascists

In his speech Almgren with harsh words attacked the Green movement. Only a year ago, like the other parties, the SKL made an effort to be the only real Green party. In his speech Almgren referred to the program proposed by Pentti Linkola at the recent Green congress in Turku.

"Now the Green movement has revealed, or at least some of its members have essentially revealed traits such that Christians must remove themselves from the atheistic, ecofascist trait that is characteristic of at least part of that disorganized movement," Almgren said.

"The SKL must vigorously and determinedly dissociate itself from the trance-like enthusiasm that has been revealed in the Green movement, when the nation is encouraged to look to a system that has shown itself to be history's cruelest for its models," Almgren went on.

According to Almgren, every idea suggestive of terrorism must be snuffed out "like a louse" and the game the aim of which is to murder certain leaders of industry and the business world must be rejected.

"It is monstrous that the Green movement, which makes a lot of noise with its pacifism and speaks on behalf of civil servants, should allow an individual to speak at its congress who openly urges people to engage in antisocial in-sanities and terror," Almgren said.

Dark Forces of the Bat Cave

Furthermore, "the forces of destruction that have infiltrated the Greens," homosexuals among others, horrified Almgren. According to him, Helsinki's Radio City is spreading filth from its headquarters in the Bat Cave in the form of homosexual programs.

According to Almgren, the SKL is acting "as a product to rouse Christians to a fresh attack on those demonic forces of the depths which — descriptively put indeed — are the first to flutter out of the Bat Cave."

In his usual way, Almgren also demanded repeal of the mild beer law and stricter regulation of abortions, open unions and official political appointments.

Of the parties the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] received the harshest criticism. According to Almgren, objectively viewed the SDP has led the country into a one-party system. The SMP, on the other hand, has often had to eat its words and fail to keep its promises during its time in the government.

Almgren said that the incessant pecking away at each other between the rest of the government and the SMP is the embodiment of unparliamentary behavior. In his opinion, the pr me minister detracts from his own government's prestige with his remonstrations and forever repeated "final warnings."

Fundamentalist Chairman Candidate Defeated

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Jun 85 p 10

[Article by Kari Huoviala: "SKL Conducts Chairmanship Race with Biblical Quotations; Ronkainen Turns Down Second Chairman's Post"] [Text] MP Esko Almgren, 52, will stay on as chairman of the SKL. Almgren won out in the voting against his challenger, Olavi Ronkainen, at the party congress that continued in Tampere on Saturday.

Almgren got 254 votes in the secret ballot and Ronkainen 178. Both candidates said that they were relieved when the race was over.

The very fact that the committee that made the preparations for the election had decided to nominate Almgren for first chairman was a portent of the final result of the election. He got nine votes and Ronkainen six in the committee.

A lengthy, strenuous debate, during which the good sides of both candidates were praised, preceded the election. Outright criticism was not exactly heard — any possible criticism was concealed behind Biblical expressions, as is the custom of the party.

In the course of the debate Almgren was provided with an opportunity to respond to Ronkainen's song and joke act with his own show performance.

Almgren made the delegates laugh by appearing in the congress hall in clothes he got from the party's younger members: in stylish striped pants and a pink shirt and a loud red tie around his neck.

Youth organization representative Jori Ringman announced that he supported Almgren, after which the chairman went and changed into his earlier dress, representing a noticeably more subdued style.

SKL's Own Policy Line Dispute

The debate engaged in once again confirmed the fact that the SKL has its own internal "policy line dispute," notwithstanding the warmer-sounding tone of the speeches. In Tampere the dispute was personified in Almgren and Ronkainen.

A member of Parliament and director of an adult education school, Ronkainen, 53, represents an approach that is based more on the Bible, one that places value more on "visions" than on the realities of day-to-day politics. Almgren, on the other hand, is a full-blooded politician who could in principle serve in other parties as well.

By pursuing a "more devout" policy line the SKL would rather separate itself from the group of similar parties and would perhaps more certainly attract supporters. On the other hand, a "devout" line will keep the party away from government posts.

Inquiring about the policy line issues on Saturday, Almgren himself said that "piety cannot replace competence." It is indeed Almgren's job to get piety and competence into balance so that the party will become a politically presentable without losing its unique character and its voters. Almgren said that there is no reason for revising the line that has been chosen. "I was chosen with my skin and my hair." Almgren, however, promised that the demands of those who lay emphasis on traditional values would also be taken into consideration.

According to Almgren, the SKL is first and foremost a Christian party, but also a nonsocialist party.

From Kotka, Almgren was promoted to the leadership of the SKL at the party congress in Oulu 3 years ago. At that time he beat Sauli Hautala in the voting after Raino Westerholm had announced that he was resigning from the chairmanship. This time Westerholm and Hautala backed Ronkainen.

Ronkainen Was Persuaded

When the chairman was elected, they started to persuade Ronkainen to be the second chairman. Ronkainen had announced beforehand that he would give up the second chairman's post too if he lost in the vote for party leader.

Ronkainen stuck to his guns despite many fervent appeals. "I don't want to be breathing down the chairman's neck," he said. Almgren also complained about Ronkainen's "obstinacy."

Department manager Marjatta Laakko of Lappeenranta was elected second chairman following the vote. She received 178 votes. Department head Jouko Halme received 143 votes and former MP Antero Juntumaa 78.

Dr Antti Jarva of Imatra will continue to be the third chairman. They also had to vote on the third chairman.

Troublesome Kidnaping in Lebanon

The SKL also passed a bunch of resolutions. The kidnaping of Finnish UN soldiers that occurred in Lebanon placed the formulators of the foreign policy statement in a troublesome position.

The SKL has always remembered to emphasize Israel's unique status as "God's chosen people" and demanded that the Arab countries respect Israel's borders and rights.

They still remembered Israel this time too. Moreover, the SKL had to state that "the party congress condemns the Southern Lebanese Army for seizing Finnish protectors of the peace." The Southern Lebanese Army has been trained and supported by Israel.

In numerous resolutions they further among other things demanded tax relief, the encouragement of small businessmen, an increase in aid for development, responsible freedom of speech and the use of funds devoted to the construction of monuments for the benefit of children, senior citizens and disabled persons.

The party congress proper ended on Saturday. Yet to come on the program for Sunday are religious services and a tour of the sights of Tampere, among other things.

11,466 CSO: 3617/123

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FINLAND

#### POLITICAL

### SWEDISH PEOPLE'S PARTY ELECTS CHRISTOFFER TAXELL CHAIRMAN

#### Chairman Changed, Not Policy

### Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Jun 85 p 2

**Editorial:** "RKP Changes Chairman but not Policy"

[Text] The Swedish People's Party (RKP) has replaced its chairman at its party congress in Porvoo in an exceptionally unanimous way. For a long time now it has been accepted as self-evident that Christoffer Taxell would be chosen as the successor to Par Stenback, who is retiring from politics. Only 37 years old, Taxell, who has served as justice minister for 6 uninterrupted years, has risen to become one of the Sorsa government's most conspicuous figures, one who is often felt to be a specialist minister rather than a party politician.

RKP representatives have occasionally enjoyed the reputation of being professional ministers before too, which is also a result of the role the party has assumed in the government coalition, aside from [the competence of] individuals. The RKP has not striven to present itself as a special interest group that zealously promotes the interests of the purely Swedish-language segment of the population. It has shown itself to be a cooperation-seeking national liberal party that has apparently also been capable of slightly benefiting from the disappearance of the Finnish-language Liberal Party from the political scene.

Despite the reduction in the number of Swedish-speaking Finns, the RKP succeeded in strengthening its position during both the last parliamentary and local elections. Swedish-language Finns account for no more than slightly over 6 percent of the population of Finland. In the parliamentary elections the RKP's share of the vote was 4.9 percent and as much as 5.1 percent in the local elections, even though some Swedish-language Finns have always voted for other parties. mostly for the Social Democrats.

From the viewpoint of the RKP, however, the future is problematic. The party's natural support base is undeniably declining, although not dramatically so. One way to attract new voters would be for the party to become a bilingual one and to appeal more energetically than before to bilingual and liberal Finnish-language Finns in addition to its basic constituency. On the other hand, this

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might encourage the assimilation of Swedish-language Finns into the mainstream of the population and weaken the cultural status of the Swedish language and Swedish-language Finns more than before.

A considerable degree of unanimity over the idea that the party must not adopt a policy of making Swedish-language organizations bilingual seems to prevail in the RKP. This attitude is understandable and well-founded from the point of view of a language party. The RKP's general political image is a matter that is completely independent of this.

The most natural thing is for the RKP to continue pursuing the policy it has up to now pursued, one which, alongside the defense of Swedish-language interests, lays emphasis on the party's national liberalism and desire to cooperate with the other parties. On this basis the RKP can present itself as a party of monolinguals that also promotes the needs of bilinguals and perhaps appeal to those Finnish-language Finns who feel that it is important to keep Finland bilingual.

A particularly risky alternative would be for the RKP to, in order to defend the country's bilingualism, decide to sharpen its policy as a language party and promoter of the interests of the Swedish-language segment of the population, as some seem to be proposing it do. The most likely consequence of a sharpening of its language policy would be a stiffening of attitudes among the majority of the population as well.

The present atmosphere of public tolerance with regard to the language issue is such a valuable achievement that it must be carefully preserved on both sides. They realize this in the RKP too and there is no reason to fear that their policy will change in connection with the election of a new party leader.

Stenback Legacy: Boldly Forward

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Jun 85 p 10

[Article by Martti Backman]

[Text] In his farewell speech retiring RKP chairman Par Stenback urged Swedishlanguage Finns to engage in bold, progressive action in both politics and cultural life in general.

Stenback urged the RKP to retain the initiative in its hands to be able to continue to be successful. "The party must not be a gray yes party, rather it must have a high profile, at least as concerns key social issues," was Stenback's prescription for the future.

The opening speech of Stenback's eighth and last party congress was that of a man who is satisfied with himself. Stenback painted his party's current situation in sunny colors and indicated that it had reached that point through the expansive, progressive strategy that he had developed.

He left the review of last year's day-to-day political events to Ole Norrback, the chairman of the parliamentary delegation, and himself concentrated on outlining a model for the survival of the RKP and the entire Swedish-language population.

In Stenback's opinion, there are many reasons that speak in favor of an expansive policy. "A low-profile policy does not give rise to opposition, but not to too much interest either. If we lose our faith in ourselves and others lose faith in us, we will be doomed to quietly fading away."

Stenback drew his listeners' attention to a time bomb ticking away inside the RKP, a disadvantageous age structure that will before long cause the Swedishlanguage support base to crumble.

Norrback rejected the notion of the Conservative Party's joining the government. It will not, in **hi**s opinion, be possible in the near future, "even though it may in principle be desirable."

Beneath his crocodile tears Norrback also revealed his real reason for being unfavorable disposed toward the Conservative Party. "In politics one's own mouth is closer than the mouth of the bag," he explained. "The basis for everything is that changes in the government coalition must preserve the RKP's influence." In the RKP they fear that the Conservative Party might take at least the second of their ministerial posts away from them.

"No One Believes in the Rinne Model"

Norrback also condemned his partners in the government for their unprincipled soft attitude toward the Finnish Rural Party (SMP) and alluded to the negotiations in progress over additional appropriations for the Rinne employment experiment.

"If more money is provided for the Rinne model, it will be a matter of buying peace in Parliament among the partners in the government. If peace is bought, it should, however, happen in connection with an issue in which everyone believes, not with one in which no one at all believes."

Norrback reminded his listeners that the RKP has been more critical of the SMP than it has of the other parties. "Since the patience of the big government parties seems to be inexhaustible for tactical reasons, we have reminded them that there are — or ought to be — rules of the game."

In his review of policy Norrback continued to demand an increase in Finland's aid for development of a half a percent of the national product as early as in the next budget, viewed with suspicion the transfer of public services functions to the care of private firms and opposed the expansion of state companies into those sectors with which they are not concerned.

Today, Sunday, the party congress will elect Justice Minister Christoffer Taxell the new chairman of the RKP.

The RKP will have to look for new voters from among the other parties, cnierly from Swedish-language Finns who vote for the Left and Finnish-language supporters. Stenback indeed feels that these mobile voters are the reason for his party's success, which has surprised so many outsiders.

Stenback stressed the fact that the RKP has been able to attract new voters through its own quality party cachet without compromising its Swedish-language image.

He urged Swedish-language Finns to make an effort to cross the language barrier in the cultural world as well. Then, in Stenback's opinion, Swedish-language Finns would not need to compromise the message of their Swedish language and culture.

Stenback felt that Swedish-language Finns need Finnish groups that have this objective in situations in which "vulgar populism is pushing its way to the forefront."

"If we play our cards right, these groups may some day step forward unasked to defend our Swedish language and culture with greater enthusiasm than has recently been the case," Stenback said, referring to the SMP attack on Swedishlanguage Finns.

Ole Norrback, the chairman of the RKP parliamentary delegation, lamented the withering away of forms of cooperation with the Center this year. The centrist parties: the Center Party, the RKP and the Liberals, which make up the government majority, at the time agreed on close cooperation against the Social Democrats, cooperation that included joint negotiations before the government's night sessions. Now those negotiations have come to an end.

In Norrback's opinion, deciding on a common cause also has its positive side: "The RKP is conceived of as a more independent and active force than before in our domestic politics."

'Superman' Taxell: Triumphant Procession

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Jun 85 p 11

[Text] As expected, Justice Minister Christoffer Taxell was elected chairman of the RKP on Sunday without debate. Henrik Lax, representing the right wing of the RKP, was chosen as the new man of the party's three-man vice chairmanship.

The election of Taxell at the party congress held in the rural community of Porvoo took place in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. His supporters did not even wait for the conclusion of the election, but rushed to embrace Taxell and bestow flowers on him as soon as he was introduced as chairman.

"Go away, this is a democratic party," Taxell shooed away his admirers. And when opposing candidates did not appear, the resolution was passed. After the election, they placed the mantle of superman on the new chairman's shoulders.

And finally, awaited with excitement, the election of the party vice chairmen was also conducted unanimously without a vote. In the last-minute negotiations they reached mutual understanding on the combination of Hakan Malm, Paivi Hirsikangas and Henrik Lax.

As a result of the negotiations, which lasted the entire day, vice chairman nominees Elisabeth Rehn and Par-Hakan Slotte withdrew their candidacies. Rehn in particular had the broad support of the party's right wing, which she nevertheless did not dare to put to the test of a vote. By way of compensation, Rehn received a seat on the executive committee of the party's central administration.

Elected in place of Patrik Lilius, who has occupied the right-wing vice chairman's seat, Lax recently moved from Tampere to Helsinki. Young lawyer Lax works as a manager at Tampella.

After the election, Taxell assured his listeners that the RKP would not shift to the Right any more than it would to the Left during his chairmanship, rather that the party would continue to pursue a "practical policy line."

On the other hand, Taxell stressed the fact that the party would investigate and not least of all at government level — new possibilities of cooperation, which would also include the Conservative Party.

"The RKP must seek solutions that offer the party as much influence as possible, thus as many ministers in the government as possible," Taxell said. The party must also take note of how well democracy and parliamentarianism function.

"I am not one of those who for reasons of principle do not approve of the present government coalition or feel that it is per se questionable in terms of parliamentarianism. On the contrary, it has been one of the prerequisites for the consensus policy. But I believe the time has now come for all the parties to consider for what other coalition patterns we can find the requirements, not in terms of today's needs, but in terms of slightly longer-range goals," Taxell said in his speech.

Taxell hoped that the RKP would engage in more energetic debate on ideological issues. He also emphasized that the party must pay more attention than before to bilingual and Finnish-language voters interested in the party, although, like his predecessor, he did assert that the RKP is and will continue to be a Swedish-language party.

Finnish Swedes' Tribal Chief

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Jun 85 p 11

[Article by Martti Backman]

[Text] The RKP has not only gotten a chairman in Christoffer Taxell, but the whole Swedish-Finnish tribe has gotten a chief.

This is how many participants in the RKP party congress described their feelings after Taxell was proclaimed party leader in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

The election of Taxell as tribal chief was exceptionally unanimous, even judged by RKP standards. It was not only formally unanimous. Taxell enjoys enormous popularity in his party. The fact that he would be elected chairman of the RKP after Par Stenback has been self-evident for years now.

The 37-year-old Taxell is even now a ready-made legendary character. The adoration is such that it must already be of concern to its object.

Taxell's admirers claim that he has all the same virtues that Stenback had and a whole bunch of others to boot. No one finds any defects or weaknesses even when they look for them.

They say that Taxell is as skillful a political intriguer as his predecessor too, but that he is less rash in taking risks. They further claim that more strength and toughness are to be found when needed underneath his teddy-bearlike, soft outer shell than in Stenback.

Little Big Man

When he steps up to the speaker's podium, Taxell is a little big man. At party youth organization meetings he has for effect conspicuously swept the microphone aside and let his voice thunder, unamplified, out over his listeners.

In the big congress hall in Porvoo Taxell did not dare to surrender the microphone, but his robust maiden speech nevertheless had a charismatic effect on his listeners.

Taxell's most important quality is, however, his personal charm. Everyone likes Chris. Self-assured Stenback maintained a cool distance from the party rank and file until the end.

Taxell combines in himself in a felicitous manner a rich folksiness and an urbanity stemming from the background of his cultural ancestry. The result is "aristocratic modesty," as Jutta Zilliacus has described the quality.

And to complete the picture, not even does the man's way of life admit of any reproach. Taxell's greatest vices are an addiction to Coca-Cola and an excessive consumption of Sisu pastilles. After his election, they symbolically sprayed the air with liquor instead of champagne.

Taxell is being entrusted with the care of a party that is in good shape. There is every reason to believe his affirmation that the party line will not change with the exception of perhaps some minor emphasies. While Stenback's interests were directed toward the domain of foreign policy, Taxell is more interested in matters involving the economy and communications among others and, of course, his own special field. judicial policy. As Finland's minister of justice for the longest term ever, the fact that he has been labeled as some sort of professional minister may constitute a problem for Taxell. A party leader has to be a generally acceptable national politician, and that is what Taxell will probably learn on his new minister's seat after the next reshuffling of the government.

11,466 CSO: 3617/125

POLITICAL

FINLAND

#### CONTRADICTORY RESULTS FROM LEADING POLL ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Jun 85 p 12

[Article by Aslak Herva, instructor at Helsinki University's Institute of Statistics and researcher in the fields of statistics, demography and data processing: "Which Is More Popular, Social Democratic Party or Conservative (Coalition) Party? Small Samples Problematical in Polls"]

[Text] The results of two surveys on support for political parties have recently been issued. The M Data Center, Inc, announces 23.3 percent support for the Social Democrats and Finnish Gallup, Inc, 25.2 percent. The Conservative Party's figures were 23.6 percent and 22.7 percent, respectively. The question arises: which is more popular in reality?

An answer to the question is given by statistical science, which provides methods for depicting world phenomena where uncertainty reigns. In the problem under consideration--measurement of the parties' support--the companies applied a statistical sampling method which rests on the fact that a portion of the group to be surveyed is chosen at random as the object of scrutiny and from the results obtained a conclusion is drawn concerning the entire group's proportion.

Opinions are charted by interviewing selected individuals. The M Data Center chose for its sample 1,261 persons residing in Finland, the Finnish Gallup 1,818, excluding the Aland Islands. In the parliamentary elections of 20-21 March 1983 there were 3,951,932 persons eligible to vote, of whom 3,670,241 were preregistered in Finland on 1 January 1982. There were 24,095 persons eligible to vote on the Aland Islands, of whom 16,962 were preregistered on the Aland Islands.

The M Data Center thus had a sample share of roughly 0.3 per thousand and Finnish Gallup approximately 0.5 per thousand of those preregistered in Finland. (More recent figures on those eligible to vote are not available.)

Uncertainty Factors Cause Problems

There are many uncertainty factors. To begin with, the samples are small.

Secondly, the entire group of eligible voters was not included in the scope of the survey. Finns living abroad and--in the Gallup poll--on the Aland Islands were omitted right at the outset. In this connection, however, it must be

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mentioned that only 6.7 percent of the Finns living abroad voted in the parliamentary elections, so that the omission is not as big as it appears at first glance.

In the third place, not all those in the samples apparently answered for one reason or another, and a portion of those who did reply may have made a statement about party support which does not correspond to their true opinion.

The uncertainty caused by these factors is added to the pile of purely statistical problems. Social Democrats received 26.7 percent and the Conservative Party 22.1 percent of the votes in the 1983 parliamentary elections. What is the situation now?

The key question is: how precisely can we measure values on the basis of random samples of eligible voters and how much uncertainty do we tolerate? In the last analysis, the question is philosophical and linked to each person's world view. How great a risk are we willing to take?

### Probability Is Certainty

The gauge for uncertainty or rather its opposite, certainty, is probability. The concept of probability, however, is not as clear-cut a matter as one might think. Probability can be defined either as some kind of quick-throw experiment carried to extremes in which the share of favorable cases out of all the cases is examined or merely as each person's subjective degree of belief.

It has become customary in the science of statistics to think primarily on the basis of the first alternative, but the subjectivists also have their supporters. The results obtained from these dissimilar starting points do not differ from each other much in practice.

Samples the size of those mentioned above can be chosen from a group of eligible voters in very many different ways.

Possible choices are approximately the figure in which there are 5,000-7,000 numbers. Most of these choices give support figures different from each other.

In the science of statistics, an effort is made to estimate the correct value as closely as possible. If we take all the possible samples mentioned above, then a reasonable request is that on the average an accurate reading be obtained from them. If this is the case, what we have is an error-free estimate.

Reliability Interval States Risk

When only one sample has been taken in each survey, however, we can only say that the correct value is with a specified probability in a certain interval. This interval is called the reliability interval, and the probability (level of reliability) linked to it states that the actual value is in this interval.

The interval is incidental in its scope and thus varies from one sample to the next. This explains why the M Data Center and the Finnish Gallup have obtained such dissimilar results.

What sort of reliability intervals are there in the cases now under consideration?

In statistics, we can be guided by special models which are not very intricate in computational terms. A pocket calculator is sufficient. Also needed is a knowledge of the most essential distribution in statistics, the normal distribution, which the phenomena of our world adhere to with amazing regularity, provided that there are plenty of incidents. A pocket calculator is also sufficient, but when it is a matter of many similar analyses, it pays to use a microcomputer in order to spare oneself from needless steps and repetitions.

I ran a small program. The results are in a table and are presented more graphically in the accompanying chart. The reliability levels I selected are generally popular in various scientific surveys: 95 percent and 99 percent. These are, however, completely arbitrary. How reliable you want it to be is a personal matter.

It is seen from the chart that the reliability intervals of percentages which depict support for the Social Democratic Party and the Conservative Party clearly go one on top of the other. The reliability intervals are long, and the only way to shorten them is to increase the size of the sample. The bigger the sample, the shorter the interval.

In an extreme case, when the sample is the entire group of eligible voters, the interval is naturally reduced to a mere point, the correct value. On the 95 percent reliability level, support for the Social Democrats was 21.0-25.6 percent according to the M Data Center and 23.2-27.2 percent according to Finnish Gallup. The Conservative Party's figures were 21.3-25.9 percent and 20.8-24.7 percent, respectively. In the surveys' points of departure, however, there were the above-mentioned problems, which increase the uncertainty.

On the 99 percent reliability level, the intervals were roughly a percentage point longer in both directions.

Average Thinking Does Not Always Lead to What Is Correct

It appears obvious from these results that no distinction can be made in the percentage shares between the Social Democrats and the Conservatives. It is even hard to say whether the degrees of support have changed since the 1983 parliamentary elections. It does seem, however, that support for the Social Democrats has declined.

In order to clarify these questions, there are statistical methods for testing claims. They presume, among other things, knowledge of dispersion of the answers, which are computed from the material gathered. The differences are not significant on the above-mentioned risk levels.

It can thus be stated that the conclusions drawn on the basis of a sample-especially when it is small--are not as straightforward as one is often given to understand. A statistical contribution is also needed. Average thinking does not always yield correct results. It must be remembered that if you have one foot in hot water and the other in cold water, then you are well-off on the average--if you are normal. But an outsider has reason to examine such a type. Treatment cannot be for the good. It is not necessary to go to the doctor in this case, but rather treatment is given by the statistician, who tells what is at stake.



- (1) Social Democratic Party
- (2) Conservative Party
- (3) M Data Center sample
- (4) Announced share
- (5) 95% reliability interval (10) Support
- (6) Finnish Gallup sample
- (7) Social Democrats
- (8) Conservative Party
- (9) Parliamentary elections

  - (11) Announced value
  - (12) Sample

12327 CSO: 3617/122

POLITICAL

FINLAND

COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS ON RESULTS OF SKDL CONVENTION

#### Stalinist Paper Attacks Resolutions

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 29 May 85 p 8

[Article: "Desire to Make SKDL into Forum for the Masses"]

[Text] The SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] convention held over the weekend proved unsuccessful in broadening the league and in pushing policy further to the left. On the contrary, by the choices made, both the Socialist Student Alliance and those who represent the views of the majority of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] membership were removed almost entirely from the league's leadership.

In the initiatives and speeches made at the convention, there was a demand for developing the league on a broader basis than at present. "We want the SKDL to evolve in such a direction that--in addition to the traditional forces--cultural, environmental, educational organizations, organizations of intellectuals and functionaries can join in to enhance the strength of the people's democratic movement," said Antti Holopainen of the SKDL Joensuu district.

Holopainen called for organizational adjustments by which activity at the basic level is developed in such a way that the people's democratic movement "turns into an authentic forum for the joint work of the masses."

According to Holopainen, the SKDL has overconcentrated on parliamentary activity in the Eduskunta and in the municipalities. The Kymi district was of the same opinion in its initiative, which asks the SKDL leadership to focus on the support and promotion of mass movements instead of the bureaucratic maintenance of organizations.

It is said that in Finland and the Western countries in general we are now living in a time of people's movements. The political activity of citizens is being channeled more into various movements than into parties. In this situation, new opportunities would open up for the SKDL if it functioned as an alliance and a movement. Instead of this, however, the league convention's majority chose the opposite solution. The SKDL is being made more monolithic than before: action presupposes humble obedience to the leadership group, and dictation was chosen in place of broadmindedness. The SKDL socialists--there were some 30 or 40 of them out of 200 representatives at the league convention--demanded for themselves, through the position adopted by their delegation, a majority of the league's leading subordinate groups. According to the socialists' interpretation, the SKDL membership is split down the middle: Communist Party members and the others. The others are socialists because they are not communists, argue the socialists.

Vimpeli's Matti Lehto, himself a participant in the socialists' activity, spoke about the erroneousness of this distribution. He divides the members into communists, socialists and so-called people's democrats, individuals who no more identify with the communists than they do with the socialists. In his view, they account for one-third, even one-half of the members. Lehto asked in what way their representation is assured in the league's leadership. It is not assured in any way. Lehto's solidarity was not sufficient, however, to demand assurance of representation in the SKDL leadership for the eight SKP districts excluded from party leadership work.

Human Being as Starting Point in Agricultural Problems

SKP Kuopio district secretary Seppo Kortelainen urged the people's democrats to use the human being as the point of departure in examining agricultural problems. "Agricultural policy cannot be examined as a question of counterbalancing production and consumption separate from the human being," said Kortelainen. He pointed out that it is not a matter of farms but the tribulations and living conditions of tens of thousands of people.

"Any alliance whatsoever is based on common interests and goals, an alliance of workers and farmers, too." In Kortelainen's opinion, the people's democrats must make espousal of the working farmers' interests the starting point in agricultural policy, not, for example, whether agricultural production is greater than consumption. "This is very much a question of principle, and deviation from it means the collapse of alliance policy."

Kortelainen insisted on a search for solutions to overproduction problems other than the liquidation of small and medium-sized farms and an increase in the army of the unemployed. "It is downright indecent to wallow in so-called overproduction problems when millions of people in the world are dying of hunger."

Two Lines of Thought in Foreign Policy

Cay Sevon, a member of the previous league administrative board, wished the new administrative board greater success in international activity than what the previous one had been capable of. The position taken on Finnish-Soviet relations and approved at the league convention does not bode well, however. Even HELSINGIN SANOMAT in its editorials predicts hard times for relations between the league's new leadership and the Soviet Union.

According to Sevon, the SKDL does not have a general view of whether there exists an imperialist system to which Finland also belongs or whether there is only a policy which is called imperialist. "Moreover, we lack a clear concept of what Finland's place is in the world. Is it a small, northern, neutral country which has good relations with the Soviet Union or is it part of the imperialist system, which means a perpetual struggle between a fundamentally peaceful line in foreign policy and the centers of imperialism as well as the pressures created by our own social system?" These pressures attempt to draw Finland in more closely to the imperialistic centers' line of thought in the area of foreign policy, too, said Sevon.

A variety of views is part of the nature of an organization like the SKDL, according to Sevon. "Over a longer interval of time, however, standpoints and activity develop into our league's line of thought." Sevon, who has also been a member of the SKDL's international division, said that there are efforts being made in the league's leadership circles to change from the one basic pillar of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen foreign policy line into a central political force of support in Finland for the so-called independent peace movement, END.

"These matters contradict each other. You cannot announce you support the fundamental foreign policy line and at the same time work to make sure that the peace movement does not support it," said Sevon.

Parliamentary representative Pirkko Turpeinen criticized those who spoke about dissolving electoral alliances. In her opinion, the parliamentary group's experiences show that it is possible to work on behalf of a distinct leftist policy. Turpeinen objected to the criticism of the Soviet Union published in the SKDL socialist newspaper VAPAA SANA.

Results of Dissolution

According to Yrjo Hakanen, a member of the previous league council, the league convention took place in a contradictory situation: the possibility for both new growth and the league's collapse is within arm's reach.

"It is said that new growth requires dissolution of electoral alliances in future parliamentary elections. Yet we all know that the outcome of two election tickets is not victory but savage defeat. The response to this has been that defeat in the next elections is necessary in order for it to be possible to make progress in the 1990s."

Hakanen asked whether the workers can afford to wait around for an upsurge starting in the next decade when employers are applying pressure all the time.

"It is not just a matter of some parliamentary seats which can be won back later. Dissolution of the electoral alliances would open the way for our entire country to become more conservative. In the Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions, we would lose the definitive minority which has prevented the business enterprises from restricting the unions' rights by changing the rules."

According to Hakanen, as a result of the dissolution of electoral alliances, the Conservative Party could seek a position as the country's largest party, and the SKDL and the Social Democratic Party might even lose the definitive minority in the Eduskunta.

"Also upcoming are the presidential elections, in which the results of our movement's dissolution could even decisively contribute to the Right's efforts to elevate to the presidency--in place of Koivisto--someone who would dissociate himself from the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line." The warnings did not produce the desired effect. The convention rejected the proposal, which called for unified election preparations.

Hakanen suggested that the league convention begin preliminary work for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, which will be celebrated in the autumn of 1987, and for the 40th anniversary of the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance to be held the following year. There was no trace of the suggestion in the convention's resolutions.

Almost Complete Leadership Change

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 27 May 85 pp 6,12

[Article: "Nearly Complete Change for the New in SKDL Leadership: Election Committee Did Work, Hall Voted"]

> [Text] At the 14th league convention yesterday afternoon, the leadership of the Finnish People's Democratic League underwent a more sweeping change than ever before in the 40-year history of the league. The members of both the league administrative board and the league council are almost all new.

At 3:54 pm Sunday, 46-year-old parliamentary representative Esko Helle, a dental specialist from Janakkala, became the SKDL's new and at the same time seventh chairman by the overwhelming vote of 161-31.

The election committee unanimously proposed Helle for the chairmanship. The TIEDONANTAJA group finally violated the unanimity and in the convention hall pushed parliamentary representative Pirkko Turpeinen past the election committee as a rival candidate. The demonstration did not receive the support of the others.

The same group offered Seppo Timonen, unknown in the SKDL, as an opposition candidate to 41-year-old First Secretary Reijo Kakela. The voting in the hall was heavily in favor of Kakela's continuation, 164-31.

Unanimously elected deputy chairmen were 35-year-old Ulla-Leena Alppi, parliamentary representative from Tampere, for her third term, and 40-year-old Timo Laaksonen, parliamentary representative from Pori, for the first time.

In the end, 58-year-old parliamentary representative Vappu Sailynoja of Oulu was unanimously elected--from the deputy chairman's post--new chairman of the league council. Kalevi Kilpi is now relinquishing the job after 6 years.

Sailynoja was chosen unanimously together with someone from another northern district, Lapland. Its own man, research director Tuomo Molander from Rovaniemi, was unanimously elected deputy chairman of the league council. The surprising Osmo Vepsalainen, 53-year-old parliamentary representative from Varkaus, became second deputy chairman of the league council by the unambiguous vote of 162-31. The rival candidate was parliamentary representative Ensio Laine, who belongs to the TIEDONANTAJA group and who has been a deputy chairman since 1979.

"Away With Hairsplitting"

After the elections, new Chairman Esko Helle steered the league onto a new stretch of road, recalling the guiding thought of the SKDL's first chairman, K.H. Wiik: "Unity in the labor movement can be attained only by ceasing to squabble over minor matters and bringing the major issues to the forefront."

The election committee was forced to work diligently during the entire convention, adjusting its election proposals and the districts' wishes to the new league administrative board's framework, considerably reduced within the compass of the recent and as such very necessary rules reform. While presenting proposals in the convention hall, election committee chairman Erkki Kauppila focused attention on these problems and this compromise. There are 14 permanent and 5 reserve members on the new league administrative board, while the corresponding number was 32 on the previous one. It is true that the composition of the league council was expanded by 10 seats.

Tight Contest for Oulu and Lapland

Election committee chairman Erkki Kauppila and secretary Matti Koskelo made their first basic proposals for chairman, league administrative board and league council as early as Friday evening, but the candidate list changed several times, even on Sunday.

In the election committee and the districts' delegate groups, there was an insistence on willingness to collaborate in the league leadership from the delegates of the TIEDONANTAJA group and the capacity to carry out the league's line of thought. Ensio Laine, former deputy chairman of the league council, was criticized for lack of desire to cooperate, and the minority was left without a chairman's post.

The districts of Oulu and Lapland both sought the post of league council chairman. Lapland wanted to nominate Oulu's Vappu Sailynoja as a rival candidate to its own man, Tuomo Molander, in the election for league council chairman, but on Sunday it agreed to compromise. In the hall, Lapland district's Jaakko Huttunen criticized the preliminary debate proposal of personal names made in April by the so-called Haapanen work group. In Huttunen's opinion, a prearrangement of choices was undemocratically created in this way. Huttunen had his viewpoint included in the report of the convention's proceedings.

The election committee was forced to accommodate various districts' goals, the socialists' directives and the TIEDONANTAJA group's demands in the reduced league administrative board.

Hilkka Aalto deplored the fact that some very good colleagues were missing from the new league administrative board. She mentioned in particular former first secretary Jorma Hentila and Johan von Bonsdorff, who belonged to the previous administrative board but is not on the new one.

Ten-Member League Administrative Board

The rules change proposal prepared for the league convention was approved unanimously except for two votes.

The size of the league administrative board is reduced in such a way that--in addition to the chairmen and the first secretaries--10 members now belong to it, while previously the number was at least 15, at most 20.

There was also an opportunity to vote on the subject of the number of members on the league administrative board. Taavi Lintunen of Tampere introduced a clause to leave it unchanged, and he was backed by Esko Vaisanen of the Socialist Student Alliance.

Also, on behalf of some from North Hame who had earlier expressed a hesitant standpoint, Kauko Tamminen presented a compromise supported by Heimo Rekonen. According to the proposal, the issue would have been reintroduced to the committee with the instruction that 15 members now be selected for the league administrative board and its size fixed at 10-15 in the rules.

The reintroduction proposal was rejected by a clear majority in a straw vote. The convention's relative strength was measured for the first time in the rejection vote. Only 30 opponents of the rules change were found, mostly members of the Socialist Student Alliance and those committed to the TIEDONANTAJA movement. One hundred and fifty-six voted for the change.

12327 CSO: 3617/122

FRANCE

POLITICAL

#### PCF POLITBURO COMMUNIQUE ON 25TH CONGRESS

Paris CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME in French Jun 85 pp 119-121

[Text] The situation is growing steadily worse. Millions of French men and women live poorly, as recent index figures show.

The fine rhetoric offered for months by the president of the republic and the government concerning an improvement was therefore once again nothing but empty promises. In all spheres of activity, the critical level has been exceeded. Growth is stagnant, unemployment is worsening dramatically, investments show no progress, purchasing power is down, poverty is on the rise, inflation is resuming and the foreign deficit is expanding.

These results fully confirm what our party has constantly stated: The austerity policy is not a necessary evil; it is quite simply an evil! It aggravates all problems and plunges our country into crisis.

This disastrous economic and social policy is accompanied by a direct attack on democracy. In business, the repression of owners and management strikes out at trade union members and communists with the increasingly active support of government. The content of the 1986 election law is determined based on its ability to weaken the Community Party and help old political alliances. Radio and television are even more directly under the thumb of the government. In New Caledonia, despite commitments made, the Kanak people continue to suffer under a neocolonial situation.

At the same time, France's role in the world grows weaker. With Reagan, the president of the republic has opposed Soviet proposals. The arms race is encouraged, while socialist television prepares to broadcast a program openly calling for war. France's independence and security are gravely threatened by the government's European policy.

On the whole, the government is gradually abandoning all that the left has always embodied, the promises which the Socialist Party made in 1981, the immense hope that had brought about the political change 4 years ago. While the right arrogantly organizes its revenge, not a day goes by without the president of the republic or some minister or socialist leader proposing to go even further in the direction of a reactionary policy.

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As the 25th Congress of our party emphasized, "our people are profoundly marked by this experience and in some ways scarred." Many men and women workers feel not only a legitimate discontent, great concern about the future, but also growing discouragement. The feeling that no matter what happens, things are certain to get worse, is gaining ground.

A single political force resolutely opposes that feeling: the French Communist Party.

Is the crisis fatal? The Communist Party replies that it is not! The crisis can be explained. It is, as the 25th Congress has proved, "the crisis of the system that governs our society, the capitalist structures in which it is enclosed." To attack the capitalist rules is to tackle the crisis effectively.

Is the government's policy fatal? The Communist Party replies that is is not! Nothing forces Francois Mitterrand and the government to follow a policy patterned after that of the right. The decisions they make are the result of choices. One could make others. As the 25th Congress explained, provided that one has the political will, all the means exist in France to get the economy going again through the creation of jobs, to improve purchasing power and advance in the direction of justice, to democratize all life of society, so that our country may act in behalf of independence, peace, disarmament and solidarity.

Is the alternative fatal? Either a socialist government going further than the right has ever been able to or a return to the power of the right allied with the far right? The Communist Party says that it is not! Our people has the necessary resources to resist the government policy of plunging further into the crisis and bringing about the failure of Barre, Chirac, Giscard d'Estaing and Le Pen. As the 25th Congress has shown, "it is every day and in all fields: economic, political and ideological, that, in a bitter class struggle, the fight is waged between the forces that plunge the country into crisis and those that act to open up a way out." In order to work against the crisis, there are broad common interests, powerful reasons to come together, unite, act and win together. It is the path of effectiveness, the construction of a new majority people's rally in order to cvercome difficulties by changing society.

Pitted against the champions of resignation, men and women workers from all categories now have a recourse: the French Communist Party. For all the men and women who think that another path must be taken, one decisive question is henceforth posed: that of the role and the action of the Communist Party, its ability to consider the future of French society. There is no hope of making things change in France on the side of employment, justice, dignity, democracy, independence and peace without a strong and active Communist Party.

This situation confers immense responsibilities on our party, on all communists. Whatever their militant task and wherever they may be found, for them it is a question of understanding and going into action, of breaking through the ideas of submission and fatality, of explaining the new perspective that we propose and making it credible, of demonstrating a spirit of initiative in order to achieve the broadest possible rally in the struggle. We must bring the policies of the 25th Congress alive, for they constitute "a hand held out to the millions of men and women and young people who are now disappointed, lost and questioning."

Nothing is therefore more important or more decisive.

Carrying out this task demands an immediate effort so that every communist may fully follow such policies.

This has been the direction of the first and most important decision made at the meeting of the Central Committee and the federal secretaries on 25 March to organize, from 10 to 20 April, ten days during which party members would be given copies of the documents of the congress and the 1985 cards to those who do not yet have them.

The Politburo has evaluated the progress of this campaign.

The initial results are encouraging. Tens of thousands of communists have received the documents from the congress and their 1985 cards. A real movement to recruit members exists and many who had become alienated from their party in previous years are returning. Cells have been created or have resumed greater activity.

But this interesting record conceals major inequalities. It is the work of cells and sections in which the effort made is on a par with necessities. But the party as s whole is still far from committed at the required level. That is why, however positive they may be, these results remain insufficient to reach the objective set: enabling all communists to be in possession, by 20 April, of the congress documents, issuing cards to all 1984 members by that date.

Without a doubt, the party leaders bear part of the responsibility for this situation. It stems, first of all, from the date chosen, near or during the Easter congresses, which did not help the best possible mobilization during the early days. But it is above all the work of inadequate promotion of the campaign, of inadequate support given to each party organization to ensure its complete success. Obviously, it was and is possible to do better and more.

The Politburo therefore calls upon all communists and party leaders at all levels to take the measures required to correct the situation in a concrete way.

In order to do so under the best possible conditions, it has decided to extend this campaign by one week, until Sunday, 28 April.

Twelve days are therefore left, including two weekends.

During those 12 days: All party forces must be truly rallied. During these 12 days, absolute priority must be given to the party, which is the sole watchword for everyone. With the active aid of members of the Central

Committee, the federal leadership will ensure that all communists and above all, the leaders -- whether members of the cell bureaux, section committees or federal committees -- make their participation in this campaign their absolute priority.

Party documents must be issued to the 610,000 communists. This is an unprecedented job of contact and explanation, which presumes, in each federation and section, precise planning, day after day, in order to have seen all members by 28 April and to have issued the congress' documents to them, discussing them with them.

All communists must have their 1985 card by 28 April. This presumes that the proper organizational measures will be taken so that by that time, in each cell, there will be someone, whether or not a member of the cell, to issue the card to all 1984 members and repropose it to those who may have been deprived of it in previous years.

On a daily basis, L'HUMANITE will report on the conduct of the campaign. At its close, the record of the results obtained will be examined in each region, under the responsibility of a member of the Politburo.

To convey the ideas and solutions of the 25th Congress to all men and women workers, to all other men and women and young people who are suffering and wondering about the future, is the objective of the second major decision made on 25 March: to organize "1,000 meetings for the future" throughout the country by the end of the year, in enterprises, living compounds, districts, cities and villages.

Henceforth, provisions have been made and others must be at the prompting of the federations and in a concrete and precise way. An evaluation will be made at regional meetings. That is how this central idea will progress. There are other solutions, another positive political perspective proposed by the French Communist Party and for which it calls for a struggle forthwith.

This effort will be based on the renewed L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE, whose circulation must be increased, starting with the 28 April mass sale.

It can and must be accompanied by a vast effort to strengthen the party, particularly aimed at the young.

Paris, 16 April 1985 Politburo of the French Communist Party

11,464 CSO: 3519/226

FRANCE

### STATEMENT FROM ELECTED COMMUNISTS ON LEFTWING COOPERATION

Paris CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME in French Jun 85 pp 125-126

[Text] Members of the National Bureau of the National Association of Communist and Republican Elected Officials (ANECR) have read and discussed the editorial carried by the May issue of COMMUNES DE FRANCE, an editorial signed by F. Serusclat, president of the Federation of Socialist Elected Officials.

Communist officials with posts in municipalities with socialist mayors are accused of causing tension and conflicts between socialist and communist elected officials. Proof is not given, but a formal summons is issued to all minority communist officials:

They are prohibited from issuing opinions critical of the national governmental policy.

They must either pass the budget of the socialist mayor or if they disagree, must resign from their post.

To force communist officials to accept the government policy silently is the goal of the president of socialist officials.

On the other hand, Serusclat says nothing about cities in which, using different excuses, the socialist officials vehemently fight the proposals of the communist mayors in keeping with the inhabitants' interests.

The National Bureau of the ANECR wishes to state clearly that nothing will divert communist officials from their responsible attitude and their loyalty to the defense of the people's interests.

This is why communist officials and their group in particular cannot conceal the reality of the facts.

In the communes, jobs, the purchasing power, housing, schools and public safety are all problems underlining the rapid worsening of the living conditions of families.

At the same time, the Socialist Government is increasing the difficulties of local communities. The austerity policy it is following stands in the way of
the fulfillment of commitments made in 1983 to the voters. With increased rights and powers, the elected officials with the political determination are encountering more difficulties than they once did in responding to the needs of the people.

Using the excuse that communist and socialist officials make up the majority of the municipal council, the general council or the regional council, it is not possible to conceal the fact that the Socialist Party, with all the power, is practicing a reactionary policy.

While it is true that the socialist officials in local assemblies are trying to justify this policy, it is equally true that they are in flagrant contradiction with the 1983 municipal commitments. Communist officials, for their part, cannot allow the local assemblies to become the relays for this reactionary pol policy. For them, it is a condition for remaining faithful to the contract made with the people.

Under such conditions, the National Bureau of the ANECR believes that in local assemblies with a leftist majority, there must be cooperation between communist, socialist and republican elected officials.

Carrying out the municipal program together is the will of the communist officials.

In communes in which the mayors are communist, socialist officials fully exercise their rights to disagreement without thereby being threatened with sanctions. There is debate which, if need be, is taken before the people. That is democracy.

In communes where the mayors are socialist, it is necessary for the same thing to hold true. Communist officials must be able to express their own opinions, defend them and act in order to remain loyal to commitments made to the people. That is their imperative.

Whether they be a majority or minority in the local assembly, communist officials act with and for inhabitants in order to respond to their needs and thus keep their commitments.

It is in such a spirit, based on a rich democratic practice, that the National Bureau supports the activity of communist officials in local assemblies.

More than ever, in order to carry out the municipal program, communist officials feel a need to bring inhabitants increasingly into the management of local affairs, meaning progress toward self-management.

> Paris, 23 May 1985 National Bureau of the ANECR

11,464 CSO: 3519/226

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### POLITICAL

FRANCE

# NEW ASSIGNMENTS FOR PCF OFFICIALS

Paris CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME in French Jun 85 p 118

[Text] In accordance with the mandate received from the Central Committee elected at the 25th Congress, the Politburo has divided up the tasks of party leadership. It has defined responsibilities as follows:

Georges Marchais: Secretary general.

Charles Fiterman: Propaganda and communications (Pierre Zarka, assistant). Problems in audiovisual and communications techniques. Labor commission on the question "state and freedoms" (with Anicet Le Pors).

Jean-Claude Gayssot: Party organization (with Alain Zoughebi).

Maxime Gremetz: Foreign policy (Jacques Denis, assistant).

Andre Lajoinie: Chairman of communist group in National Assembly. Liaison with communist group in the Senate (chairman of the Helene Luc group). Agriculture.

Paul Laurent: Liaison with party federations (with Pierrette Joachim). Coordination of regional committee officials. Coordination of Paris region federations. Relations with political parties.

Gisele Moreau: Party activity among women (Jacky Hoffmann, assistant). Family policy.

Gaston Plissonnier: Coordination of work of Politburo and Secretariat.

Gustave Ansart: Chairman of central political control commission.

Mireille Bertrand: City planning, environment, consummer affairs (with Andree Lefrere). Associative life.

Claude Billard: Party activity in businesses (with Henri Costa, Catherine Margate and Guy Poussy). Immigration.

Pierre Blotin: Education of communists (with Paul Fromonteil and Danielle Bleitrach).

Guy Hermier: Intellectuals, culture (Claude Llabres, assistant). Education and universities. Publisher of REVOLUTION (editor in chief, Jean-Paul Jouary).

Philippe Herzog: Economy (assistant, Bernard Marx, with Paul Boccara and Michel Dauba). Regions. Publisher of ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE (editor in chief, Aime Halbeher).

Francette Lazard: Director of the IRM [expansion unknown]. Relations with Christian circles and movements.

Rene Le Guen: Science, research and technology (with Jean-Pierre Kahane). Party activity aimed at technicians, engineers and upper-level personnel (with Michel Laurent). Central documentation department.

Roland Leroy: Publisher of L'HUMANITE (editor in chief: Claude Cabanes) and L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE (editor in chief: Francois Hilsum). Coordination of provincial dailies. Party activity for circulation of L'HUMANITE and L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE (in charge: Henri Martin).

Rene Piquet: Aid in advancement of members. Chairman of group of French communist officials in European Assembly.

Claude Poperen: Health and social security (with Yann Viens). Party activity aimed at the retired. Party activity for circulation of REVOLUTION.

Madeleine Vincent: Local communities (with Marcel Rosette, president of the National Association of Communist and Republican Elected Officials, and Robert Clement, secretary general). Elections (with Jean Wlos).

Louis Baillot: National defense, security, police.

Jean-Michel Catala: Publisher of CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME.

Pierre Juquin: Action for peace and disarmament.

Pierre Sotura: Party treasurer.

Francis Wurtz: Secretary of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms in France and the World (chairman, Georges Marchais).

Marcel Zaidner: Head of press office of Central Committee (with Francoise Py). Party activity aimed at youth, in liaison with party secretary general. Children. Physical education and sports.

Roger Gaudon: Commerce and handicrafts.

11,464 CSO: 3519/226

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NETHERLANDS

POLITICAL

DE KONING ON ARUBAN INDEPENDENCE, TIES WITH NETHERLANDS

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 1 Jun 85 p 3

[Report on interview with Minister De Koning of Netherlands Antilles Affairs by Frans Kok: "Minister De Koning Retains Development Cooperation with Aruba on a Separate Status; The Netherlands Had to Abandon a Number of Desires; "date and place not specified]

[Text] Next week the Aruban leader Betico Croes will see his long struggle for independence crowned with success. The two fighting cocks, Aruba and Curacao, will then be permanently separated. Over 2 years ago the Netherlands agreed to a temporary transition arrangement of 10 years, called separate status, which takes effect on 1 January 1986. With Minister De Koning (Antilles Affairs) we assess the situation on the eve of the Chamber debates on amending the constitution.

The Hague, 1 June--If the amendment of the Statute of the Kingdom will get the OK of the Second and First Chamber, and if subsequently no strange things happen in the Antilles, the island Aruba (65,000 inhabitants) will automatically become fully independent in 1996. The question arises whether it is indeed justified to create a mini-state whose economic foundation has dramatically worsened during the past year due to the closing of the Lago oil refinery.

De Koning: "Not too terribly much will change on 1 January. Since 1953 the Antilles have been autonomous at the administrative and financial-economic levels, and the individual island governments also have a great degree of autonomy already. Aruba will get some more authority, but materially the transition is less than it appears to be psychologically and constitutionally, especially when one considers that the legal security will remain as it is, in the form of one common court."

[Question] Yet the mutual tie which has existed among the Antilles since 1845 will now definitely be cut. Will Aruba be able to manage on its own from now on, and doesn't the Netherlands run the risk that, just as in the case of Suriname, it will be accused of letting go of the country too rapidly and on too small a scale?

De Koning: "We must not be too dramatic about it. For the time being the tie with Aruba will remain the same for the next 10 years as that with the Antilles as a whole right now. Moreover, the economic problems of Aruba do not change through the separate status or independence. Aruba doesn't get a cent from the other islands to solve its problems, on the contrary, it must pay something to the central administration in Willemstad. The development cooperation with the Netherlands will simply continue. Probably also after independence.

What exactly did the central administration do for Aruba? It made laws and maintained the legal order. Undoubtedly it is a harder job for Aruba to take care of legislation itself now, but in fact there will not be much more work for Aruba with respect to administration. Coordination of the legislation with the other Netherlands Antilles continues to be possible, and even is necessary, for if the court of justice and the Dutch Supreme Court are to be preserved as the crown of the judicial system, potentially also after 1996, the laws may not deviate from each other too much."

[Question] Another Suriname lesson is that the democratic process had not taken sufficient root there, which can cause a rapid decline of the democracy. If one considers the numerous dissidents and turncoats among the political parties and the systematic obstructing of a quorum when the opposition wants to ask difficult questions, one wonders: doesn't that contain a risk too?

[Answer] "In the Antilles and Aruba the democracy has been functioning in that manner for decades already. We must not apply Dutch standards. It is possible only in theory that the Netherlands intervenes in that. As to Aruba, that possibility will completely disappear in 1996, but I find that a minor deficiency. Also now it is unthinkable that the government of the Netherlands will make use of its authority to intervene in internal affairs."

# Division of property

"As to the turncoat phenomena, we also have that in the Netherlands, but it is true that Stef Dijkman would have defected much sooner in the Antilles and that he would have done that many times by now."

It is actually surprising that the parliamentary discussion next week is taking place exactly according to schedule. During the past 2 years delays occurred so often that the date of 1 January did not seem feasible. De Koning never doubted that date, he says. The delay which arose at the beginning created an atmosphere which necessitated political decisions. Further the interim cabinet formation, which took place partly in The Hague, worked as catalyst. Just as with the Dutch coalition cabinets, some broad lines were established at the time through which the controversial point of the division of property could be settled.

The Netherlands resisted the separate status for a long time. Independence, all right. Each island which wants to stand on its own legs could leave the Kingdom tomorrow, in a manner of speaking, but as to a special structure for an island, the Netherlands only wanted to accept that for a limited period and under a number of strict conditions. Betico Croes' plea not to include an independence date for Aruba in the new-style-constitution (through which the separate status could also be continued after 1996) thus does not have a ghost of a chance next week.

The Antilles have had more success with nibbling away at the packet of conditions from the Dutch side. At the Round Table Conference (RTC) of March 1983 it was still solemnly agreed that a united government and parliament would be formed from Aruba and the other islands, and that there would be brotherly cooperation in numerous areas. Via a cleverly applied inching tactic, almost nothing has remained of those RTC conclusions. Some consultation takes place on a voluntary basis between the governments, but nothing further. Aruba will, however, get its own currency system and its own attorney general.

[Question] Why is all that fuss of the separate status necessary if Aruba has in fact already achieved what it wanted, namely being completely separate from Curacao and therefore, actually, independent?

De Koning: "Initially we did indeed hammer on the relationship between a close cooperation and the `toleration' of a separate status. But we have learned the lesson that it is senseless to force a cooperation on two partners who do not want it. That means that the Netherlands has had to abandon a number of its own views and wishes. I still believe, however, that the spirit of the conclusions of the RTC has been carried out fairly well. I hope that the Second Chamber will share this `liberal' standpoint of the Dutch government next week."

### Eternity

"Aruba and the Antilles came to the realization that forced cooperation could also contain the danger of obstruction by one of the partners. Therefore they wanted to get rid of it. But the Netherlands insisted on two important points: separate status as of 1986 automatically means complete independence in 1996, and the legal security must be guaranteed. Well, that has been complied with."

No matter how unhappy the Dutch parties may be about this small remnant of cooperation, politically they are realistic enough not to block Aruba's separation for this reason. For decades the controversy between Aruba and Curacao has made any serious discussion on the future of the Netherlands Antilles impossible.

De Koning: "The controversy would have flared up in its full scope again if the separate status had been postponed. The term independence has become loaded with meaning in the Antilles during the past years, but when the separate status for Aruba has been settled, the Netherlands can try to get the discussion started again. We certainly cannot preserve the current political relations indefinitely."

[Question] You have a somewhat curious combination of functions: social affairs and Netherlands Antilles affairs. Does that not require considerable

switching over, from the meeting practices of the SER [Social Economic Council] to those of the parties in the Antillean states?

[De Koning:] It suits me fine. The contrast between the two worlds is very great and that is precisely what I find interesting. From the moment I board the airplane, I no longer think of the Netherlands. Louw de Graaf [Secretary of State for Social Affairs] once had a problem with the time difference and phoned me in the middle of the night to tell me about the situation with reference to WAO [Law on Labor Disability] and WWV [Law on Unemployment Provision]. For many minutes I lay motionless, thinking: what is that about?

"The difference is also that here I enter the meeting room of the SER and start by turning my pockets inside out to show they are empty. And over there I enter with 230 million guilders per year in my pocket. In the SER no one needs to ask me for anything; it took some time, but now everyone knows there is no money left. Thus here I play the part of a withdrawing government all day long, whereas in the Antilles I am still performing. Sometimes I think it might be better the other way around, and that here we ought to do a little more and over there a little less."

8700 CSO: 3614/90

POLITICAL

NORWAY

COUNTRY'S UNIFIL CONTINGENT AGAIN THREATENED BY ISRAEL

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Jun 85 p 15

[Article by Wenche Lie: "Norwegian UNIFIL Soldiers Again Threatened by Israelis"]

[Text] The Norwegian UNIFIL soldiers in Lebanon have again been badgered by Israeli soldiers and members of the Israel-supported South Lebanese militia. The episode occurred Friday evening in the little country town of Cheba, where 25 Norwegian soldiers are stationed. "We have already protested strongly to the Israeli authorities," says Major Eystein Singstand, chief of the Norwegian contingent in the UNIFIL forces. Sunday evening, however, it was quiet and peaceful and Singstand expects this to have been just one episode.

"An episode similar to those we have seen recently," says press spokesman Per Paust from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He anticipates political repercussions.

It was Friday evening between 11 pm and midnight local time when a group of Israeli soldiers and members of the South Lebanese militia shot in the air and threatened the 25 Norwegian soldiers. Thereafter the same group forced its way into the house where the Norwegian soldiers are staying and took with them binoculars and some tools before they disappeared.

"We consider such an episode very serious," says major Singstad, "and of course this created a certain alarm within the Norwegian troop which is rather new here. The Norwegian forces in Lebanon were exchanged at the end of May, beginning of June, and the last soldiers came to Lebanon as late as 6 June.

It has only been a few weeks since Norwegian forces were exposed to badgering by Israeli forces in Lebanon. Major Singstad's car was pushed off the road and destroyed by an Israeli armored car. Two days before the Norwegian authorities had protested against the fact that the Israeli forces had opened fire against the headquarters of the Norwegian UN-batallion in the area.

After this episode the Israeli ambassador was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in Oslo and a protest was also lodged with the Israeli authorities. "Whether we will take some action against Israel this time has not been discussed yet, but I expect so," says press spokesman Per Paust from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "We consider the episode serious. The UNIFIL forces are there pursuant to a resolution of the UN Security Council and they must be respected. Otherwise they cannot function as they should.

"Continued badgering will contribute to a negative position when the question of sending more Norwegian soldiers to Lebanon comes up," says Paust.

During the past week Israel pulled its remaining troops out of Southern Lebanon, but a considerable number of Israeli soldiers still operate in the area, mainly in cooperation with local militia forces.

12831 CSO: 3639/124 POLITICAL

NORWAY

### BRIEFS

WILLOCH ATTACKS LABOR PLATFORM--Friday's debate in Parliament regarding the government's long-term program showed that a heated election campaign can be expected between the government parties and the opposition. In the debate Prime Minister Kare Willoch strongly warned against the Labor Party's economic plan which in his opinion is a repetition of the mistakes of the 1970s which will lead to inflation, damaging tax increase and renewed stagnation. Gro Harlem Brundtland, on the other hand, accused the government of not utilizing the human resources and creativeness which exist in the Norwegian society. Minister for Finance Rolf Presthus promised tax reductions for the coming year as well, provided that there will continue to be a non-socialist government after the election. The debate showed considerable differences between the three opposition parties in their plan for the coming four years. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Jun 85 p 3] 12831

LABOR REJECTS ELECTORAL ALLIANCE--The Labor Party continues to display a cool attitude towards the electoral alliance with the Socialist Left Party [SV] before the election, even after SV had sent its unconditional invitation. Thus, in Oslo the Labor Party clearly rejected a proposal for an electoral alliance, despite the fact that in mathematical terms such a cooperation would possibly seize a mandate from the non-socialist parties. The Labor Party will start its election campaign in earnest in Halden on 4 August. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Jun 85 p 3] 12831

CSO: 3639/124

PORTUGAL

POLITICAL

### POLL RESULTS SEEN USUALLY REFLECTING TRUTH

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 24 Jun 85 p 8

[Text] Let anyone think what he wants about the public opinion polls carried out in Portugal; let anyone believe or disbelieve in their rigorousness; one thing, however, is certain: they have been correct for a number of years, and their results--no matter how contested--have finally been confirmed at the moment of truth.

For a number of months, polls on the next presidential election, commissioned and carried out in different ways, have invariably revealed that: the highest percentage of respondents had no opinion; of the candidates proposed, the one who received the most votes was Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo; the so-called natural candidate of the PS, Mario Soares, never succeeded in achieving a percentage in keeping with the propaganda whose object he has been.

The formal announcement of Freitas do Amaral's candidacy completely changed this picture. Lourdes Pintasilgo dropped to second place, showing that the high number of undecided is due to the fact that, to date, there is no sure name in the non-socialist environment; Mario Soares continues to receive percentages that are lower than those obtained by the PS in the most recent call to the voting booth.

The results of the most recent poll published in the SEMANARIO magazine confirm what has been generally accepted by observers for a long time: Freitas do Amaral will only fail in his campaign for the presidency if the PSD accedes to the wishes of those within the party who advocate a candidacy from its own ranks. Evidently not because a social democratic candidate, be he civilian or military, has any chances of winning--or even achieving a minimally significant percentage of the vote. But rather because this would prevent Freitas do Amaral from winning in the first round; and this, as we all know, is a determining factor--or almost...

CSO: 3542/212

PORTUGAL

POLITICAL

### BRIEFS

CAVACO SILVA-FREITAS DO AMARAL DISTANCING--Sources close to Freitas do Amarl showed their concern this week about the fact that Cavaco Silva is progressively distancing himself from the presidential candidate. In the view of some supporters of the deputy prime minister in the government of Sa Carneiro, the present PSD leader may be using Freitas do Amarl's name as a flag for the next parliamentary elections, only to refuse him his support in the presidential elections in case he obtains good results. The distancing between the two personalities was especially evident at a dinner in Coimbra at the beginning of the week offered by the Luso=French Chamber of Commerce, attended by Freitas do Amaral. Among the nearly 200 guests--the majority of whom were from the PSD and the CDS--no official from the national directorate or even from the district organizations of the social democrats was present, a fact leading to the belief that instructions had been given in this regard. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 28 Jun 85 p 4]

INTRA-PSD DIFFERENCES--Helena Roseta accused Cavaco Silva yesterday of having engaged the PSD on a "path without an exit." The Cascais social democrat also stated that she considers her party "responsible" for the Portuguese political situation. In an interview published today in the magazine MAIS, Helena Roseta notes that "the disproportionate activity that was created around Cavaco Silva" was based on the need for authority "inherited from the previous regime." Cavaco Silva, she added, is assuming the figure of a person who "accepts the support of sectors that look back and are even Salazarist, and that are strongly betting on the new leader." [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 28 Jun 85 p 28]

FRG DEFENSE MINISTER'S VISIT--Manfred Woerner, defense minister of the FRG, is coming to Lisbon at the beginning of this summer to enjoy the attraction of the Portuguese sun and to obtain from the resigning government the best conditions for the utilization of the Beja Air Base by his country's air force. It is rumored in Bonn that Woerner will also discuss, while in Lisbon, the case of the 3 Mekko frigates for the Portuguese Navy, and that he expects "understanding" from our government. Portugal, a "faithful" ally of the FRG in NATO, should help the Hamburg shipyards to participate in the near future in the contest for the "standard for a frigate" of the Atlantic Alliance, it is said

in Bonn, whose politicians seem to be rather oblivious of their responsibilities in this project... It is not only the politicians in Lisbon who are beginning to denounce in public the type of "assistance" that is being granted Portugal by some of its principal allies in NATO, an assistance that, in practice, has been limited to the payment (almost non-existent) for facilities granted on the national territory. [Text] [Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 28 Jun 85 p 24]

LUSO-AMERICAN FOUNDATION'S REPORTED POLITICIZATION -- The Mario Soares government has already chosen the officials of the Luso-American Foundation created through a law-decree. The general council will include Adriano Moreira, Vasco de Melo and Rui Mateus; the administrative council will be formed by the U.S. ambassador, Rui Machete and Bernardino Gomes (the prime minister's chef de cabinet). The concern about favoring some sectors of the political spectrum is obvious, since the group includes two men who are very close to Mario Soares and one representing the CDS. The deputy prime minister of the resigning government is also present. However, are these personalities the appropriate ones for such an important foundation? Since the list of names does not include any well-known personalities in the economic, cultural and scientific fields, the appointments are of an eminently political nature, and create some doubts... except for one aspect: the good relations between the U.S. administration and Mario Soares' policies are continuing. [Excerpts] [Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 29 Jun 85 p 11-R]

CSO: 3542/212

POLITICAL

SWEDEN

CARL THAM NAMED DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT AID AGENCY

Liberal Who Chose SIDA

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 2 Jun 85 p 35

[Article by Peter Bratt]

[Text] Carl Tham is a malicious and devious person, according to his enemies. Upstanding, admirable and sensitive, say his friends. Carl Tham literally nourishes his friendships, for his hobby is cooking.

Frozen out of politics by the Conservatives, he has now been given a vital post by the Social Democrats.

One never ceases to be amazed at how differently one person can be described. "A hardboiled, supercilious bully, a completely cold man," says one. "A shy, sensitive person with great insight into how other people feel," says another. The man in question is Carl Tham, who will take over as the new head of SIDA [Swedish International Development Authority] on 1 July.

It may be that everyone is right. It may be that Carl Tham is not really aware of the impression he makes on other people when he is fighting for something he believes in. And why should he waste the charm his friends talk about on people he doesn't like?

Being ingratiating is definitely not his strong side.

When one hears these reactions, one's thoughts are led to another man who has devoted many years to politics. He too came from an upperclass background, a "class traitor" who became a leftist like Carl Tham, for a Liberal can also be a leftist, according to Tham.

"I do not compare myself to Olof Palme in any other way, but when it comes to getting involved I think he too has a tendency to become too involved, he cannot stop himself from saying things he has to take back and he too has been accused of being an ice-cold type of person." That was the problem in the nuclear power debate.

Mafia Leader

"I suffered a good deal from being depicted as hardboiled. Those who were in favor of nuclear energy were supposedly reckless and indifferent to people's health. There is a photograph of me wearing sunglasses that was taken on a bright sunny day outside Harrisburg and it makes me look like a Mafia leader. The picture was used by the people's campaign against nuclear energy and I was compared to a child killer.

"But I am in favor of nuclear energy because I don't think people should play games with the energy problem. Energy is vital for prosperity. One should not be presented as morally deficient for that reason."

Carl Tham left the Liberal Party in 1983. It was a protest against the perception that the Liberal Party was drifting to the right and "could hardly be distinguished from the Conservatives."

On 5 July he will be 46 years old. If one looks back one finds an upper middle class childhood, his father was head of the textbook division at Norstedt's and his mother was a teacher at the French School. Carl went to Ostre Middle School and completed his secondary education in 1957. He had not seen much of the world and later on he felt he had been quite conservative at that time.

He began studying the history of literature under the very original, if not a trifle bizarre, Professor Tigerstedt who wanted him to become an associate professor. He himself considered becoming a history professor.

# Lightning Career

Then he got into student politics and quickly became the youngest chairman the student body had ever elected in 1962. He hesitated between the Social Democrats and the Liberals and chose the latter. Then he went into Liberal Youth and pursued a straightforward political career up until 1979.

He was party secretary from 1969 to 1977, member of Riksdag from 1976 to 1982, cabinet minister several times in various nonsocialist governments and energy minister in the Ullsten government of 1978-79.

After the 1979 election opposition to Tham grew within the party. Ullsten kept him in the party leadership and made him his adviser and later an undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry.

But Tham has never been popular with the grassroots, he has appealed to ideologists and leaders and when Ullsten's power waned he dragged Tham with him in his decline. Gone With the Wind

Carl Tham tried for many years to bring about a coalition between the Liberals and the Social Democrats. He was opposed to government cooperation with the Conservatives and regarded them as the natural enemies. The spirit of the times was against him and it was the conservative wind that finally swept him out of power.

"It would not have been so strange if I had been a Social Democrat. It was as true then as it is now that the differences are not that great. There are certain authoritarian elements in the SDP that its members do not seem to regard as a problem. How do I vote today? That is a private matter."

He feels that Social Democratic policy since the war has been a good example of liberal policy. The Liberal Party program of 1972, for which he was personally responsible, was a radical one and he now feels that his mistake was that he did not realize that the members did not support it, even though it had been approved by the party congress.

He was very close to the Social Democratic line on the wage-earner fund issue and he shuddered when unknown Liberals thumped him on the back and waved copies of SVENSKA DAGBLADET and excoriated both the Social Democrats and the wage-earner funds. It was ideological differences, not personal ones, that led to his departure from the Liberal Party.

Fighter

With that background it is not strange at all that he has been named head of SIDA. If the nonsocialists win the election this fall the Conservatives will fight for a change in aid policy. Carl Tham would then serve as an effective roadblock. In general he supports the current aid program and is in favor of continuity.

"'Calle' is a fighter as well as an administrator and a bureaucrat, and that is what SIDA is going to need," a good friend said.

Another high official said: "Tham is not arrogant, as people say, he is impudent. He has a pointed nose that he is not afraid to use like a kind of Woody Woodpecker. He drives authoritarian people crazy with his disrespect. He takes nothing for granted and that is good. He will be needed."

Arrogant to Stupid People

At the same time there is no doubt that many people really see him as a superior person, an intellectual aristocrat. He had many people against him during his last years in the party because of his manner.

An enemy said: "He is a competent super career man. He is arrogant to people he regards as stupid. Especially to people in rural areas where he sometimes looks as if he wants to tell the head waiter to remove the soup because it is contaminated with dead flies.

"He is a bully who cannot and will not conceal his distaste for lack of culture and ignorance. He can be ice-cold and people are alarmed by his coldness."

Friends talk about his sensitivity and thirst for knowledge.

It is unlikely that any other person in official life sees as much opera, drama and film, reads as many books or goes to as many museums as he does.

He listens to concerts and operas for the sake of their beauty. He enjoys the theater and literature as part of the attempt to understand the nature of man, the nature of life and society.

Tears

A friend says that he cried all night after seeing the Helma Sanders-Brahms film, "Deutschland Bleiche Mutter."

"Yes, I am emotional, that is where the involvement comes from and I get a lot of hard knocks when I stick my neck out and get mad and speak out.

"This has become more of a curse as the years go by. Almost every morning I get so worked up over what I hear on the news that I would like to write a whole editorial. I must stop doing this one way or another."

During our interview he opened up. At the beginning he was somewhat curt in tone and seemed a little stiff in an ordinary gray suit with a neutral tie, but during our talk he sank back on the couch, laughed occasionally and used a few swear words. Both images seemed to be confirmed.

His interest in developing countries is genuine and goes back many years. He is chairman of a group called the Society for Development Questions, a discussion club for people interested in aid problems, and he was not elected to the position simply for the sake of politeness.

If there is a nonsocialist victory in the election we will have every reason to anticipate that a blast of austerity measures will hit SIDA, but there will also be a lot of resistance to them.

#### Tham New SIDA Head

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 31 May 85 p 9

[Article by Hakan Bergstrom]

[Text] On 1 July Carl Tham will take over as the new general director of the aid organization SIDA. He will succeed Anders Forsse, who will return to the Foreign Ministry as an ambassador.

New general director Carl Tham wants aid expectations to become more realistic.

"In the past we had much too high expectations from aid to developing countries. To some extent I, as a politician, had something to do with creating these expectations. We must realize that aid cannot change the entire social situation in the country receiving it," said Carl Tham.

"If we realize that we can see that aid does a lot of good. A well that gives people water is pretty important," Carl Tham pointed out.

Liberal Politician

Carl Tham was party secretary of the Liberal Party from 1969 to 1976. After the nonsocialist election victory he became a chancellery undersecretary. He was energy minister in 1978-79 and undersecretary in charge of aid in the Foreign Ministry in 1981-82.

Carl Tham is quite familiar with SIDA's organization. He studied it himself and suggested some organizational changes in SIDA's management last year.

Criticism Justified

As a politician in charge of aid in a nonsocialist government he had part of the responsibility for the big Kotmale power plant project in Sri Lanka. SIDA criticized the Kotmale project. It was initiated as an industrial cooperation between Sri Lanka and Skanska Cement. The nonsocialist government pledged aid money for the project without having SIDA study the background situation.

"To some extent the criticism was justified. But I still think the project was a success," said Carl Tham.

The power plant reduced Sri Lanka's dependence on oil but the electricity mainly benefits industries and hotels in the capital. Some 17,000 people were moved off their land to provide space for the dams and reservoirs.

"All in all I think we should be more cautious about getting involved in big projects in the future. But we can emphasize the fact that Sweden is already in the lead in this respect. Look at the French who want to build big airports in Africa to benefit their own export industry," said Carl Tham.

Carl Tham does not think it has become harder in recent years to impress the public with the importance of aid.

"Opinion polls show that there is clear public support for aid. And the response to collections to assist the famine-stricken people of Africa also shows genuine fellow feeling," said Carl Tham who will take over as head of SIDA on 1 July.

6578 CSO: 8150/1565-a

## WOERNER PLAYS KEY ROLE IN EFA SALVAGE EFFORT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Jun 85 p 4

[Article by fy: "Dissent Over European Fighter Aircraft; as yet no Decision by the Defense Ministers; Woerner Skeptical"]

[Text] The decision on development and building of a European fighter aircraft, as feared, was not made at the two-day conference of the defense ministers of the five interested countries in London. As was learned in Bonn after Defense Minister Woerner's return from London and after his report before the defense committee on his talks conducted there, the dissent in the central questions continues. Only owing to Woerner's efforts, it is rumored, are they ready for a final attempt to overcome the divergent interests separating especially France from the other four interested parties, England, Spain, Italy and the FRG. As Woerner reported Wednesday in Bonn, the industries of the five countries participating in the project are now to submit a joint study by 15 July; i.e. to agree on the same technical data, especially concerning weight and thrust of the engine. They are to examine and assess a total of three options. If no agreement can be reached by that date, and that is a realistic possibility, then the attempt to develop a common aircraft within the circle of the five nations must be regarded as finally failed. Waiting any longer is impossible for Bonn as well as for England because otherwise the possibility would be lost to freely decide among several possibilities and they would be forced to subordinate themselves to the conditions that could then be made by the cooperation partners. Bonn regards as the most likely consequence of a failure the continuation of the work among the four thus far carried on in this circle, i.e. without France.

Woerner was rather skeptical on Wednesday regarding the prospects for success. He cannot make a final judgment, he said, but he was not overly optimistic. There are some serious differences of opinion. There were several phases in the London talks in which agreement seemed to be completely impossible. The compromise proposal made by France in London indicates how far the positions of the four countries England, Italy, Spain and the FRG on the one hand and France on the other hand are apart. It amounts to France insisting on taking over the leading role in the project, on getting a larger share and claiming for itself more than 30 percent of the total project in the development work and in the procurement and thus more than any other nation. Moreover, France claims technical management and coordination and the leadership of the joint authority by a French director. Paris also insists on a naval version of the aircraft and taking this into account in the allocation of the entire program. As regards weight of the aircraft and thrust of the engine, the French side did come closer to the ideas of the others, but continues to lag behind what the other nations consider as required.

12356 CSO: 3620/413 MILITARY

DENMARK

### UK DEFENSE MINISTER CRITICIZES DANISH DEFENSE EFFORT

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 5 Jun 85 p 1

[Article by RB: "British Criticism of Denmark's Attitude Toward NATO"]

[Text] "Denmark has clearly explained to its NATO allies its attitude toward medium-range missiles, but this does not make it less regrettable that you have felt unable to associate yourselves with a program that has the objective of safeguarding European security. I must say that it was not the footnotes (by Denmark) to the NATO communiques which brought the Soviet Union back to the negotiating table," Conservative British Defense Minister Michael Heseltine declared on Tuesday in a speech in Copenhagen.

In a speech at Frederiksberg Town Hall Heseltine directed strong attacks against the Danes', what he believed, lacking or scanty contribution to the NATO alliance. "I find it regrettable that you decided to withhold your contribution to the INF infrastructure, which does not mean that the program will be abandoned, but just that the cost must be divided among those nations which have beforehand been contributing greatly in order to support the program," he stated.

The British minister stressed the big differences between the Danish and the British contribution to NATO and pointed out that Great Britain had just as great economic difficulties. He stated that it is not just a question of money, but of the countries' obligations to one another according to the NATO pact.

"We maintain trained troops which are earmarked for stationing in Denmark in a tension situation. Twenty thousand young Britons can ultimately come to give their lives on Danish soil. We are dependent on you to keep the harbors and airports open, which our forces and planes will be able to use in our common defense. But our contribution is completely dependent on yours. If the support which a British reinforcement force must have is cut as a result of the limitations existing in the present Danish armed forces agreement, in my opinion, it will not be an equal sharing of the burden, a principle which the alliance's health rests on," he said.

8985 CSO: 3613/162

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MILITARY

DENMARK

BRIGADE COMMANDERS SEE GAINS FROM LOWERING READINESS LEVEL

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 10 Jun 85 p 7

[Article by Erik Matzen: "Brigade Commanders Vouch for Low Level of Preparedness"]

[Text] Two Jutland brigade commanders who will lead the army in case of war vouch for the Armed Forces Command's plan to reduce the army's preparedness. The FKO [Armed Forces Command] plan will remove about 2500 enlisted privates and replace them with 1400 draftees.

Colonel J. Schriver, commander of the Second Jutland Brigade in Skive, says:

"The army's effort preparedness will of course be reduced, but we are doing this with a good conscience. An isolated attack on Denmark without warning has been completely ruled out. We will know this in good time to be able to react. For this reason not so much has been lost for the army. The question is whether we need effort preparedness."

Colonel P.J. Jørgensen, commander of the First Jutland Brigade in Fredericia, says:

"Not so much is lost by replacing enlisted privates with draftees. In fact the system has been so undermined that it is to a great extent a question of whether we can in decency talk of effort preparedness which does not amount to half of the National Police's troop strength. My brigade is at 900 men, but in order to function it must be at at least 4000. For this reason we happily look forward to turning the development around by getting more draftees."

[Question] And enlisted privates?

[Answer] "They are fantastically good, but there are too many problems with them. They are either getting a civilian education, are off duty, or are at a course. We can never count on them for a quick effort and the enlisted private system is very expensive for us. Now we will be able to look forward to savings with draftees." [Question] It is also expensive to be always training newly called-up draftees, is it not?

[Answer] "Yes, it is, but we have to weigh quality and quantity. We can look forward to a strongly needed improvement of the mobilization force."

[Question] A Defense Ministry panel has calculated that it will take at least 10 years and supposes 148,000 muster days (re-callups) a year versus about 45,000 now. Preparedness is being compromised now in order to perhaps achieve something in 10 years at the earliest. And the training of draftees will be much more expensive than the enlisted private system, will it not?

[Answer] "Perhaps. But the decisive thing is that the mobilization force is now being given greater priority with more calling up of draftees, and I find this quite essential for our democracy," Colonel P.J. Jørgensen concludes. On the other hand, the commander of the Army Combat School in Oksbøl, Colonel C.F. Hagen, says:

"It is totally necessary to have preparedness in the army. We have to count on coup-like attacks, isolated and without warning. For this reason the air force must have air defense missiles in high preparedness and then there must be preparedness in the army to repel enemy forces. It is sufficient [as published] to leave all the preparedness to the navy and air force."

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8985 CSO: 3613/162

MILITARY

NORWAY

BUDGET CONSTRAINTS TO PREVENT MORE F-16 PROCUREMENT BEFORE 1990

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 14 Jun 85 p 9

[Article by Morten Moller Warmedal: "No New F-16 Airplanes before 1990"]

[Text] The defense forces will not get replacements for F-16 aircraft which will be lost before 1990. According to information received by AFTENPOSTEN this decision was made in political quarters on the basis of recommendations by the Chief of Defense. With 30 operative F-5 aircraft in addition to the F-16 fleet of aircraft it is felt that there is sufficient readiness. Furthermore, the loss rate of four planes so far does not exceed the one and a half aircraft per year which the defense department initially has written off and which were included in the original package for 72 aircraft.

Economic constraints prevent the defense department from getting its fleet of aircraft replaced soon. Simply speaking there is no room in the budget for new aircraft. From informed sources it is, however, clear that an additional purchase must be reconsidered if still another aircraft with two seats is lost like the one which crashed into Porsangerfjord Wednesday. This expense is absolutely essential for the training of pilots in single-seat aircraft. Even if high-ranking officers have come out and asked for a purchase now, there is reason to believe that the government has taken seriously the assessment by the defense chief in 1984 where it says that waiting until after 1990 can be justified. Around 1990 the 30 F-5 aircraft clearly will also be ready for replacement, so that a repurchase then can be justified more easily in political terms.

The defense department expects to lose one and a half F-16 aircraft per year, based on the figures and experience gained so far, which amounts to an estimated loss of 15 aircraft over a 10-year period. Since the F-16 fleet was introduced in 1980 four aircraft were lost, so that the situation is better than was expected. The last delivery of F-16 was made last summer, which reinforces this even more.

The NATO standard for an operational fleet of aircraft is 70 percent, both with regard to planes and pilots. According to information we received Norway presently adheres to this standard, a fact which reassures the political leadership in the Defense Department even more.

12831 CSO: 3639/124

NORWAY

MILITARY

#### BRIEFS

MILITARY EXERCISE IN SOUTH--More than 1,000 men participated when the Naval Defense Southern District held exercises in the forts Odderoya, Krossodden and Randoya from Thursday until Friday. For the first time a military exercise in defense against an invasion was carried out along this coastline, which has been a wish for many years. The defense of the coastal strip was carried out with soldiers on refresher course, while the "attackers" were three motor torpedo boats (MTB), Danish frigates, infantry from Evjemoen and groups from the Home Guard. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Jun 85 p 10] 12831

FIRST WOMEN SOLDIERS--Harstad, Norwegian Wire Service: Twenty-Five women will get the opportunity to do their military service with the brigade in Northern Norway this year. "We expect the first women to join the brigade in October," acting Chief for the Troms Home Defense, Colonel Arne Pran, tells HARSTAD TIDENE. The army got a quota of 46 women who will do their voluntary military service. Last fall the Parliament made military service available for women, and the department set the quota at 250 women, 46 of which will go to the army. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Jun 85 p 14] 12831

CSO: 3639/124

### ECONOMIC

# FRANCE

# POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS OF PROPOSED FUEL TAX

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French No 494,14 Jun 85 p 40, 41

[Article by Jean-Claude Hazera: "Fuel: Major Lessons From a Small Tax"]

[Text] When the budget has its reasons which energy considerations endorse. A small tax on fuel oil may presage large taxes on hydrocarbons.

Last week, the government was significantly evasive concerning the financing of the Fr 3.5 billion it decided to provide for the jobless who have come to the end of their unemployment benefits. Not everyone agreed with the minister of finance's proposal: a tax of Fr 150 per ton on heavy fuel oil, turning to account the drop in prices, which fell from about Fr 2,000 to Fr 1,600 per ton in a few weeks.

In itself, the plan is not a major one. Admittedly, it penalizes some industrial sectors: chemistry (23 percent of consumption), the agro-alimentary industry (18 percent), and the paper-cardboard industry (12 percent). The CNPF [National Council of French Employers] has already published a fully official communique against this report of a tax which is also condemned by Edith Cresson, the titular protector of industrialists and the refining industry. But heavy fuel oil, which was not taxed until 2 years ago, remains a minor contributor to an oil fiscal policy which represents Fr 85 billion altogether. The proposed doubling of the tax would mean an increase of approximately 10 percent.

Behind this small government dispute two others of larger proportions may be seen, on the budget and the energy policy.

At this time of the year, a finance minister must avoid derailing the present budget and at the same time resist the demands of free-spending ministers for the following year, a particularly difficult task in an election year. The Finance Ministry has unwillingly had to accept specific budget commitments in the 3year research plan passed last week: 4 percent growth in credit volume each year. The minister of the interior wants the same amount for the modernization of the police, giving rise to a public conflict. Several hundred million francs are at stake.

Pierre Beregovoy has already said, and repeats it at every opportunity, that he does not want to hear about increasing the budget deficit beyond the symbolic level of 3 percent of production. However, not everyone agrees, particularly in the Socialist Party.

But in a new development, it is now said in Rue de Rivoli that there are no more cuts in the budget possible. "The great mass of civil servants consists of teachers and post office employees. Should some of them be dismissed," a spokesman close to the minister asked? The conclusion: where there are new expenditures, there must be new taxes.

It was already known that the reduction in obligatory levies would be soft-pedaled in 1986, without this calling into question some promises made at the time, particularly the 3 percent tax reduction on revenue. But now it is the much proclaimed 1 percent reduction that threatens to become problematic. If the tax is adopted, and UNEDIC [National Union for Industry and Trade Employment] increases its contributions to finance its share of additional unemployment benefits, and this or that sector needs increased funds, the corresponding 40 billion in savings will be cut. Henri Emmanuelli, secretary of state for the budget, is in a particular good position to label "illusory" the hopes of Fr 40 billion in budget savings which are supposed to finance the tax reductions promised by the RPR [Rally for the Republic].

### Pressure

Where energy is concerned, the tax proposals are based on an argument that, alas, is ironclad: France's energy bill is not decreasing, and even explains the mediocre results of Fr 5 billion in foreign trade for the first 4 months of the year. At Beregovoy's office it was explained that since prices for industrial fuel oil have dropped, consumption, and therefore imports, are being or are likely to be encouraged. Hence the pressure to tax.

Examined closely, this argument becomes less convincing. One may question the advisability, apart from instituting a variable tax, of imposing a permanent tax to compensate for a drop due to present circumstances.

It may also be observed that ill-starred heavy fuel oil, for the time being, cannot be held accountable for the glut of imported energy which has resulted partly from the winter's cold, and much more from the heat of the dollar. It is not even clear yet that industrialists, not very numerous as yet, who are equipped to switch sources of energy, have anything to gain from opting for fuel oil. It was estimated at the EDF [French Electric Company] that summer rates, in force from 1 April to 31 October, remain competitive, from about Fr 1,200 to 1,300 per ton of fuel.

It is above all the risk of inflation that the administration evokes to criticize the plan, even though the direct effect would be zero: heavy fuel oil is not included in the index. However, it does figure in the costs of industrialists. Paradoxically, specialists are afraid that it will have an effect on the cost of motor fuels. The lifting of price controls has forced distributors, who are largely also the refiners, to start price wars and eat into their profit margins. If the drop in fuel oil consumption is accelerated, there is a risk of encouraging refiner-distributors to make up their profits on motor fuels.

# Individuals

In the short term, perhaps, the Rue de Rivoli's arguments come up a bit short. But when put into perspective, they have logic on their side. In order to sell its rather overabundant nuclear electricity, which has the essential advantage of not being imported, the EDF can offer industrialist today a draft contract in which it promises to lower its rates 1 percent per year, in real terms, over a 5 year period. If, furthermore, it is plain to the industrialist who must make an investment decision or to the individual who is choosing his method of heating that the state has really decided to raise the price of hydrocarbons (gas included) whatever the world rates might be, the sales argument is strengthened further.

One only has to consider what is happening on the oil markets to become convinced that the file is far from closed. Despite all the disciplinary systems established, the OPEC ministers, who are to meet in Geneva on 30 June, are no longer able to control what is basically a buyer's market. The International Energy Agency has just forecast a further reduction in consumption, and spot rates slid more than \$1 last week, while on the markets people were mentioning the names of the producers who no longer observe their quotas (Iran) or those who are getting ready to do likewise (Saudi Arabia).

On top of all this, suppose the dollar were to drop sharply. The tax on hydrocarbons, already used on a large scale to meet this year's budget, would run into serious trouble.



Key:

- 1. The drop in price for heavy fuel oil...
- 2. January
- 3. February
- 4. March
- 5. April
- 6. May
- 7. In francs per ton



Key:

- 1. Still does not make consumption rise...
- 2. Deliveries of heavy fuel oil in thousands of tons.



# Key:

- And does not explain the increase in imports.
  Energy imports in billions of francs.

9824 CSO: 3519/225

# ECONOMIC

FRANCE

## RENAULT INITIATES TRADE WITH CHINA

Paris LES ECHOS in French 20 May 85 p 2

[Article by Gilles Bridier]

[Text] Quietly and without fanfare, Renault Industrial Vehicles [RVI] is carving out a niche for itself in China ... and in "Chinese" style as well: by infiltrating structures, sharing in their development and introducing technology in order to become a preferred partner in negotiations. Its latest operation to date: the 40-million franc sale of a plant for manufacturing small diesel engines, to be installed near Nanking. International Sales Manager Herve Guillaume states: "More than fabulous but one-shot contracts, we are seeking operations that will establish our position and remain profitable for both ourselves and our Chinese partners, in order to provide an additional building block for our structure each time."

This is not RVI's debut in China. Since 1961, and initially through the agency of Berliet, 11,000 trucks have reportedly been sold and four licenses renewed in eight Chinese manufacturing plants.

This local presence isn't "dazzling" and sometimes gives the impression of being unaggressive, as in the case of the small contract for approximately 100 150-horsepower engines to equip Chinese (EQ2) vehicles ... purchased by Cameroon. But such contracts have also been extended: 150 identical vehicles have subsequently been sold by China to the Philippines. And there could be other extensions as well. RVI's idea is to introduce technology in order to become a partner in Chinese development.

This example illustrates the nature of the cooperation that RVI is trying to maintain with China, even if the French group is having to take a slow approach. The EQ2 is thus being produced at Shiyan's number two plant, where one-third of Chinese automobile production capacity is concentrated. If, on the basis of this transfer of technology, the operation were to snowball upon entering a second stage of cooperation (which may be under discussion at the present time), the first hundred engines will have represented a nice prelude.

The same philosophy was applied to the 13 March sale of a manufacturing plant for small 90-horsepower diesel engines, to be installed near Nanking. In this instance the operation, which brought in some 40 million francs (the first instalment of which has been paid), is already quite attractive in itself. But Renault technology is also being installed at Nanking. The Chinese do not currently have such engines and are clearly trying to dieselize their small-truck lines.

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The plant's equipment, initially installed in Italy, will provide a production capacity of 20,000 engines a year for vehicles that are well suited for meeting the needs of the agricultural sector, which has grown robustly since the liberalization process began.

In symbiosis with Chinese demand for the transfer of new technology, RVI feels it is participating in the establishment of an intermediate-term industrial policy that formerly did not exist. And it is conceivable that the French manufacturer will agree to go even further in transferring technology (as in the case of direct fuel injection, for example). However, as Herve Guillaume says, "there are no huge contracts," and RVI is particularly intent on profiting from its investment. Thus even if it were to establish joint ventures, RVI--which is not against them a priori--would seek above all to maintain its position. For it is not a question of "delocalizing" current production. On the other hand, with 64 percent of the value of a Renault truck deriving from foreign materials, there is still room to expect a recoupment of investments.

The new strategy developed by Industrial Reorganization and Foreign Trade Minister Edith Cresson, with supporting financing, serves RVI's goals. We might nevertheless wonder whether such a choice would shut the manufacturer out of other Southeast Asian markets in which the Chinese would be in a better position later. "Those markets are controlled by the Japanese," Herve Guillaume retorts, "and it isn't possible to dislodge them. On the contrary, the doors will open more easily if we join with Chinese partners."

RVI is already accustomed to this type of long-term cooperation in stages. Its policy has already produced ample results in Algeria and Czechoslovakia. And each time the flow of exports generated has proved greater than the initial investment. Moreover, if RVI did not try to occupy the field, its competitors would declare themselves candidates. "This export policy is the only durable solution," the group's management states, with the blessing of Georges Besse.

11915 CSO: 3519/223

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FRANCE

### ECONOMIC

# EXPORT SUBSIDIES TARGET LARGE CONTRACTS

Paris LES ECHOS in French 4 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Catherine Chatignoux]

[Text] What is the cost of public export assistance? This is a question that often goes unanswered: there is no comprehensive document in this regard, as credits, subsidies and allowances are scattered throughout the budgetary tangle. The Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry [CCIP] has nevertheless ventured to take on the delicate task of summarizing this subject. The results show: public export aid declined in general from 21 billion francs in 1983 to 16 billion in 1984 and is still solidly geared toward large contracts, to the clear detriment of regular trade.

One of the principal merits of this study conducted by Guy-Robert Calmettes, vice chairman of the CCIP Foreign Trade Commission, is that it establishes quantities that were suspected but rarely expressed: of an estimated 16 billion francs total aid in 1984, large contracts, with 13.5 billion or 85 percent of the total, take up the lion's share even though they represent only 15 percent of French foreign trade. The study's author adds: "The fragility of these contracts, 85 percent of which have been signed with developing countries, should also be noted."

Conversely, regular trade, which provides 85 percent of our exports, gets only a small portion of the public aid pie for exports, with 10 to 15 percent of the amounts allocated. "The large contracts-regular trade ratio is thus about 1 to 10," the CCIP points out, stressing the different nature of these two kinds of assistance, "whereas aid allocated for regular trade is basically stimulative, the sole purpose of aid for large contracts is to put French exporters on an equal-opportunity footing with their main competitors." This is an expensive compensatory measure but one which, according to Francois David, assistant director of the DREE [Directorate of Foreign Economic Affairs], is unavoidable: "The policy of support for large contracts is costly but obligatory, more necessary than voluntary. The health of many sectors of French industry depends on it."

Public assistance for large contracts was nevertheless reduced last year, from 16.7 billion francs in 1983 to 13.5 billion in 1984. This phenomenon is explained, first, by the purely mechanical effect of the drop in large contracts, entailing a smaller cost in interest payments and guarantees by COFACE [expansion unknown]. Second, there is the opportunity for exporters to obtain loans in foreign currencies and the drop in the OECD consensus rate for loans in French francs--although this has only been since January 1985-which reduce the cost of treasury payments proportionately. And finally, there are the debt consolidation agreements concluded with most of our debtors.

But this decline in public aid for large contracts will probably not last, considering the relative recovery of orders placed in 1984. Nevertheless, the uncertain future of public support for large contracts does not improve the fate of regular trade. And in these times of budgetary austerity, the government's efforts in its favor have hardly any means of taking concrete shape. Business development insurance, representing about one-third of all aid for regular trade, has nevertheless grown appreciably in recent years. Its cost, which rose from 82 million francs in 1980 to 442 million in 1984, is significant of its success among exporters. The number of policies increased by 20 percent between 1983 and 1984, which brings to approximately 7,000, the CCIP's study notes, the number of businesses using this procedure in their exporting approach.

The second aspect of public assistance for regular trade centers on fiscal and financial subsidies for establishing businesses abroad. Their cost to the government, whether in the form of FIM [Industrial Modernization Fund] or SOFININDEX [expansion unknown] participatory loans, COMEX [expansion unknown] or DIE-Export [expansion unknown] guaranteed loans, or tax reduction incentives, is estimated by the DREE at about 1 billion francs for 1984.

But those most poorly favored are the public agencies for aiding foreign trade, whether the French Foreign Trade Center (CFCE), the French Center for Economic Events Abroad (CFME) or ACTIM [expansion unknown]. Their subsidies (376 million francs in 1984) were reduced by 2.6 percent overall from 1984 to 1985.

They are left to ponder a statement that Edith Cresson, their guardian minister, has been repeating for some time: "Public aid is measured not only in terms of budgetary funds, rather it derives much from the dynamism of current leaders of subsidized organizations."

11915 CSO: 3519/223

DENMARK

ENERGY

NATURAL GAS EXPORTS MAY LIMIT ANY GROWTH IN DOMESTIC SALES

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Jun 85 pp 1, Sect III p 6

[Article by Lars Dyrskj $\phi$ t: "DONG [Danish Oil and Natural Gas] Has Too Little North Sea Gas"]

[Text] A heavy demand from Danish industry as well as exports to Sweden and West Germany are having the effect that DONG is now beginning negotiations with DUC [Danish Subsoil Consortium] regarding more natural gas. "We will soon have to report ourselves sold out," DONG Chairman Holger Lavesen says.

Danish Oil and Natural Gas must use more gas from the North Sea.

A heavy demand from Danish industry as well as from Sweden and West Germany has had the effect that DONG already now must have a guarantee of increased deliveries from the Danish Suboil Consortium's fields in the North Sea by the end of the 1980's.

For this reason DONG wants to negotiate as soon as possible with DUC regarding new major gas deliveries over and above the 2.5 billion cubic meters in each of the 25 years which the parties entered into an agreement on in 1979.

"The demand for Danish natural gas is already so great today that we soon will have to report ourselves sold out. However, the interest from Danish industry and Sweden is so great that before the end of the year we will have to have new negotiations with DUC regarding further gas supplies," DONG Chairman Holger Lavesen tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

DONG's chairman does not want to firmly commit himself to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE as to which fields in the Danish part of the North Sea the natural gas can come from.

"We are getting demands for more natural gas than there already are contracts for, and for this reason it is important for us to know how much gas DUC can produce, when DUC can deliver it, and what price DUC will ask," Holger Lavesen says. The Energy Administration in its latest estimate of Danish natural gas reserves estimated that with the present deliveries there is enough gas for a 40-year supply.

However, the Energy Administration believes, totally speaking, that there are over 250 billion cubic meters of natural gas in the Danish part of the North Sea--equal to about five times the current contract.

According to the natural gas contract, DUC is under an obligation first in 1988 to negotiate the natural gas further, but the chairman of DUC's steering committee, Shipowner Ib Kruse of A.P. Møller, stated to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE already earlier in June that any new shipments will probably come from new fields in the northern territory.

Sweden Banking on Danish Natural Gas Instead of Nuclear Power

"We will be glad to come to Stockholm in a few years to light the natural gas flame," DONG Chairman Holger Lavesen said when the Swedes yesterday put into service their first natural gas system for 1.5 billion Danish kroner.

The Swedes have now gotten their Danish natural gas. Yesterday Swedish Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl together with her Danish colleague Knud Enggaard inaugurated the Scanian natural gas system, which, to all appearances, in the course of a few years will come to be expanded to reach not only up along the Swedish west coast, but also across Sweden.

DONG Chairman Holger Lavesen, at the inauguration of the Swedish project, which cost 1.5 billion Danish kroner, was convinced that the Swedes in the future will buy considerably larger amounts of Danish natural gas. For the present Swedegas has concluded an agreement for annual deliveries of 440 million cubic meters. The Swedes will decide before the end of the year whether they will have an additional 250 million cubic meters. Thereby the Swedish west coast from Trelleborg in the south up to Göteborg in the north will be supplied with natural gas.

Course--Stockholm

"Of course, natural gas must be introduced on commercial terms in Sweden, and I am convinced that we can arrive at a price so that the Swedish natural gas system can be developed. Here it is a question of a reasonable joint venture which will ensure that everyone profits from natural gas," Holger Lavesen said at the inauguration, and added:

"We will be happy to come to Stockholm in a few years to light the natural gas flame."

The noisy applause from the more than 500 invited Swedish decision makers from the State, energy authorities, counties, municipalities and business firms said better than words that Sweden will really bank on Danish natural gas in the future. The Danish natural gas is at the moment the only alternative to nuclear power, which, the Swedish parliament has decided, will be brought to an end in the year 2010.

"For it is our opinion that natural gas can become a competitive alternative with the bringing of nuclear power to an end. But a decisive precondition is that the development of the natural gas system can take place on commercial terms," Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl said.

### High Gas Tax

"When one thinks of natural gas's kindliness to the environment and its other qualities, I have difficulty in understanding that natural gas is taxed so heavily as it is today in Sweden. The energy tax is today 50 percent higher than for coal," Swedegas Chairman, General Director J.V. Norrby of Vattenfall said. "I want to urgently call upon politicians not to place on natural gas an unmotivatedly high tax which restricts application possibilities. We know that Swedish industry wants to use natural gas if it can compete pricewise. And what is good for Swedish industry is also good for Sweden."

The Swedish energy minister did not directly enter a discussion regarding the taxing of natural gas, but she noticed that natural gas is taxed "considerably lower than oil, figured in terms of energy content."

# Better Foreign Exchange Figures

Already this year Danish natural gas will bring in 750 million kroner in foreign currency through exports to West Germany and Sweden totaling 500 million cubic meters of gas. With the present agreements--and figured at today's energy prices--natural gas will in the course of a few years bring in 1.5 billion kroner in foreign currency. In addition, the Energy Administration estimates that the Danes' consumption of natural gas in 1985 will improve the balance of payments by 1 billion kroner. Accordingly, natural gas will improve the balance of payments by a total of 1.7 billion kroner already in the first year of operation.

"The natural gas service over the Sound is a strong expression of the fact that the already very considerable services between Sweden and Denmark have now been developed further," Energy Minister Knud Enggaard said. "In the energy supply area it is especially satisfying that a natural gas joint effort is now coming in addition to the valuable electricity joint effort. This will contribute to the fact that there will be better balance in the energy joint effort henceforth. For I predict that there will continue to be heavy exportation of Swedish electricity to Denmark."

8985 CSO: 3613/163

FINLAND

ENERGY

MINISTRY REVISES ENERGY CONSUMPTION FORECAST DOWNWARD

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Jun 85 p 32 /

[Article: "Ministry of Trade and Industry Adjusts Its Predictions Downward: Energy Consumption Will Grow 1 Percent a Year"]

[Text] The Ministry of Trade and Industry (KTM) has made a downward revision in its forecasts of a few years back for energy consumption growth in Finland. According to the KTM, the Finns will increase their energy consumption by one percentage point a year right up until the start of the next millennium. The revision results from the fact that many production sectors have begun to use energy in a considerably more efficient manner than before.

The ministry has also reduced its estimates for how quickly the Finnish economy will grow in general. The ministry calculates as the basis for its energy predictions that the gross national product will increase at an annual rate of 2.5 percent under favorable circumstances. If things go poorly, GNP growth will stay at only 1 percent.

However, the ministry adds nothing new or earthshaking to the energy debate of recent months.

In "Energy Economy 1995," a forecast it published 4 years ago, the KTM still spoke of 3 percent and 1.5 percent growth. Just last spring, though, the KTM in its electricity report estimated GNP growth at 2.5 percent and a solid 1 percent.

Despite these cautionary adjustments, the "Energy Consumption Until the Year 2005" issued on Friday by the KTM largely adheres to the ministry's earlier statements. Nor does the report take a stand on the upcoming power plant decisions.

The ministry estimates that Finns will use 29.2 oil-ton equivalents of energy in 1995, while consumption is now 25.3. Consumption will be 32.3 oil-ton equivalents 10 years later. This is the so-called growth scenario in which Finland's economy grows favorably.

If the world economy develops by fits and starts and occasionally draws Finland into a recession, i.e., the "disturbance scenario" comes true, energy consumption will be only 25.9 oil-ton equivalents in 1995 and 26.5 a decade later.

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Development of the energy field is surveyed side by side in the new publication. Less attention is given to the disturbance scenario than before, however. Such an unfavorable development would mean, among other things, a turbulent increase in unemployment and the unprecedented deterioration of numerous other matters in Finland.

### Prognostication Difficult

The ministry admits the world has changed contrary to predictions in at least five aspects in the 4 years since the previous energy forecast was made. For one thing, energy consumption has declined more rapidly than predicted, or energy has been used more efficiently than was believed.

Secondly, the price of imported energy and oil has even dropped, even though the ministry thought it would rise. The ministry views oil price development as "calm" in the immediate future.

The KTM committed its third error in 1981 when it believed that oil's share in energy consumption would drop only "rapidly." The share's plunge has been exceptionally substantial. Oil consumption has decreased 24 percent since 1979. Consumption last year was 9 oil-ton equivalents. The KTM now predicts that consumption will drop to 7.3 tons in 10 years and to 6.9 tons in 2 decades.

The decline in oil consumption is due to the fact that new small houses almost entirely choose heating by electricity, and industry replaces oil with natural gas and coal.

The fourth new factor is that the competitiveness of natural gas has risen and the network is being expanded. The use of gas will triple from last year's 770 million cubic meters.

The KTM's fifth acknowledgment is that the share of domestic energy sources has not evolved the way one hoped. Nevertheless, a bright future is now being painted for peat. The 10 million cubic meters of peat used last year should rise to 25 million within a decade.

The ministry estimates that coal consumption will rise from last year's 4 million tons to 6-13 million tons in the year 2005, depending entirely on decisions concerning basic power.

Few Directives

The ministry's most recent forecast is in line with the moderate stance of the last year. "Energy Consumption Until the Year 2005" does not do a sword dance in favor of or in opposition to any energy policy.

The ministry describes the report itself as an "update," or inclusion of the latest data. To be sure, it is stated in the report that formulation of a new energy policy program "is starting to become opportune."

The ministry's forecasts continue to be based on the fact that current "official guidelines and goals" are complied with in social policy. This eliminates fruitless overoptimism, among other things, from the reports.



The most noteworthy thing in the KTM report is that the furious rise in electricity consumption in recent months has not caused the ministry to budge: the forecasts for consumption are pretty much the same as before.

Last year's electricity report estimated consumption in the year 1990 at roughly 54 terawatt-hours and in the year 2000 approximately 68 terawatt-hours in the growth scenario. Consumption in the disturbance scenario would be 51 and 57 terawatt-hours, respectively. Last year's consumption surpassed 49 terawatt-hours.

Consumption is estimated in the new study for the years 1995 and 2005, when it would be 61 and 74 terawatt-hours in the growth scenario. In the disturbance scenario, consumption would remain at 54 and roughly 60 terawatt-hours, respectively.

Full-scale electricity consumption--in addition to that of industry--on the extremely cold days of last winter approached as much as 51 terawatt-hours.

The report cautiously mentions power plant alternatives. It states, however, that if the growth scenario proves true, 2,500-3,000 megawatts of new "nuclear power, coal power, additional imported electricity or a combination of these" will be needed by the year 2005.

"For example, 500-megawatt units would be taken into use at 2-3 year intervals starting in the mid-1990s or 1,000-megawatt units every 5 years on the average."

The ministry's clear stand on power plant alternatives is now this: "Electricity consumption can increase very quickly if there is the desire and also the ability to create the conditions of growth which correspond to the goals of the energydependent export industry and if the rapid expansion of electrical heating continues. New condensation power capacity would be needed at that time or, alternatively, additional imported electricity before the mid-1990s. Otherwise the demand will be postponed until sometime in the future."

12327 CSO: 3617/122

NETHERLANDS

ENERGY

#### GASUNIE ON SALES PLANS FOR NEXT 25 YEARS

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 9 May 85 pp 2-3

[Text] Groningen, May 9--NV Nederlandse Gasunie--the distributor of Dutch natural gas--said today it expected to export 625 billion cubic metres of gas in the 25-year period to 2010 out of total sales estimated at 1,545 billion cubic metres.

It said total reserves of natural gas were estimated at 2,200 billion cubic metres on January 1, 1985, and included contracted imports of 35 billion cubic metres of Norwegian gas.

The Netherlands was estimated to have proven reserves of 1,830 billion cubic metres and a further 335 billion cubic metres which was still to be discovered.

The forecasts were published today in the Gasunie's 1985 gas sales plan, which outlines expected use of oil, coal and natural gas in the Netherlands over the next 25 years.

Domestic gas sales in the period are put at 920 billion cubic metres, or 60 per cent of total sales, leaving 625 billions, or 40 per cent for exports.

Gasunie Policy

According to the plan, oil will continue to hold about one third of the Dutch market during this period. Use of coal in industry will show a modest and gradual rise. By the year 2000, the vast majority of electricity generators will be either coal-fired and/or nuclear powered.

Natural gas will continue to account for about 50 per cent of Dutch primary energy consumption in the medium term, but in the long term this will fall to about 45 per cent, the plan says.

Gasunie policy would be aimed at giving priority to extraction from smaller fields, both on land and off-shore, until the 1990s, thereby 'saving' reserves in the key Groningen field, the plan says.

The share of the Groningen field in overall gas production would fall from 63 per cent now to 40 per cent by 1990, and would then gradually begin to rise again, it says.

Left-Over

The plan notes that total reserves exceed expected sales for the next 25 years by some 650 billion cubic metres, sufficient to meet domestic demand for a long time after the year 2010, it adds.

Gasunie earlier reported 1984 sales of 74.3 billion cubic metres, of which some 33.7 billion cubic metres were exported to West Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland.

It has recently extended contracts with most of its foreign clients by an average ten years from the mid-1990s.

However, Gasunie says it expects the share of Dutch gas in total gas sales to these countries to fall from 26 per cent last year to 18 per cent in 1990 and 15 per cent in 2000.

CSO: 3600/15

DENMARK

AGENCY REPORTS TONS OF POISON GAS, AMMUNITION IN SEAS OFF COASTS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Jun 85 p 10

[Article by Karen Gahrn: "Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Tons of Poison Gas in Danish Waters"]

[Text] It will be expensive if the Bornholm mustard gas is to be raised, the Environment Administration says, and recommends that more be done to increase safety.

There are upwards of 250,000 tons of poison gas in Danish waters. Some of the gas quite probably could be brought up if there is money for it.

This is according to a new report from the Environment Administration. A committee studied Danish archives and attempted to map what was dumped after the war and where. All gas finds were made within four distinct areas.

"It is first and foremost in the area east of Bornholm where there has been a question of raising mustard gas. This is possible technically, but it will be very expensive," Environment Administration Section Head Filip Facius says.

Increased Safety

It is recommended in the report that more be done in order to increase safety for fishermen and others who come in contact with the mustard gas. The safety rules should be made stricter and the first aid equipment on cutters should be supplemented. Nerve gas was found in an area south of the Little Belt and here cutters should be equipped with atropine injections.

The existing arrangement for paying damages to people who have been in contact with poison gas should be studied, the Environment Administration believes.

At the moment enough is not really known to make a decision on removing the gas, the report says. Now the environment minister is to look at the report and decide whether money is to be appropriated for more studies.

Ready to Remove Bornholm Mustard Gas



"Presumably poison gas was dumped in the four areas seen on the map. But the situation after the war was chaotic and ships could have thrown the cargo overboard long before they reached their destinations," Filip Facius of the Environment Administration says.

Key:

1. At least 150,000 tons gas 3. Risk area and conventional ammunition

2. Dumping

It will take only three weeks to clean up the Bornholm mustard gas depot. A panel is ready but is still waiting for the go signal from politicians.

It will take about three weeks to get the mustard gas depot at Vestermarie on Bornholm cleaned up.

The safety preparations have now been completely constructed and a panel under the Defense Ministry is ready to begin the cleanup, Bornholm County Burgomaster Jens Brandt reports, who received a report from the panel yesterday.

"The work has taken considerably longer than first figured, among other things, because of the hard winter. But the most important thing is that the depot is emptied, so we have to arm ourselves with patience, although it is difficult." Jens Brandt says.

Commander Ove Søtofte reports that the panel is now just waiting for the political go signal.

"We are dependent on wind strength, wind direction and the temperature as to when the cleanup will begin. It must not be higher than 15 degrees Celsius, but this problem can be solved, for example, by working early in the morning or in the evening," he says.

"At the Defense Ministry we are disposed to getting started with the job immediately, but the environment minister earlier expressed a desire to wait for an opinion by German experts," Defense Ministry Section Head K.D. Andersen reports.

Explosives to be Removed

The approximately 2000 kg of mustard gas in the depot is to be divided into pure mustard gas which can be burned up immediately, and mustard gas which contains or is presumed to contain an explosive. What will take place after this is a political decision. The pure mustard gas can be sent, for example, to Kommunekemi [municipal chemical treatment plant] in Nyborg.

A committee under the Environment Ministry is studying the possibilities of a Danish incinerating facility for the explosive part of the gas. The result can be expected at the beginning of next month, Deputy Director Jørgen Henningsen reports.

In addition, an emergency depot which can house explosives and mustard gas if needed, has just about been completely constructed near Vestermarie.

But County Burgomaster Jens Brandt emphasizes that the mustard gas must be gone from Bornholm:

"The depot in Vestermarie must be emptied and the mustard gas must not just be moved to another depot. If there is no incineration possibility immediately, then the mustard gas must go back into the ocean until we know what we are to do with it," Jens Brandt says.

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END