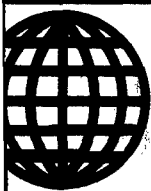


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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Law Contains Election Rules for Czech National Council

90CH0061A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
6 Apr 90 pp 5, 6

[Law of the Czech National Council dated 6 March 1990: "On Elections to the Czech National Council"]

[Text] The Czech National Council approved the following law:

Part One: Basic Provisions

Article 1

Elections to the Czech National Council will be held on the basis of the general, equal and direct voting right, by direct vote according to the principle of proportional representation in electoral regions.

Article 2

1. Czechoslovak citizens residing in the Czech Republic who on the election day have reached 18 years of age have the right to vote.

2. Czechoslovak citizens who have been deprived of competence to perform legal acts or whose competence to perform legal acts has been restricted have the right to vote. (Articles 10 and 499 of the Civil Code—Collection of Laws No. 40/1964.)

3. Legally stipulated restrictions of personal freedom for reasons of national health protection constitute an impediment to the exercise of the right to vote. (Article 5 paragraph 2 letter b); Article 9 paragraph 2 letter a), and paragraph 24 of Law on National Health Care—Coll. No. 20/1966.)

Article 3

Every Czechoslovak citizens who has the right to vote and who on the day of the elections has completed 21 years of age may be elected deputy to the Czech National Council.

Part Two: Electoral Territory

Article 4. Territory for Holding of Elections

The elections will be held on the territory of the Czech Republic.

Article 5. Electoral Regions

Electoral regions consist of the territory of regions (Articles 4 through 10 of Law on Territorial Divisions of the State—Coll. No. 36/1960), according to the situation on the day when the elections are announced.

Article 6. Number of Representatives

The number of deputies is determined by constitutional regulations.

Article 7. Election Precincts

1. Election precincts will be established in communities for the casting of ballots and for the counting of votes.

2. The council of the local, or as the case may be, of the municipal or district national committee (hereafter "local national committee") will assign election precincts and polling places for every precinct no later than 30 days before the election day.

3. Election precinct will be organized as a rule so as to include 1,000 voters. Separate election precincts may be established in distant outskirts of the community, where there are at least 50 voters.

4. Special election precincts may be set up in hospitals, obstetrical clinics, sanatoriums, facilities of social services and similar institutions and establishments or in parts thereof, however, only if there are at least 100 voters.

5. In detention cells (Articles 75 and 76 of Law on Criminal Court Prosecution—Coll. No. 141/1962), or in incarceration cells (Article 23 of Law on State Security Corps—Coll. No. 40/1974), or in places of imprisonment or where sentences of deprivation of liberty or disciplinary penalty of imprisonment are served, the right to vote may be exercised on the basis of voter's identification card, in cooperation with the chief of the institution in question and with the precinct electoral commission in whose precinct that institution is located. In such a case, it is not necessary to comply with the area of the election precinct pursuant to paragraph 3. Such persons will vote on the basis of the voter's identification card they must request if they are not domiciled in that precinct. If such persons are brought in (Article 20 of Law—Coll. No. 40/1974), the appropriate agency of the National Security Corps will proceed so as to enable the person whom it has brought in to avail himself of his right to vote.

6. If elections to the Czech National Council are held concurrently with elections to the Federal Assembly, both elections may take place in the same election precincts.

Part Three: Register of Voters and Voters' Identification Cards

Article 8. Registration in Voters' Register

1. All Czechoslovak citizens who have the right to vote will be registered in the voters' register in the place of their permanent residence (Law on Registration and Documentation of Citizens' Residence—Coll. No. 135/1982). Members of armed forces and of armed security corps billeted in common housing facilities will be registered in the voters' register in the community on whose

territory their formation is stationed. In cooperation with the local national committee of that community, the commander of the formation will promptly notify the appropriate local national committee in the place of residence of those members of their assignment.

2. Citizens who after the compilation of the voters' register will gain or lose their right to vote will be later added to—or deleted from—voters' registers.

3. If voters are prevented from exercising their right to vote (Article 2 paragraph 3), this circumstance will be noted in the voters' register.

4. Each voter may be registered in only one voters' register.

Article 9. Compilation of Voters' Register

1. Voters' registers are compiled by local national committees according to electoral precincts.

2. Voters' registers for members of armed forces and of armed security corps billeted in common housing facilities will be compiled by the local national committee on the basis of the documentation submitted to commanders of formations. Local national committees will not establish any election precincts for exclusive registration of those members in voters' register or for exclusive voting of persons stated in Article 7 par. 5 vote.

3. If elections to the Czech National Council are held concurrently with the elections to the Federal Assembly, the same voters' registers may be used for both.

Article 10. Display of Voters' Registers

1. No later than 30 days before the election day local national committees will put voters' registers on display in official premises for citizens' inspection. Local national committees will inform citizens in the manner customary for their community that voters' registers are on display.

2. In communities where there are more than 5,000 persons registered in voters' registers, local national committees will display in every house the voters' register listing the residents of that house. Local national committees may make the same arrangements in communities with less than 5,000 residents registered in voters' registers. They always will do so in dormitories where members of armed forces or armed security corps are billeted in common housing facilities.

Article 11. Procedures for Challenges

1. Every citizen may bring the errors and inaccuracies in the voters' register to the attention of his local national committee, and propose that they be corrected. Local national committees must make appropriate corrections in the voters' register within three days, or inform the citizen in writing why such corrections cannot be made.

2. If his proposal is rejected, the citizen may forward it to the district court competent for that election precinct; the court must issue its decision within three days. In the same way, this procedure is subject to regulations of the civil code on review of decisions made by other bodies. The local national committee—and on the election day, the precinct election commission—will enter the correction in the voters' register in accordance with the court decision. The court action is exempt from court fees. The court decision cannot be appealed.

Article 12. Voter's Certificate

1. Upon the request of voters who cannot cast their ballot in the election precinct in whose voters' register they are registered the local national committee will issue them voter's certificate, and delete them from its voters' register.

2. Voter's certificates entitle the voter to register for elections to the Czech National Council in the voters' register of a different election precinct.

Part Four: Electoral Authorities

Article 13. General Regulations

1. Elections to the Czech National Council will be supervised by the Czech Electoral Commission. In electoral regions the elections will be supervised by regional electoral commissions which will organize district commissions in district centers.

2. Precinct election commissions will be organized in election precincts.

3. Any Czechoslovak citizen who has the right to vote and who can exercise his right to vote without impediment may become a member of an election commission. A candidate for deputy to the Czech National Council cannot become a member of any election commission.

4. The election commission is composed of an equal number of representatives appointed by the political parties (Law on Political Parties—Coll. No. 15/1990), political movements (Article 8 of Law No. 15/1990 of the Collection), and their coalitions (Article 18 paragraph 8 of Law No. 15/1990 of the Collection) (hereafter "political parties") which submitted an independent ballot. Political parties will notify the person who convokes the first meeting of the election commission about the names and surnames of the representatives and their alternates, and provide their correct addresses. If the ballot is declared invalid or withdrawn, then the membership of the representatives of that political party in the election commission is terminated. In case of illness, other obligations or termination of the membership in the election commission, its chairman will appoint that member's alternate in the sequence stipulated by that political party.

5. Members of election commissions will assume their office with the following pledge: "I pledge upon my honor that I will serve conscientiously and impartially

and that I will observe laws and other legal regulations." The member will pledge to the person who had convoked the first meeting of the election commission.

6. Election commissions will issue their decisions by absolute majority of votes in the presence of absolute majority of members. In case of a tie, the proposal is considered rejected.

7. In its first session the election commission will draw lots to select its chairman and vice chairman from among its membership. Each official of the election commission must be a member of a different political party. The oldest member of the commission will preside at the lottery drawing of officials.

8. The secretary of the Czech Electoral Commission will be an official of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic appointed by the minister of the interior of the Czech Republic. The secretary of the regional electoral commission will be an official of the regional national committee appointed by the secretary of the regional national committee in the community which is the headquarters of the electoral commission. The secretary of the district election commission will be an official of the district national committee appointed by the secretary of the appropriate district (county) national committee. The secretary of the precinct election commission will be an employee or official nominated by the council of the local national committee. At meetings of the commission the secretary has the right of advisory vote; he will make the pledge which appears in paragraph 5.

9. To compute the vote, the Czech Electoral Commission, the regional electoral commissions and their district commissions will organize their special (summarizing) boards composed of officials nominated for that purpose by the appropriate agency of the state bureau of statistics. These officials will make the pledge which appears in paragraph 5.

Article 14. Czech Electoral Commission

1. Each political party which submits a slate of candidates at least in one electoral region will delegate two members and two alternates to the Czech Electoral Commission no later than 60 days before the election day.

2. The first meeting of the Czech Electoral Commission will be convoked by the premier of the Czech Republic within three days after the term stipulated in paragraph 1.

3. In particular, the Czech Electoral Commission will:

a) control the observation of legal regulations on elections;

b) issue decisions concerning complaints about actions of regional electoral commissions, and concerning appeals against their decisions;

c) ascertain and publish the results of elections;

d) submit to the executive committee of the Czech National Council records on the results of elections;

e) issue certificates of election to elected candidates;

f) fulfill other tasks pursuant to this law and other legal regulations.

Article 15. Regional Electoral Commission

1. Each political party that submits a ballot in that electoral region will delegate two members and two alternates to the regional electoral commission no later than 60 days before the election day.

2. The chairman of the appropriate regional national committee will convoke the first session of the regional electoral commission no later than three days after the date stated in Paragraph 1.

3. The regional electoral commission will:

a) control the observation of legal regulations on elections;

b) issue decisions concerning complaints about actions of precinct election commissions, and appeals against their decisions;

c) discuss and register the slates of candidates in the electoral region;

d) verify results of elections in its electoral region;

e) submit election records for safekeeping to the regional national committee;

f) fulfill other tasks in accordance with this law and other legal regulations, or as the case may be, tasks assigned to it by the Czech Electoral Commission.

Article 16. District Commission

1. Each political party whose slate of candidates is registered in the electoral region will delegate to the district commission one member and one alternate no later than 30 days before the election day. The chairman of the appropriate district (county) national committee will convoke the first meeting of the district commission.

2. The district commission will:

a) oversee the processing of election returns from election precincts;

b) in case of doubt, it has the right to demand explanation and other information from the precinct election commission. In agreement with the precinct election commission, it will make corrections of obvious errors; in other instances it will request the precinct election commission to meet again in order to correct the ascertained shortcomings;

c) submit to the regional electoral commission processed election returns from the polling places in its district.

Article 17. Precinct Election Commissions

1. Every political party whose slate of candidates is registered in the electoral region to which that election precinct belongs is entitled to delegate as its representatives to the precinct election commission one member and one alternate no later than 30 days before the election day. According to local conditions, the council of the local national committee may request political parties to delegate more representatives to the precinct election commission.

2. The precinct election commission must have at least three members. If a political party fails to delegate its representative, or as the case may be, several representatives, the council of the local national committee will appoint members of the precinct election commission in their place.

3. The chairman of the appropriate local national committee will convoke the first meeting of the precinct election commission within three days from the date stated in Paragraph 1.

4. If elections to the Czech National Council are held concurrently with elections to the Federal Assembly, a single precinct election commission will be organized for the election precinct.

5. The precinct election commission will:

a) supervise the voting process, and in particular, oversee correct casting of ballots and maintain order in the polling place;

b) count votes and prepare a written record about the process and results of elections, which it will promptly submit to the appropriate district electoral commission;

c) turn other election records for safekeeping to the local national committee.

Part Five

Section 1: Review of Slates of Candidates

Article 18. Slates of Candidates

1. Political parties may submit slates of their candidates for elections to the Czech National Council. The slates will be submitted in two identical copies to the secretary of the regional electoral commission no later than 60 days before the election day. With the slate the political party will enclose:

a) a declaration that it has at least 10,000 individual members, or

b) in case that it does not meet the condition stated under letter a), a petition supporting the candidacy of

that political party, signed by as many additional qualified voters as the party lacks in the number of individual members. When the voter signs the petition he presents his identity card and includes his name, surname, birth registration number, and address. Signature on the petition cannot be revoked. The regional electoral commission may check the accuracy of the data concerning the number of members or the data stated in the petition.

2. If a political party enters its slate in several electoral regions, it will present the petition to only one regional electoral commission, and inform of it all other regional electoral commissions.

3. The secretary will ascertain whether the submitted slates fulfill stipulated requirements. If they do not, he will inform the representative of the political party in question. The secretary will confirm to the representative of the political party in question that its slate was submitted.

4. The slate of candidates contains:

a) the title of the political party;

b) the name, surname, age, occupation and address of the candidates, and the order which they are listed on the slate listed expressed in Arabic digits;

c) the name of the representative appointed by the political party, and of his two alternates, with their full addresses. The candidate can be neither the representative nor the alternate.

5. In addition to the data stated in paragraph 4, letter b), the political party may also state the affiliation of individual candidates with a certain political party, or note that the candidate does not belong to any political party, or that he is an independent candidate.

6. The highest number of candidates the political party may include in a slate in an electoral region will be stipulated in the appendix which constitutes a part of this law.

7. The slate of candidates must contain the candidate's signed agreement with the candidacy, and his statement that he did not agree to appear on any other slate, and that he knows of no obstacle to his eligibility.

8. Political parties may agree to submit a joint slate of candidates. The coalition thus formed is subject to relevant regulations of this law concerning political parties. If several political parties present a joint ballot, the fulfillment of the requirements stated in paragraph 1 letters a), b), and in paragraph 2 by all political parties in question is ascertained in the same way as if the slate were presented by a single political party.

Article 19. Review of Slates of Candidates by the Regional Electoral Commission

1. The regional electoral commission will review the submitted slates of candidates no later than 55 days before the election day.

2. The regional electoral commission will delete:

a) the candidate who failed to enclose his declaration of candidacy pursuant to Article 18 paragraph 7;

b) a candidate whose name appears on the slates of several political parties will be deleted on the slate that is not accompanied by his declaration of candidacy pursuant to Article 18 paragraph 7. If the candidate had signed that declaration for several slates, he will be removed from all slates;

c) candidates nominated above the stipulated number pursuant Article 18 paragraph 6.

3. After the examination of the candidates the chairman of the regional electoral commission will promptly send to the Czech Electoral Commission one exact issue of the slate with the candidates' agreement with their candidacy, and reports on the result of the review of the slate. In the same manner, he will send information about the results of the review to all political parties whose slates were received.

4. After the Czech Electoral Commission receives from the electoral region the report on the result of the review of the slates, the regional electoral commission will register valid slates of candidates no later than 45 days before the election day, of which it will inform political parties in writing. The printing of the slates of candidates in contingent of the registration.

Article 20. Review of Slates by the Czech Electoral Commission

1. The Czech Electoral Commission will review the slates no later than 50 days before the election day. First it will examine the decision of regional electoral commissions and remove the errors ascertained in the slates.

2. If one of the candidates appears on several slates, the Czech Electoral Commission will delete his name from all slates.

3. If the slates submitted in all probability by the same political party are designated differently in various electoral regions, the chairman will request its representatives to provide identical designations for all electoral regions no later than by the conclusion of the meeting of the Czech Electoral Commission. If they fail to comply, the Czech Electoral Commission will determine the designation.

4. Furthermore, the Czech Electoral Commission will decide by lottery the number which will uniformly designate slates of candidates of every political party that has entered slates of candidates for elections to the Czech National Council.

5. If elections to the Czech National Council are held concurrently with elections to the Federal Assembly, the numbers which the Central Electoral Commission set by lottery will also be applied for the designation of candidates for elections to the Czech National Council. In that instance the representatives of the Czech Electoral Commission will take part in the lottery.

6. The chairman of the Czech Electoral Commission will promptly report about decisions made at its meeting to regional electoral commissions and to political parties participating in elections. He will announce results of the lottery in order to acquaint the public with them.

Article 21. Withdrawal and Revocation of Candidacy

1. A candidate may resign his candidacy in writing no later than 48 hours before the start of the elections. Until that moment his candidacy may be revoked by the representative of his political party in the same manner. The announcement of the resignation or the revocation of candidacy which cannot be retracted must be submitted in two identical copies to the chairman of the regional electoral commission which will promptly send one of the identical copies to the chairman of the Czech Electoral Commission and at the same time, he will ensure that it is announced in a suitable way to the public.

2. If such a statement is made after the registration, the data about the candidate will remain on the slate, but he will not be considered when mandates are assigned.

Article 22. Printing of Slates of Candidates

1. The chairman of the regional electoral commission will ensure by mediation of the appropriate national committee that the slates of candidates are printed and that they contain the numbers drawn by lots, the title of the party, and that they list all candidates in sequence.

2. Each slate will be reprinted in the form of ballot; thus, all slates will use the same type and size of the print, and paper of the same color, quality and dimension. The ballots will be furnished with the seal of the regional electoral commission and printed in sufficient quantities to enable also voters with voters' identification card to cast their vote.

3. The chairman of the regional electoral commission will send slates reprinted in this manner (ballots) to chairmen of local national committees who will ensure that they are delivered to all constituents no later than three days before the election day, and to precinct election commissions on the election day.

Section 2: Preparations for Elections

Article 23. Election Day

1. Elections to the Czech National Council are held on the same day on the entire territory of the Czech

Republic. The presidium of the CNR [Czech National Council] may decide to hold the elections in the course of two days.

2. The presidium of the Czech National Council will announce the elections to the Czech National Council and schedule the date of the elections no later than 90 days before the day of the elections. The decision of the presidium of the CNR will be published in the Collection of Laws.

3. The elections will be held on the scheduled date from seven o'clock AM until six o'clock PM. If local needs so demand, the council of the local national committee may set the beginning of the elections for an earlier hour.

4. If elections are held in the course of two days, the beginning of elections will be set for two o'clock PM and the end of elections for ten o'clock PM on the first day. On the second day elections will begin at seven o'clock AM and end at 2 o'clock PM; if local needs so demand, the council of the local national committee may set the beginning of the elections for an earlier hour.

Article 24. Voters' Information

1. No later than 15 days before the election day the local national committee will announce in a manner customary in that locality the time and place where the elections will be held in that community. If several electoral districts are established on the territory of a community, the local national council will announce which areas of the community, or which formations (Article 8 paragraph 1) or institutions (Article 7 paragraph 5) belong to individual electoral precincts. Local national committees will emphasize in the announcement that it is the voter's duty to carry his identity card; in the announcement they will stipulate other requirements necessary for a smooth course of the elections.

2. In communities where more than 5,000 voters are listed in voters' registers, local national committees will see to it that every voter receives a voter's ID which will include the necessary information about the elections. At the same time, local national committees will ensure that the ID card is delivered to the voter in his residence. Local national committees may decide to follow the same procedure even in communities where less than 5,000 voters are listed in voters' registers.

Article 25. Arrangement in Polling Place

1. Before the start of elections, the chairman of the precinct election commission, in the presence of the commission, will inspect the ballot box, or as the case may be, the portable ballot box, and seal it. Furthermore, he will inspect the furnishing in the polling place, and check whether the list of voters is ready and whether sufficient amounts of ballots are available.

2. If elections are held over two days, the chairman of the county electoral commission will ensure that after the polls are closed on the first day, the ballot box, or the

portable ballot box, are sealed to prevent insertion of ballots in the ballot box, and he will stored together with election documentation in a safe place.

Article 26. Premises for Marking of Ballots

To guarantee the secrecy of the vote, special areas in polling places are designated for the marking of ballots. The council of the local national committee will determine the number of such areas according to the number of voters in the election precinct. With the exception of cases stated in Article 29 par. 5, no one may be present with the voter in such areas, not even a member of the precinct election commission.

Section 3: Election Campaign

Article 27

1. For the purposes of this law, the term "election campaign" is understood as the period beginning 40 days and ending 48 hours before the start of elections.

2. During the election campaign each independently competing political party will have an equal access to the state media of public information. During the election campaign radio and television stations will offer each independently competing political party a total of 4 air hours. Air time and its allocation must comply with the principle of equality of competing political parties.

3. If the local national committee allocates an area for display of election posters, its use must comply with the principle of equality of competing political parties.

4. Canvassing for political parties in word, letter, sound and picture in the state media of public information, in buildings where precinct election commissions are located and in their immediate vicinity is forbidden 48 hours before the start of elections and on the election day. Results of preelection public opinion polls may be published until the seventh day before the start of elections.

5. Members of electoral commissions and employees of their special boards cannot give any information about the proceedings and preliminary election returns until the moment when the records on results of the balloting are signed.

6. During the balloting and until its end it is forbidden to publish results of election polls.

Part Six: Voting

Article 28. Opening of the Balloting

After the review pursuant to Article 25 paragraph 1, the chairman of the precinct election commission, with the agreement of that commission, will announce the opening of the balloting. The chairman will be the first to cast the ballot, and then other members of the commission will follow.

Article 29. Balloting

1. The voter will cast his ballot in person. Voting by proxy is not permitted. Members of the precinct election commission cannot mark ballots for voters. Voters will appear before the precinct election commission and cast their ballots in the order in which they entered the polling place.

2. Having entered the polling place, the voter will presents his ID card, and after his registration in two identical voters' registers, he will receive from the commission an empty envelope furnished with an official stamp. These envelopes must be opaque and of the same size, quality and color. If the voter does not have his registration card and is not known to any of the members of the commission, the commission will ask him to prove his identity. If he cannot do so with his ID card or with the testimony of two persons known to the commission, he will not be permitted to vote. Upon the voter's request the precinct election commission will replace his missing, deleted or otherwise marked ballots.

3. The voter who appears in the polling place with voter's ID card and who resides in the Czech Republic will be registered in voters' register by the precinct election commission. The entry will be signed by the chairman and two members of the commission; the voter's ID card will be attached to the first identical copy of the voters' register. Then the commission will hand the ballots to the voter.

4. Upon the receipt of the ballots, the voter will enter the area designated for that purpose (Article 26). In that area he will insert one ballot in the official envelope. On the ballot he will insert in the envelope he may circle the serial number of no more than four candidates listed on one ballot and so designate which of the candidates he prefers. He cannot make any other alterations on the ballot. In the same separate area the voter will deposit remaining ballots into a box designated for that purpose.

5. The voter who due to his physical disability or inability to read and write is unable to mark his ballot by himself has the right to be accompanied in the area designated for the marking of ballots by another voter who will mark the ballot according to his instruction and insert it in the envelope.

6. The voter will vote in such a way that after he leaves the area designated for the marking of ballots, he will insert the official envelope into the ballot box in front of the precinct election commission. The commission will not bar from voting any voter who will not go in the area designated for the marking of ballots. The same rule applies for the voting in special election precincts (Article 7 paragraph 4) with regards to conditions under which the balloting takes place.

Article 30. Order in the Polling Place and Its Immediate Vicinity

The chairman of the precinct election commission will be responsible for order in the polling place and its immediate vicinity. All those present must comply with his instructions on maintaining order in the polling place and a dignified process of voting.

Article 31. Interruption of the Balloting

If some circumstances prevent the opening of the voting, its continuation or its conclusion, the precinct election commission, in agreement with the regional electoral commission, may adjourn the start of the balloting until a later hour, or extend the time of the balloting. However, such a measure cannot shorten the total period of the balloting (Article 23). The precinct election commission will inform voters about such arrangements by means customary in that community. In case of interrupted balloting, the precinct election commission will seal all election documentation and the ballot box. When the balloting is resumed, the chairman in the presence of the commission will verify that the seals have not been tampered with, and will note this fact in the minutes of the voting procedure.

Article 32. Conclusion of the Balloting

As soon as the time stipulated for the conclusion of elections has passed, the polling place will be closed; however, first all those already present in the polling place or assembled in front of that building will be permitted to cast their vote. Then the chairman will declare to the precinct election commission that the balloting has ended.

Part Seven: Supervision and Announcement of Election Results

Article 33. Who May Attend the Counting of Ballots

Members of higher-level electoral commissions and employees of their special boards, as well as persons duly authorized by the Czech Electoral Commission may be present in the place where the precinct election commission counts the ballots.

Article 34. Counting of Ballots by the Precinct Election Commission

1. At the end of the balloting, the chairman of the precinct election commission will order that the special box for deposition of ballots (Article 19 par. 4), the remaining unused ballots and envelopes be sealed, and then he will instruct that the ballot box be opened. If upon explicit requests from individual voters or pursuant to Article 7 par. 5 the precinct election commission had used also a portable ballot box, the commission will open both boxes and combine their contents.

2. The precinct election commission will remove the envelopes with ballots from the ballot box, count official envelopes, and compare the number of the envelopes

with the records in the voters' register. The commission will invalidate unofficial envelopes.

3. After the ballots are removed from official envelopes, the precinct election commission will divide and count the ballots cast for individual political parties, and at the same time, exclude invalid ballots. Furthermore, it will ascertain how many voters of the political party availed themselves of their right of preferential vote, and will the count preferential votes cast for individual candidates.

4. Each member of the precinct election commission may inspect the ballots. The chairman of the precinct election commission will ensure that the ballots are correctly counted.

Article 35. Evaluation of Candidate Lists

1. The slate of a political party will be credited even with ballots on which the names of candidates are deleted, altered or added. Such alterations will be disregarded. If the voter marks on the ballot his preference for more than four candidates, that ballot will be credited to that political party, but the preferential voting will be disregarded.

2. Ballots that are not printed on the stipulated form are invalid. If an envelope contains several ballots, all such ballots are invalid. If an envelope contains several ballots of the same political party, they are counted as one vote; if any of those ballots are marked for preferential vote, that ballot or the ballot on which more preferential votes appear will be accepted.

3. Precinct election commissions will make final decisions about the validity of each envelope, ballot and preferential vote.

Article 36. Record of Voting in Election Precinct

1. Precinct election commissions will issue two identical copies of a record about the process of balloting and its results. The record will be signed by the chairman, vice chairman and all other members of the commission. The reasons for any refusal to sign the document will be noted in the record.

2. The record of the precinct election commission on the process and results of voting must include the following information:

- a) the time when the balloting started and when it ended, or as the case may be, when it was interrupted;
- b) the total number of persons registered in the precinct voters' register;
- c) the number of voters to whom official envelopes were issued;
- d) the number of official envelopes returned;
- e) the number of valid votes for each slate of candidates;

f) the number of voters of a political party who availed themselves of their right of preferential vote;

g) the number of valid preferential votes for individual candidates according to the slate of candidates;

h) summaries of reports and complaints submitted to the precinct election commission, decisions adopted by the commission, and their brief justification.

3. To provide the data pursuant to paragraph 2 letter g), the commission will use the necessary amount of unused ballots which the chairman in the presence of the commission will specify after the conclusion of voting for that purpose.

Article 37. Conclusion of Activities of the Precinct Election Commission

1. After ballots are counted and the record of the proceedings and results of voting signed, the chairman of the precinct election commission will announce the result of the balloting and promptly send one of the two identical copies of the record to the district commission and will await its instructions concerning the termination of his office.

2. The precinct election commission will seal the returned ballots, official envelopes and voters' registers, and transfer them along with other election documentation for safekeeping to the local national committee.

Article 38. Presence During the Proceedings of the District Commission

Only members of higher-ranking commissions and employees of their special boards, in addition to the members of those commissions, may be present in the room where the district commission processes election results for precinct election commissions.

Article 39. Vote Counting in the Regional Electoral Commission

1. The regional electoral commission will count votes and ascertain election results in the electoral region on the basis of records of the proceedings and results of balloting submitted by precinct election commissions.

2. Only members of the Czech Electoral Commission and employees of special boards may be present in the room where the regional electoral commission counts votes and verifies election results.

Article 40. Record by the Regional Electoral Commission

1. The regional electoral commission will prepare two identical copies of a record on election results in its electoral region; the record will be signed by the chairman, vice chairman and all other members of the commission. The reasons for a refusal to sign the document will be noted.

2. The record of the regional electoral commission on election result must contain the following information:

- a) the number of election precincts in the electoral region and the number of precinct election commissions reporting their election results;
- b) the number of persons registered in voters' registers in the electoral region;
- c) the number of voters who received official envelopes;
- d) the number of returned official envelopes;
- e) the number of valid ballots for each slate of candidates;
- f) the number of voters of a political party who availed themselves of the right of preferential vote;
- g) the number of valid preferential votes for individual candidates according to slates of candidates;
- h) a brief summary of reports and complaints submitted to the regional electoral commission, of decisions adopted by that commission, and their brief justification.

3. After signing both identical copies of the record of election results, the chairman will promptly send one of the identical copies of the record to the Czech Electoral Commission. He will transfer all other electoral documentation for safekeeping to the appropriate national committee.

Article 41. Designation of the Number of Deputies Elected in an Electoral Region

1. The Czech Electoral Commission will examine records made by regional electoral commissions and on that basis determine total valid votes for all slates of candidates in all electoral regions. It will divide that figure by the number of deputies (Article 6). The figure obtained in this manner and rounded up to units represents the number of mandates of the republic.

2. It will divide the number of mandates of the republic by the total valid ballots cast in each electoral region. The whole number thus obtained represents the number of mandates for individual electoral regions.

3. If all mandates are not allotted in this manner, the Czech Electoral Commission will allocate these mandates consecutively to electoral regions with highest surpluses. In case of equal surpluses, lottery will decide.

Article 42. Participation of Political Parties in Allocation of Mandates

1. The Czech Electoral Commission will verify the total of valid ballots cast for each political party. It will determine which political parties have obtained less than five percent of the total number of valid votes. In further

determination of election results and in allocation of mandates it will disregard such political parties and ballots cast for them.

2. The remaining political parties will advance to first scrutiny in which mandates are allocated within electoral regions.

Article 43. First Scrutiny

1. The sum total of valid ballots cast for political parties in an electoral region advanced to the first scrutiny will be divided by the number of mandates allocated for that electoral region (Paragraph 41) increased by one; the whole number obtained by this division and rounded up to units represents the regional electoral number.

2. The total of valid ballots cast for a political party in an electoral region will be divided by the regional electoral number, and that political party will receive as many mandates as many times is the regional electoral number contained in the total of valid votes obtained by that political party.

3. Candidates of individual political parties will be given mandates allocated for their party in the order in which they are listed on the slate of candidates. However, if in an electoral region at least one tenth of the total number of voters who cast valid ballots for that political party exercised their right of preferential vote, the mandate will be given to that candidate with the absolute majority of votes from voters of that political party who availed themselves of the preferential vote. In case that more mandates are allocated for a political party and that more candidates meet the conditions stated in the preceding sentence, the candidates will receive their mandates consecutively starting from the highest number of the preferential votes cast. If the numbers of preferential votes are the same, the sequence on the ballot will be decisive.

4. If a political party failed to nominate as many candidates as it is entitled to have according to the results of first scrutiny, it will obtain only as many mandates as many candidates it had nominated.

Article 44. Second Scrutiny

1. In the second scrutiny the Czech Electoral Commission will assign all mandates that have not been assigned in the first scrutiny. Remaining votes cast for individual political parties will be transferred to the second scrutiny; if in the first scrutiny a political party failed to obtain a single mandate, then all votes cast for it will be transferred to the second scrutiny.

2. The Czech Electoral Commission will submit to its chairman slates of candidates of their parties no later than before the opening of the second scrutiny. The number of candidates listed on those slates is not limited; however, a political party may include in them only names of candidates nominated in an electoral region but not elected in the first scrutiny. After the slates are

presented, neither the names of candidates nor the order in which they are listed on the slate may be changed.

3. In the second scrutiny the Czech Electoral Commission will count the remaining votes cast for individual political parties. The total will be divided by the number of mandates that have not been allocated in the first scrutiny and increased by one. A whole number obtained by the division and rounded up to units is the republic's electoral number. On this basis each political party will be assigned as many mandates as many times the republic's electoral number is contained in the sum total of the remaining votes cast for an individual political party.

4. If all mandates are not filled in this manner, the Czech Electoral Commission will consecutively assign those mandates to parties with valid slates of candidates and with the highest remainder after the division; in case of equal remainders, the mandate will be assigned to the party which demonstrates the highest total of remainders in the second scrutiny. If the totals of the remainders are equal, the mandate will be assigned to the party with more votes; if those numbers are the same, lottery will decide. The same method will be applied if a political party reports fewer candidates than the number of mandates allocated to it.

5. If this allocation results in one mandate higher than the number to be allocated, the surplus mandate will be deducted from that political party which has shown the least remainder in the division in the second scrutiny. If the remainders are the same, the surplus mandate will be deducted from that political party for which fewer votes were cast; if the number of votes is the same, lottery will decide.

6. Within individual political parties, the mandates allocated for that party will be assigned to its candidates in the sequence listed in the slate of candidates for the second scrutiny.

7. The candidates who did not receive a mandate in the first and second scrutiny will become alternates.

Article 45. Record of the Czech Electoral Commission and Publication of Election

1. After the first and second scrutiny, the Czech Electoral Commission will draft a record of election results. The record will be signed by the chairman, vice chairman and other members of the Commission.

2. The record on election results will contain the following:

- a) total number of persons registered in voters' registers;
- b) total number of voters who received official envelopes;
- c) number of valid ballots cast separately for each slate of candidates, and separately for individual regions;

d) names of candidates listed on individual slates, who were elected in the first scrutiny, together with the data on the results of preferential vote, and of candidates elected in the second scrutiny, as well as of candidates who became alternates.

3. Immediately after the record on election results is signed, the Czech Electoral Commission will publish summary election results according to individual electoral regions. Furthermore, it may publish preliminary results with data listed in paragraph 2 letters a) through c).

Article 46. Certificate of Election

The Czech Electoral Commission will issue certificates of election to candidates who were elected deputies.

Article 46. Complaints About Elections

1. Complaints against the issuance of the certificate of election pursuant to Article 46 may be submitted by any citizen who is registered in the voters' register in the electoral district where the deputy in question was elected, as well as by any political party whose slate of candidates competed in a given electoral region. The grounds for the complaint must be included. The complaint must be presented in writing to the Supreme Court of the Czech Republic no later than 10 days after the publication of election results.

2. The Supreme Court of the Czech Republic, in a session composed of the presiding judge and two justices, will examine the complaint within 10 days. Regulations on proceedings by civil courts in reviewing decisions made by other agencies will be duly applied.

3. The decision of the Supreme Court of the Czech Republic cannot be appealed.

4. The Supreme Court of the Czech Republic will inform the Czech National Council about the grounds for its decision.

Article 48. Measures in Case of Violation of Law

In case of a violation of this law in an electoral region, the presidium of the Czech National Council will take necessary steps to hold elections in conformity with this law no later than one week after the publication of election results. In such cases the stipulated schedules may be shortened.

Article 49. Succession of Alternates

1. If a mandate is vacated, it will go, following the order of election results in first scrutiny (Article 43 par. 4), to that alternate of the political party who is listed on the slate of candidates for election in the same electoral region where the deputy whose mandate was vacated had run. If there is no such alternate, then an alternate of the same political party will succeed in the sequence listed on the slate for second scrutiny.

2. If there is no alternate of the same political party, the mandate will remain vacant until the end of that election term.

3. The presidium of the Czech National Council will announce the succession of the alternate no later than 15 days after the office of deputy has become vacant. It will deliver the alternate a certificate appointing him a deputy and stating as of which date.

Part Eight: Measures To Safeguard Elections

Article 50. Measures of Auxiliary Means

1. All auxiliary means, particularly the polling places and their furnishings, official envelopes and auxiliary manpower for precinct election commissions will be provided by local national committees in whose areas such commissions are established.

2. All auxiliary means for precinct commissions will be provided by the District National Committee, and for regional electoral commissions by the Regional National Committee whose headquarters is the headquarters of the appropriate electoral commission.

Article 51. Cooperation With Other Agencies and Organizations

1. All state agencies and all organizations have the duty to help implement this law.

2. Upon the request of agencies supervising the implementation of tasks stemming from this law, organizations, or as the case may be, persons engaged in typography must ensure prompt and correct printing of the slates of candidates, certificates, voter's ID cards, and all other necessary official documents.

Article 52. Entitlements of the Members of Election Commissions

It is an honorable duty to serve as a member of the election commission. Members of the commission must not be shortchanged for this service as concerns their rights and claims stemming from their employment or similar relations; in particular, they are entitled to time off from work and to compensation for lost income. (Announcement by the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on other services in public interest—Collection No. 236/1988; governmental regulation on adjustment of rewards and compensations and certain other conditions for deputies of national committees and members of commissions and caucuses of national committees—Collection No. 12,1968, in the version of subsequent regulations.)

Article 53. Entitlements of the Candidates

1. A candidate has the right to be relieved from work by his employer or by the person in similar position (hereafter "employer") in the period from the day after the registration of the slate of candidates on which his name appears, to the election eve.

2. Upon the candidate's request he will be compensated for lost wages by his employer.

3. The employer is entitled to receive compensation from the political party on whose slate the candidate is listed for the amount paid to the candidate for the latter's lost income.

4. A candidate who is not employed or who does not have some such relations will be compensated for his lost income by the political party which included his name on its slate.

5. The candidate's lost income is calculated in the same way as lost income of the members of election commissions.

6. The circumstance that a person is a candidate cannot be detrimental to his labor, legal or similar status. The period of time off pursuant to paragraph 1 is regarded as period of work performed.

Article 54. Compensation for Election Costs

1. Costs connected with the elections to the Czech National Council will be covered from the state budget of the republic. If elections to the Czech National Council are held concurrently with elections to the Federal Assembly, the method of compensation will be determined by agreement of appropriate agencies of the Czech Republic and the Czechoslovak Federative Republic.

2. Each political party will cover the costs of its election campaign from its own resources, or use credits from a bank or a savings institution.

3. After the Czech National Council has verified the election of deputies, the presidium of the Czech National Council will advise the Ministry of Finances, Prices and Wages of the Czech Republic about the number of valid ballots cast for individual political parties; the political party which will obtain more than two percent of the total number of valid votes in the elections will receive from the state budget of the republic the payment of Kcs 10 for each vote cast.

Part Nine: Interim and Final Regulations; Regulations on Authorization

Article 55

1. The Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, in agreement with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, will:

- a) specify the tasks of national committees in
 1. establishing election precincts,
 2. compiling voters' registers,
 3. issuing voter's ID cards,
 4. securing and furnishing polling places,
 5. safekeeping ballots and other election documents;

b) specify the forms of the ballot, voters' register, voter's ID cards, voter's certificates, and certificates of election, and may also specify prototypes of other election documents;

c) may specify terms of cooperation with the agencies of state administration (Article 51 par. 1) in examining accuracy of data pursuant to Article 18 par. 1.

2. By agreement with the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic and in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Statistics, the Czech Bureau of Statistics will issue methodology for the processing of election returns.

Article 56

Measures taken by pertinent agencies of the state administration in preparation for the implementation of this law prior to its application, so long as they do not contravene the law, are regarded as though the law were already in force.

Article 57. Terminating Regulations

Law on elections to the Czech National Council—Coll. No. 53/1971 is hereby revoked with the exception of its Article 49 which will become void as of the election day.

Article 58. Effect of Law

1. This law will be applicable as of the day of its announcement.

2. This law will apply only to the elections to the Czech National Council in 1990.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CDU Publishes Draft Party Platform

90GE0021A East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German
17 Mar 90 p 11-15

[Unattributed article: "Program of the CDU"—first two paragraphs give historical and philosophic background]

[Text]

The Peoples' Party

The Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] is a party whose policies are grounded in Christian principles, whose members are democrats, and one which melds people from a broad spectrum of religious, social, liberal, and conservative positions into a middle-of-the-road coalition. It bases its policies on the humanistic values of the Christian tradition and the German and European culture. It strives toward justice, peace, and preserving the environment, toward freedom and social security. The Christian image of man provides it with the foundation and the framework of responsible goals and a basis for dealing in a responsible manner.

On this basis practical, political cooperation is possible, even with non-Christians. The CDU turns toward people from all classes and groups of our people.

History and Guilt

With the foundation of the CDU and its appeal for founding members on 26 June 1945, the beginning of a new era in German politics was marked. The splintering of the democrats of the Weimar Republic, which had made Hitler's rise to power possible, had to be overcome. The CDU preserved the memory of the martyrdom of Christian, anti-Fascists, and it took up the heritage of the Christian-Socialist and pacifist movements of the 19th century. Looking beyond factors that fostered separation, the CDU practiced a unification of religions and the commonality of social, liberal, and conservative trends in values.

Running counter to the warnings of steadfast democrats and despite the resistance of many members who were aware of their responsibility, which was associated with great sacrifice, the CDU, after the GDR was founded, did not block the path that led to the economic, social, and moral catastrophe. In the presence of the German people, we confess our party's guilt: it played a role in supporting the dictatorship. We wrongly maintained a public position of silence. Our party's leadership paid no heed to the alert, free, and democratic conscience of its broad base. Today the CDU must bear its share of the onus in the negative developments of the GDR, and it must deal with that onus.

In the course of the peaceful revolution in the autumn of 1989, the CDU in the GDR underwent a fundamental change, and, as a result of reflection on its origins, it has made a new beginning.

Germany and Europe

The CDU is a party for Germany and Europe. It stands for unity of the German nation, and for swiftly overcoming the division within Germany within the pan-European unification process. It stands for a federated German state with Berlin as its federal capital.

With regard our European neighbors, the Jews, and all the others who were persecuted, we represent the guilt of our people. We take a determined stand against nationalism, Fascism, anti-Semitism, and militarism. Never again will a war be permitted to break out and spread from German soil.

In a common European house, Germany should act as a bridge, not a boundary.

We seek Germany's unity within the present boundaries of the two German states. It should not be permitted to cause its neighbors to feel insecure.

Progress and Preservation

The ongoing progress of the social, economic, scientific, and cultural developments constantly brings new challenges for politics. The CDU sees its challenge in gaining control over the necessary change to freedom, while preserving what has proven to be of value.

Ecological-Social Market Economy

An ecological-social market economy—socially assured, committed to uphold international justice, ecologically responsible, achievement-oriented—that is our concept in terms of economic and social policies.

Our wholehearted support is given to the elderly, those whose position within the social fabric is weak, and the disabled. Social justice and a social safety net must complement each other.

The CDU supports the notion of property, whether ownership of that property be private, within the context of a cooperative, or in terms of State ownership.

Wide Variety of Opinions, Freedom of Religion, Tolerance

The future is open. This is in keeping with the variety of possible, responsible positions. Our support of varied opinions, freedom of opinion, and freely-expressed public-opinion are the result.

Every human being has the right to respect for his personal convictions, and to freedom of religious belief, but the will for tolerance is demanded of all. Openness and behavior befitting a partnership are the benchmarks of the CDU as a populist party. Political action for the benefit of the people requires clear positions, and at the same time, the ability and readiness to compromise.

The Rule of Law and Division of Powers

The rule of law, the preservation, and the promotion of human rights, as well as the strict division of power between the Parliament, the executive branch of government, and the judiciary, are a political obligation for us.

For this reason, the CDU supports the notion that restitution be made today for the injustices of the past, to the extent that it is possible to do so, and those people whose lives were affected by those injustices—many of them belonged to the CDU—be fully rehabilitated, and that the position they took in the past be honored.

I. Christian Image of Humanity

Dignity

All politics presupposes, on a conscious level, or without open acknowledgement, a certain image of man, and a certain understanding of the world.

In its policies, the CDU builds upon an image of man that has grown from the Christian tradition and from the experiences of that system of belief.

As a unique creature, every person is entitled to an inalienable personal dignity. He may never be degraded to the point where he is merely the means to political or economic goals.

His dignity is independent of what he is capable of achieving, independent of his health, his age, his sex, his race, his physical peculiarities, his religion, or world view.

Commonality

Man is, by his nature, a social creature; without a link to his fellow human beings, he can neither live, nor develop his institutions. Women and men are entitled to be treated with the same degree of dignity. They are capable of complementing each other as partners, and are called upon to do so.

The opportunities of human gifts and capacities are brought to bear where a society is not set upon paying lip service to equality, but rather, where a society values the wealth of the various capacities and the wealth of talent found within it.

In a world of increasing division of labor and specialization, a high degree of mutual trust is a prerequisite, one which can grow only where high value is placed upon a person's moral bond. Veracity, a feeling of responsibility, and mutually supportive behavior are indispensable prerequisites for the growth and flourishing of a modern society.

Vocation

We believe the principle that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. Respect of ethical principles, even in the area of political endeavor, is not a weakness, but rather, the more profound and better realism.

Since man, even in his high vocation, becomes guilty, is weak, and subject to error, society must be structured in such a way that he cannot live out his errors unchecked, without encountering any opposition from any quarter.

Among the primary tasks political structure must face is balancing realistic trust with healthy mistrust.

II. Basic Values

We believe in the underlying principles of freedom, peace, justice, and responsibility. These basic values are rooted in our Christian understanding of man; they are all related to one another, and each one is contingent upon the existence of the others. They are the basis and the goal of our policies at the same time.

Freedom

Freedom and Responsibility

Man is called upon to be free. He experiences his freedom as the limitless capacity to act of his own accord. One's own volition is limited by the freedom of one's fellows. Freedom should develop in responsibility

to one's fellow man, and in responsibility to the community. Freedom that is lived encompasses rights and obligations. The aim of politics is to secure the proper venue for freedom.

Community

Man is, by his nature, a social creature. He lives within and from the community that supports him and imposes limits upon him. The realization of freedom for all people requires social justice. It is the goal of politics to be concerned with the equitable distribution of opportunities and goods.

Social Support

It is the free right of each citizen to live his life alone, within the family, or in small associations as he sees fit, and as his needs dictate. In cases in which he cannot do so alone, supporting assistance must be rendered. We embrace the principle of social support in accordance with which the larger social unit does not relieve the smaller ones of their tasks, but rather assists them in fulfilling those tasks.

Democracy

Freedom must be protected from within as well as from without. For its preservation, a democratic State is needed. A free commonwealth must be prepared to defend itself and capable of doing so.

Peace

Capacity for Peace

Peace is Man's capacity to live with his fellows and within himself in the world and to deal with conflicts without resorting to violence. Peace is thus the prerequisite for the opportunity to develop life and to raise it to its highest value.

It is a basic goal of our policies to create the prerequisites for internal and external peace.

Mutual Support

In his life within the community, the individual has the right not to be neglected, but he also bears a responsibility toward the community. This partnership of mutual support is the basis of peace within the community. The CDU stands for a policy of mutual social security.

Well-Being

Man's well-being presupposes harmony within the community and harmony with Nature. The harmony resulting from this peace brings with it an experience of joy. Educating for peace is a programmatic goal of our policies.

Securing the Peace

Mankind's survival is possible only in peace. Supreme among the goals of politics must be the creation of a lasting peace in harmony among the peoples of the world.

Justice

Equality

Equality of all people before the law is the basis of justice. All human beings, regardless of their origins, their social status, their achievements, or their failures, have an equal right to live in freedom and dignity. Striving toward justice is a primary concern of our policies.

Employment

Being active is a part of human nature. Each human being has a fundamental right to work. Assuring that everyone can avail himself of this basic right is among the important aims of our policies.

Achievement

Man is realized in experiencing his own achievement. Justice includes affording recognition to personal efforts and varying levels of achievement. Achievement must bring its rewards. Unequal achievement must also be evaluated on an unequal basis. It is our political aim to assure an equal opportunity for everyone to achieve and assume responsibility.

Balance

Affirmation of personal achievement requires equitable distribution of the goods that have been earned. Justice demands that a balance be struck in cases in which efforts have been fruitless, but also in cases in which failure has been one's own fault. It is the aim of our policies to assure, by means of a system of compensatory measures, that people do not sink to the level of poverty, and that those who are in need are helped.

Responsibility

Responsibility and Trust

Man is responsible for his actions and their consequences. Responsibility springs from our bond to our conscience, whose call we cannot ignore. We bear responsibility for that which has been entrusted to us, to preserve it and to bring it to fruition. Responsibility lived creates trust. Acting politically means taking responsibility.

Responsibility for Oneself and for Others

Assuming responsibility for oneself as well as for others and the community as a whole characterize the mature

citizen. He should be able to choose and decide, participate and cooperate. Our policies must offer everyone the opportunity to deal with freedom in a responsible manner.

Preservation of the Environment

Man bears responsibility for his natural environment. It is up to him to preserve Nature for himself, for those now living, and for the generations yet to come. Similarly, Man is responsible for the consequences of scientific research and the effects of technology. Our policies are to serve the preservation of the environment.

Responsibility for the Peace

Peace is the primary prerequisite for responsible behavior in politics. Among human beings, no peace is possible without peace with Nature, and no peace with Nature is possible without peace among Mankind. Our responsibility toward peace today, in the atomic age, is universal.

III. The Individual and the Community; For a Pro-Family Society

Marriage and the Family

Marriage and the family are the foundation of our society. Intact family relationships are the basis for the healthy development of our children. They need the particular protection, respect, and support of the State.

Common Education

A partnership based on equal rights and equal respect for women and men are prerequisites for the self-realization of all the members of the family. Each child has the right to the personal involvement, attention, and love of the parents.

We call for the creation of an independent Ministry of "Family and Social Affairs," the goals of which would include equality of men and women.

Duties of the State

Work within the family must gain legal and social respect within society:

- We consider the payment of a child support allowance for training in the home payable to children up to the age of three years to be necessary.
- We support the possibility of a parttime job and gliding work time.
- Family members who care for those in need of assistance should receive financial assistance and assistance in terms of social benefits.
- We strive for granting full credit for purposes of job seniority and pensions for periods taken away from work for the purpose of raising children.

Single persons engaged in raising children are to be given the full support of society.

It must be implemented that after a divorce, parental rights can be transferred to both parents.

Relationships outside the bonds of matrimony are to be tolerated. Long-term homosexual relationships are to be given the full protection of the law.

Protection of Unborn Life

The protection of unborn life as well as life after birth places a great burden of responsibility on society and the parents.

Helpful counselling of applicants for abortion must precede this decision of conscience. Society must create the conditions under which the life of the child is chosen and can be led within a context of good human contacts. Bans on abortion and threats of punishment are no assistance to life.

Women in Society

Equality of Opportunity

Women have equal rights. Equality of rights is more than just "equal pay for equal work." For this reason, women must play a part in shaping all aspects of society. In education and occupational training, in employment and leisure activities, women must have not only equal opportunities to develop their personalities as men, but they must have an equal opportunity on the job and within the family, in social and political life, to apply their own unique style, their powers, and capabilities. They should have the opportunity to be themselves.

Freedom of Decision

Women should have the freedom to determine their own priorities. This decision should not be encumbered with material or social disadvantages of any kind. On the other hand, family and occupation should be combined with each other in new ways, both for women and for men.

Role Model Behavior

Role model behavior and the distribution of roles among men and women will increasingly meet the needs of a modern society and those of the basic indivisible human dignity.

Relationships

From this, the tasks of a partnership based on the equality of rights that will have to be borne by society, develop. Society gains a broader spectrum of nuances and human quality when these nuances are not dominated by men, but shaped by both men and women acting in consort. Strengthening the female element in all areas of communal life is crucial for the humanization of everyday culture. The CDU is in favor of developing conditions that make real equality of opportunity possible for men as well as women.

Self-Determination

In shaping legislation, it must be left to women to decide whether they desire separate provisions from those made for men in certain particulars, such as retirement age, for example, or whether they desire a single set of provisions.

Discussions surrounding the problem of abortion is a matter that should properly be determined by women, not men.

Protection from abuse and rape in marriage is to be afforded to women.

Women's Union

The CDU sees an indispensable complement to the efforts of our party in the efforts of the Women's Union.

Political Enfranchisement of the Younger Generation**The Right To Follow Its Own Path**

In its policies with regard to youth, the CDU assumes that the opportunities given to youth, the freedom of decision granted to them in certain areas, and their right to follow their own paths must be recognized and promoted.

Today children and youths experience a world that is becoming more and more complicated for them. Under the influence of contradictory models and values within the family, the media, and, in light of the abortive education policies and youth policies in recent decades, it is often difficult for young people to find their way.

Orientation Offerings

It is the task of youth policies to help youth and to provide an impetus for their orientation that goes beyond the scope of promotional measures in training and occupational life.

Areas of Freedom

The CDU supports a policy for youth

—that opens the path for youth to develop their own personalities, responds to them with trust, and enables them to deal with problems in an independent way and to grow in terms of social responsibility,

Capacity To Deal With Conflicts

—to grant young people the latitude that promotes their own creativity and enables them to deal with conflicts; to integrate the younger generation into society in such a way that it can become politically effective with its own ideas and views,

—to grant them the latitude that incorporates the plurality of youth movements and stands for equal opportunities for Church-sponsored youth groups.

CDJ

The CDU welcomes the efforts of the Christian Democratic Youth (CDJ) at its side, and it looks forward to the critical discussions on the part of the CDJ with the policies of the party.

Constructive Use of Leisure Time

Youth movements and Church-related youth groups afford an important area of social and political involvement. A broad, field of autonomous activity should be opened up for young people in this area. Youth's involvement should no longer be marked by a prescribed slant.

Social Involvement

Particular attention should be paid to involving youth in programs that would be of social benefit to the entire community, and would involve individuals in programs that would assist the disabled, older citizens, those at risk as a result of addiction, and youthful offenders.

The State and the society must grant recognition to this involvement provide material support.

Training and Education**Dignity of the Child**

All training and education must be permeated with respect for the dignity and personality of the child or the youth.

Totality of the Personality and Individuality

This means that the child is not an object to be molded to conform to a specific ideology, world view, or social norm. Training must take the totality of the personality into account, and it must make possible the total development of individuality with a view toward a life that is filled with meaning. It must provide room for the development of one's own value system and for one's own world views. Character-formation, intellectual and athletic promotion, as well as creative education must be brought into a balanced relationship.

The Goal of Training

It must be the goal of training to provide children and youths with basic knowledge that meets the needs of life in a flexible way while turning them into enfranchised citizens and responsible members of society: peace loving, responsible, aware, and conscious of the environment.

The Role of the School

The primary goal of the school is to foster the development of children and youths. School exists for the sake of the pupils. Only as a goal of the second magnitude is school there to provide a conduit for subject matter. By

being set up in such a way as to be more just to children and adolescents, schools will also become more teacher-friendly.

Multifaceted School System

In keeping with the wide variety of facilities and the increase in occupational differentiation, a widely-varied, yet as open a system of schools and occupational training facilities as possible is needed, but a common elementary education in the first six years of school should be the rule. Special attention must be given to the integration of those whose achievements are weak and those who are disabled.

For this reason, the CDU supports a renovated, truly democratic, and humanistic educational system that:

Kindergartens

- creates equal rights and financial equality among State- and Church-supported kindergartens, or, through the payment of tuition vouchers, makes it possible for parents to decide between primary child care in the home or care of the children in cooperative private, or Church-supported institutions,

Tuition Funds and Lunch Money

- makes equality between State and Church-supported school treasuries possible, and, if needed, provides tuition funds and lunch money for all children,
- assigns equal value to ethical education as well as tuition in traditional subject matter, one that values intellectual, creative, and physical capacities to an equal degree,

Christian Cultural Heritage

- gives due consideration to the Christian cultural heritage in the curriculum, particularly in history, German, art education, and music,
- supports a curriculum that assures sufficient space for extra-curricular subjects, and in some cases, for mandatory subjects, particularly in the area of foreign language instruction, to meet the current needs of society, while remaining sufficiently flexible to give individual interests certain latitude,

Social Studies

- not only imparts knowledge within the context of "Man and Sociology" concerning forms of government, world religions, world views, and environmental matters, but also provides assistance in dealing with life within the family, dealing with the disabled, with those on the fringes of society, etc.,

Input

- Constitutionally guarantees the priority of the parental home in matters pertaining to education, and

grants a greater degree of input and control to freely-elected representative groups of parents in all educational institutions that come under consideration, and one that grants the parents a participatory role with regard to the individual training period,

- guarantees the pupils' participatory rights through student councils and those of the teachers through faculty councils,
- makes provision for the democratic election of school directors in conjunction with the municipal council and the faculty council,
- judges pedagogues solely on the basis of pedagogical, scholarly, and professional ethics-related criteria in matters of their selection, training, and evaluation, and not on the basis of party affiliation,

Variety and Free Choice of School

- creates the legal possibility to establish on parental initiative or on the initiative of other institutions, independent schools, or schools dependent upon private support, in addition to State-supported schools, which, apart from the general requirements and level of the goal, pursue specific educational pathways or goals and are placed on an equal financial footing with the State schools, so that access to these schools is not dependent upon the financial status of the parents,
- makes it possible for all schools to proliferate within the framework of generally-valid regulations, one that makes freedom of choice between the schools in a relatively small area possible, and makes it possible for the schools, for their part, to establish criteria for acceptance,

No Compulsion Due to Conscience

- transforms the dedication of youth that has existed to date into a free sponsorship outside the school, and leaves it to the parents to decide whether, before the pupils progress to a differentiated upper grade, a dignified, philosophically and politically neutral ceremony should take place to mark the occasion,
- banishes all forms of premilitary or paramilitary training from public institutions of education,

Occupational Schools and Trade Schools

- leads to a system of occupational and trade schools that live up to conditions that actually prevail in the occupational world and in the economy,

Tertiary Education

- grants universities and other institutions of higher learning legal autonomy, and restores academic freedom to the faculty, one that restores freedom and responsibility of teaching and research in all areas, and restores the dignity of free scholarship to scholarship,

The Arts

- establishes a full revitalization of research and teaching in the liberal arts as the goal of such teaching and research in the liberal arts,
- promotes the necessary discourse with the philosophical currents in the world,

Theology, Scholarly Policies

- respects the rank and dignity of theological research and doctrine at the universities (theological faculties), policies that are aware of the ethical quality of scholarly undertakings and investigations, particularly when they touch upon the ethics of life (genetic technology, euthanasia), or the continued existence of humanity (means of mass destruction, military research), one that permits and encourages public debate and public control, and one that promotes the need among scientists to develop their own barriers against the abuse of science,

Freedom for the Students

- makes provision for new forms of representing students' interests, and guarantees an independent, materially secure opportunity to study with broad individual opportunities
- states that the admission to an institution of higher learning be exclusively contingent upon specific achievements and upon aptitude for a particular profession, regardless of sex, social origin, political leanings, philosophical, or religious views,
- states that it be possible to correct poor choices in one's personal education, and that students be motivated to undertake such changes,

Learning Opportunities for Every Age Group

- guarantees a qualitatively good selection of offerings in community colleges and other institutions for the education of adults, and to qualify adults for such programs of study,
- motivates toward further professional education and reacts in a flexible way to the challenges of the labor market and one that assures financial support for retraining,
- allows optimal promotion of qualification programs for the disabled to flourish.

Art and Culture**A World Worthwhile of Human Beings**

The task that was assigned to people, to work toward ordering a world that is worthwhile of human beings, is one of the main underpinnings of culture. In keeping with the cultural values of former times that have been carefully transmitted over the years, the CDU supports the development of those forms of life that a person who is aware

of his responsibilities can develop the physical and intellectual capacities that were given to him in true freedom and apply them to a way of life that is worthy of a human being.

German Culture

German culture as a component member of European culture is an indivisible unit that nevertheless honors all geophysical distinctions, and specific regional traditions. Building on the intellectual heritage of ancient times and the wide variety of forms afforded by the German cultural landscapes, throughout the course of history, it has been shaped in particular by the power of Christianity.

Creativity

The cultural life of a society is an indicator of its freedom, its tolerance, and its spiritual wealth. The pathway to the riches of culture must be equally open to all. At issue is the promotion of artistic life in the fullness of its various modes of expression and various forms, based upon the development of individuality and creative power.

Plurality

The CDU supports a cultural policy that transcends all temptations toward indoctrination and each form of provincialism, one that assures plurality of world view in terms of cultural life.

Art and Church

Room is required for the cultural expression by the churches and religious communities (sacred music, Christian art), and efforts have been made for the preservation of this culture, which bears the stamp of Christianity and its cultural landmarks (landmark restoration). Christian creativity of the present must receive its rightful and equal place within the realm of all arts. The CDU welcomes such creative efforts and seeks to promote them.

Holidays

The old Church holidays, with their variations in various areas, should be reintroduced as a component of the cultural tradition of our people. The national holiday that has been in force thus far, the 7th of October, should be abolished.

Openness to the World

Cultural policies should work, in competent fashion, toward the development of national culture in its German and Sorbian modes of expression, working as they do so toward a cosmopolitanism in their efforts to cooperate with the expression of individual local forms of cultural expression.

Cultural Sovereignty

The CDU demands cultural sovereignty of the States, even in the areas of education and higher education.

Promotion of Art

An important task to be met by cultural policies is supplying financial and material security for art and cultural life by:

- means of investments and State support (as with the theater, for example, or for museums, and libraries);
- providing stimulus through competition, and high performance standards for the cultural institutions;
- the support of charitable foundations, other free supporters, and private initiatives.

Everyday Cultural Life

Democratic cultural policies are concerned about the everyday cultural life of the country's citizens. Its task goes beyond supporting the arts and exclusive cultural realms. Rather, they must provide the impetus for the development of a broad-based cultural climate, which will afford traditional folk art and alternative efforts the space necessary for the citizens' lively culture to thrive, and urbanity can develop.

Opportunities for All

The CDU considers it very important to secure a place for the cultural interests and the artistic activities of the disabled, as well as for older citizens. Foreign residents, too, should be offered the opportunity to pursue cultural and artistic interests.

Home and Environment

Cities and Municipalities

The increased population density and the creation of industrialized centers of high population density, with their monotonous apartment silos with their prefabricated mode of construction and the simultaneous decay of the old buildings in cities and municipalities has diminished the quality of life of those who live there. At the same time, the destruction of the environment threatens the peoples' health.

Home

The immediate neighborhood in the city and the immediate vicinity in rural communities is perceived as home by its citizens. The surroundings they know so well can be accepted as home only if people feel well in their birth place or the place they have chosen to live in, whether they be in urban areas or rural communities.

Urban Construction

That presupposes an urban construction program that is worthy of human beings, one in which newly-constructed areas fit in in harmony with restored and modernized older buildings. Cities with their historic centers, like

their rural village counterparts, bear witness to the past, and thus to their own history.

Sports Policies

Sports are of great significance in terms of health, and they promote contact with other human beings across international boundaries.

The Value of Sports

They increase one's joy of living and enhance one's ability to perform. They offer a balance to monotonous claims made by one's occupation. They are also of great value for the handicapped and for senior citizens.

Promotion of Participatory Sports Across a Broad Spectrum

Priority is to be given to participation sports across the broad spectrum, rather than to high performance sports. A commitment to a sport for everyone means a clear repudiation of the pseudo-patriotic, ideologically-loaded sports concept of the past.

We have faith in the readiness and capability of sporting associations and clubs to perform these functions under their own administration and on their own initiative, but without public assistance, they cannot meet the increased demand placed upon them.

Sports Promotion Law

For this reason, they must be materially supported by individual sponsors as well as by a special sports allocation that will be established (use of alcohol and nicotine taxes for financing sports). Financial support must not limit the autonomy of the sports clubs, however, or burden them with bureaucratic tasks. At issue is the establishment of a sports network with equal rights for children, adolescents, the physically and mentally challenged, and for the healthy, to create, on the basis of friendly comradeship within the clubs, an opportunity to participate in competitive sports, with the opportunity of additional support for the athletically talented. The science of sport and research, must serve the health and capacity to perform of all, and protect the participants in international performance sports from damage to their health.

Sports for the Disabled

An area in which the State must pay particular attention, in cooperation with sporting organizations as well as Church-supported health facilities is the area of sport for the ill and the disabled.

Work and Leisure Time

Work

Work is the development of the personality and the shape to the life of each member of the community. Nonprofessionally-related work within the bosom of the

family and in care-giving to the aged and infirm deserves recognition and corresponding social security.

Market Economy and Social Security

Unemployment cannot be equated with human dignity. A market economy with the goal of social security for all must create prerequisite conditions through the State to assure full employment. In a time of rapid technological change, that also presupposes a readiness on the part of the worker to pursue retraining and continuing educational programs.

Shaping Leisure Time

The increasing intensity at the workplace requires a balance in terms of meaningful use of leisure time. For this reason, daily leisure time should not merely serve to restore the worker, but give the human being the opportunity to develop his creative abilities. The offerings in terms of leisure activities should do justice to this concern, namely that the varied interests in terms of education, sports, games, and art are taken into account.

Social Services for the Community

Co-responsibility within the community also requires a readiness to fulfill a social service in one's free time, and to become politically active for the sake of the common good. Shaping leisure time should promote individual initiative and arouse the imagination. It must not be prescribed by the State.

Medical and Social Care That is Friendly to the Citizen

Freedom and human dignity are the starting point and the goal of all medical efforts and social work. Health and social policies must proceed from a holistic understanding of what it is to be human.

Proximity to the Citizen

We want a health care system that is close to the people, one in which top-heaviness and centralization are dismantled. Unity of preventive care, treatment, and follow-up care forms the basis of a patient-oriented mode of treatment that is supported on a basis of trust. It must be supported by increased public expenditures.

Private Practices

The approval of private practices for physicians and the promotion of a corresponding infrastructure, such as community diagnostic centers, the reinstitution of the panel doctor and the communally-registered pharmacist, and the abolition of the medical advisory commission favor a system of medical care that is close to the patient.

Fewer Administrative Physicians

In the interest of more effective medical care, we consider the reduction of the numbers of administrative physicians, and the reinstitution of semi-official medical officers to be necessary.

The CDU supports promoting the licensing of private veterinarians and physiotherapists, as well as creating the opportunity for other practitioners in the health-related fields to open private offices.

Hospitals

An urgent duty of the health care system is upgrading the status of the hospitals. The material and technological support systems must be stabilized, and the physical plant of health care-related facilities must be improved. Through the integration of alternate service personnel in the areas of health care and geriatric care in hospitals and nursing homes, the crisis in health care can be assuaged.

Remuneration and Financing

Commensurate salaries should be offered for selfless, caring, healing work. Trained medical personnel who are working in other fields should be able to return to their old positions, and be happy to do so.

Following a corresponding reform of the social and health insurance schemes, independent financing of the clinics should be introduced. Profits should be applied toward the reconstruction and expansion of diagnostic facilities, treatment facilities, and rehabilitation facilities.

The polyclinics should be expanded to diagnostic and therapeutic centers.

Church Related Facilities

The health care and social services institutions of the churches are equal, independent partners. State-supported, Church-supported, and independent groups providing counselling in the areas of smoking, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and AIDS need redoubled support from society as a whole.

Healthy Lifestyle

The ability to lead a life that takes health concerns seriously should be enhanced through the availability of a healthful food supply and leisure sporting activities. Interest on the part of the media and improved environmental policies are necessary to do this.

Social Benefits

We support the integration of the elderly, invalids, the disabled, those who require care, and those whose social position is weak, into the community, and we call for public support of interest groups and self-help groups.

That requires:

—increasing expenditures for social benefits, protected communications centers that are to be established by the municipalities for those from socially deprived backgrounds, alcohol-free restaurants,

Home Care

—effective home care for families, the ill, and the aged, the costs of which are to be borne by independent social service agencies, charitable institutions, professional health care and social service agencies, support of barrier-free housing for the handicapped, and day care in familiar surroundings, manifold cultural, sporting, and educational offerings for the handicapped,

Social Workers

—progressive training of social workers to create a closely-knit social advisory and care network.

New Pension Law

New social benefits and pension legislation must upgrade the standard of living experienced by the aged, the disabled, and those from backgrounds of social deprivation to that of the general standard of living. Pensions are to be constantly adjusted to currently-prevalent salaries and wages, so that pensioners are always assured a dignified standard of living.

Integration of the Disabled

The disabled must be given protection against dismissal, but in all circumstances, they are to be given assistance in obtaining new, appropriate employment. They should be paid salaries commensurate with their achievements without curtailing their rights to any pensions.

It is urgently necessary that all physical and psychological barriers to total integration of the disabled be dismantled. Coeducation of "normal" and disabled children and adolescents in school can be one method of integration. In such a setting, uncertainty and prejudice can be effectively eliminated.

Association of the Disabled

The CDU supports the concerns and work of the Association of the Disabled.

Social Security

Health insurance and Social Security should no longer be allowed to reside with the unions; rather, they will be offered by private insurance carriers.

The health insurance scheme guarantees the human right to health to the employed, for the recipients of unemployment benefits, for children, students, old age pensioners, those unfit to earn a living, and all other citizens.

Social Assistance

The purpose of social assistance is to guarantee a basic living standard for all. Medical benefits, assistance in providing patient care, integration assistance for the disabled are to be guaranteed as special forms of social care.

Citizens coming from socially deprived backgrounds receive a housing allowance to help finance an appropriate domicile.

Child Care Benefits

Child care must be compensated at such a rate that families with children are not put at a disadvantage.

Benefits over and above those benefits paid to cover application and moving expenses will be paid in cases in which retraining is required or some other extraordinary expense is incurred.

Unemployment Insurance

As a means of self-help in avoiding social hardships, unemployment insurance must be established. For securing one's first dwelling, and for the acquisition of furniture and housewares, loans at reduced rates are guaranteed.

Money for Child Care

If children are cared for in the home, one parent receives paid furlough or child support money until the child is three years old.

Families with more than two children acquire the services at reduced prices.

CSA

In determining what its policies are, the CDU relies on the support of the Christian-Social Committee (CSA).

Senior Citizens

The CDU supports developing the opportunity of every citizen to determine when he will go into retirement for himself within the context of a flexible age limit.

Pensions

For purposes of calculating pensions, periods taken up rearing and caring for children are to be given recognition, regardless of whether such periods led to a discontinuation of occupational activity or whether they prevented the acceptance of gainful employment.

Retirement Homes

A dignified level of care is to be assured in retirement and nursing homes. New homes are to be established in accordance with local needs. It should be possible to open private homes.

The construction of apartments that meet the needs of the elderly is to be promoted. The living environment should also be adapted to meet the needs of older people.

Leisure Time Opportunities

By making suitable leisure time activities available at many different social levels, it should be possible to prepare for meaningful retirement and old age. Cultural

and postprofessional activities and education are important for maintaining the quality of life in old age.

Health Care

Improvements in health care for senior citizens is a concern that is very close to the CDU's heart. To this end, public health nurses and experts in caring for the elderly must be attracted and trained. Beyond that, offerings in terms of stays at health spas for pensioners should be expanded.

Geriatric care-givers deserve financial upgrading of their occupation. Financial recognition should also be accorded care-giving services performed at home.

Life Experience

The rich lifetime experience and wisdom of older people is a resource that should be tapped and made available for the benefit of the local social life, for example, through clubs and popular representation offices. The CDU supports good relations among people of the same generation, and between senior citizens and members of the younger generations.

House and Apartment

No Rent Gouging

The State has an obligation to foster the construction of private and cooperative housing in such a way that a sufficient supply of housing that is in keeping with modern expectations is available. In this way, rents and purchase prices of apartments will be in keeping with the true costs, and housing speculation and rent gouging will be avoided.

Preservation of Housing

By means of rents that cover costs or well-aimed subsidies, and generous promotion on the part of the producers of construction materials, private and cooperative homeowners should be placed in a position to reconstruct and preserve their houses.

The actual sense of constructing housing is not to increase the value of capital, but to assure housing for all.

Sheltered Living

For this reason, provision must be made so that families with large numbers of children, senior citizens, physically, mentally, and socially disabled people, and foreign residents have their special housing needs met at normal rates and under normal conditions. Promoting the construction of low rent public housing is a social task of the State.

Germans and Foreigners

Foreign Residents

In a free, democratic form of government, foreigners, particularly those seeking asylum, enjoy the rights of

hospitality. Our own experience has shown us how important it is that people in need can find acceptance in other countries. Foreign workers, students, and apprentices are to be respected in their national and religious diversity. They are to be given sufficient opportunities to maintain life within their own community, as well as to establish contacts with their German hosts.

Understanding Between Peoples

German classes, becoming acquainted with the host country, and in particular, opportunities for contacts with German youth on a friendly basis, serve to promote understanding between peoples, peace, and the cultural enrichment of our people. Lack of understanding and xenophobia should be broken down by pedagogical programs where it exists, and prevented by such programs where it does not yet exist. The CDU considers it rational to place foreign liaison people in those plants and communities where the need is greatest, so as to promote and render the necessary integration easier.

Municipal Voting Rights

An active and passive voting right should be granted to foreigners to assure that their just interests in the municipal sphere are upheld. At the very least, they should be able to send deputies with consultative or observer status to the popularly elected representative bodies.

Foreign Born German Nationals

We take the position that Germans from other countries may find acceptance here if that is their desire, just as we work toward the end that Germans in other countries, as citizens of German nationality, be given the right to live with equal status before the law, and that they be allowed to speak their language, practice their religion, and maintain their culture without discrimination.

Youth Exchange

The CDU supports all efforts at youth and pupil exchange in youth camps, host families, and school facilities.

IV. Economy in Social and Ecological Responsibility

Social Market Economy and Society

Alternative to Rule by Dictation

We Christian Democrats see the free and humane alternative to the compulsory, dictatorial system that has existed thus far in the social market economy. That is an economic system in which achievement is rewarded, and in which assistance is provided for society's weaker members.

Its fundamentals are:

- achievement and social justice,
- competition and communal spirit,
- individual responsibility and ecosocial conditions.

All economic, financial, and sociopolitical decisions must promote entrepreneurial and professional initiatives, and be in the best interests of social progress.

Stability of Monetary Value

A high degree of stability in monetary value must be guaranteed. Savers must be assured they will receive the full value of their savings; those who receive insurance benefits must be guaranteed that they are receiving the full value of that insurance.

The system of taxation must be changed and managed in such a way that it promotes achievement, while at the same time making ecological and social measures and international aid possible. In this way, the conditions for a predominantly qualitative growth in the economy, a healthy level of prosperity for all, and developmental policies that make it possible to share international responsibilities and promote peace are created.

The social market economy must function in such a way that it guarantees the freedom and unlimited development of the people, and, as a result of suitable flanking measures, it assures the integration of pensioners, invalids, the disabled, and those with a weak social underpinning, while offsetting the risks inherent in professional life and in competition.

For us the opportunity afforded by an economically active and successful social market economy consists of the fact that it renders social policies and ecological measures such that they can be financed.

Basic Elements of a Market Economic Order

The free development of a person can only be accomplished within structures that are free of dictatorial intervention from a central administrative apparatus. It is the State's task to create the necessary preconditions for the market and competition to function, and to guarantee social justice and equal opportunity.

The basic elements of an economic order that has its basis in the market, as the CDU supports them are:

- self-regulation of the market through supply and demand,
- property with social responsibility,
- equal competitive opportunity for plants of every form of ownership,
- unrestricted freedom of gainful employment and the right to settle wherever one chooses,
- equitable taxes,
- social promotion of alternatives,
- corrective mechanisms to offset social injustice and remove ecological dangers,
- consumer protection,

- equal opportunity for all to participate in social and economic progress.

Basic Elements of a Social Order

State-supported social policies are among the basic rights of human beings in a democratic state. It is the prerequisite for the full development of the personality and the development of individual freedom. Social policies should be free of economic interests, and serve humanity alone.

The basic elements of a social order such as the one CDU supports are:

- assuring equality of position for women and men,
- the creation of social compensatory balances while preserving justice toward just needs,
- works councils as well as strong, independent trade unions, with independent dues,
- state support of constant increases in the quality of life,
- social networks for all generations, including promoting marriage and the family,
- obligatory insurance, and protection by insurance,
- secure social position for the unemployed,
- protection of, and equal voice on the part of minorities,
- social partnership.

The Basic Elements of an Ecological Order

Guaranteeing basic human rights presupposes an intact natural environment. For this reason, the CDU regards the right to a clean natural environment that is worth living in to be elementary. On the other hand, that includes the duty of each individual to practice behaviors that are protective of the environment. In this way, both ethical concerns surrounding the preservation of the environment for its own sake are realized, as is the responsibility for a life-giving earth for future generations.

Stimuli of the Market Economy

Particularly in light of the long-term, severe damage that a Socialistic planned economy did to the environment, market economy stimuli must mobilize the economy's own interest and the interest of the consumers to more environmental protection and to environmentally friendly modes of behavior and to use environmentally friendly technologies.

The basis elements of an ecological order that the CDU would support are:

- promoting environmental consciousness and environmental morality,
- the primacy of prevention over removal of environmental damage,

- the establishment of a capable environmental technology industry that creates jobs and helps to improve the quality of life,
- structural changes in the economy in favor of modes of production that are free of waste products, more friendly toward the environment, and more cost-effective,
- a State-supported structural framework based upon laws, including punitive provisions,
- environmental monitoring and monitoring levels of compliance with environmental legislation,
- preventive examination of production and products for friendliness toward the environment,
- an ecology fund to finance removal of environmental damage,
- shut-down and restoration programs for old industrial plants.

Prosperity in Freedom

Creating prosperity is the claim that must be made upon any economic order. At the same time, prosperity and social well-being are inextricably inter-related to one another. By means of a social market economy thus far, more material and nonmaterial prosperity and well-being have been created than by means of any other form of economy. In this system, personal freedom for the citizen has been assured in an atmosphere of social peace.

The Market and Social Support

The introduction of the social market economy poses new economic and social demands. The CDU stands ready to meet these challenges, but it by no means disregards the social pressure posed by employment risks, the existence of the discrepancy between East and West, the shortages of raw materials, and the further developments in terms of needs. At the same time, the social market economy creates expectation-related behaviors as a result of the increased degree of freedom on the part of the individual that go beyond the realm of material prosperity. The CDU proceeds from the basic assumption that satisfaction is achieved only in those areas where sensible tasks lead to social recognition; the strong and the weak, the robust and the fragile, the young and the old need this to feel a sense of social well-being.

The CDU is in support of not only distributing opportunities equitably, but also of evaluating differences in achievement by different standards so as to avoid social harshness.

The social market economy has room for all because economic and social policies are its components of equal value.

Economic, social, and financial policies in a social market economy will be all the more successful, the more they promote personal initiative and a sense of community.

Obligation To Perform

The social market economy motivates everyone to optimal achievement. The more the individual achieves, the more he can afford. On the other hand, the State establishes the framework within which everyone capable of achieving makes a communal contribution in support of those whose ability to achieve has been diminished. In this way, the social market economy forges a connection between the interests of the individual and community as a whole, which results in a strongly democratic element.

Competition Toward the Common Good

In the competition of ideas and opinions, the CDU sees great social progress in the service of social change. By means of production and prices it fosters economic development. For this reason, those conditions must be created which foster competition. On the other hand, concentration tendencies that are hostile to competition, and unfair competition are to be avoided. In this way, the path to the market is to be opened up for new products, for small and medium-sized producers.

The Position on Property

Policies on competition and policies on property complement each other. Private, cooperative, and community-owned property coexist side by side, and yet, private property is the main support beam of the social market economy.

Broadly-distributed personal property gives the citizen the opportunity to make decisions and increases his personal freedom. For this reason, the CDU supports broad access to the various forms of property—to create productive capacity in the hands of the workers as much as to develop small and medium-sized production plants.

Consumer Policy

Competition is necessary in the interests of the consumers. Only in this way can a broad-based offering of goods and services at justifiable prices that conform to manifold human needs be assured. The CDU stands for strengthening the consumer's position and the transparent character of the market because that promotes demand, thus creating a new impetus for production. Through pointed consultation and enlightenment, the consumers' consciousness should be expanded, and advertisement of a nonserious nature is to be counteracted.

Playing a Part in Determining the Work Force

Social market economy includes unifying all forces that are involved in the economy in functional cooperation as involved partners. Worker input is an expression of the Christian-Socialistic intellectual heritage and a critical

element of the social market economy and the social balance. For this reason, the CDU favors worker input by degrees at the work place and in shaping what goes on at a production plant.

The Right To Work

Full employment is a critical economic and social goal. For this reason, our employment policies are aimed at the creation of jobs with a secure future and combatting unemployment. Everyone who wants to work must receive an appropriate job. Rapid reintegration into life at the workplace when a job is lost, or financial security during periods of unemployment are to be guaranteed.

The Workday

Measures taken to govern the workday must be in accord with economic development and full employment. In this process, the gradual shortening of the length of time a person works in his lifetime is an important goal for the CDU.

For this reason, we support the possibility of parttime work, flextime, and the institution of early retirement schemes.

Growth and Social Security

Economic growth is not an end in itself. We consider it an essential prerequisite, particularly with regard to

- extending the system of social and ecological security,
- funding public expenditures in their entire breadth,
- making jobs and training positions available to a sufficient degree, while at the same time
- meeting obligations to the Third World.

It is our understanding that a limit must be imposed on growth where unjustifiable negative impact or damage to the natural environment would be the result.

Structural Policies

Legislation framed by the State must promote the necessary structural change. It must not artificially preserve outmoded structures, but rather, it must put the economy in a position in which it can adapt to new developments and to shape them in a way that can be tolerated. The CDU sees the necessity of structural changes under conditions of a market economy necessitated in particular by:

- competition with other industrialized nations,
- the availability and cost of utilities and raw materials,
- the requirements of environmental protection, and
- the growing significance of services and communal needs.

State structural policies must not interfere with industrial manufacturing processes.

Basic Positions on the Economy

In the social market economy, which is also bearable from an ecological standpoint, the CDU sees its program for a sturdy infrastructure and efficient economic areas. In certain areas, the policies of the social market economy are particularly challenged: among these are space utilization, urban development, housing, energy supplies, transit, and communications, commerce and industry, trade and skilled labor, agriculture and environmental protection.

Space-Utilization Policies

The CDU supports space utilization policies that have as their goal urban development and other housing developments that have a social, cultural, and technical infrastructure that is directed toward the developmental needs of the individual within society and guarantees a national economy that is capable of growth, and capable of creating uniform living conditions in all parts of the country. This includes caring for the land and preserving Nature's balance, while giving due consideration to demographic developments.

Urban Construction and the Construction of Housing

We support urban and housing construction that is keeping with human needs and cultural traditions. Shaping the housing environment in a manner that reflects the needs of the citizens while paying due homage to the considerations of structural and architectural variety are aspects that must be promoted. In the cities and in rural areas, industrial jobs must be created. The State, the States, and the municipalities should develop unified land utilization plans in concert. In preparing building sites, the citizen must have the right to an appropriate input.

Stress in the construction of housing in the next decade will have to be placed on the high degree of construction in the urban centers, and in maintaining the value of the current housing stock. Particular attention should be paid to the area of public housing projects.

We are in favor of retaining the current tenant protection and protection against eviction system, as well as socially bearable rents. At the same time, an impetus for the construction of private homes and for the acquisition of apartments by their tenants should be created.

Energy Policy

The CDU sees a primary challenge to its economic policies in securing the energy needs for an efficient economy. The goal is to promote a rational, environmentally friendly mode of energy production and energy utilization, and to provide an adequate energy supply to the consumers. To guarantee that the requisite amount

of energy will be forthcoming, the CDU favors the rapid creation of an energy link between the GDR and the FRG.

Less Lignite Coal

In order to reduce air pollution, in order to reduce the devastation of villages and to prevent the destruction of valuable cultural heritage and in order to stop further destruction of the landscape, the exploitation of native deposits of crude lignite coal for the purpose of producing energy should be drastically limited. The workers who become unemployed as a result of this measure should be given new jobs through retraining and structural reorganization programs. Jobs could be found in particular in the construction industry, in developing the infrastructure, in slag reclamation projects, and in reopening older coal mining regions. An area to be stressed in terms of investment policies is the desulfurization of smokestack fumes and modernization of those power plants that are fired by crude lignite coal. Maintaining the highest international standards in terms of noxious emissions must be guaranteed.

Regenerative Forms of Energy

Research cooperation in gaining alternative, and, in particular, regenerative, sources of energy is to be pursued as vigorously as programs to decrease specific energy consumption, cooperative projects in thermal insulation, and in utilizing secondary sources of heat.

Nuclear Energy

The production of nuclear energy is to be limited to the extent that is absolutely necessary, and such production facilities are to be operated within the limits established by international safety guidelines.

Transportation Policy

Transportation policies must, while leaving the choice of the means of transportation open, meet the economic and social needs of society at the lowest costs to the nation, yet priority will be given to international cooperation in the European Transportation Union. By expanding the network of track, container freight traffic, and navigation, the transportation of goods and passengers will be promoted. In inner city transportation and in the transportation of passengers, incentives must be given not to drive one's own car. The CDU supports a traffic safety program that will serve to protect pedestrians and to create bicycle paths.

Postal and Telephone Communications

The CDU supports an efficient postal and electronic communications network, including modern telecommunications, because these developments are a necessary prerequisite for increasing the efficiency of the economy. In addition, the services offered by the postal

and electronic communications network are to be developed in such a way that they can meet the steadily increasing needs of the citizens and a modern industrial society.

Commerce and Industry

Industry is that branch of an economy that exerts a decisive influence on the dynamic development of all other areas of the economy.

All forms of ownership in industry are equal before the law. Small and medium-sized plants, particularly those owned by private entrepreneurs, are to be promoted in order to achieve flexibility, a high degree of innovative impetus, rapid development in the production of industrial supplies and consumer goods, and rapid growth of jobs.

In an increase in the international division of labor and specialization, the CDU sees a means of markedly increasing productivity and profitability. All forms of commercial and corporate organization, including international joint capital ventures, are to be permitted.

CCI

The Chambers of Commerce and Industry should be transformed into democratic corporate entities in accordance with public law, which represent the concerns of the firms and create a balance between the different interests.

A Wide Variety of Services

The CDU supports developing a wide variety of services. To this end, the rapid development of trade, skilled trades, and foreign tourism is indispensable.

Commerce

The CDU supports the dissolution of State commercial enterprises and their replacement by private and cooperative wholesale and retail enterprises that assure the supply of goods and services. The same applies to the restaurant and innkeeping trade. As a result of generous profit margins and just taxation of profit and income, rapid development of efficiency is to be assured.

Skilled Trades

Within the context of measures that promote the middle class, we pay particular attention to the skilled trades. It must be assured that skilled workers who produce goods and perform services can offer their services across a wide spectrum. By imparting entrepreneurial and trade-related knowledge and skill, the trades are to be prepared to meet the challenges of a European market.

Private and cooperative skilled workers organize in skilled trades councils that are administered in an autonomous fashion and represent the interests of the skilled workers.

Taxation Policies

The CDU supports thoroughgoing changes in the taxation policies that have been applied to the skilled trades. An occupational tax should make revenues to the municipalities available through various taxation rates. The price structure must develop in keeping with conditions that prevail in the market economy.

The CDU wants to make it possible for the competitive position of commerce, skilled trades, and industry to be such that initial inequalities will be removed and the capacity to compete will be enhanced. The municipalities must pursue a policy on industrial floorspace that promotes the economy.

Foreign Tourist Trade

As a result of the increasing attractiveness of the GDR in foreign tourism, the tourism industry will experience accelerated development. To make this possible, the infrastructure will have to be expanded. Service networks, cultural offerings, and public relations have to be developed correspondingly, and commercialized to a greater degree. Privatization of the foreign tourist industry is to be striven for to the greatest possible extent.

Tourism is to be pursued within the context of legal structures that preserve ecological and local culture.

Responsibility for Our Daily Bread

The social market economy makes ecologically responsible achievement-oriented and competitive land use, forestry, and food production policies that assure the people a healthful food supply.

We support ownership of the land once again, protecting these property rights, thereby restoring value to property once again. In this regard, we consider land reform to be irrevocable.

EC Market

The proper underlying conditions to assure competitiveness within the EC are to be created. We support thoroughgoing reform in agrarian prices and taxes, radical renovation of the material and technological basis of the technologies, as well as the application of modern agrarian science and management. Ecologically friendly behavior should be economically stimulated.

Equality of Opportunity

The good traditions of the agrarian cooperative system in Germany form a basis for transforming the LPG's [Agricultural Producer Cooperative], GPG's [Horticultural Producer Cooperative], etc. into democratically operated, high-performance, competitive operations. Membership must be voluntary. We support clarity in the monetary relationship between the cooperatives and their members or the heirs of their members.

The necessary prerequisites for the foundation and operation of family operated agricultural holdings or truck gardens should be in place within a short period of time.

Competitiveness requires high earnings at low expenditures. The operations themselves determine what, and how much, they plant. Unproductive plots should be laid fallow, and put to ecological use. By building processing plants and other secondary production facilities, profitability can be enhanced.

Farmers' Association

Through an independent and nonpolitical farmers' association, democratic representation of the farmers' interests should be created. We consider cooperatives and other forms of association to be important in fostering cooperation between holdings of various forms of property ownership.

Agricultural traditions form a valuable component of our German national heritage. We therefore favor preserving it, caring for it, and promoting it, and once again forging a link between agricultural enterprises, regardless of their legal form of organization, and village life.

Forests

The role of our forests in terms of the environment and their contribution to our national culture must take precedence over wood utilization. Forest restoration, reclamation, and care are to be given equal status and assured. Those areas that have been affected by damage require special attention. Unified management of forests and game should be reintroduced.

The CDU supports the notion that a forestry law should establish the forward-looking needs that our forests should be expected to meet, one that guarantees the future functioning of our existing forests, and forest use by our citizens, regardless of the legal status of their ownership. Forests should also be managed on a private basis or on the basis of cooperatives once again.

Science and Research

An economic upswing can be reached only by way of highly innovative science and research.

The CDU is on record as supporting freedom of scholarly pursuits and research. We support the notion that science and research are solely responsible for serving the common good, truth, and preserving the environment.

Basic research should be supported by the State, and its place should be secured by the State. Research that is application-oriented must be quickly realized in new technologies and products. We are in support of special, innovative plants, engineering and developmental offices, as well as consulting companies.

Science and research must take the consequences of their activities into account in terms of their impact on Man,

on Nature, as well as in terms of their impact on the future development of science and research.

We are in favor of a marked expansion of cooperation in science and research, but the areas of research must be made compatible to those currently under way in the EC.

Environmental Protection Is a Human Right

The CDU supports an ecologically committed society in which the environmental policies are a basic element of our total policies. The right of every citizen to a clean natural environment that is worth living in, as well as his obligation to behave in a manner that is protective of the environment. In addition, environmental awareness and environmental morality should be promoted at all levels and in all areas in manifold ways. That is determined by our responsibility to and for the environment, which must be preserved for coming generations.

Environmental Partnership

The social market economy makes a far-reaching environmental partnership that extends from industry to the possible consumer in which the fulfillment of consumers' needs is limited by their ecological responsibility.

In this sense, constructive cooperation, on the national and international level should be promoted.

Prevention Instead of Cure

Ecological requirements are to be met by the fact that the ecological harmlessness is to be demonstrated by environmental impact tests and other environmental evaluations. In this way, the prevention principle takes precedence over all economic considerations at just the right time. Within the territories, the citizens should have the right to an input. As a result of environmentally neutral and environmentally friendly methods of production, technologies and products will be precluded from environmental noxae. At the same time, it is necessary to remove noxae, to process waste products, to remove harmful substances from the waste products that result, and to stimulate recycling.

Environmental Payments for Ecology Fund

To reduce pollution, a progressive system of fines for pollution due to noxious emissions into water, air, or soil, as well as for noise pollution, and other factors that adversely affect the environment is to be levied. These monies are to be paid into an ecology fund, which will be used exclusively to improve environmental protection.

More Effective Protection of Nature

Forests and wetlands, as indispensable regulating components of our natural environment, should be afforded particular protection. The wide range of species and varieties that exist among our native flora and fauna should be preserved by effective measures of environmental protection.

Protection of Animals

The CDU recognizes the moral obligation of a society of human beings to make a contribution toward the protection of animals through effective measures that are determined by the principles of ethical responsibility.

V. Democracy and Law

The Citizens' Rights to Freedom

The CDU strives toward a form of government that is characterized by truth and law, by human dignity, and the common good, and by self-determination for all its citizens. It stresses the State's duty to protect the citizens' civil rights, to oppose the abuse of power in all its forms, to assure the openness of all decisionmaking processes, and to guarantee the democratic character of public life on the part of its citizens.

Principles of State Organization

The CDU therefore supports the construction of a central government that has its basis in the free, democratic formation of public opinion by enfranchised citizens, one that is delimited by the absolute rule of legal norms, one that is federally structured, one that guarantees a high degree of social justice and security.

These principles of a democratic, social state based on laws and a communal spirit composed of free citizens, must be firmly set down in a constitution (Basic Law), which recognizes the people as the sole source of sovereign power, one that is based on a division of powers in a legislative, executive, and judicial branch, which provides a safeguard against all temptations toward centralism, whatever its nature, while assuring equal opportunity for all and guaranteeing civil rights.

Federalism and the States

The CDU supports a federal form of State organization. For this reason, it calls for the rapid establishment of a system of states in the territory of the GDR, supporting the reinstitution of the states that existed until 1952. This serves to prepare the GDR for the future unified State structure in Germany.

The worldwide interrelationship of all political, economic, military, and, last, but not least, intellectual processes will exert an influence on governmental order to an increasing degree. This extension of the international community will play an ever increasing role in the citizens' lives.

European Acculturation

European acculturation, cosmopolitan attitudes and virtues are, for their part, an expression of these global social and intellectual processes, a prerequisite for a world class internal policy that is developing.

Cultural Landscapes

At the same time, there is a growing need to shape social structures that are understandable to and controllable by all citizens. Cosmopolitan and European acculturation are thus interconnected with national dignity and with the conservatively characteristic link to the homeland as a cultural landscape in the narrower sense.

Against Centralism

For this reason, worldwide, throughout Europe, and on the national level—it is federalism that prevails more and more as a regulatory and governing principle—against every form of centralism and its immanent destruction of the established order. Its creative application precludes any one-sidedness (such as toward the national in the direction of nationalism).

Cultural Sovereignty

Communal self-administration, authority, and the dignity of those governing, or the administration of the states, their cultural sovereignty, recognizing the interests and traditions of historically recognized regions, or of lands that are no longer administrative entities are the organizational principles of a democratic, governmental order. The freedom of the citizens also resides in these entities.

Proximity to the Citizens

The federal form of governmental organization is in keeping with both the international interrelationship of social life as much as it is commensurate to proximity to its citizens and respect for honorable historical traditions.

Self-Determination and Sovereignty for the Sorbs

The CDU lends its support to a particularly pronounced degree to expanding the rights and to developing the cultural life of the Sorbian people, to maintaining the Sorbian language, to the independent organizations of the Sorbian people, and to the specific expressions of their religious life. They are to be governed by a law pertaining to nationalities. The CDU recognizes the historic guilt of the Germans toward the Sorbian minority.

Communal Rights

The CDU demands that the cities and municipalities have the right to determine their own affairs for themselves. Their budgets should be financed from municipal taxes, funds from the states and the national government. In keeping with the principle of subsidiarity, the tasks of the superior governmental entities are limited to aid in times of particular trouble, and monitoring to ascertain whether the laws are obeyed.

Elections

The CDU assumes that such a structure of State organization presupposes election rights that make it possible for the true will of the citizens to be expressed. These voting rights will, in future be determined by a combination of apportionment voting and direct election. Apportionment voting makes it possible for the underlying political-intellectual currents of society to be effective. Direct election provides a basis for the relationship between the voters and the Deputies.

Parties

In the fabric of Parliamentary life, majorities are sought and found. The vehicles of this process are the political parties, which fulfill their role either as Government or Opposition. The ruling party and the opposition party each have their own democratic legitimation and function. It is the place of the ruling party to serve the law and to act in the best interests of the people without yielding to the temptation of power. It is the function of the Opposition to monitor the workings of the Government, and to oppose any abuses.

Governability

In future, saving clauses will provide protection for this process of true formation of majorities for the sake of the governability of the country. In similar fashion, coalitions may serve its governability.

Career Civil Service

The functioning of the executive branch must lead to the formation of a civil service that does not admit of any privileges for the office holders. The reinstitution of the career civil service is a goal that is worth striving for. In its reconstituted form due consideration should be given to historical experience.

Jurisdiction

The CDU assumes that our government will be constituted as a government of law. Assuring this is the role of jurisdiction.

A form of government that is based on the rule of law is characterized by generally valid reliable legal norms whose aim is justice. The instruments by which this aim is achieved are the courts (with professional and lay judges), State's attorneys, and defense attorneys, each independent of the others. A Constitutional Court, a General Accounting Office, and the Parliamentary monitoring of organizations that serve internal and external security serve the purpose of assuring, in an especial way, government by the rule of law. The citizens have a right to expect that breaches in the law will be swiftly punished.

Data Protection

Similarly, care must be taken to assure widescale protection of data.

Reforms in the study of jurisprudence are of particular urgency, the reestablishment of legal faculties, the training of an independent judiciary, increasing the number of attorneys, and the appointment of State's attorneys whose past is unblemished.

Reexamination of the Laws of the GDR

The legislative mechanisms of the GDR are swift, and, as a general rule, worthy of reexamination. Only those provisions that conform to the norms of a state governed by the rule of law can continue to have validity.

The Individual Human Being Stands in the Focal Point

The CDU stands for shaping the State order from the standpoint of a person's individuality, from the standpoint of the interests of its citizens. In such a case, the State itself does not stand in the midpoint.

The Dignity of the Citizens

The State receives its true legitimacy and authority only as an institution of free citizens, and it exercises its power legitimately only if it protects the unalienable basic rights of its citizens, if it respects their dignity, and if it creates leeway for their free, responsible actions on behalf of each other.

Human Rights and Civil Rights

As far as the individual is concerned, that means that the State must assure human rights and civil rights. To this end it must promote the responsibility of the personality, so that it can develop and so that it is prepared to undertake responsible actions for the sake of the community.

Freedom of Conscience

Its point of departure is absolute validity of the principle of freedom of conscience. The State must provide for the cohesiveness of life within the community, that is, it must protect the family, it must protect property, as well as guarantee the dignity of the personality, and the manifold nature of social and spiritual life.

Aid to Self-Help

The State must render assistance to the weak and disabled, or create conditions under which the community makes the means to self-help available to the weak and disabled.

The State must adopt a similar stance with regard to assistance to create living conditions that are worthy of human beings in other parts of the world.

Protective Functions

Among the tasks the State must perform to secure a dignified existence for its citizens is protecting them from threats from without and from within. Measures must be taken to assure that the police, the agencies of

the judicial branch, and the agencies of the executive branch are monitored on all levels by the appropriate Parliamentary bodies.

Against Bureaucratism

All tendencies toward bureaucratism are to be resisted with vigor. Similarly, it is the responsibility of the State to represent the interests of its citizens with regard to other states.

Inner Peace

Securing inner peace in government is the indispensable prerequisite toward making a contribution toward external peace, toward reaching a position from which it is possible to afford, in a constructive and conscientious way, to make such a commitment to the international community.

The CDU supports the construction of a State order that guarantees social pluralism and philosophical plurality, freedom of the spirit, thus hampering every attempt at indoctrination with the means of power that are at the State's disposal.

Pluralism

Social pluralism—that means varied, indeed, contradictory social interests, and spiritual and political ideas are pitted against each other, trying to gain influence on the shape of society and the form of organization the State assumes.

Social pluralism is expressed in the formation of organizations that represent the special interests of social classes (trade unions, entrepreneurs, farmers' organizations, associations representing the middle class, cultural clubs, and associations).

Citizens' Initiatives

The formation of citizens' initiatives can be an expression of the securing of regional or social special interests that have been ineffectual in the Parliamentary struggle. Their appeal as an expression of living grassroots democracy should be given due consideration in the total concept of designing a State government. The popular referendum and the plebiscite can be the instruments of such grassroots democracy.

Plurality and Truth

Philosophical plurality in social life—that is, different, indeed contradictory currents in terms of viewpoint, religion, and philosophy struggle to reach the truth and try to introduce it into the social debate. One expression of plurality of points of view in social life is free competition in spiritual debate. In active tolerance, the truth refutes indoctrination, compelled conversion, and totalitarianism. Plurality of point of view is tantamount to openness to the world.

Plurality of point of view develops on the basis of an order that is neutral in its viewpoint.

This must guarantee, however, that points of commonality—in keeping with the Constitution—can be formed.

Plurality of the Media

Social pluralism and plurality of viewpoint develop in their own organizational forms (in parties, clubs, associations, and in the particular quality of churches and religious communities). At the same time, they are a precondition for the form of social life in the various forms of communication. They acquire particular significance in the media policy.

Spiritual plurality and plurality of viewpoint must be reflected in the plurality of the media, whether the press or the electronic media. For this reason, the CDU stands for a media policy, and for media that are committed to the norms of journalistic ethics, the principle of veracity and the legal norm of freedom of the press.

Control of the Media

Public media are to be placed under Parliamentary control; for media that are operated by parties, organizations, or by private companies, the market is the form their social control assumes.

In principle, the media—even in the face of the development of new technologies—should serve to improve the level of information and the formation of public opinion on the part of the citizens, but they should also serve to educate and entertain.

The Social State

A state based on the rule of law, Parliamentary democracy, social pluralism, plurality of point of view are all interrelated, and, in turn, they relate to the structure of the state as a social state.

The CDU favors the development and structure of the order of the State as a State founded on a basis of law and on the basis of a social state.

This creates the possibility that each individual is capable of assuming responsibility for his own life and capable of developing his own creative powers in such a way that he is capable of achieving for the sake of the community, as well as coping with the risks inherent in life. The State based on laws, the social State, is not a guardian State, which makes provision for an illusory social protection.

Safety Net and Personal Responsibility

At the same time, the State based on law, as a social State, strives toward caring security of the individual against threats, such as those posed by disease and unemployment, as well as security in old age. Such State-supported care presupposes personal responsibility

and subsidiarity within society (the family, clubs and organizations, Catholic and Protestant charitable foundations).

Just as the State, as a State based upon laws and social provisions must provide its citizens with equal opportunity, i.e., the possibility to actually take advantage of these opportunities, so, too, is it one of the tasks of the State to counterbalance inequalities of opportunity, or to render these inequalities more tolerable. This is particularly true in the case of the disabled and the weak, for whom a strong safety net must be woven. This also applies to older citizens, and for the family.

VI. Free Functioning of the Churches in Society

Church and Society

The CDU gratefully acknowledges the role played by the established churches and the free churches in the moral renewal of our society, and it ascribes considerable significance to them in the extension of a consciousness of values. It is firmly convinced that within the Constitutional constraints governing the separation of Church and State, broad possibilities for unhindered cooperation between equal partners exist.

Church and State

Regarding the legal relationship between churches, religious communities, and the State and society, the CDU supports:

—the separation of Church and State,

Freedom of Belief

—the independence of the churches and religious communities, particularly the freedom to preach, and the freedom of religious belief,

—the contribution of the churches to assuming partial responsibility for, and helping to shape the life of the society, both in the social realm, and in the educative area,

—the free exercise of religion by foreigners residing in our midst.

The traditional, and newly achieved independence of the established and the free churches, their right to express an opinion concerning all aspects of life, and to perform a charitable service to their fellow human beings, must not only be Constitutionally guaranteed, but rendered concrete by law.

Equality of Rights for the Churches

The CDU stands for:

—State recognition of Church-issued diplomas in charitable training (for example, in child care, religious instructors; Church-trained geriatric nursing personnel; Church nursing personnel, etc.;

- equal rights before the law for Church-related health-care and social support institutions, and for their personnel, for example, in the assignment of housing;
- support on an equal footing for reconstructive measures of Church-supported hospitals,

Facilities for Children, Boarding Schools, Church-Supported Institutions of Higher Learning

- equal footing in terms of subsidies granted to Church-supported kindergartens, child-care funds, and boarding schools,
- recognition of the academic status of Church-related institutions of higher learning (recognition of the right to earn the doctorate, making it possible to earn the title of professor in coordination with the State),
- making funds available to maintain churches in the cities and in the countryside as a means of preserving the architectural profiles of our towns and countryside,

Pastoral Care in Institutions

- the right of the churches to offer pastoral care in all hospitals, nursing homes, and penal institutions,

Work in the Public Eye

- an appropriate place for the churches in the public, legally regulated media,
- an equal right to sell the books published by Church-owned publishing houses through the normal book trade,
- the acceptance of Church-related journals, even at Post Office newsstands, in supplies that are sufficient to meet the demand,
- the right of the churches to establish public lending libraries,

Church-Owned Companies

- the right of the churches to establish and manage their own not-for-profit companies,
- the right of the churches to be the recipient of estates and legacies.

The Church and the CDU

The CDU duly acknowledges its interest in a broad, comprehensive dialogue with the established churches and the free churches concerning all ethical questions and questions surrounding the common good that are of mutual interest on all levels.

Jewish Congregations

In light of the guilt-ridden involvement of the German people in the 20th century, the CDU is particularly supportive of the cultural and spiritual values of the Jewish congregations.

VII. Germany in Terms of European and Worldwide Responsibility

The CDU for Europe

Europe is a continent of plurality in which the spiritual and moral values of the Christian West, the legal and achievement-oriented principles of the French Revolution, as well as a social consciousness that bears the impress of Christian ideals have found their political home. The CDU stands as a party that supports a unified Europe in freedom, independence, and peace.

Europe and Germany

The further development of a united Europe requires a pan-European system of treaties and agreements. This system of treaties and agreements is the context within which the restoration of governmental unity in Germany, the recovery of one unified German citizenship, the security of its borders, and the settlement of the military and political concerns of the German unification process will find their ultimate resolution.

A European Order of Peace

The CDU supports a European order of peace in which the split into East and West will be overcome, and the equilibrium of mutual terrorization will be replaced by a system based on a partnership of security, and a mutual security comprising all important political, economic, and military areas. European policy must become internal European policy, so that Europe can make the contribution that is being asked of it so that world policy becomes internal world policy.

The Western Boundary of Poland

As a pro-European party, the CDU calls for the recognition of present-day boundaries, particularly the present-day western border of Poland.

Peace Treaty

As a part of this European order of peace, this recognition between the Allies and the emerging unified German state can be confirmed within the context of the CSCE process or in the form of a peace treaty within the context of international law.

Disarmament of the two German component states and the build-up of a new security system within the context of the CSCE should lead to the creation of military structures that have a defensive character at a minimal level. The transformation of the Warsaw Pact and

NATO to a common defensive structure and the development of a common conversion model is a component of a European peace plan.

Civilian Service

The CDU supports the equal value and equal respect of civilian service as service for peace. Total demilitarization on the territory of the GDR is the watchword of the hour.

EC

The CDU supports the most rapid acceptance possible of the GDR into the EC. The EC, as the most highly developed organ for personal freedom, government by rule of law, and ecologically and socially responsible economic growth on our continent is the framework for a free Germany in a free Europe that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Global Responsibility

The CDU, with its German and European policy concepts, sees itself within a context of global responsibility, and it supports a strengthening of the United Nations in order to achieve a worldwide socially and ecologically-determined policy.

The CDU ascribes a decisive degree of significance to the urgent surmounting of global human problems. In doing so, violence, and the threat of violence as an instrument of policy are repudiated.

New Thought

New thought is necessary to solve the problems in the entire world, which are, to an ever increasing degree, more and more interconnected.

Human Rights

Worldwide responsibility means recognizing the priority of human rights. The world economic order that exists must be democratized so as to surmount the problems of hunger, population explosion, disease, human rights abuses, and the destruction of the environment, particularly in the Third World.

Christian Democratic Parties

In particular, in solidarity and in the spirit of cooperation with Christian Democratic parties worldwide, and among the organizations closely allied with these parties, the CDU will make a specific, constructive contribution.

Developmental Policies

The CDU supports developmental policies that will make a dignified life possible for the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Basic Values and Joint Responsibility in the World

The efficiency of our society, the reliability with which we realize our basic values of freedom, justice, and responsibility at home are key indications that we will be able to meet our responsibilities in the world.

VIII. Basis Oriented Party Work

The CDU is a party with a politically effective democratic structure. The emphasis of its formation of collective will resides in its basis. The will of the members comes to be expressed at all levels of the parties authentically and democratically, and this characterizes their political effectiveness from the community level all the way to national committees.

Discussion

The CDU challenges its members to an open, contentious discussion that knows no taboos, one which, in its efforts to achieve a consensus of opinion by all its members, also allows minority votes which do not claim that the consensus that was arrived at from contradiction was unanimity.

Independence of the Basis

Its local, district, and national associations decide, on an independent basis, what their position will be on the political issues, and on the demands of the CDU in the territories. As they do so, they confront, in a responsible way, the problems and tasks that must be faced in the development of their city, their district, their country. They are pursuing a broadbased public relations campaign, and offer interested persons an attractive range of information.

The Party Executive Committee sees its function as fostering advice, coordination, and assistance in the spirit of subsidiarity.

Information

The CDU assures that the executive committees on all levels inform each other of the stands they have taken and that they provide justification for having taken these stands. By virtue of the basic premise that all executive committees perform their functions at their particular level without any restrictions and independently; among other things, that requires sufficient time for the discussion of political decisions, as well as receiving reports from CDU representatives in all electoral functions outside the Party so as to qualify work in the prepolitical area.

Finances

It guarantees disclosure of finances of the party at all times, and their effective use.

Press

It promotes the work of the press organs that stand close to it.

It supports the independent activity of the training center Burgscheidungen as a national and international meeting center and as a political academy for members of the CDU and other interested participants in a dialogue.

The CDU supports interest groups that are closely associated with it, such as the CSA, the CDJ, the Association of the Middle Class, the Women's Union, the Land Union, and it desires their critical accompaniment in forming the popular opinion of the party. The CDU is not an end in itself. Its sense is found in working for the well-being of the people.

Law Reform Options Surveyed

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[Article by Wolfgang Kilian and Christian Kirchner, professors at the University of Hannover: "No Divided Law in a Unified Germany"]

[Text] If for no other reason than that of offering a future to the people living there, the economic system in the GDR needs to be transformed radically and rapidly. Confidence in the feasibility of such a change alone is capable of preventing a complete breakdown of the GDR economy. In addition to the political problems involved, it is also imperative to provide the legal and institutional framework for a market economic system.

The council of experts called upon to assess the overall economic situation produced a special report "On support for economic reforms in the GDR: Assumptions and Possibilities," dated 20 January 1990. This delineates the extent of the legal reform required by the GDR. The council considers a decision on the system of ownership crucial. It also proposes the following changes in the legal system: Freedom of trade, opportunities for establishing free enterprises (by outsiders also), as well as types of participation in such enterprises and the privatization of state enterprises, dissolution of the combines, competition law, bankruptcy law, the introduction of an independent central bank with an obligation to maintain stability and equipped with monetary policy instruments, the creation of a two-tier banking system with the business banks' own responsibility for lending, the provision of a capital market with equity and fixed interest securities, the reform of the tax system inclusive of corporation, income, and consumption taxes, the introduction of a collective agreement system inclusive of individual and collective labor contracts as well as a system of unemployment insurance.

The special report implies that all the legal changes considered necessary should be oriented to the legal system in the Federal Republic, in other words it recommends the assimilation of the laws prevailing in Germany. The report shows that the current status of the FRG's civil and business code is gratuitously considered to be the potential model for this process of assimilation. On the other hand, it does show appreciation for the

problems involved in the process of transformation and the necessity for its acceptance by the population concerned. In other words, in the report it is not assumed that the FRG economic system can be adopted en masse by the GDR without any problems arising, unless this were to happen within the framework of political union. However, the actual problems posed by the process of transformation are not discussed.

The GDR has three options for the future development of the law:

- Legal safeguards for the still uncertain progress from the old central administrative economy to the burgeoning market economy
- Take-over of the FRG's legal system
- Alignment with the legal system of the EC

While the first two options are being widely discussed by the public, the third option does not receive sufficient attention.

First Option

It is true that no "pure" central administrative nor "pure" market economic system is in place in either of the two states. Both basic structures are present and interlinked, though the respective weighting between them has changed from time to time. This shows up in the respective place value assigned them by the party programs of the major German parties since 1948. To this day, some legal regulations with central administrative components may be found in the FRG (mainly in laws concerned with agriculture, traffic, and construction and planning). On the other hand, some elements of a market economic system are discernible even in the laws of the present GDR, for example in the contract law and in sections of the foreign trade law. We need to urgently warn against the first option, that is the search for a middle way between a market economy and a central administrative system, a kind of "socialist market economy." Our experiences of the past 40 years have clearly proved that a market economic system, involving independent initiative and opportunities for free development is vastly superior to a state controlled economic system, even if the latter is a state ruled market economy. This also applied to the "social network," erroneously praised in the GDR, because we now see that its mesh is much less tightly woven than in the FRG.

The risks to the success of economic reform are extremely great if the law is reformed hesitantly and half-heartedly. Moreover, it would be fatal to cling to central administrative elements in the GDR, because wrong prices on the one hand and free foreign trade on the other would result in new distortions as well as injustices. This has already been demonstrated by hoarding and speculation. There are also antisocial aspects—for example if Federal citizens are able to obtain merchandise and services in the GDR at State administered rather than market prices.

If we look at the "draft decree on the establishment and operation of enterprises with foreign involvement" of 25 January 1990, we immediately perceive that the procedure required for establishing such an enterprise in the GDR resembles an obstacle course.

Once the interested foreign party has located a GDR citizen who wishes or a facility which desires to cooperate, he needs to consider whether his participation should amount to between 20-40 percent or more. In the latter case he needs first of all to obtain the consent of the "competent state organ," and this depends on whether a "national interest" (Article 3, Paragraph 2) is acknowledged. Subsequently, the applicants need to draft a "technical-economic concept" for the intended business operation, and this must first be accepted by the "enterprise labor union organization of stockholders in the GDR" (Article 10, Paragraph 1). Since GDR "citizens" may be stockholders in a joint enterprise (Article 2, Paragraph 1), they should presumably have to join an "enterprise labor union organization." The "Ministry of Finance and Prices" must approve the incorporation (Article 8, Paragraph 1), before the joint enterprise may be registered with the contract court of the district, where the enterprise is to be domiciled. Such approval is contingent on a "committee of experts, composed of representatives of the competent state organs" (Article 8, Paragraph 2) having first of all discussed the application. If the objective of the business operation or the amount of the ordinary capital is to be changed during the application procedure (that may last up to three months), the Ministry of Finance and Prices must approve the change (Article 11, Paragraph 2). Approval may in general be linked to instructions (Article 11, Paragraph 2), withheld for national, regional or other reasons (Article 13, Paragraph 1) or subsequently repealed for such reasons (Article 13, Paragraph 2).

Many other regulations of the planned decrees also differ from our customary conceptions: GDR stockholders may bring in "land" for use only, not as property (Article 17, Paragraph 2). An undefined percentage of foreign exchange must be offered for purchase by the state (Article 25, Paragraph 1). Cultural, social, and bonus funds need to be established though the amounts involved are not stated (Article 22, Paragraph 3). An undefined amount for "community funds" must be made available, depending on total wages and salaries paid (Article 33). Special instructions by the Central State Administration for Statistics apply to accounting (Article 23, Paragraph 2).

Considering that the "new" GDR legal regulations tend to be deterrents to this, the most interesting starting point for cranking up the GDR economy—the establishment of joint ventures—we are bound to be very skeptical indeed with regard to the possibility that appropriate solutions for important aspects fields may be found in the short period available.

Second Option

According to Article 23, Paragraph 2 GG [basic law], the GDR as a state or the former administrative districts or reemerging Laender may join the Federal Republic. Linked to this provision is the application of the basic law to the territory of the GDR. The text of the constitution does not admit of any exception. At best a gradual introduction might be considered. The alternative would be the preparation of a new constitution to be adopted by the German people in free self-determination (Article 146 GG).

The extension of the basic law to the territory of the GDR would involve a break with the prevalent constitutional doctrine there, with former exercise of freedom rights, the constitution of ownership, the organization of the state administration and its organ, the economic organization, the judicial system, in fact all state and social structures. It is obvious that it is impossible from one day to the next to radically transform a legal system that has been in force for more than 40 years. Instead assimilation and transfer processes need to take place. This holds true especially with regard to the cornerstone of all powers of disposition, that is the problems of property. Without private property there cannot be a market, without a market no freedom of contract. Before anything else, we must first and within the framework of constitutional proceedings find out who has title to land, buildings, rights, or other items of value. Both the basic law and the GDR Constitution have always deemed expropriation without compensation to be unconstitutional. For example, GDR land register offices notations concerning land held by so-called "defectors" or persons deprived of civil rights are invalid unless FRG payments to the former owners under the equalization of burdens law are considered compensation. Elucidation and retroactive settlements may well take years to complete.

The extension of the basic law's validity does not necessarily mean that all other Federal laws need to be taken over as GDR laws. The present situation is comparable to that at the time of the Saarland's accession in 1956: Following the accession statement by the Saarland assembly of 14 December 1956 (Saar ABI 1956, p 1645) and the federal annexation law of 23 December 1956 (BGBl [FEDERAL LAW GAZETTE] I p 1011), not all federal laws were adopted; in fact no more than 19 laws were extended to the Saarland.

Indeed, we should ask ourselves whether it will be necessary or even desirable for the GDR to adopt all FRG laws.

Many of the old Reich laws are still valid in the GDR. Still in force at the present time, for example, is the GmbH [company with limited liability] Law of 1892 in the version of the 1898 announcement as well as the 1937 Corporation Law, both exclusive of subsequent amendments. The provisions of the old Commercial Code with respect to oHG's [open partnerships] and KG's [limited partnerships] are still largely valid in both

German states. Evidently, due to central administrative powers, private individuals in the GDR were unable to adopt these forms of organization. However, upon the amendment of the ownership constitution as well as the abolition of the licensing procedure, these legal forms would once again be available as organizational forms. Admittedly more important would be new transformative laws dealing with the transformation of state operated enterprises into joint stock companies and companies with limited liability, for instance analogous to Articles 385a Corporations Law, Paragraphs 57, 58, 60 UmwG [Transformation Law]. Many FRG laws could be quickly assimilated: As relating to the legal protection of trade rights, copyright, patents and trademarks, the differences are minor. They generally concern the regulations for execution and would need to be standardized.

On the other hand, some FRG laws are obsolete, and their adoption is not to be recommended. These include the Rebates Law, the Legal Advice Law and many provisions of the Tax Law. On the other hand, conversion to a basically market economic system would quickly result in a need for rules hitherto unknown in the GDR. Examples are the Law Prohibiting Restraints of Competition, some protective labor laws, the Law on the Settlement of General Business Conditions, the Federal Data Protection Law and the Social Code. The widest differences are probably those concerning the rights of organizations and professional rights: GDR lawyers are organized in cooperatives and may not carry on individual practices. Judges are not civil servants for life; they are elected and may be dismissed. There are no more land registries, and a single-tier administrative court system is only now being established. It will therefore be necessary first of all to create the preconditions for the assimilation of laws. This transitional period is likely to last at least two years.

Third Option

Many people still tend to underestimate the extent to which superordinated EC law narrows the scope for the national laws of EC member countries and increasingly displaces national laws. The GDR has long been de facto linked to the EC market by way of the 25 March 1957 memorandum on inner-German trade and the issues involved therein and was therefore bound to respect the appropriate framework conditions. The current association and accession negotiations between the EC and the GDR will lead to the GDR's direct or indirect membership. It makes sense, therefore, in the reorganization of the GDR legal system to keep the European future in mind. The GDR should aim to create the most important prerequisites for the application of EC laws by 31 December 1992—the date of the unified market (Article 8a EEC Treaty).

As soon as privately managed enterprises are permitted to operate in the GDR, classic problems of competitive are bound to arise very quickly. These have not even been sufficiently settled by the law in the FRG. They include the definition of admissible and inadmissible selective

marketing systems, franchise contracts, R&D contracts, cooperation contracts, know-how contracts, or market information procedures.

Transformation Problems

In other sectors, too, early acceptance would be desirable with regard to EC decrees or EC directives that textually (in the case of decrees) or goal-related (in that of directives) are binding on all member countries (Article 189 EEC Treaty). EC law relies on the establishment of a system protecting competition within the Common Market against distortions (Article 3, Letter f EEC Treaty). The legal pillars of this "European building" are represented by the free traffic in goods, services, capital and payments, by freedom of movement and settlement. Many relevant decrees and directives are already in place. On the other hand, gaps still persist with respect to other sectors (social policy, technology policy, environmental policy). However, here also more than 3,000 EC directives have been issued relating to, among other things, the synchronization of technical instructions, and work is proceeding on more than 3,500 European standardization measures.

The more likely the political unification of Germany, the more urgent the consideration of its legal effects.

- Long forgotten claims for compensation will now be submitted to the courts with respect to expropriation, loans, political persecution, and other discrimination.
- In relation to the population figures, there are far fewer judges in the GDR than there ought to be when compared to jurisdiction and population in the FRG.
- Four law faculties are available to 16 million GDR citizens versus 30 such faculties for 16 million FRG citizens, making the GDR backlog very evident indeed. New law faculties should be established in the GDR with the patronage of a West German faculty.
- The system of law education differs profoundly: Lawyers in the GDR are trained by a one-tier system that has been tried and proved valuable in the FRG also at 10 reforming faculties. In the latter case, though, it was scrapped for political reasons, without further evaluation.
- Problems will arise with respect to lawyers employed by the GDR civil service. This applies especially to the public prosecutors trained in Jena, who were subordinated to the GDR Ministry of the Interior, and to senior judges. On the other hand, many lawyers were surely just nominal members of the political system that had permitted them to be trained. The "denazification proceedings" following World War II demonstrated that court proceedings can achieve very little in regard to political opinions and conscience. The applicant's oath on the constitution in effect at the time should normally be sufficient. On the other hand, two years of additional studies may well be required of GDR lawyers. Such training may be handled by the universities as well as by the judicial and administrative academies.

HUNGARY

Elections: Regional Slate Voting Results

25000701 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
11 Apr 90 pp 4-5

[MTI report]

[Text]

Key to Parties

FIDESZ	Association of Young Democrats
FKgP	Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party
HVK	Patriotic Election Coalition
KDNP	Christian Democratic Peoples Party
MDF	Hungarian Democratic Forum
MNP	Hungarian Peoples Party
MSZMP	Hungarian Socialist Workers Party
MSZP	Hungarian Socialist Party
MSZDP	Social Democratic Party of Hungary
SZDSZ	Alliance of Free Democrats
AA	Agrarian Alliance
EP	Entrepreneurs Party
NKgP	National Smallholders and Citizens Party
MSZOV	Hungarian Cooperative and Agrarian Party
FMDP	Independent Hungarian Democratic Party
SZP	Freedom Party
SKK	Somogy Christian Coalition
MFP	Hungarian Independence Party

The Elections Office of the Ministry of the Interior and the State Census Office completed the tallying of election results in regional voting districts based on indications provided by regional voting district election committees. The tally was prepared for use by the National Elections Committee. Still, the results may not be regarded as final, because complaints received thus far and which may be received in the future make further changes likely.

Budapest

Number of registered voters	1,519,231
Number of participating voters	1,081,659
Number of invalid votes cast	34,192
Number of valid votes cast	1,047,467
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	36,119
Two-thirds threshold	24,078
Parties	Valid Votes Received
MSZP	135,042
FIDESZ	120,607

Budapest (Continued)

MDF	297,048
HVK	16,983
KDNP	60,173
MSZMP	43,400
FKgP	53,209
MSZDP	37,004
SZDSZ	284,001

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MSZP	Rezso Nyers, Bela Katona, Lajos Bokros, Laszlo Paszternak
FIDESZ	Gabor Fodor, Tamas Deutsch, Zsolt Nemeth
MDF	Jozsef Antall, Gyorgy Szabad, Istvan Bethlen, Andras Baka, Gyula Kis, Katalin Botos, Kata Beke, Gyorgy Sandorfy
KDNP	Sandor Keresztes
FKgP	Gyorgy Balogh
SZDSZ	Arpad Goncz, Miklos Vasarhelyi, Miklos Szabo, Marton Tardos, Peter Hack, Matyas Eorsi, Gabor Ivanyi, Alajos Dornbach

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 3

Baranya County

Number of registered voters	317,135
Number of participating voters	208,949
Number of invalid votes cast	6,587
Number of valid votes cast	202,362
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	28,908
Two-thirds threshold	19,272
Parties	Valid Votes Received
HVK	5,005
SZDSZ	44,962
KDNP	10,647
FIDESZ	16,879
FKgP	32,958
MSZP	18,669
MDF	40,845
AA	13,432
MSZDP	11,529
MSZMP	7,436

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

SZDSZ	Mihaly Raday
MDF	Ferenc Biro
FKgP	Istvan Borocz

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 3

Bacs-Kiskun County

Number of registered voters	419,907
Number of participating voters	254,660
Number of invalid votes cast	8,988
Number of valid votes cast	245,672
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	27,297
Two-thirds threshold	18,198
Parties	Valid Votes Received
EP	10,674
FIDESZ	18,075
MDF	57,077
AA	11,836
MNP	2,908
MSZP	19,385
SZDSZ	48,823
MSZMP	6,867
HVK	3,293
FKgP	47,106
KDNP	11,454
MSZDP	8,174
National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts	
MDF	Huba Kozma, Gyula Panczel
SZDSZ	Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, Erika Szabo
FKgP	Antal Kocsenda, Andras Kosa
MSZP	Imre Pozsgay
Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1	

Bekes County

Number of registered voters	317,241
Number of participating voters	204,803
Number of invalid votes cast	9,286
Number of valid votes cast	195,517
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	27,931
Two-thirds threshold	18,621
Parties	Valid Votes Received
Green	4,146
MNP	3,349
FIDESZ	11,335
AA	11,864
SZDSZ	34,465
MDF	46,632
FKgP	42,778
MSZDP	7,819
MSZP	19,967
MSZMP	10,347

Bekes County (Continued)

HVK	2,815
National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts	
SZDSZ	Geza Futaki
MDF	Istvan Csurka, Istvan Marko
FKgP	Geza Zsiros
MSZP	Pal Vastagh
Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1	

Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County

Number of registered voters	579,779
Number of participating voters	354,100
Number of invalid votes cast	13,977
Number of valid votes cast	340,123
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	28,343
Two-thirds threshold	18,894
Parties	Valid Votes Received
HVK	5,007
Green	7,015
FIDESZ	27,944
MNP	4,494
MSZP	48,092
FKgP	33,725
EP	7,107
MDF	80,102
MSZDP	12,154
SZDSZ	54,155
KDNP	31,715
MSZMP	15,284
AA	13,329

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

FIDESZ	Tamas Wachler
MSZP	Gyorgy Szabo, Janos Petrenko
FKgP	Zsolt Rajkai
MDF	Laszlo Bogar, Albert Toth, Richard Horcsik
SZDSZ	Laszlo Matyi, Pal Juhasz
KDNP	Tamas Isepy
Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1	

Csongrad County

Number of registered voters	332,846
Number of participating voters	211,011
Number of invalid votes cast	7,564
Number of valid votes cast	203,437

Csongrad County (Continued)

Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	29,062
Two-thirds threshold	19,374
Parties	Valid Votes Received
HVK	2,163
SZDSZ	27,019
MNP	2,302
MSZMP	8,034
NKGP	5,916
FIDESZ	12,211
MDF	78,664
MSZP	14,960
FKGP	27,601
AA	8,943
MSZDP	6,158
KNDP	9,466

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

SZDSZ	Miklos Tamas Gaspar
MDF	Ferenc Grezsa, Jeno Poda, Peter Koszo
FKGP	Istvan Pinter

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1

Fejer County

Number of registered voters	307,590
Number of participating voters	198,469
Number of invalid votes cast	6,806
Number of valid votes cast	191,663
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	27,381
Two-thirds threshold	18,254
Parties	Valid Votes Received
EP	6,787
MSZMP	6,829
SZDSZ	48,082
FKGP	23,873
HVK	6,020
FIDESZ	16,346
MSZDP	9,398
MSZP	19,183
AA	6,769
MDF	46,607
MNP	1,769

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Emil Bogdan, Andras Kelemen
FKGP	Jozsef Pinter

Fejer County (Continued)

MSZP	Pal Kovacs
SZDSZ	Ferenc Koszeg, Csaba Faklya

All mandates were filled on the regional slate

Gyor-Sopron County

Number of registered voters	318,082
Number of participating voters	243,017
Number of invalid votes cast	6,050
Number of valid votes cast	236,967
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	33,852
Two-thirds threshold	22,568
Parties	Valid Votes Received
SZDSZ	59,921
MSZDP	9,237
Green	4,468
AA	5,473
MSZMP	5,443
KNDP	23,237
MDF	48,512
FKGP	28,103
EP	4,013
MSZP	20,752
HVK	2,727
FIDESZ	25,081

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

SZDSZ	Zoltan Kertesz, Zoltan Fazekas
KNDP	Gyula Csefalvay
MDF	Sandor Keresztes
FKGP	Janos Szabo
FIDESZ	Janos Pap

All mandates were filled on the regional slate

Hajdu-Bihar County

Number of registered voters	404,301
Number of participating voters	228,254
Number of invalid votes cast	10,210
Number of valid votes cast	218,044
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	24,227
Two-thirds threshold	16,151
Parties	Valid Votes Received
FKGP	37,087
EP	6,525
MSZP	30,752
SZDSZ	43,123

Hajdu-Bihar County (Continued)

HVK	6,102
MDF	47,445
AA	14,056
MSZDP	7,944
FIDESZ	14,547
MSZMP	7,265
MNP	3,198

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Lukacs Szabo, Gyula Kincses
SZDSZ	Roza Hodosan, Zoltan Bertha
FKgP	Bela Kovacs
MSZP	Zoltan Daroczi

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 2

Heves County

Number of registered voters	257,364
Number of participating voters	168,146
Number of invalid votes cast	6,181
Number of valid votes cast	161,965
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	26,994
Two-thirds threshold	17,996

Parties	Valid Votes Received
MDF	37,402
MSZMP	9,887
MSZOV	4,945
FIDESZ	12,943
MSZP	16,601
MSZDP	7,646
NKGP	2,400
SZDSZ	32,070
HVK	4,260
KDNP	21,599
FKgP	12,212

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Endre Pokorny
SZDSZ	Rudolf Novak
KDNP	Tamas Lukacs

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 2

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County

Number of registered voters	326,987
Number of participating voters	192,772
Number of invalid votes cast	9,497
Number of valid votes cast	183,275

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County (Continued)

Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	26,182
Two-thirds threshold	17,454
Parties	Valid Votes Received
FKgP	32,443
EP	6,610
MSZP	20,938
HVK	5,399
MSZMP	9,853
MDF	39,068
FIDESZ	15,404
MSZDP	8,939
MNP	4,385
SZDSZ	30,175
AA	10,061

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Imre Korosi
SZDSZ	Tamas Fodor
FKgP	Kalman Vincze
MSZP	Csaba Hamori

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 3

Komarom-Esztergom County

Number of registered voters	234,671
Number of participating voters	151,395
Number of invalid votes cast	4,314
Number of valid votes cast	147,081
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	24,513
Two-thirds threshold	16,342
Parties	Valid Votes Received
MSZP	12,251
EP	9,205
FKgP	12,375
KDNP	10,762
AA	4,735
HVK	2,354
MSZDP	5,840
MSZMP	4,714
FIDESZ	12,458
MDF	32,568
FMDP	2,954
SZDSZ	36,765

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Jozsef Horvath
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Komarom-Esztergom County (Continued)

SZDSZ	Peter Tolgyessy
Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 3	

Nograd County

Number of registered voters	176,379
Number of participating voters	110,398
Number of invalid votes cast	3,195
Number of valid votes cast	107,203
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	21,441
Two-thirds threshold	14,294
Parties	Valid Votes Received
MSZMP	10,946
SZDSZ	18,664
FKgP	6,724
MSZP	11,760
HVK	2,111
MSZDP	4,700
KDNP	16,627
FIDESZ	7,811
NKGP	1,628
MDF	19,661
AA	3,328
EP	3,243

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Jozsef Pal
SZDSZ	Endre Bilecz
KDNP	Janos Herczeg

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1

Pest County

Number of registered voters	707,030
Number of participating voters	447,271
Number of invalid votes cast	18,163
Number of valid votes cast	429,108
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	28,607
Two-thirds threshold	19,072
Parties	Valid Votes Received
KDNP	35,576
SZDSZ	96,159
MNP	5,843
AA	9,704
EP	12,338
FIDESZ	42,272

Pest County (Continued)

MDF	114,116
FKgP	54,817
MSZDP	13,814
MSZP	39,364
HVK	5,105

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Ferenc Kulin, Imre Konya, Istvan Szucs, B. Izabella Kiraly
SZDSZ	Maria Korodi, Istvan Vass, Tibor Abraham
FKgP	Istvan Prepeliczay, Miklos Borz
MSZP	Laszlo Korosfoi
FIDESZ	Viktor Orban
KDNP	Miklos Hasznos

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 2

Somogy County

Number of registered voters	263,938
Number of participating voters	164,952
Number of invalid votes cast	5,013
Number of valid votes cast	159,939
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	26,656
Two-thirds threshold	17,771
Parties	Valid Votes Received
SZDSZ	25,137
Green	2,322
MSZDP	5,351
MSZMP	5,012
FKgP	30,316
AA	7,564
MSZP	28,796
HVK	2,471
FIDESZ	12,281
SZP	2,224
MDF	26,204
MNP	1,877
EP	4,418
SKK	5,966

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

FKgP	Bela Nemeth
MSZP	Gyula Horn
MDF	Csaba Ilkei
SZDSZ	Matyas Ficzere

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1

Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County

Number of registered voters	421,085
Number of participating voters	226,179
Number of invalid votes cast	12,362
Number of valid votes cast	213,817
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	21,382
Two-thirds threshold	14,255
Parties	Valid Votes Received
FIDESZ	18,116
MDF	48,087
SZDSZ	31,581
MSZP	23,005
MSZMP	11,066
FKgP	31,042
KDNP	20,595
HVK	4,015
MNP	2,915
AA	11,978
EP	11,417

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Istvan Nagy, Bela Vekony
SZDSZ	Geza Laborczi
FKgP	Jozsef Torgyan
MSZP	Ferenc Kosa
FIDESZ	Laszlo Madi
KDNP	Laszlo Sesztak

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 2

Tolna County

Number of registered voters	193,426
Number of participating voters	123,654
Number of invalid votes cast	3,863
Number of valid votes cast	119,791
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	23,958
Two-thirds threshold	15,972
Parties	Valid Votes Received
MSZMP	3,538
FIDESZ	11,586
AA	5,013
KDNP	16,161
MFP	2,143
MDF	23,863
FKgP	15,440
MSZDP	4,089
SZDSZ	22,244

Tolna County (Continued)

MSZP	10,757
HVK	2,730
MNP	2,227

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Tibor Nyerges
SZDSZ	Laszlo Nadai
KDNP	Miklos Palos

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1

Vas County

Number of registered voters	208,029
Number of participating voters	159,797
Number of invalid votes cast	5,222
Number of valid votes cast	154,575
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	30,915
Two-thirds threshold	20,610
Parties	Valid Votes Received
MNP	1,780
MDF	36,738
SZDSZ	46,432
AA	6,874
MSZP	11,744
MSZMP	4,363
HVK	2,284
KDNP	18,144
FKgP	15,139
FIDESZ	11,077

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

SZDSZ	Endre Monostori
MDF	Lajos Fur

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 2

Veszprem County

Number of registered voters	282,252
Number of participating voters	200,156
Number of invalid votes cast	5,874
Number of valid votes cast	194,282
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	27,755
Two-thirds threshold	18,503
Parties	Valid Votes Received
FIDESZ	21,361
FKgP	23,034
KDNP	13,601
MSZDP	10,318

Veszprem County (Continued)

MDF	53,339
HVK	5,663
MSZP	6,008
EP	5,599
SZDSZ	33,801
AA	3,803
MSZP	17,755

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Imre Palkovics, Peter Akos Bod
SZDSZ	Gyula Szor
FKgP	Antal Belafi
FIDESZ	Zsuzsanna Szelenyi

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 1

Zala County

Number of registered voters	235,837
Number of participating voters	163,487
Number of invalid votes cast	4,534
Number of valid votes cast	158,953
Number of votes needed to acquire a mandate	26,492
Two-thirds threshold	17,568

Parties	Valid Votes Received
HVK	5,415
SZP	590
FKgP	16,333
FIDESZ	11,315
MSZMP	4,672
KDNP	17,521
MDF	40,381
MSZP	15,291
SZDSZ	33,220
MSZDP	4,220
AA	5,242
EP	4,753

National Assembly Representatives From Regional Voting Districts

MDF	Denes Csegey
SZDSZ	Ottília Solt

Number of mandates to be placed on National Slate: 3

YUGOSLAVIA

Data on Private Ownership of Weapons Discussed

90EB0319A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
13 Feb 90 pp 28-29

[Article by Milan Becejic: "Citizens and Arms: The Fact That Every Other Yugoslav Has the Means To Open Fire Explains in Part Their Ever More Frequent Slogan: We Want Weapons"]

[Text] Nothing of significance has happened or changed in this country since the question posed last year in the Federal Assembly of the SFRY, when a delegate asked for official data on how many of us are armed. Nor was it anything new in the Balkan rifle range when General Milan Daljevic, in his capacity as president of the Coordinating Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] for ONO [All People's Defense] and DSZ [Social Self-Protection] called for "disarming the people, and not only in Kosovo." Consequently, it is easy to predict that the novel "A Farewell to Arms" by Ernest Hemingway will never make it onto the reading list of Yugoslav schoolchildren, because the possession of weapons has become fashionable among a large part of the macho population here, a part of tradition and folklore, a necessity, but also a dictate of poor motives—"if they meet..."

Coming at the time of the latest exacerbation of the Kosovo situation, when the sound of Kosovo weapons is being heard once again, accompanied by a yearning for volunteer units, primarily from Serbia and Montenegro, this problem once again underscores the question of the uncontrolled and dangerously unconstrained arming of the people. The fact that under our circumstances bearing a firearm means not only simple possession, but also the willingness to use it, can be seen in the unbridled shooting that takes place on various special occasions: weddings, send-offs to the army, the New Year's "discharge," and so on. Figures indicate that Yugoslavs are the most heavily armed people in Europe in terms of guns per capita. One in four families in this country is well armed. Weapons are the preferred plaything in Kosovo, Montenegro, and in the Sanjak. These weapons are part of the folklore, but are also quite often a form of public communication.

Tradition and Fashion

Official figures reveal the existence of as many as two million private pistols. Naturally, this refers solely to

registered guns, while estimates of the number of illegally owned pistols, rifles, and heavy infantry weapons are between an additional 500,000 and six million! If we add to this the number of official firearms, the result is that every other Yugoslav has the means to open fire.

Each year, some 200,000 citizens apply for permits to bear arms. The majority of them are granted, since they are easier to get than driver's licenses. At the Sarajka department store in Sarajevo, for example, around 50 7.63mm Zastavini pistols are sold each month, and when a shipment of "Magnum 357's" arrived there at the end of last year from the Kragujevac manufacturer, 30 of these firearm toys were sold immediately, even though its price in dinars was around DM 600. There are about a thousand applications for gun licenses submitted each year in the territory of this municipality, of which around 200 are approved.

The possession of weapons in Kosovo has special importance since they are being used in demonstrations and in the ever more frequent campaigns by Albanian nationalists. In 1988 alone, more than 11,000 citizens in that province submitted applications for legal possession of weapons, which is more than in all the other republics and Vojvodina combined. Of interest is one stipulation in the corresponding law, which states, "Anyone who bears two or more firearms without a permit shall be sentenced to imprisonment of one year." This formulation leaves some doubt—does it mean that a person can possess one firearm without a permit?! Naturally, this doubt could also be the result of a word play, but the impression remains that it is much easier for gun owners who are permitted one firearm to build a private arsenal. It has long been known that the "one" and the "other" estranged sides in Kosovo have been arming themselves for years. This can be seen in the militant games of Albanian separatists, but also in the "domestic guards" of the Serbs and Montenegrins. Between 1981 and 1988, the following was confiscated in Kosovo: around 5,000 illegally owned pistols, 427 military and 74 automatic rifles, seven machine guns, 1,446 hunting rifles, more than 17,000 cartridges, 8,000 kilograms of explosives...

In the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, more than 600,000 citizens have permits to bear arms, and three times that number apply for permits. The fact that the capital is also full of people partial to "fire sticks" can be seen not only from the 125,000 gun licenses. Every New Year, at midnight, Novi Beograd becomes one big firing range, where amidst the volleys of firing revolvers are heard the bursts of automatic weapons as well, and sometimes even the detonation of mortars. If one recognizes that the largest municipality in the country is inhabited predominantly by members of the military and police, then pre-New Year's appeals in Belgrade to refrain from firing seem useless. In Serbia without its provinces over the past 15 years, nearly 43,000 weapons of various types have been confiscated, together with 240,000 cartridges, which the citizenry was keeping illegally in their homes. It is little consolation that in Serbia and Vojvodina the majority of these dangerous

house pets were hunting and sporting guns. In 1988 alone, firearms were misused in public places in Serbia 1,270 times, and in 957 cases the guns involved were registered. The situation is slightly worse in Kosovo, slightly better in Vojvodina.

The attachment to weapons in these areas cannot be justified by tradition alone. As early as 1921, it was decided in the law on the gendarmerie that the Yugoslav police, as well as the army, would be armed with pistols. A similar decision was made after the war. This meant legitimization of the possession of arms of various calibers taken as war booty, but also of a dangerous fashion for which it is difficult to find a counterpart in the contemporary world, at the end of the 20th century. This fad was promoted further by the senseless practice of presenting a gun to retired workers in the corresponding services, as a gift with their last paycheck. In recent years, the press has followed several public affairs exposing the long-standing practice whereby police chiefs have generously given our politicians rifles (even gold-plated "Winchesters") and pistols. It is fortunate that in their work these worthy politicians have been more inclined towards verbal than physical skirmishes.

Ambiguous Laws

Legal provisions state that only minors, the mentally ill, and convicts may not own firearms. Nevertheless, applicants for licenses are not required to provide any confirmation of the state of their health. Experts from the FSIA [Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs] at one point asked in vain that the issuance of gun permits be controlled by law through corresponding medical documents.

In practical terms, a pistol legally acquired by someone in our country cannot be confiscated, of course, unless its owner misuses it. Because of the differing republican-provincial regulations and disparate criteria, the FSIA's hands are tied.

Its constitutional and legal position is reduced in practice to an advisory and coordinating role. It seems that it is not enough to warn that over the last 10 years the FSIA, in cooperation with Interpol, has received around 30,000 tips about our citizens trying to illegally bring weapons purchased abroad into Yugoslavia. At the border crossings with Italy and Austria alone, around 4,500 firearms of various types, 340,000 cartridges, and 300 kilograms of explosives were seized during that period. According to estimates by federal customs authorities, this is only 20 percent of the volume of smuggled arms. One previous analysis by the customs service stated that it is difficult to determine a common characteristic shared by all arms smugglers. Such a generalization is difficult in terms of both profession and national affiliation, but also in terms of age.

It is not surprising that weapons brought into the country in this way fetch the highest price in Kosovo. A pistol that costs around DM 500 in the FRG is sold for as much as DM 2,000 in our country. The DM 600 price tag on the popular "Kalashnikov" is increased tenfold here.

The life of a shot Yugoslav can be calculated as the price of a U.S. dollar, since that is the price of a cartridge on the domestic market. If it has been possible in Yugoslavia to get weapons through illegal acquisition, official possession, and as gifts, soon it will be possible to get lethal toys through advertisements as well. The prices are rising from DM 300 to DM 1,000. This alone shows that serious control over the arming of the citizenry is lacking. At the end of last year, we noted the isolated attempt in Bosnia-Herzegovina to introduce a little regularity in this crazy Balkan fad. The following provision was proposed in the draft bill for the future modification of the Law on Acquisition, Possession, and Bearing of Weapons: "Weapons may not be carried in a public place in such a way that they elicit a feeling of physical threat, anxiety, or disapprobation among the citizenry." In practice, this could mean no shooting at weddings, at

send-offs into the army, during boastful behavior by drunkards at bars and coffee houses, or at dances when the girl dances with misgivings under the pressure of the metal manliness of her partner. These kinds of legal provisions will have a hard time controlling the number of owners of weapons for want of rigorous punishment for the illegal possession of guns and due to the quiet growth of the latest trend, formulated in the demand "We want weapons." In connection with this last point, with regard to Kosovo, it is not very principled to remain silent about this "demand" while, at the same time, supporting all legal means to defend the integrity of the state in order to settle the Kosovo unrest. If order is not instituted, we will have plenty of appeals like the one sent to the police by one Sledge Hammer from Vranje: "I request a higher title to return my favorite pistol, without which I cannot live."

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Shipbuilding Costs Examined

90GE0036A East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German
24 Mar 90 p 6

[Article by Peter Gerds: "Subsidized Shipbuilders Produce at Considerably More Cost"]

[Text] A few weeks ago researchers at the University of Rostock initiated a study entitled "Economic Reform in Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania" so that they can address the future structure of the economy in good time.

The subject of the study is the three still existing northern bezirks which will be absorbed into Land Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania or into the Laender of Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania following the administrative reforms. This region covers about 25 percent of the total area of the GDR, and 2.13 million people, 12 percent of the population, live here. (Size in km²: Rostock—7,075; Schwerin—8,642; Neubrandenburg—10,948. The entire GDR 108,333 km². Population: Rostock—916,541; Schwerin—595,176; Neubrandenburg—620,467. These numbers will decline further as a result of the continuing emigration of the population to the FRG.)

According to economic scientist Prof. Dr. Ralf Schoenknecht there is a need today to predict economic paths that will go beyond a time when the GDR no longer exists, but Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania is still viable. In Schoenknecht's opinion, one thing is clear, the lack of any economic perspective will continue to contribute to country being bled dry. Scientifically based plans are still lacking. Not until they are in place can strategies which contribute to a socially and ecologically acceptable market economy be worked out. What is needed now are studies and projects which can correct what have been sometimes frightful experiments with the economy. Here and now these are problems of survival, because the entire economic area in the north of the GDR is structurally weak. The economic bases were, and still are, the maritime trade and port economy (including fishing) and agriculture. All these areas are permanently afflicted by crises. A glance at other countries suffices. Shipping, particularly shipbuilding, is material and labor intensive. It does not offer particularly favorable conditions for utilization of capital; although the order situation for shipbuilding in the GDR is still positive and Deutsche Seereederei is bringing in good profits. The shipyards and supplier operations that are grouped in the VEB [State enterprise] Shipbuilding Combine built 37 new ships in 1989 in 14 versions, capacity 246,616 tons dead weight, net tonnage in gross tons 300,085. For 1990 34 new ships are planned for customers in seven countries. In addition, there is substantial repair work, which was worth about M 660 million last year.

Nevertheless: the highly subsidized shipbuilding operations are producing at a considerably higher cost. Their productivity in comparison to the FRG = 100 [percent] is about 50 percent. As a result, in Rolf Schoenknecht's view, the question is how to look for opportune alternatives and [do this] ahead of further changes because, of all the German Laender, the structures of the future Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania are in severe danger and extremely vulnerable. Without a scientific plan, higher unemployment than in other areas can be anticipated. So the primary objective is to uncover fallow resources and to breathe new life into them. Highly qualified experts from industry are available. They can not only build ships, but they must come to the market with the products in demand by way of small and medium-sized businesses. For example, the service sector is totally underdeveloped in comparison to a region of similar size, Schleswig-Holstein. In the latter the share is 45 percent, while it is only 28 percent in the three northern bezirks. Trade, supply, energy, and transportation are similarly in need of a fundamental change, which of course means that labor in the economic area has to be redistributed.

Prof. Schoenknecht emphasized that these thought initiators and the initial results have so far only come from science. Now it is the government's turn to designate quite specific and, most importantly, paying contractors, to function in the same way as domestic economic circles should by demonstrating more interest. So far the FRG has shown more interest in these problems. He said that the objective of the researchers in Rostock was to present an acceptable plan by the end of the year.

Prof. Dr. Albert Braun, also from the University of Rostock, elaborated on the four principle scientific points of the overall plan:

1. Analysis and evaluation of the local economic structure—to this end a data bank will be set up which has until now not existed in this form. Overall evaluation with the assistance of supra-regional and international standards of comparison is intended to provide as realistic an estimate as possible. The structural elements for production in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania include: trade, supply, services/technical and social infrastructure/tourism and vacation/population structure and labor potential/housing structure/structure of natural resources/ecology and environmental protection.

2. Basic variations of future local economic development in Mecklenburg-Pomerania. This deals primarily with the effects and mutual effects of changes in substructures in other areas. Prof. Braun's comment: "If we do not want to be the backrunner, it is up to our own creativity to solve these problems."

3. Conclusions to realize future variations in developing the economic area under the conditions of a market economy. Here we should capitalize mostly on experiences from Schleswig-Holstein, without repeating the mistakes that were made there. Most of all it is a question of creating

good and acceptable opportunities for foreign and domestic investors—because structural changes are expensive.

Local Press Reveals Scope of Environmental Pollution

90GE0064A Duesseldorf VDI NACHRICHTEN
in German 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by Christa Friedl: "Fed Up With the Filth—Air Pollution is the Number One Environmental Problem in the GDR—Air Pollution Equipment Remains to This Day a Superfluous Decoration"—first paragraph is VDI NACHRICHTEN introduction]

[Text] VDI-N, Magdeburg, 2 March 1990—Thick air is the rule rather than the exception. That is more literally the case in the GDR than in any other country. Cities and villages lie under an impenetrable veil of dust and fumes. In many instances, not even the local authorities or the representatives of industry know what is belching forth from the smokestacks. Billions from the West are supposed to salvage what is now hardly salvageable.

When August Bebel coughs, the citizens of Zwickau close their windows. Then thick smoke covers this city of 100,000 inhabitants in the South of the GDR. August Bebel coughs frequently: the drawing-off process is performed in the coking plant, which is located in the heart of the city, twice a day. Anyone living downwind of it, does not dare open a window.

The August Bebel Works is a real polluter. Every day, 2,300 workers process 2,000 tons of hard coal into coke and gas, another 1,500 tons are burned as fuel in the adjacent power plants, so that 23,000 homes and 65 industrial plants can be supplied with district heating and electricity.

"Planning a coking plant in the middle of the city was one of the greatest mistakes in the history of the City of Zwickau." That was not a comment made by a Western environmentalist following a visit to Zwickau, nor was it something a resident said discreetly behind a masking hand—it is in the newspaper. Since the big change last November, the Zwickau FREIE PRESSE [Free Press] has been taking on the August Bebel Works. Ever since the secret status of environmental data was suspended on 30 October, the citizens of Zwickau have been able to read in black and white what the status of their air quality is. On 20 January, the paper quoted the technical director as follows: "The energy policies of the old regime led us into a deep ecological crisis. A colossal amount needs to be done."

A table in the same newspaper, on page two, shows just how much. Where once SED functionaries [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] proclaimed their opinions, the FREIE PRESSE now lets the figures do the talking. Every day, in this spot, the paper publishes current SO₂ pollution levels in the Karl-Marx-Stadt District. The levels from Zwickau's center are the highest in the

district. On 20 January, the maximum reading was 0.66 mg/m³, that is, 30 percent above the maximum limit. The average daily reading of 0.31 mg/m³ surpasses the maximum allowable limit by as much as 100 percent.

"Millions live in permanent smog in our countries," says Eberhard Niemietz, ecologist in the Eastern branch of the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. As a result of the combustion of 320 million tons of coal per annum, 5.2 million tons of SO₂ were liberated into the air in 1989 (2 million tons in the Federal Republic). In addition there are 0.95 million tons of nitrous oxides from home heating and vehicular traffic (3 million tons in the case of the Federal Republic), as well as 2.6 million tons of dust (Federal Republic: 0.7 million tons). Regarding pollution from hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide, ozone, and dioxins, the GDR's environmental protectionists have heard tell of them. To quote Niemietz: "Our instruments cannot even measure nitrous oxides."

Environmental Protection Stops at Hygiene

Since the changeover, Bernd Thriene has been happy to receive journalists from the West. In his Magdeburg-based institute, the Chief Medical Officer and Director of the District Health Inspection Station can show a few things to the Westerners. Here one of the approximately 40 SO₂ measuring stations of the GDR can be found, here data are gathered from a total of ten air quality monitoring stations in the District of Magdeburg, here there is an analyzing laboratory for rapid use in case of accidents, and in the basement, there is even an electron microscope for measuring asbestos dust.

"Heretofore environmental protection was only an afterthought on the part of the authorities here," says Thriene. One glance at the laws is enough. The smog regulation is a part of the National *Cultural* Law, the monitoring of water and air, the responsibility of the Institutes of *Hygiene*. The law does make provision for environmental offenses, but in practice, the fines levied are not enough to deter anyone. The demands made by the Eastern branch of the SPD and the Green Party for firmly anchoring environmental protection to the Constitution, for democratically controlled Environmental Institutes, and stiff penalties for environmental offenses sound Utopian.

Unperturbed by campaign slogans, Thriene makes a concerted effort to address the daily concerns of the inhabitants of his district. "More and more frequently, people have telephoned this office wanting to know about the pollution of the water and the air." Only since October, however, has he been permitted to publish the measured results. To be sure, there are not many findings: SO₂ and free-floating dust in the air, nitrates, and fluorine in the drinking water—the superannuated equipment is unable to furnish anything more. And the new district radiological laboratory to monitor the amount of radiation in the environment will probably take some time yet to complete. To quote Thriene: "We have no tiles, no pipes, and above all, no skilled workers."

As a physician, Thriene is particularly concerned about the number of respiratory diseases. In the week of 18-24 January alone, 19,432 cases were reported—an average of every 50th resident of the district. How many of these can be attributed to airborne noxae is something Thriene cannot say. "No one has ever been able to study anything of the kind before." Even he is forced to make do with rumors. Thus, he heard that among children in the area of high industrial concentration around Bitterfeld, approximately 70 km south of Magdeburg, delayed bone growth and blood corpuscle anomalies were ascertained.

It has not been only since "the change" that the catastrophic extent of the air pollution in the GDR has been known to the West. It was the forest dying finally that made it apparent that environmental pollutants know no boundaries. In 1987, both German states concluded an environmental agreement that was basically limited to the exchange of measurement data—such as data on emissions from the hazardous waste incineration facility at Schoeneiche—and assistance in the construction of East Berlin's water purification plants. For years, negotiations had been ongoing concerning the establishment of a jointly-operated smog early warning system—without success.

A fresh wind has been blowing since the end of last year. With a total of two billion Western marks, the Federal Republic intends to clean up the air in the GDR. New desulphurization facilities for the Espenhain lignite coal plant and the "Max Reimann" heating facility should decrease the SO₂ pollution in the Leipzig District by 80,000 tons per annum. A heating and power plant with fluidized bed firing will relieve the air over Magdeburg of 11,000 tons of SO₂. It is high time, as well. Official sources in the GDR made public for the first time that in the Districts of Leipzig and Karl-Marx-Stadt, 75 percent of the trees are already diseased.

New Smog Regulation Combats Daily Pollution

In practice, Bernd Thriene prefers rapid, unbureaucratic neighborhood assistance to tough political deliberations. Thus, his institute has been measuring the SO₂ readings

in Magdeburg with the aid of an instrument donated by the Essen State Institute of Protection from Emissions. Cooperation with the State of North Rhine-Westphalia was successful in another way. Since 9 November, the same SO₂ concentrations that would suffice to cause a smog alert in North Rhine-Westphalia are the guidelines required to do the same in the GDR. These are levels that would be sufficiently stringent to prevent the severest damage; if the sulfuric acid producer, the Fahlberg-List Peoples' Own Production Facility were not a kilometer away from the institute as the crow flies. This plant keeps the pointers of the measuring gauges busy.

Filtering plants are a rarity in the GDR. Due to the fact that they make no meaningful contribution to productivity, they are considered superfluous windowdressing. All that was left was the possibility to improvise. So, for some time now the Zwickau August Bebel Heating Works have been burning small granular Polish hard coal instead of lignite coal. The positive impact, in terms of emissions, is more than offset by other small heating plants in the city. And any time the air in Magdeburg got too thick, "we called them up and asked them to cut back their production," says Thriene.

The population is just fed up with the filth by now. The shouts "Close down" and "Shut it off" are becoming louder. Within a few weeks, the Church Ecological Council in Zwickau collected 30,000 signatures on a petition to shut down August Bebel, but the old man will continue to exist: *Bergbau AG Westfalen* [Westphalian Mining, Inc.] wants to give the plant the dust removal equipment from the Dortmund coking plant that was shut down.

"Nonsense," the environmentalists say, because the adaptations that would be necessary are technologically so complicated and so costly that it would be better to spend the money on a new plant.

[Caption for photo not reproduced: Thick air is normal in the GDR. In addition to pollution due to dust and exhaust emissions resulting from industry, household heating makes its contribution. And finally, three million Trabbis add their fair share. The two-stroke engines add carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons to the pollution.]

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